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P. 7ᵇ, **AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ, ʿABD AL-RAZZĀḲ**, l. 13 from the foot, *after* tafsīr, *add*: ed. Muṣṭafā Muslim Muḥammad, 4 vols., Riyāḍ 1989, and ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Amīn Ḳalʿadjī, 2 vols., Beirut 1991.

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P. 377ᵇ, **SHAWḲ**, *add to Bibl.*: Naṣr Allāh Purdjawādī, *Shawḳ-i dīdār*, in *Nashr-i Dānish*, Tehran, xiv/4 (1994); idem, *Ḳibla-yi shawḳ*, in *ibid.*, xiv (1994).

P. 378ª, **AL-SHAWKĀNĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: Ḥusayn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmrī, *al-Imām al-Shawkānī, rā'id ʿaṣrihi. Dirāsa fī fiḳhihi wa-fikrihi*, Damascus 1410/1990; idem, art. *Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (1760-1834)*, in *al-Mawsūʿa al-yamaniyya*, Beirut-Ṣanʿāʾ 1412/1992, ii, 828-9; B. Haykel, *Al-Shawkānī and the jurisprudential unity of Yemen*, in *RMMM*, lxvii (1993), 53-65, with bibl. and references.

P. 462ª, **SHIʿR**. 1 (a), *add to Bibl.*: Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur altarabischen Qaṣide*, Wiesbaden 1971; eadem,

Dichtung und Lüge in der arabischen Literaturtheorie, in *Isl.*, xlix (1972), 85-99; eadem, *Ibn al-Muʿtazz: Dair ʿAbdūn, a structural analysis*, in *JAL*, vi (1975), 35-56; eadem, *The Camel-section of the panegyrical ode*, in *ibid.*, xiii (1982), 1-22; eadem, *Neue Forschungen zur altarabischen Qaṣide*, in *BiOr*, xl (1983), 5-16; eadem, *Die Anfänge der arabischen Gazalpoesie. Abū Ḏu'aib al-Huḏalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi (1984), 218-50; eadem, *Time and reality in Nasīb and Ghazal*, in *JAL*, xvi (1985), 1-17; eadem, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii (1990), 50-64; eadem, *Altarabische Topoi in der Abbasidendichtung. Zur Technik und Funktion der "Verfremdung"*, in M. Forstner (ed.), *Festgabe für Hans-Robert Singer*, Frankfurt 1991, ii, 757-71; eadem, *Theme and variations in Umayyad Ghazal poetry*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1992), 109-19; eadem, *Und der Lagerplatz ruft: Wo ist Labīd? Interpretation einer Luzūmīya*, in Alma Giese and J.Chr. Bürgel (eds.), *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit. Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel*, Bern 1994, 291-303; eadem, *Zur Gazalpoesie des Walīd ibn Yazīd*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag, ii, Studien zu arabischen Dichtung*, Beirut 1994, 145-61; eadem, *Von der Stammesdichtung zur Hofdichtung. Probleme des Motivwandels in der frühen arabischen Literatur*, in *Ibn an-Nadīm und die mittelalterliche arabische Literatur. Beiträge zum 1. Johann Wilhelm Fück-Kolloquium (Halle 1987)*, Wiesbaden 1996, 103-10; eadem, *Al-Khayālānī—a variation of the khayāl motif*, in *JAL*, xxvii (1996), 2-12; eadem, *The origins of the Qasida form*, in S. Sperl and C. Shackle (eds.), *Qasida poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa, i, Classical traditions and modern meanings*, Leiden 1996, 21-34; Irfan Shahîd, *The authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry: the linguistic dimension*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xliv (1996), 3-29.

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P. 18[b], AL-ṬABARĪ, *add to Bibl.*: J.-M. Gaudeul, *Riposte aux Chrétiens par ʿAlî Al-Ṭabarî*, Rome 1995 (French tr. of *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Naṣārā*).

P. 32[b], **TABKH**, *add to Bibl.*: Th. Bianquis, *Une crise frumentaire dans l'Egypte fatimide*, in *JESHO*, xxiii (1978), 67-101; J.Cl. David, *La cuisine, manger à Damas*, dans *Damas, miroir brisé d'un Orient arabe*, Paris 1993, 226-39.

P. 70[b], **TADJNĪS**, *add to Bibl.*: M. Grünert, *Die Begriffsverstärkung durch das Etymon im Altarabischen*, in *Sb. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl.*, cxxv, v, Vienna 1892; H. Reckendorf, *Über Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen*, Giessen 1909; H. Kindermann, *Über das 'Etymologisieren' und das Denken in Bildern im Arabischen*, in *WO*, ii (1959), 528-30.

P. 83[a], **TĀFĪLĀLT**, *add to Bibl.*: H. Pérès, *Les relations entre le Tafilalt et le Soudan à travers le Sahara du XII[e] au XIV[e] siècle*, in *Mélanges de géographie et d'orientalisme offerts à E.F. Gautier*, Tours 1937; J. Margat, *Données sur l'habitat du Tafilalt. Contribution à l'étude demographique des palmeraies du sud marocain*, in *Notes marocaines*, Rabat, no. 11-12 (1959); A. Zerhouini, *Maîtrise des eaux dans le périmètre du Tafilalt*, in *Hommes, terres et eaux*, Rabat, no. 42 (1981); D. Jacques-Meunie, *Le Maroc saharien des origines à 1670*, Paris 1982; G.S. Colin, *Un voyage au Tafilalt en 1787*, in *Revue de la Géogr. du Maroc* (Jan. 1984); M. Boubekraoui and C. Carcemal, *Le Tafilalt aujourd'hui. Régression, évolution et société d'une palmeraie du sud marocain*, in *Revue Géogr. Pyrenées et Sud-ouest*, no. 47 (1986), 449-63; L. Mezzine, *Le Tafilalt. Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles*, Publs. de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Rabat, Rabat 1987.

P. 136[a], **TAKIYYA**, *add to Bibl.*: E. Kohlberg, *Taqiyya in Shīʿī theology and religion*, in H.G. Kippenberg and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Secrecy and concealment. Studies in the history of Mediterranean and Near Eastern religions*, Leiden 1995, 345-80 (provides excellent survey of both sources and secondary literature).

P. 151[a], **ṬALĀ'Iʿ B. RUZZĪK**, *add to Bibl.*: See also Ṭalā'iʿ b. Ruzzīk, *Dīwān al-wazīr Ṭalā'iʿ al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ*, ed. A.A. Badawī, Cairo 1958, ed. M.H. al-Amīnī, Nadjaf 1964; S.B. Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians. Cultural and political interaction in the Near East*, Leiden 1997 (for Ṭalā'iʿ's Nusayrism).

P. 176[b], **TA'MĪM**, l. 1, for *millī, kardan* read *millī kardan.*

P. 290[b], **TA'RĪKH**. 2. In Persian, l. 9 from foot, *add to Bibl.*: C.E. Bosworth, *The Persian contribution to Islamic historiography in the pre-Mongol period*, in R.G. Hovannissian and G. Sabbagh (eds.), *The Persian presence in the Islamic world, Thirteenth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference 1991, in honor of Ehsan Yarshater*, Cambridge 1998, 218-36; Julie Scott Meisami, *Why write history in Persian? Historical Writing in the Samanid period*, in Carole Hillenbrand (ed.), *Studies in honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth. 2. The Sultan's turret*, Leiden 1999, 348-74.

P. 360[b], **TASNĪM**, *add at end of article*: For the opposition between Fāṭimid Shīʿīs and Shāfiʿīs from Damascus on the *tasnīm* of tombs, see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, ii, Damascus 1989, 627.

P. 378[a], **TAWAKKUL**, l. 19, *add to Bibl.*: L. Lewisohn, *The way of* Tawakkul. *The ideal of "Trust in God" in classical Persian Sufism*, in *IC*, lxxiii/2 (1999), 27-62.

P. 376[a], **ṬAWĀF**, l. -9, *for* keeping the Kaʿba on the right at all times, *read* for keeping the Kaʿba on the left at all times;

P. 435[a], AL-**THAʿLABIYYA**, l. 7, *after* al-Muḳaddasī *add* Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, vi, 53 *et passim.*
l. 10, *before* Today, *add the sentence* Many incidents which took place from the 1st/7th to 6th/12th centuries are recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; *Fihrist*, 440.

P. 435[a], **THALLĀDJ**, l. -3 from bottom, *after* cf. *add* Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid-Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 68;

P. 436[b], **THAMŪD**, *replace 2nd paragraph, ll. 9-21, with*: As the following article THAMUDIC shows, the term "Thamudic" is a purely conventional one, actually a misnomer, and has no demonstrable connection with the historical tribe of Thamūd; nor is there any evidence that the various scripts described as "Thamudic" are derived from Sabaic rather than their being parallel developments.

P. 461[b], AL-**TIBRĪZĪ**, ll. 15-17, *in place of what is written in the text, read* 458/1065), and in Ṣūr [*q.v.*] or Tyre, Sulaym b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d. 447/1055), who as a philologist had specialised in *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, and above all Shāfiʿī law.

P. 547[a], **TIRMIDHĪ**, *add to Bibl.*: B. Furūzānfar (ed.), *Maʿārif. Madjmūʿa-yi mawāʿiẓ wa kalimāti-i Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥakkik-i Tirmidhī*, [2]Tehran 1377.

P. 547[b], **TİRNOWA**, l. 28 from foot, *for* At some point in the later 15th century, the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* had been established round the former church of the Forty Martyrs by a *wakf*, *read* According to the latest evidence, the church of the Forty Martyrs was converted into the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* after the conquest of Tirnowa. Recent studies prove that the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke*, with an *ʿimāret* and a *medrese*, belonged to the *wakf* of Bāyazīd I. The *tekke* was established there towards the end of the 17th or at the beginning of the 18th century, when the church was abandoned,

P. 567[b], **ṬOPḲAPİ SARĀYİ**, l. -8, *for* Meḥemmed III, *read* Meḥemmed IV

P. 568[a], l. 33, *for* Meḥemmed III, *read* Meḥemmed IV

P. 914[b], **ʿUSHĀḲ**, *add to Bibl.*, H. İnalcık, *The Yürüks: their origins, expansion and economic role*, in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies*, ii (1986), 39-66.

SUPPLEMENT

P. 411[a], **ĪLĀḲ**, l. 51, *add* In the later 4th/10th century and early 5th/11th centuries, the *dihḳāns* of Īlāḳ took the side of the incoming Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] against their Sāmānid overlords. It now seems possible to place the *fulūs* minted during this period, going up to 403/1012-13, as emanating from three apparently successive *dihḳāns*. See M. Fedorov, *A rare fals of AH 401 struck at Īlāq (new data about the "Dihqāns of Īlāq" dynasty), in Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, n°. 162 (winter 2000), 11-13.

T

TĀʾ and **ṬĀʾ**, the third and sixteenth letters of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical values in the *abdjad* system of 400 and 9 respectively. In the modern standard pronunciation, the former represents a voiceless, slightly aspirated, dental (or dento-alveolar) stop; the latter a voiceless, unaspirated, dental (dento-alveolar) stop with simultaneous velarisation, i.e. with the back of the tongue lifted towards the soft palate. Sībawayh and his successors classify *ṭāʾ* as *madjhūr*, which most modern scholars have understood to mean "voiced" [see ḤURŪF AL-HIDJĀʾ and the references cited there], but the evidence of modern Arabic dialects and of the other Semitic languages seems hardly reconcilable with the alleged voiced articulation of *ṭāʾ*. It is true that in a large area of central Yemen, including Ṣanʿāʾ, the reflex of classical *ṭāʾ* is in fact realised as a voiced [ḍ] in pre- and inter-vocalic positions, but in many of these dialects *tāʾ* is also voiced in the same positions (see P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte. Teil 1. Atlas*, Wiesbaden 1985, 13 and Karte 6). Thus the Yemenite evidence does not really support the supposedly ancient voiced realisation specifically for "emphatic" *ṭāʾ*.

In words of Greek or Latin origin which entered Arabic via Aramaic original [t] is normally represented by *ṭāʾ*; this continues the scribal practice in Aramaic, where the letter *taw* represents the (originally aspirated, later fricative) Greek θ, while the letter *ṭēth* is reserved for the Greek (unaspirated) τ. Similarly in borrowings from Iranian languages, original [t] is very often represented by *ṭāʾ* in Arabic (e.g. in place-names like Ṭabaristān, Ṭūs, Iṣṭakhr), possibly suggesting that in early New Persian [t] was still (as in Old Iranian) unaspirated. However, in modern Persian [t] is pronounced almost exactly like Arabic [t], i.e. with some degree of aspiration, and when the Persians began to write their own language in Arabic script they consistently used *tāʾ* for their [t], restricting *ṭāʾ* to words borrowed from Arabic.

Turkic languages, when written in Arabic script, generally use *tāʾ* for the more or less palatalised [t] occurring in the vicinity of front vowels and *ṭāʾ* for the same phoneme next to back vowels. Urdū uses *tāʾ* for its voiceless, unaspirated dental [t] and puts (at least in the modern orthography) a miniaturised *ṭāʾ* over the letters *rāʾ*, *dāl* and unpointed *tāʾ* to indicate the Indian retroflex consonants [ṛ], [ḍ] and [ṭ]; ordinary *ṭāʾ* is used (as in Persian) only in Arabic words and is not distinguished from *tāʾ* in pronunciation.

Bibliography: W.H.T. Gairdner, *The phonetics of Arabic*, London 1925; J. Cantineau, *Cours de phonétique arabe*, in *Etudes in linguistique arabe. Memorial Jean Cantineau*, Paris 1960, 31 ff.; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, 57 ff.; A. Roman, *Etude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koiné arabe*, Aix-en-Provence 1983, i, 155 ff., 254-6, 311-13, ii, 604 ff.; T.F. Mitchell, *Pronouncing Arabic*, i, Oxford 1990, 33-45. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

ṬĀ-HĀ, two isolated letters at the head of sūra XX in the Ḳurʾān. It has been proposed to explain them as an abbreviation, either of an imperative (from the root *w-ṭ-ʾ*; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) or from a proper name (Ṭalḥa; Abū Hurayra), meaning the Companion of the Prophet, who supplied this sūra to the first compilers of the Ḳurʾān.

The important thing to note is that Muslim tradition since the 3rd/9th century has made Ṭā-Hā one of the names of the Prophet, and as a result, to this day we find boys in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ given the name Muḥammad Ṭā-Hā. From the 4th/10th century, mystics unanimously see in Ṭā-Hā the purity (*ṭahāra*) and rectitude (*ihtidāʾ*) of the heart of the Prophet. Such are in *djafr* [*q.v.*] the classical meanings of the two letters.

On the other hand, the two letters *ṭā-sīn* (found at the head of sūra XXVII), following the methods of *djafr* which sees in them abbreviations of *ṭahāra* + *sanā*, have been taken by certain early mystics to designate Iblīs, whose monotheistic preaching among the angels was parallel with the monotheistic mission of Ṭā-Hā (= Muḥammad) among men (see al-Ḥallādj, *Ṭāsīn al-azal*. In this connection, it may be asked whether *ṭā-sīn* was not formed by the inversion of *shī-ṭān* and this after the year 309/922, date of the death of al-Ḥallādj, for numerically *ṭā* + *sīn* = 300 + 9).

The personal name, reduced to Ṭāhā, has not acquired a comparatively frequent usage in the Islamic lands. This is particularly seen in the name of the famous Egyptian man of letters and politics, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Maydānī, s.v. *rudda min ṭāhā ilā bismillah*; Baḳlī, *Tafsīr*, Cawnpore 1883, ii, 18-19 (tr. in Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], Paris 1954, 99, and idem, *La passion d'al Ḥallâj*, Paris 1922, 884, n. 1); *ibid.*, Eng. tr. H. Mason; Rāghib Pasha, *Safīna*, Cairo 1282, 395; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii, 70-9. (L. MASSIGNON)

ṬĀʿA (A., pl. *ṭāʿāt*), a term of the theological vocabulary for an act of obedience to God, contrasted with *maʿṣiya*, pl. *maʿāṣī*, act of disobedience to God, hence sin. The two terms represent respectively good and bad actions, but add, or substitute for, these purely moral ideas the religious concept of conformity or non-conformity to the divine Law.

Ṭāʿa is not a Ḳurʾānic term (good actions are usually called *ṣāliḥāt*, or much more rarely, *ḥasana*, pl. *ḥasanāt* (see VI, 160; XI, 114; XXV, 70; XXVII, 89; XXVIII, 84). On the other hand, the verb *aṭāʿa* "to obey", is very common (74 attestations), and in 31 instances it involves, in effect, obedience to God; but

one should note that this obedience to God, when expressly formulated, is always linked with obedience to the Prophet (see III, 32, 132; IV, 13, 59, 69, 80; V, 92; VIII, 1, 20, 46; etc.). In seven cases, it is a question of obeying *tout court*, without further precision (II, 285; IV, 46; V, 7; XXIV, 47, 51; XLVIII, 16; LXIV, 16), and, once, obedience involves only the Prophet (XXIV, 56). It is not, however, the same with the verb *ʿaṣā* "to disobey", for which there are seven mentions, in various ways, of disobedience to God alone (VI, 15; X, 15; XI, 63; XIX, 44; XX, 121; XXXIX, 13; LXVI, 6). One should nevertheless mention that the noun *maʿṣiya*, which appears in a unique passage (LVIII, 8-9), figures only in the expression *maʿṣiyat al-rasūl*.

In *Ḥadīth*, so far as one can judge, obedience to God is expressed exclusively in the explicit formula *ṭāʿat Allāh*, with the plural never found. On the other hand, the pl. *maʿāṣī* is already used, in an absolute form, for sinful actions (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *buyūʿ*, 2; *tafsīr sūra* II, 47).

It would indeed be futile to claim to be able to say at exactly what moment the usage of *ṭāʿa* and *maʿṣiya*, used absolutely, for good and bad actions, came to be employed. One can only say that, in the theological writings which are presumed to be the oldest (end of the 1st century A.H.), this usage seems to be already firmly established (thus in the *Risāla* attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ed. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi [1933], 74, ll. 6-7, 76, ll. 7-20, 78, l. 5; in that attributed to the caliph ʿUmar II, ed. J. van Ess, in his *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977, §§ 14-16).

On the exact meaning of *ṭāʿa*, Sunnī and Muʿtazilī theologians were opposed, as a corollary of the debate which divided them on the crucial question whether God willed the evil actions of men or not. For the Muʿtazilīs, God—by the fact of His justice—only wills men's good acts. He wills neither their unbelief nor their sins. In other words, there is no difference between what God wills and what He ordains, and to obey Him is thus the equivalent of conforming to His will. For the Sunnī theologians, on the contrary, God—from the fact of His all-powerfulness—necessarily wills everything which exists, including men's evil acts. Hence there cannot be in any circumstances an equivalence between His will and His order; to obey Him is to do what He ordains, and not necessarily to do what He wills. On this question, see ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, vi/a, 39, ll. 17 ff.; Ps. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, Cairo 1965, 457, ll. 16 ff.; Ibn Fūrak, *Mudjarrad maḳālāt al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1987, 70, ll. 20-3, 157, ll. 12-18; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 183, ll. 4-11; D. Gimaret, in *SI*, xli (1975), 69-71; idem, *La doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī*, Paris 1990, 298-9.

Another question, connected with the foregoing, is that of knowing whether every act of obedience to God only merits being called thus if it is an act of conscious obedience to a divine order known as such. Certain theologians—admittedly a very small minority—held that the answer was no, and admitted (at the time when there is, objectively, a coincidence between the act and such-and-such divine prescription) the existence of "acts of obedience in which God is not intended" (*ṭāʿāt lā yurādu bihā Allāh*): thus the Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Hudhayl [*q.v.*] and certain Ibāḍīs (see Gimaret-Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Paris 1986, 409, 411). Most of the Muʿtazila rejected this thesis (see al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 429, ll. 12 ff.). For his part, al-Baghdādī affirms that, in the eyes of the Sunnīs, there is only one solitary case of unintentional obedience to God, sc. when a man who does not yet have knowledge of God uses reasoning power (*al-naẓar wa 'l-istidlāl*) which leads him to this (*Farḳ*, 126, ll. 1-7; *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 267, ll. 6-10).

According to ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ṭāʿa* can be said of every act willed by God (in the Muʿtazilī sense of the expression), by which he means it to be understood as either an obligatory act (*wādjib*) or a recommended one (*nadb*). It cannot be said of an act simply permitted (*mubāḥ*) (*Mughnī*, vi/a, 39, ll. 12-14). Al-Baghdādī is more explicit, and distinguishes four categories of *ṭāʿa*: (1) the most important is faith, which will vouchsafe to the believer entry to Paradise; (2) the affirmation of faith *bi 'l-lisān*, which will enable him to enjoy all the privileges reserved for Muslims in this present life; (3) involves performing all obligatory acts and eschewing grave faults, which will preserve him from Hell; and (4) the practice of supererogatory acts (*nawāfil*), which will guarantee him an extra reward in Paradise (*Uṣūl al-dīn*, 268, ll. 3-12).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(D. Gimaret)

TAʾABBAṬA SHARRAN, the nickname of the pre-Islamic *ṣuʿlūk* poet Thābit b. Djābir b. Sufyān of the Banū Saʿd b. Fahm (of the group Ḳays ʿAylān, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alḳāb*, 307). The traditions which have attempted to explain this nickname ("he carried an evil under his arm") should not be taken at face value; the evil that was carried round by this very young man possessed a legendary significance, whether it concerned snakes, a sabre or a *ghūl* [*q.v.*]. This name was intended to convey a particular image of a poet dominated by an inborn tendency to cause nuisance as well as to suggest the presence of an unconquerable determinism.

There are details in his biography which could well pass for authentic, but they are mixed with "traditions" (or rather literary episodes) which attempt to illustrate or enhance the essential themes of his poems. These narratives seem to have taken shape from the 2nd/8th century onwards. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/859) speaks about numerous extraordinary stories connected with the raids he made, but he declines to report them (*al-Muḥabbar*, 196); al-Baghdādī (*Khizānat*, i, 138) speaks of numerous stories which remain perplexing because of their fantastical nature. In this list are recorded his encounters and victorious battles with the *ghūl* (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 175, a theme which is found again in ʿUbayd b. Ayyūb al-ʿAnbarī, a *ṣuʿlūk* of the Umayyad period, see Ḥusayn ʿAṭwān, *al-Shuʿarāʾ al-ṣaʿālīk fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*, Beirut 1407/1987, 155-7), his legendary speed, and his effectiveness in handling weapons and in the art of making raids. Similarly, the whole account accompanying the poem by Abū Kabīr al-Hudhalī in al-Tibrīzī (*al-Ḥamāsa*, Bonn 1828, 41-4) aims to illustrate the mutual hatred between Taʾabbaṭa Sharran and the Hudhalīs, who were responsible for the death of the poet (see below).

The more authentic biographical details indicate that the poet possessed a good lineage: his mother was an Arab of the Banū Ḳayn (Fahm); one of his sisters, Umayya, was married to Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (of Ḳuraysh), and she bore him a son ʿAdī b. Nawfal (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1382/1962, 120). It is also known that he married a woman of the Banū Kilāb.

Taʾabbaṭa Sharran was a brigand, but despite his activities, just like ʿUrwa b. al-Ward [*q.v.*], he was one of the very few *ṣaʿālīk al-ʿArab* who managed to remain integrated within his own tribe. Thus he never

suffered the reproaches of khalʿ (repudiation by the tribe) and was never recorded as being called a khalīʿ. His band of men seem also to have belonged to the Fahm: his alleged maternal nephew al-Shanfarā, ʿĀmir b. al-Akhnas, al-Musayyab b. Kilāb, Murra b. Khulayf, Saʿd b. al-Ashras and ʿAmr b. Barrāḳ.

His incursions seem to have been directed in the main against the Badjīla, from whom he helped himself to camels and sheep (*ghanam*), against the Hudhayl and the Azd, as in the episode of an escape helped by honey which he poured on to the slope of a mountain, and down which he was then able to slide to safety, and against the Khathʿam.

Brigands and their booty used to find refuge in the Sarāt mountains, escaping pursuit by the clans they had raided. He met his death pierced in the heart by the arrows of a mere youth (*duwayn al-ḥilm*) of the Banū Hudhayl. His mortal remains were thrown to the bottom of the cave of al-Rakhmān (for the narrative detail see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mughtālīn*, 215). He was mourned by his sister Umayya or Rayṭa and his mother (Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 139).

The latter paints a very engaging portrait in a famous threnody of the perfect Djāhilī hero who was also a careful and perceptive leader of his men. Because of his attentive care, he was eulogised as *umm al-ʿiyāl*, mother of the hearth and home (al-Tibrīzī, 523), and also as *ʿayr al-ʿāna*, the wild ass who has a herd of females (*ibid.*, 526), because of his courage and relentless intransigence.

There were two chains of scholars who specialised in transmitting the poetry of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran: 1. Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 206 AH) > Ibn Ḥabīb > al-Sukkarī; 2. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī > Ibn al-Aʿrābī. A good part of the poet's work is said to have been cited in *al-Durra al-fākhira* (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, iii, 344). This transmission was actually a little later than Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. 180/821-2). It has been suggested that it is legitimate to have a certain distrust towards this poetry (238 verses divided into 32 fragments and pieces), and some caution should be observed concerning Khalaf, one of the grand masters in the art of forgery.

However, this poetry reflects in an exemplary fashion the usual ideas of the life of the *ṣuʿlūk*. The work of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran expresses the fierce claims of the "me", and a no less absolute contesting against collectivity, against the "us". Typical terms used in pre-Islamic poetry such as *ḳawm, ḥayy, ḳabīla, ḳabīl* and the pronouns of the first person plural are totally absent from these texts; more precisely he uses them to describe his enemies and those he attacks and pillages. Nevertheless, these texts fit naturally into the three parameters of all poetry of the *ṣuʿlūk* type [see ṢUʿLŪK]: the apologetic, the lyric and the therapeutic parameters, and can be divided thus:

1. apologetic parameter (Yūsuf Shukrī Farḥāt, *Dīwān Ta'abbaṭa Sharran*, in *Dīwān al-ṣaʿālīk*, Beirut 1413/1992, nos. I, II, VI, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI);

2. lyric parameter: (nos. VII, VIII, XII, XVIII, XIX, XXV);

3. therapeutic parameter: (nos. III, V, XI, XII, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXV, XXIX).

The most beautiful piece is the *ḳāfiyya* (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 1; *Dīwān*, no. XVIII). Gabrieli, however, considers it an accumulation of heterogeneous verses. According to him, it creates the impression of a mosaic of which the pieces have been arbitrarily collected by later rhapsodists (F. Gabrieli, *Ta'abbata Sharran, Shanfarā, Khalaf al-Aḥmar*, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 8th series [1946], i, 49-50).

Goethe translated the *lāmiyya* of the brigand poet into verse in 1819 (*Goethes Werke*, ii, *Gedichte und Epen*, Hamburg 1952, 130-3), using Freytag's Latin translation. After carrying out a study of the structure of the poem, in which he detected a profound order and harmony, the great German artist concluded in his analysis that this bare style reflected the serious element of the work. After a careful reading of the text, he wrote, the event unfolded to the smallest detail before the eyes of our imagination (*ibid.*, 133-4). (Lyall, however, thought that Goethe's interpretations were not always correct.)

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(A. ARAZI)

TAʿADDĪ (A., *maṣdar* of the form V verb), literally "act of going beyond, passing over... to", a term of Arabic grammar denoting transitivity; the related form *taʿdiya* is also found.

The term is understood in terms of the syntactic effect of the transitive verb which goes beyond and passes over the agent to fall on the direct object (Levin, 1979). In that sense, the verb is considered an operator which governs the syntactic inflections of the agent and the direct object. Verbs such as *kāna* ("to be"), *ẓanna* ("to suppose"), which is a verb that introduces what were originally the subject and predicate of a nominal sentence and keeps them in the now verbal proposition as its objects, and *ḍaraba* ("to

hit") which is a transitive real verb—are each called *mutaʿadd*ⁱⁿ by all Arab grammarians. By definition, *mutaʿadd*ⁱⁿ verbs cause the agents to be in the nominative and the verb complements to be in the accusative. The term *mutaʿadd*ⁱⁿ is therefore subsumed under the concept of *ʿamal* or government.

Arab grammarians regarded the morphological patterns of verbs as essential in determining verb transitivity. Therefore, the patterns were always related to the concepts of *taʿaddī*. However, the emphasis on how much the morphology of the verb could be the determining element of its transitivity or intransitivity decreased significantly by the 4th/10th century especially with the writing of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲'s *al-Uṣūl fī 'l-naḥw*. Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ (d. 316/928) gave more emphasis to the meaning denoted by the verb over the meaning denoted by the morphological pattern (Bohas and Guillaume, 1990).

Starting with the work of al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898 [*q.v.*]) and continuing very clearly in the work of Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲, the use of the word *mutaʿadd*ⁱⁿ as a technical, structural term was based on purely syntactic processes. These processes concerned case inflections not only on the verb's agent and direct object, but also on all the other accusative complements used with the verb. In this manner, *taʿaddī* reflected the verb's power to govern the nouns surrounding it.

On the other hand, al-Mubarrad introduced the term *wāṣil* ("reaching") which Ibn al-Sarrād̲j̲ later used consistently to refer to a different level of interaction between the action denoted by the verb, the doer, and the semantic object. This interaction covers the semantic side of verb transitivity which the structural term *taʿaddī* does not (Taha, 1995).

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(Zeinab A. Taha)

TAʿAD̲J̲D̲J̲UB (A.), lit. "amazement", a term of rhetoric. Though sometimes given a separate place in lists of *badīʿ* [*q.v.*], as in Rādūyānī's [*q.v.*] *Tard̲j̲umān al-balāg̲h̲a* or Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's [*q.v.*] *Ḥadāʾik al-siḥr*, it is far more often mentioned, in more general discussions of poetry, as one of the basic effects or aims of the poetic process, especially of imagery. It is found, together with its active counterpart *taʿd̲j̲īb* ("causing amazement") in the Aristotelian tradition (Ibn Sīnā, Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭād̲j̲annī [*q.vv.*]) and, in a somewhat different sense, in the poetics of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*]. This "amazement", which is in fact usually "feigned amazement", is related to concepts such as *ig̲h̲rāb* or *istig̲h̲rāb* "[evoking] wonder", found in works of poetics since Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar [*q.v.*], and lies at the basis of the common figure of *badīʿ* called *tad̲j̲āhul al-ʿārif*, "feigned ignorance".

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(G.J.H. van Gelder)

TAʿĀʾIS̲H̲A, one of a series of Arabic-speaking ethnic groups collectively called Baḳḳāra [*q.v.*] "cattle people", who live in the Sudan Republic across the southern Gezira, Kordofan [*q.v.*], Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] and eastern Chad. The Taʿāʾis̲h̲a tribal home is in the far southwest of Dār Fūr, neighbouring on the east the Habbāniyya, with whom they are closely linked. Little is known of the history of the Baḳḳāra; nor can much be said about how and when the present groupings emerged, although in Dār Fūr they were already in conflict with the sultanate to the north by the late 18th century.

The Taʿāʾis̲h̲a rose to power when one of their number, ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad Karrār [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. MUḤAMMAD AL-TAʿĀʾIS̲H̲Ī], a member of a holy family affiliated to the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, became a follower of the Sudanese Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad [see AL-MAHDIYYA] before his public manifestation in 1882. During the revolution, ʿAbdullāhi became the strongman of the movement and was designated as senior *k̲h̲alīfa* by the Mahdī. Following the Mahdī's death in June 1885, the K̲h̲alīfa ʿAbdullāhi ruled the Mahdist state until its destruction by an Anglo-Egyptian army. He himself was hunted down and killed at Umm Diwaykarāt on 24 November 1899.

During the K̲h̲alīfa's rule, he made extensive use of his relatives and other fellow-Taʿāʾis̲h̲a as soldiers and administrators, leading to what P.M. Holt has called "The Taʿāʾis̲h̲a autocracy" (*The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*, ²Oxford 1970, 204-22). Throughout the Mahdist period there was constant tension between the Taʿāʾis̲h̲a leaders and the riverain Sudanese.

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(R.S. O'Fahey)

ṬAʿĀM (A.), food, nourishment. For foods and food habits, see G̲H̲IḎĀʾ; for cookery and the culinary art, see ṬABK̲H̲. The present article deals with the restricted topic of food etiquette.

Since pre-Islamic times, the rules of food etiquette were divided between host and guests, the prime rules being that the former should be as generous as possible and the latter should not appear too greedy. Much may be learned from the numerous anecdotes on those who sinned against these rules: see the monographs and chapters in *adab* anthologies on misers (*buk̲h̲alāʾ*), especially the book by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ [*q.v.*], and parasites and cadgers (*ṭufayliyyūn*), e.g. the *K. al-Taṭfīl* by al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī [*q.v.*], D̲j̲udda 1986. Explicit prescriptions, all but absent from the Ḳurʾān (cf. XXIV, 61), are found in *Ḥadīt̲h̲* literature, e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, Aṭʿima*, or Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ, As̲h̲riba* (*bāb ādāb al-ṭaʿām*), where one is enjoined to begin with pronouncing the *basmala*, to eat with the right hand, not to condemn any food but merely to leave it if one dislikes it, to praise God after a meal, etc. More detailed and comprehensive treatment of "table manners"—although instead of a table (*k̲h̲iwān*), a mat (*sufra* or *simāṭ*) is often preferred—is found primarily in religious works as well as secular texts. To the former category belongs the *Kitāb Ādāb al-akl*, which opens the second "quarter" of al-G̲h̲azālī's [*q.v.*] *Iḥyāʾ* (cf. the section on the Prophet's eating behaviour, *ādābuhu fī 'l-ṭaʿām*, in *K. Ādāb al-maʿīs̲h̲a wa-ak̲h̲lāḳ al-nubuwwa*, which closes the same "quarter"). Aimed particularly at Ṣūfīs are the similar but shorter chapter

on *ādāb al-akl* in ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* and the lengthy chapters (39-40) in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, tr. R. Gramlich, *Die Nährung des Herzen*, iii, Stuttgart 1995, 266-390. The secular category, never devoid of religious elements, includes sections in all of the large *adab* anthologies that have chapters on eating and food. A *K. Adab al-mawāʾid* by al-Rāmhurmuzī (d. *ca.* 370/971) is mentioned in the *Fihrist* but is now lost. His contemporary Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ concluded his cookery manual *K. al-Ṭabīkh* (ed. Helsinki, 1987) with chapters on table manners. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Djazzār (d. 669/1270 or 679/1281), butcher and poet, wrote *Fawāʾid al-mawāʾid*, still unpublished but discussed by Traini (see *Bibl.*). ʿAbd al Raʾūf al-Munāwī [*q.v.*] was the author of the unpublished *K. Ādāb al-akl wa ʾl-shurb wa-ʾl-malbas...*. In the entertaining *R. Ādāb al-muʾākala* by Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 984/1577), ed. in *RAAD*, xlii (1967), 503-23, 732-57, many forms of bad eating behaviour are exposed in a fashion already found in al-Djāḥiẓ's *Bukhalāʾ*. On eating with kings, see Pseudo-Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj* (Cairo 1914: *bāb fī muṭāʿamat al-mulūk*).

In general, eating etiquette seems to have been similar in many ways to what is expected of polite society in the West, stressing an aversion from unsavoury noises and messy or greedy behaviour. During communal meals, always preferred to solitary eating, particular care is to be taken to avoid contact with one another's saliva. Conversation during meals is generally encouraged, in spite of what seems a widespread practice in modern Arab countries, where food is consumed quickly and silently.

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(G.J.H. van Gelder)

TAʿARRUB (a.), the verbal noun of a denominative verb formed from *ʿArab*, pl. *Aʿrāb*, in the sense of "nomads, Bedouins" (the Ḳurʾānic sense of this latter term, cf. e.g. IX, 98/97, XLIX, 14; *taʿarrub* itself does not occur in the Ḳurʾān). In earliest Islam, *taʿarraba* and its synonym *tabaddā* denote the return to the Arabian desert after *hidjra* [*q.v.*] to the garrison towns (*amṣār* [see miṣr. B]) and participation in the warfare to expand the Arab empire and the Abode of Islam. Some of this movement back to the desert was doubtless legitimate, but on occasion it was denounced by circles of pietistic town dwellers as a kind of apostasy, the reversion to a life where the full, town-oriented Islamic cult could not be practised and its obligations fulfilled. See the full discussion in C.E. Bosworth, *A note on taʿarrub in early Islam*, in *JSS*, xxxiv (1989), 355-61.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TAʿAṢṢUB [see ʿaṣabiyya].

TAʿĀWĪDHĪ [see ibn al-taʿāwīdhī].

TAʿĀWUN (a.), co-operation in all modern senses of the term; a noun of activity and sometimes an abstract noun, parallelled, in the latter case, by *taʿāwuniyya* (co-operativism). It was established in the early years of the 20th century as the term designating this field of meaning, by transference from the sense of mutual aid (still valid), with the adjective *taʿāwunī* (co-operative), the active participle *mutaʿāwin* (co-operator), then, later, the substantive *taʿāwuniyya* (co-operative, principally agricultural, but also organised on the basis of supply of goods, housing, credit, crafts and manufacture). Since the middle of the 20th century it has been applied to the activities and institutions of international co-operation. It is attested in Persian (*taʿāvon*), although contemporary Turkish translates co-operative by *kooperatif*, retaining *teʿāwün* (currently *teavün*) in the sense that it possessed at the turn of the century (of mutual aid, solidarity), a sense for which Arabic prefers *taʿāḍud*.

The co-operative movement was inaugurated in Egypt by the Waṭanī Party. Confronted by the financial crisis of 1907 which devastated the countryside, ʿUmar Luṭfī made inquiries in Italy regarding that country's experience of the agrarian co-operative movement and the judicial aspects of co-operative credit. It was above all a case of protecting medium and well-to-do landowners from usurers and of major landowners protecting themselves against state fiscal policies. In 1912, a *Niḳāba ʿāmma li ʾl-taʿāwun* united the score of co-operatives instituted since December 1909, agrarian ones (*Niḳābāt zirāʿiyya* [see niḳāba]), credit and services into a *sharikat* (*Sharikat al-taʿāwun*).

It was only during the 1920s that legislation concerning associations of this type was passed, and then to little effect. The same applied elsewhere, the Maghrib under French domination representing an exceptional case (reference to co-operativism by European labour organisations from the turn of the century, a number of successful foundations, outside this affiliation, primarily agricultural and restricted to the European sector).

The concept was re-launched during the 1940s, in association with the movement of decolonisation. It was the peasants—to whom the present survey is limited—who were principally concerned, the United Nations (and the United States) insisting on the necessity of agrarian reforms and the formation of co-operatives for a dual purpose, preventive and developmental. However, the movement proved genuinely successful only in tandem with policies of economic and social planning, whether these had the object of guaranteeing independent and autonomous development or of promoting liberally-oriented growth. From the associative form, the co-operative sector has thus, in most cases, advanced to the status of a category of ownership (alongside public, private, and sometimes mixed ownership).

The first experiments were made in Nasserite Egypt. The law of agrarian reform of September 1952 (revised in 1961 and 1969) obliged landowners and smallholders to belong to *djamʿiyyāt taʿāwuniyya*. When the process was completed, this consisted of pyramidal groupings, with examples at local, cantonal and provincial levels and a governing council. In the 1960s, the system was extended to include sectors of land unaffected by the reform (village co-operatives) or upgraded in parallel with the progress of construction of the Aswān Dam, these sectors, open to landless peasants, remaining, however, included within state farms. Specialised co-operatives also appeared. The liberalisation (*infitāḥ*) introduced by President Anwar al-Sādāt had

the effect of limiting the role of co-operatives (credit, logistics and commerce), as well as the representation of small landowners (previously 80%) in the administrative councils in order to stimulate the profitability of land and to permit foreign involvement. A new law regulating co-operativism (since revised) was passed in 1980. The number of local co-operatives, formally subject to centrally-imposed regulation of production and prices, is in decline, whilst that of the specialised co-operatives is steadily growing.

Other countries are related to this "model" (with its genuine, but relative social effects), conceiving this sector as a method of organising the agrarian branch of the public sector, depending on state planning (with its relative or negative effects).

In Syria, the agrarian reform of September 1958, suspended after the breaking of the union with Egypt (February 1958—October 1961), was the object of a new law in June 1963, since amended. The obligation to form co-operatives was maintained, but redistribution was sporadic, even with the addition of the upgraded land. In April 1974, agricultural co-operatives were combined with peasant associations (small landowners, farmers and labourers) in a National Union, a consultative body, but also the agrarian wing of central planning.

In ʿIrāḳ, the law of agrarian reform (August 1958), which followed the revolution of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*], was applied only to a limited extent until the Baʿthists returned to power (July 1968). A new law (May 1970) made "collective" exploitation (state, collective, co-operative farms) the framework of a "total agrarian revolution". If resistance in Kurdistān is discounted, the co-operative sector has been effective. In 1977, peasant and co-operative associations were combined in one organisation. Here too, and to an even greater extent since the fragmentation of the Front in 1979, it is the Baʿthist structure which is dominant in serving the objectives of central planning.

Algeria was slow to introduce such measures. From 1962 to 1970, the formula of self-management, exercised over vacant land and nationalised colonial territories, developed into nothing more than the agrarian branch of the state's public sector. Preceded by partial texts, the Charter of Agrarian Revolution (1972) opted for global and progressive agrarian reform and for the creation of co-operatives of various kinds, and later of Agrarian Revolution villages, in liaison with the Combined Agricultural Co-operatives with which self-managed holdings and the private sector were to be associated. But this experiment did not achieve the hoped-for results, and during the 1980s a return to privatisation has been observed.

In Tunisia, the recovery of colonial territory and agrarian reforms coincided with the choice of a state-run and centralised planned development (1961-9). The agrarian programme was structured on "co-operative units" (all forms of production, development and services). The decision to extend this co-operative system to the entirety of agricultural enterprise (January 1969), provoked a crisis. The return to liberalism has led, in this case, to the dissolution of the co-operatives.

In Morocco, the recovery of colonial territory proceeded in stages (1963, 1973). As envisaged by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] as early as 1952, a law of agrarian reform was passed in 1966, but it was the Code of Agricultural Investment (1969) which, by the encouragement of more favourable credit arrangements, boosted the formation of co-operatives (of utilisation of materials and of market-gardening). But this tended to favour major and medium-sized landowners, or at least, family groupings. Once subsidies were received, a number of them disintegrated.

The choice made by Iran, at the beginning of the 1960s, for a policy of planned growth, was accompanied by agrarian reform (1962). A central organisation of rural co-operatives was created in 1963 in order to serve the interests of the latter. Conditions of repurchase or leases tended, however, to favour farmers backed by capital. The same has been the case in Turkey, where until 1960 laws of reform were sporadic or unimplemented; the agrarian co-operative structure is poorly developed there. In Sukarno's Indonesia, under the agrarian law of 1960, the use of co-operatives was no longer obligatory, but it was among the demands of the rural movements during the unrest preceding the *coup* of 1965.

The experience of the two Yemens before their unification (1990) deserves mention. In the North, the co-operative movement was the result of popular initiatives at the time of the civil war (1962-70) and had the object of filling the gaps in matters of infrastructure and local services. In 1963 and 1969, laws were passed with the object of harmonising the regulations, and in March 1973 the *Hayʾāt al-Taʿāwun al-Ahlī* were combined in a Federation. Incorporated into the single party (People's General Congress, 1982-), it supplied a basic framework of organisation. It was through the expedient of elections of local councils of co-operative development (*taṭwīr*) (1985) that the country was endowed with municipal and communal councils. In South Yemen, as agreed in principle in the months which followed independence (1967), agrarian reform and the constitution of a co-operative sector were the object, from October 1970 onwards, of peasant *intifāḍāt* which took possession of land and extended the co-operative sector, to include fishing and some sections of industry. The radical Arab nationalists in power (1969-) supported a new law, passed in November 1970, which encouraged this movement. The merging of the radical Left into the Marxist Socialist Party (1978), confirmed the interest taken in this sector. In 1988, there were the beginnings of public consultation on the issue of ownership in the countryside, but it was after the unification of the two Yemens that moves were made in the direction of privatisation. The defeat of the Yemenite Left in the civil war of 1994 led to the overall collapse of the co-operative movement, often to the benefit of the former landowners.

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Méditerranée orientale, Paris 1994; D. Warriner, *Land reform in principle and practice*, Oxford 1969; Publications and documents of the relevant states and organisations, as well as those of international and regional institutions, in particular: International Co-operative Alliance (1895-), Geneva; Organisation Arabe pour le Développement Agricole (League of Arab States, 1970-), K͟harṭūm. (J. Couland)

TAʿAWWUD͟H (a.) means the use of the phrase *aʿūd͟hu bi ʾllāhi min* ... "I take refuge with God against...", followed by the mention of the thing that the utterer of the phrase fears or abhors. The term *istiʿād͟ha* "seeking refuge", is often used as a synonym. The phrase, with variants, is well attested in the Ḳurʾān, in particular in the last two sūras which each consist of one extended *taʿawwud͟h* [see al-muʿawwid͟hatān]. The litany-like enumeration of evil things in the first of the two foreshadows similar strains in a number of Prophetic invocations recorded in the *Ḥadīth* collections (see e.g., several *abwāb* in the *kitāb al-daʿawāt* of al-Buk͟hārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which actually have the terms *taʿawwud͟h* or, less frequently, *istiʿād͟ha* in their titles). With such precedent it is not surprising that *taʿawwud͟h* becomes a clearly recognisable subgenre of *duʿāʾ* "invocation", in the devotional literature (see C.E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, London 1961, 83-93). Remarkably, *taʿawwud͟h* here often forms part of a two-pronged prayer in which the praying person asks for the good in the thing that is the object of the prayer and takes refuge against the evil in that very same thing (*ibid.*, 89). If it is God's wrath (*g͟haḍab*) that the praying person wants to guard against, refuge can only be taken with God's good pleasure (*riḍā*), which leads to the mysterious formula "I seek refuge from Thee with Thyself" (*ibid.*, 90-2).

More specifically, *taʿawwud͟h* is also used to denote the formula *aʿūd͟hu bi ʾllāhi mina ʾl-s͟hayṭāni ʾl-rad͟jīm* which usually precedes any Ḳurʾānic recitation (and thus also the *ṣalāt*) as a safeguard against misspeaking, omission of words, and other such mistakes. It is the counterpart of the formula *ṣadaḳa ʾllāhu ʾl-ʿaẓīm* which follows any formal recitation. The works on Ḳurʾānic readings [see ḳirāʾāt] have extended chapters on the *taʿawwud͟h*, dealing with its exact wording, its correct delivery, and its legal status (see e.g. Ibn al-D͟jazarī, *al-Nas͟hr fi ʾl-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿas͟hr*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḍabbāʿ, 2 vols., Cairo n.d., i, 243-59).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (W.P. Heinrichs)

ṬABAḲA (a., pls. *ṭibāḳ* or *aṭbāḳ*), a term of Mamlūk military organisation. The *ṭibāḳ* were the barracks in the Cairo Citadel, *Ḳalʿat al-D͟jabal*, where the Mamlūk sultans (648-922/1250-1517) had their Royal Mamlūks quartered and which also housed the military academies where newly-bought *mamlūks* received their training. We first learn of the *ṭibāḳ* during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars who "established... barracks for the *mamlūks* which overlooked the great al-Dirka gate, and inside the al-Ḳarāfa gate he put up... a large building with small halls for the *mamlūks*' quarters, and above them barracks for those who were married" (Ibn S͟haddād, 341, 343). According to the sources, there were seventeen *ṭibāḳ* during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41 [*q.v.*]), but their number may have varied, as old ones were habitually demolished to make room for new ones and barracks could bear more than one name. The historian al-Ẓāhirī speaks of twelve barracks in the next century, each of which could house 1,000 *mamlūks*. Some of the better-known *ṭibāḳ* were Ṭabaḳat al-Rafraf, Ṭabaḳat al-Zimām or al-Zimāmiyya, Ṭabaḳat al-Ḥaws͟h, Ṭabaḳat al-Ṭāziyya, Ṭabaḳat al-Muḳaddam, Ṭabaḳat al-Ṣandaliyya and Ṭabaḳat al-As͟hrafiyya.

As their appellation indicates, many of the *ṭibāḳ* were named after the eunuchs who had the overall responsibility for their administration. The *ṭibāḳ*'s staff of teachers and instructors, too, was mainly composed of eunuchs, according to a strict hierarchy: at the bottom were the *ṭawās͟hiyya*, or *k͟huddām al-ṭibāḳ*, responsible for training small groups of *mamlūks* only; placed above them were the *muḳaddamū ʾl-ṭibāḳ*, each of which stood at the head of a *ṭabaḳa*, and at the apex stood the *muḳaddam al-mamālīk al-sulṭāniyya*, who carried the responsibility for all Royal Mamlūks. Then there were religious scholars (*faḳīh*, pl. *fuḳahāʾ*) who were charged with the religious education of the *mamlūk* trainees. One of the adult *mamlūks* of each *ṭabaḳa* was appointed as leader (*ag͟hā*, pl. *ag͟hāwāt*, lit. "elder brother") of the younger *mamlūks* (*inī*, pl. *iniyyāt*, lit. "younger brother") whose task it was mainly to help them acclimatise to the life and discipline of the *ṭabaḳa*. Ties between guardian and trainee were often kept up long after the period of training at the *ṭibāḳ* had come to an end. Upon entering the military academies, *mamlūks* were divided into peer groups, according to age and ethnic origin, and further split up into smaller groups so as to make their instruction as efficient as possible. Two principal stages characterised a *mamlūk*'s education: the first lasted into adolescence and concentrated on religious studies, e.g., reading the Ḳurʾān, the Islamic prescriptions and the *s͟harīʿa*, so as to make him a Muslim, while the second began at adolescence and was only concluded when the young *mamlūk*'s professional skill in the arts of war was deemed to have reached the highest level of accomplishment. The period of training at the *ṭibāḳ* culminated in a special ceremony (*ʿitḳ*) during which *mamlūks* of one and the same age group (*k͟hard͟j*) were released from servitude and became members of the Mamlūk household of the Sultan at the Citadel.

Bibliography: Ibn S͟haddād, *Taʾrīk͟h al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ, Wiesbaden 1983, 341, 343; Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1987, ii, 213-14; K͟halīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubda*, Paris 1894, 27; D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, in *Oriental Notes and Studies*, i, Jerusalem 1951, 9-22, repr. in *The Mamlūk military society*, Variorum, London 1979, no. I; A. Levanoni, *A turning point in Mamlūk history*, Leiden 1995, 14-19. (Amalia Levanoni)

ṬABAḲĀT (a.), pl. of *ṭabaḳa*, "everything which is related to another and which is similar or analagous to it, which comes to mean a layer of things of the same sort (Flügel, *Classen*, 269, n. 1). From this a transition can be made to the idea of a "rank, attributed to a group of characters who have played a role in history in one capacity or another, classed according to criteria determined by the religious, cultural, scientific or artistic order etc." (Hafsi, i. 229; cf. al-Tahānawī, *Kas͟hs͟hāf*, 917). In biographical literature it is the "book of classes" of characters arranged by "categories" and organised into "generations".

A. Lexicography and literature.

1. This term does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, but two other expressions approaching it do: *ṭabaḳ* and *ṭibāḳ* "analagous things which follow each other" (in a temporal or qualitative sense) or "placed on top of each other" (in a spatial sense); "You shall surely ride stage after stage" (LXXXIV, 19, tr. Arberry: *ṭabaḳ^an ʿan ṭabaḳ^in* from one state to another, or from one calamity to another; see al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*); "[God] who created seven *ṭibāḳ^an*" (the ranks or stages of the heavens, LXVII, 3; LXXI, 15). The common point

of reference is the idea of covering everything by something equivalent, of applying oneself to it (*Ḳāmūs*, s.v.). The idea of equivalence is again found in *ṭabaḳa* "a similar epoch" (*al-ḳarn min al-zamān*). According to al-Aṣmaʿī, *ṭibḳ* designates a "group of people"; for Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 231/846) *ṭabaḳ* reflects "a given state [or category] whatever its sort" (*al-ḥāl ʿalā 'khtilāfihā*). So does *ṭabaḳa*, according to al-Layth: *kāna fulānun ʿalā ṭabaḳātin shattā min al-dunyā: ay ḥālāt; K. al-ʿAyn*; M.-N. Khan, *Die exegetischen Teile des Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, Berlin 1994, 220, or again *al-umma baʿd al-umma* "one community succeeding another". For Ibn Sīduh, *ṭabaḳ* is "a group of people who correspond to an analogous group". The variant *ṭibḳ* designates a vast number of people, grasshoppers, camels, etc. (*LA* and al-Ṣaghānī, *Takmila*..., ed. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥidjāzī, Cairo 1988, s.v.; Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, ix, 118). According to al-Layth, *ṭabaḳa*, which may be *ṭabaḳ* in the masculine, is used as a unitary form of the noun of action *ṭibāḳ*. Numerous other meanings are to be found in Lane, s.v.

2. In *adab* and historiography, *ṭabaḳa* is in common use in the sense of category or class, in particular of society: Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Risāla fi 'l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1976, §31; Ibrāhīm b. M. al-Shaybānī (d. 298/911) according to *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Tarḥīnī, iv, 262-3; G. Makdisi, *The rise of humanism*, Edinburgh 1990, 233-4. As for al-Djāḥiẓ, he uses it in the sense of degree, as in *al-shakk fī ṭabaḳātin* "doubt is made up of degrees" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 35, 37, Jâhiz, *Le cadi et la mouche*, tr. L. Souami, Paris 1988, 74, 75); *ṭabaḳat maʿānīhā* "degree or level (of meaning)" (*op. cit.*, i, 10, Jâhiz, 231; cf. i, 98). (Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, 1073, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 344: *ṭabaḳāt al-kalām*.) What is more, in his work the meaning of "social categories/classes" is often associated with types of character: misers, singers, singing slave girls, traders, secretaries, Turks, etc. (Ch. Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, Zürich 1967, 48-9, 436 ff.; S. Enderwitz, *Gesellschaftlicher Rang und ethnische Legitimation*, Berlin 1979, 72-3, *passim*: al-Djāḥiẓ on the Africans, the Persians and the Arabs). Finally, the notion of *ṭabaḳa* applied to poets has been attested at least since the second half of the 2nd/8th century; see al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), *K. Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Torrey, in *ZDMG*, lxv (1911), 495, 499.

As to the following Prophetic tradition reported by Anas, it is very obviously spurious: "My community will be made up of five classes: firstly forty years with charitable and pious people; they will be followed for the next 150 years by people who will live in compassion and mutual harmony; then for 160 years more there will come people who will turn their backs on each other and will separate themselves; then will come a period of scattering (*hardj*) [and of war or of flight] and every-man-for-himself (*nadjā*)". In another version it is said that each class would last for forty years and that another class would be added between year 40 and year 80 to arrive at the number of five (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, 36, *Fitan*, no. 4058; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, iii, 196; idem, *Talḳīḥ*, 714, several versions). It is possible that it may have been modelled on the following tradition: "The best of men are those of my century (*ḳarnī*), and below them are those of the next century" (al-Bukhārī, 62, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, i, tr. Houdas, ii, 583).

In modern texts, the term is accepted most clearly to designate a "social class", as in *ṣirāʿ al-ḳabaḳāt* "the class struggle".

B. The division into "classes".

1. Origin and meaning.

For several scholars, the origin of this division in Arab biographical literature is found in the criticism of tradition (Loth, 594 ff.). It has even been written that the genre of the *ṭabaḳāt* "was born within the framework of the *ḥadīth* and is inseparable from it" (Hafsi, i, 227). What supports the thesis of Hafsi is that the first book of classes was perhaps the *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-muḥaddithīn* of al-Muʿāfā b. ʿImrān al-Mawṣilī (d. 184/800; Sezgin, i, 348; Hafsi, i, 241). One argument against his position would be the *K. Ṭabaḳāt ahl al-ʿilm wa 'l-djahl* of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ (d. 131/748), but the subject matter is not known: was it the "orthodox" believers, i.e. the Ḳadarīs and the "ignorant", i.e. the predestinationists (Van Ess, *TG*, v, Berlin 1993, 137-8)?

For Heffening, on the other hand, this grouping "much rather owes its origin to the interest of the Arabs in genealogy and biography". Rosenthal, 93-5, for his part, considers that the division is genuinely Islamic and that it would seem to be the oldest chronological division which presented itself to Muslim historical thinking. It was the natural consequence of the concept of the Companions of Muḥammad, the "Followers", etc., which in conjunction with the *isnād* criticism of traditions developed in the early second century of the *hidjra*.

Without denying the fundamental role which it played in the birth and development of the genre, it does not seem that it originated from the genre, as the semantic survey above (cf. Heffening) would suggest. The ideas of covering, of egality, of analogy (cf. also *ḳarn*, which perhaps preceded *ṭabaḳa* in the sense of "generation", Rosenthal, 93, and which also has the connotation of analogy) and of succession which this term conveys, correspond well to the Muslim concept of "the history of salvation", with the succession of pious men, beginning with the "prophets", whose characters were so many models to be imitated. Even if tribal genealogy continued to exist, it gave way more and more to a particular form of spiritual or intellectual genealogy which also appeared, of course, in the *ḥadīth*, "the transmission of knowledge", but also in other disciplines. In addition, by the use of certain types of *ṭabaḳāt* every effort was made to maintain the link with the primitive community which was widely mythologised. Finally, the fact that al-Aṣmaʿī (see above) had already used the term *ṭabaḳa*, however loosely, to compare two poets, and that al-Djumaḥī (d. 232/846) organised his *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (see Kilpatrick) according to an order which has nothing to do with religious merit, about the same epoch as Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) composed his own work, suggests that the genre in its origins was part of a global preoccupation of all scholars in different fields: to give to society the canons for transmitting knowledge, whether sacred or secular, and in particular by means of a biographical tool. This concern for continuity (Khalidi, 46-8, 205 and n. 50) insists at one and the same time on "sacred history continued" and on the equally secular aspects of the genre deeply rooted in its origins, also apparent in the genre of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], which was attested at least since the time of Ibn Shayba (d. 235/849; see book 34 of his *Muṣannaf*, Beirut 1995, vii, 247-76). It is not fortuitous if in *Talḳīḥ*, 461-8, the section concerning them follows that on the *ṭabaḳāt*.

The interest in "genealogy" understood in that way was specified above, and can also be observed in the role which local stories play in the evolution of the genre, with certainly a touch of regional pride, but especially in order to justify the juridical practices in use in one place or another (Rosenthal, 94). Already

by this time, Ibn Saʿd had given a special place to the grouping according to the capital cities and towns (Mecca, Medina, Baṣra, Kūfa), or even events (Badr) but the *History of Wāsiṭ* of Baḥshal (d. 292/905 [*q.v.*]; ed. K. ʿAwwād, Baghdād 1967; Rosenthal, 166-7) is essentially a work about the classes of traditionalists in this town. Later this division was extended to all sorts of persons, but generally scholars.

2. Criteria of classification.

For the classification of the Companions, especially in the work of Ibn Saʿd, see ṢAḤĀBA. For the Successors, see TĀBIʿ. For both, see al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, chs. 7, 14 (twelve classes of Companions, fourteen classes of Successors); al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, 221-2, 234 ff., ch. 39-40, according to precedent; Marçais, 222-4; Hafsi, i, 242-4, 236-8.

It is difficult to give general criteria for classification for all the *ṭabaḳāt*; four can be distinguished: moral and chronological, relationship with the Prophet for the first generations, chronological, and finally a late classification where alphabetical order is used (Hafsi, i, 234-6).

For the classes of traditionalists, the "encounter" (*luḳyā*) between master and disciple is a fundamental criterion for distinguishing between the two classes (ʿUmarī, 51). The principles of hierarchisation and also of illustration of the forged *ḥadīth* cited above, are seen in the original grouping which goes back to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996). He distinguished five classes of forty years up to his era, citing five names for each one: caliph, jurist, traditionist, reader and ascetic (*Talḳīḥ*, 714-17, takes up this classification which was continued by others until 560 A.H., perhaps some 40 classes).

The organisation of works into classes did not seem very practical, as would appear in the work of al-Dhahabī: *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* comprised twenty-one (80 years); *Maʿrifat al-ḳurrāʾ*, seventeen; *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, about forty (from seven to thirty years); *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* [i-xxvii (up to 400 A.H.). ed. ʿU.ʿA. Tadmurī, Beirut 1987-92; i-iv (611-40 A.H.), ed. B.ʿA. Maʿrūf *et alii*, Beirut 1988]; seventy (in general ten years). In this work he associates chronological organisation with organisation into classes, but in that way the traditional principle of the "encounter" is abandoned. Furthermore, in two of his works he designates each class by one of its illustrious representatives, cf. "the class of al-Zuhrī". Thus he continues in *al-Mudjarrad fī asmāʾ ridjāl K. Ibn Mādja* (eight classes, Maʿrūf, 103; ʿUmarī 49-50; Sezgin, i, 148; ed. Fayṣal al-Djawābira, Riyāḍ 1988) and in *al-Muʿīn fī ṭabaḳāt al-muḥaddithīn* [Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 105, mistaken by Hafsi, 31, for *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*], where the first classes have names, e.g. "the class of al-Aʿmash and of Abū Ḥanīfa", then from the 3rd/9th centuries onwards he has recourse to the classes of twenty to thirty years.

C. Works in the genre.

See Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, nos. 7879-7932. The lines which follow are the addenda (sometimes the corrigenda) to Hafsi, in particular the editions of texts which have appeared since.

Philologists (Hafsi, ii, 155-61) and poets (iii, 50-61): Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-udabāʾ*, ed. I. al-Sāmarrāʾī (Baghdād 1970[2]); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448 [*q.v.*]), *Ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt wa ʾl-lughawiyyīn*, ed. M. Ghayyāḍ, Nadjaf 1974.

Readers and exegetes (Hafsi, ii, 2-7): Ibn al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], *K. Maʿrifat al-ḳurrāʾ al-kibār ʿalā ʾl-ṭabaḳāt wa ʾl-aʿṣār*, i-ii, ed. M.S. Djād al-Ḥaḳḳ, Cairo 1969; Dāwūdī (M. b. ʿA., d. 945/1538), *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Cairo 1972, Beirut 1983.

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Shāfiʿīs (Hafsi, ii, 17-24; introduction to al-ʿAbbādī by G. Vitestam, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyya*, Leiden 1964, 3-5; introduction of Khān, see below under Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba): Muṭawwiʿī (ʿU. b. ʿA., d. *ca.* 440/1048); Abu ʾl-Ṭayyib Sahl al-Ṣuʿlūkī (d. 404/1013-14); Khān, 10, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, no. 7900; al-Subkī (Tādj al-Dīn, *q.v.*): *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, i-x, ed. al-Ṭannāḥī and al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1964-76; al-Asnawī (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥasan, d. 772/1370), *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i-ii, ed. ʿAl. al-Djubūrī, Baghdād 1970-1 (Riyāḍ 1981); Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, i-iv, Ḥaydarābād 1978-80, i-iv in 2 vols., ed. Ḥ.ʿA. Khān, Beirut 1987; Ibn Kathīr (ʿImād al-Dīn, d. 774/1373), *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, with the *Dhayl* of al-Maṭarī al-ʿUbādī (d. 765/1363), i-iii, ed. M.Z.M. ʿAzab, Cairo 1993 (Gilliot, in *MIDEO*, xxii, no. 192, and *corr.* in *MIDEO*, xxiii, *add.* Hafsi, ii, 21: Ibn Mulaḳḳin (A. Ḥafṣ ʿU. b. ʿA., d. 804), *al-ʿIḳd al-mudhahhab fī ḥamalat [corr.* Hafsi: *djumlat] al-madhhab*, ms. DK 579 *taʾrīkh*).

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Muʿtazilīs (Hafsi, iii, 175-6, Madelung, 330): M. b. Yazdādh al-Iṣfahānī (last wrote 3rd/9th century; Madelung), *K. al-Maṣābīḥ*; Abu ʾl-Ḥ. b. Farzawayh, a disciple of Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī, *K. al-Mashāyikh*; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila* (ten classes), with the addition of two supplementary classes by al-Ḥākim al-Djishumī, in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis 1974; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-muʿtazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961. Overall, see Gilliot in *MIDEO*, xix, no. 56.

Ashʿarīs: Ibn Fūrak, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mutakallimīn*, prob-

ably the oldest (Hafsi, iii, 180; Madelung 334), and Kamāl al-Dīn b. Imām al-Kamāliyya (d. 864/1460; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, ix, no. 259), *Ṭabaḳāt al-ashā'ira* are not preserved (Hafsi, ii, 26; Madelung, *ibid.*); Ibn 'Asākir [*q.v.*], *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, divides them into five classes.

Ibāḍīs (Hafsi, iii, 176): al-Dardjīnī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]), *K. al-Mashāyikh fi 'l-Maghrib* (*Ṭabaḳāt mashāyikh al-ibāḍiyya*), i-ii, Beirut 1974.

Shī'īs and Zaydīs (Hafsi, iii, 171-5): al-Barḳī (Abū Dja'far, d. 280/893), *K. al-Ridjāl*, ed. Dj. Muḥaddith Urmawī, Tehran 1964; al-Kashshī [*q.v.*], *K. al-Ridjāl*, ed. S.A. al-Ḥusaynī, Karbalā *ca.* 1960/*Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-ridjāl* (summary by al-Ṭūsī), ed. Ḥ. Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1970.

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(CL. GILLIOT)

TABĀLA, a town and wadi just within the northern boundaries of the 'Asīr emirate of present-day Saudi Arabia, situated about 200 km/125 miles as the crow flies from the Red Sea coast line and less than 100 km/62 miles due west of Bīsha (Zaki M.A. Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, map 34, G5).

The town is an ancient one, and is mentioned in the literature on the Prophet. Al-Wāḳidī (ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966, ii, 853-4 and iii, 981) twice mentions his raids against Khath'am in Tabāla in 8/629 and 9/630. It is stated in more than one source that the town is on the Yemeni pilgrim route, with al-Ḥarbī (*K. al-Manāsik wa-amākin ṭuruḳ al-ḥadjdj wa-ma'ālim al-Djazīra*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1969, 644) expressly placing the town between Bīsha and Adjrab. The mediaeval geographers describe the town as large, with springs and wells which water date-palm groves and agricultural lands. Al-Hamdānī (127, 258) adds that it was the centre of the pre-Islamic idol Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa and that most of its inhabitants were from Ḳuraysh. The story is also told that, when he was sent as governor by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] thought it too insignificant a place since it was hidden from his route by a hill. Consequently, he turned back and never entered the town.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see Ibn Khurradādhbih, 134, 188; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*..., ed. E. Cerulli *et alii*, facs. 2, Leiden 1970-84, 146, 151; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut 1979, ii, 9.

(G.R. SMITH)

AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM SULAYMĀN b. Ayyūb b. Muṭayyir al-Lakhmī, one of the most important traditionists of his age (260-360/873-971).

He is said to have begun his studies in *ḥadīth* at the age of 13, with his education spanning his native Syria, 'Irāḳ, the Ḥidjāz, Yemen and Egypt, and he is said to have frequented several thousand masters in the course of a *riḥla fī ṭalab al-'ilm* which lasted for 33 years. Amongst these were Abū Zur'a al-Dimashḳī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Nasā'ī [*q.v.*]. He died at Iṣfahān, where he had lived for sixty years under the aegis of the governor Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rustum, even though at the end of his life he left it because of havinq held suspect views on Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Amongst his numerous disciples were Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Manda.

He is known above all for three works on *ḥadīth*: *al-Mu'djam al-kabīr* [*'alā asmā' al-ṣaḥāba*], ed. Beirut 1983, 10 vols., from which he excluded the traditions from Abū Hurayra, which he treated in a separate work, *al-Mu'djam al-awsaṭ* [*fīhi aḥādīth al-afrād wa 'l-gharā'ib*], classed according to the names of his masters; and *al-Mu'djam al-ṣaghīr*, which gave a *ḥadīth* from each of his masters. Amongst his numerous other works in the same field, one may mention the *K. al-Du'ā'*, *K. al-Manāsik*, *K. al-Sunna*, *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, *Musnad Shu'ba*, *Musnad Sufyān* and *K. al-Awā'il*. He also wrote a *Tafsīr*, a *Radd 'alā 'l-Mu'tazila* and a *K. al-Ṣalāt 'alā 'l-nabī*. There are lists of his extant works in Brockelmann, S I, 279, and Sezgin, i, 196-7, as well as a complete list of his works in al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 912-17. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iii, 73-5 no. 275 gives some unfavourable reports on his work as a traditionist.

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iv, 59-60; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 30; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 629; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, iv, 253, xiii, 391. (MARIBEL FIERRO)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. DJARĪR b. Yazīd, polymath, whose expertises included tradition and law but who is most famous as the supreme universal historian and Ḳurʾān commentator of the first three or four centuries of Islam, born in the winter of 224-5/839 at Āmul, died at Baghdād in 310/923.

1. Life.

It should be noted at the outset that al-Ṭabarī's own works, in so far as they have been preserved for us, give little hard biographical data, though they often give us leads to his teachers and authorities and help in the evaluation of his personality and his scholarly attitudes. Several persons who knew him directly wrote on his life and works at an early date, though none of the works in question has survived *in extenso*, and they are only known from excerpts preserved by later authors. Thus the judge Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Kāmil (d. 350/961) was close to al-Ṭabarī and was an early adherent of al-Ṭabarī's own *madhhab*, the Djarīriyya (see below), whilst Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Farghānī (d. 362/972-3 [*q.v.*]) knew al-Ṭabarī when al-Farghānī was a student, prepared an edition of the latter's *History* and wrote a *ṣila* [*q.v.*] or continuation to it which contained a long obituary notice of al-Ṭabarī. The Egyptian historian Abū Saʿīd b. Yūnus al-Ṣadafī (d. 347/958 [see IBN YŪNUS] included a section of al-Ṭabarī in his *K. al-Ghurabāʾ* "Book of strangers [coming to Egypt]" because al-Ṭabarī visited Egypt for study (see below). But there seems to have then been an hiatus until al-Ḳifṭī (d. 646/1248 [*q.v.*]) compiled an enthusiastic biography, *al-Taḥrīr fī akhbār Muḥammad b. Djarīr*. For knowledge of these lost works, we rely on the authors' material cited in the general biographical works of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, and of Ibn ʿAsākir, in his *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ* (because al-Ṭabarī came to the Syrian capital for study; see *Annales, Introductio*, pp. LXIX ff.), and, above all, the literary biographical work of Yāḳūt, the *Irshād al-arīb*.

Al-Ṭabarī stemmed from Āmul [*q.v.*] in Ṭabaristān, where his father Djarīr seems to have been a moderately prosperous landowner. He provided his son with a steady income during the early part of his life, brought to the latter from Ṭabaristān to Baghdād by the annual Pilgrimage caravan from Khurāsān, and when he died (at an unknown date), al-Ṭabarī inherited a share of his estate. Whether the family was of indigenous stock or descended from Arab colonists in Ṭabaristān is unknown. At all events, al-Ṭabarī's modest degree of financial family support enabled him to travel extensively as a student and then, when he was an established scholar, gave him some independence from outside pressures and influences and from the necessity which poorer scholars experienced of seeking patronage.

He was a precocious student who was, as he himself states, a *ḥāfiẓ* or memoriser of the Ḳurʾān aged seven, qualified as an *imām* or leader of the Muslim worship aged eight and studied the Prophetic traditions aged nine. It seems well-authenticated that he left home aged twelve *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*, and during a stay of five years in the metropolis of northern Persia, Rayy, he received an intellectual formation which gave him solid grounding for his future career. The most significant of his teachers there was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī (d. 248/862), who as Ibn Ḥumayd figures as an oft-quoted authority in al-Ṭabarī's *History*, above all, for information going back to Ibn Isḥāḳ, since Ibn Ḥumayd was an authorised transmitter of Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* through Salama b. al-Faḍl (d. after 190/805-6). From Rayy, al-Ṭabarī progressed naturally, at the age of less than seventeen, to the intellectual centre of the Islamic world, Baghdād, according to one story, in the expectation of studying with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (unfulfilled, at it happened, since Ibn Ḥanbal died at that point). After a year in Baghdād, he seems to have left for southern ʿIrāḳ (by 242/856-7) to study with the leading scholars of Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and Kūfa, whom he was afterwards to cite in his own works, such as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 255/869) and Muḥammad b. Bashshār, called Bundār (d. 252/866, see Sezgin, i, 113-24) in Baṣra, and Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 247 or 248/861-2) in Kūfa. He probably returned to Baghdād after less than two years away and spent eight further years there, including a spell as tutor to one of the sons of the caliph al-Mutawakkil's vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāḳān [see IBN KHĀḲĀN. 2], hence at some point between 244/858-9 and 248/862.

He then embarked on his major educational and research journey, this time to Syria, Palestine and Egypt. His precise itinerary is unknown, but he was certainly in Beirut and the considerable number of scholars from or connected with such towns as Ḥimṣ (a particularly important centre, with its own special tradition of *ḥadīth* transmission), al-Ramla and ʿAskalān probably points to stays in those places and an interchange of views and information with the local scholars. Al-Ṭabarī's entry into Egypt seems to be fixable with some certainty as the year 253/867; he made a side-trip to the Syrian lands and then came back to Egypt, possibly in 256/870, though this is much less sure than the first date. In Egypt he met the leading Egyptian *muḥaddith* and authority on the *ḳirāʾāt* Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā (d. 264/877, see Sezgin, i, 38), and profited especially from contacts with the leading authorities there on Mālikism and Shāfiʿism, including with the Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] family, which had been especially close to the Imām Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī and whose head was the eminent scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.

Al-Ṭabarī returned from Egypt to Baghdād around the year 256/870. He may at some point have made the Pilgrimage but cannot have made a prolonged stay there for study, since Ḥidjāzī scholars do not seem to figure amongst his teachers. His return to Baghdād marked the end of his student *Wanderjahre*, and he now settled down for the remaining fifty years of his life in order to devote himself to teaching and authorship, producing an amount of high-quality scholarship such as to evoke the admiration, in an age of prolific authors anyway, of both contemporaries and subsequent generations. During this half-century, he merely made two journeys to his native Ṭabaristān, the second in 289-90/902-3. See, in general, for al-Ṭabarī's years of learning and study, with lists of his teachers, Cl. Gilliot, *La formation intellectuelle de Ṭabarī*, in *JA*, cclxxvi (1988), 203-44, and idem, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam. L'exégèse coranique de Tabari (m. 311/923)*, Paris 1990, ch. I, 19-37 (adds additional references to the preceding article).

He was now able to follow a career in a multiplicity of branches of knowledge. This was to embrace not only history, Ḳurʾān exegesis, *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, but he also possibly wrote in the field of ethics and had an educated person's interest in Arabic poetry. His comfortable, if not luxurious, financial and economic

circumstances enabled him to follow an even tenor of life in which he seems to have eaten temperately, dressed modestly and generally to have avoided excess in all things. Anecdotal evidence suggests that he never accepted any official employment (such as that of *ḳāḍī* or judge, for which he would have been supremely well-equipped), although his post as tutor to the son of a vizier would doubtless have given him the entrée to such a career had he wished for it. These stories also stress his high moral standards and his great probity, with a reluctance to accept in return for services costly gifts which he did not feel he had earned or for which he could not give equally valuable presents in return. He did probably add to his income from teaching a wide circle of students, one increasingly attracted by his fame, although he does not seem energetically to have sought after such sources of income; and he may perhaps have received fees for legal advice and opinions, one apparent instance being for services rendered to the caliph al-Muktafī [*q.v.*]. It does not appear that he ever married, but was wed to his scholarship; his continuator and biographer, the Andalusian Maslama b. al-Ḳāsim al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 353/964) says that he lived as an *ḥaṣūr*, one leading a celibate life. On the sketchy evidence of one story, he may conceivably have had a son by a slave mother; his having a *kunya*, Abū Dja'far, does not of course imply in any way that he was a biological father. No progeny of his is mentioned, as one would certainly expect of a man of his celebrity, and all the evidence points to the fact that al-Ṭabarī never married.

In Baghdād, he apparently installed himself on the eastern side of the city, in al-Shammāsiyya, certainly in this quarter by the year 290/903, and lived there till he died, aged about 85 lunar years, on Monday, 27 Shawwāl 310/17 February 923. He was buried in his house on the next day, much eulogised by the scholars of his day; one of these encomia, by al-Ṭabarī's acquaintance the philologist Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*], is preserved in its entirety.

The Baghdād years were filled with his various scholarly activities which, as noted above, embraced not only the traditional "Arab" sciences in which he excelled and with which he was primarily concerned, but also the "foreign" science of medicine; he possessed a copy of the medical encyclopaedia, the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, of his older contemporary and compatriot 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. in the 850s or early 860s? [*q.v.*]), and occasionally prescribed medical treatment for friends and students. All his surviving works indicate that he had a reverence for scholarship and wished to present what must have already become, over the course of some two-and-a-half centuries, a formidable body of knowledge in such fields as *fiḳh, tafsīr, ḥadīth* and *akhbār* in as concise and accurate a manner as possible. An anecdote says that he originally intended his *History* and his *Commentary* to be much lengthier and more detailed, but cut them down to more manageable proportions for his students and later scholars; the tale is very probably apocryphal, but indicates al-Ṭabarī's concern for conveying essentials in a form which could be used by the following generations.

In his approach to scholarship, most notable is his emphasis on *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] or independent exercise of judgement. After quoting his sources—in his major works, he depended essentially on existing written works and reports—he gives what he considers to be the most acceptable view. His own dogmatic beliefs appear to have been basically within the framework of "orthodox" Islam as conceived, e.g. in the environment of Ibn Ḥanbal just before al-Ṭabarī's time and that of al-Ash'arī after him. This is clear from his extant dogmatic writings such as the *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna* and the partly-preserved *Tabṣīr ulī 'l-nuhā wa-ma'ālim al-hudā* (see below, section 3., nos. v, vi) and he further appears as a firm opponent of all "heretical innovations" (*bida'*) [see BID'A]. On the question of the imāmate or headship and leadership of the Muslim community, the most hotly-disputed dogmatic question of his time, when Shī'ism was becoming a force not only in peripheral areas like the Caspian provinces and Yemen but also in the heartland of the caliphate itself, he was a resolute defender of the pre-eminence of all four of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, venerating Abū Bakr and 'Umar and defending the rights of 'Alī equally. Nevertheless, since accusations of Shī'ī sympathies, however ill-founded, were a standard weapon at this time against opponents, al-Ṭabarī seems to have found himself accused of such sympathies by his Ḥanbalī opponents, who were to stir up the Baghdād mob against al-Ṭabarī on more than one occasion. Yet despite his origins from Ṭabaristān—which had not, in any case, become in the early 3rd/9th century so closely identified with Zaydī Shī'ism as it was later to become—there is no evidence whatever of any inclination by al-Ṭabarī towards Shī'ism beyond the admiration for 'Alī as a person which was often found in the staunchest of Sunnīs. In *fiḳh*, al-Ṭabarī was at first a Shāfi'ī, but as his views developed into a distinct and self-sustaining corpus of law, he and his followers came to constitute themselves as a separate *madhhab*, that of the Djarīriyya (named after his father, a not uncommon feature of the nomenclature of sects and schools, cf. the Khāridjite 'Adjārida and Azāriḳa [*q.vv.*]). In al-Ṭabarī's later years, his students were considered as adherents of the Djarīriyya, and the school's ranks included several leading scholars of the age; but its principles do not seem to have been distinctive enough from Shāfi'ism to have ensured its future growth and development after al-Ṭabarī's death, especially since the intellectual environment was one in which the three well-established Sunnī *madhāhib* of the Mālikiyya, Ḥanafiyya and Shāfi'iyya were by now firmly entrenched and competing for supremacy in various regions of the Islamic world.

Al-Ṭabarī had debates and altercations with Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, son of the founder of the Ẓāhirī law school with whom al-Ṭabarī had in fact studied [see DĀWŪD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF], but these took place on the level of courtesy and mutual respect. His conflicts with the belligerent and uncompromising Ḥanbalīs were, on the other hand, acerbic and may well have had a disturbing and unsettling effect on al-Ṭabarī's life. Ḥanbalism was at this time struggling to carve a niche for itself alongside the existing three main *madhāhib* and its advocates were pugnacious and often unscrupulous, being ready to whip up the mindless Baghdād mob. Al-Ṭabarī himself had originally been drawn to study at Baghdād by the presence there of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see above), and he always regarded him with great respect; he and Ibn Ḥanbal's youngest son 'Abd Allāh, the transmitter of his father's teaching, had many common teachers. The break with the Ḥanbalīs seems to have occurred over al-Ṭabarī's legal work, the *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'* (see below, section 3. no. iii) in which al-Ṭabarī totally disregarded Ibn Ḥanbal as being essentially a *ḥadīth* scholar and not a jurist. This was a perfectly valid and sustainable judgement, but it enraged the touchy Ḥanbalīs. The ensuing dispute—

only known to us in the form of conflicting reports from both sides—involved such rallying-points for the Ḥanbalīs as the interpretation of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 81/79, with its mention of the "praiseworthy position" (*maḳām*^an^ *maḥmūd*^an^) promised to the Prophet: did this mean, as a tradition from the Successor Mud̲j̲āhid b. D̲j̲abr [*q.v.*] stated, that Muḥammad would be seated with God on the divine throne, as the Ḥanbalīs asserted? Al-Ṭabarī discussed the interpretation of the phrase at great length in his *Commentary* (ed. Būlāḳ, x, 97-100, partial tr. Rosenthal, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, i, *General introduction and from the Creation to the Flood*, Albany, N.Y. 1989, 149-51), and in a circumspect and reasoned manner, but—perhaps aroused by Ḥanbalī intransigence and misinterpretation—is said publicly to have denied the credibility of Mud̲j̲āhid's tradition, and this led to Ḥanbalīs stoning his house in a riot which had to be put down by the Bag̲h̲dād *s̲h̲urṭa*. The Ḥanbalīs may have been behind occasional difficulties which al-Ṭabarī had in delivering his lectures and may have deterred students from coming to him from outside Bag̲h̲dād. Violence around al-Ṭabarī's house is reported at the time of his death, again involving the controversial *maḳām*^an^ *maḥmūd*^an^ formula, although the reports of Ḥanbalī hostility at the time of his funeral may be exaggerated; if al-Ṭabarī's funeral was a quiet one, attended by few people, it was probably because al-Ṭabarī had thus requested it.

2. Al-Ṭabarī's methodology.

This topic has already been broached in regard to al-Ṭabarī's emphasis on *id̲j̲tihād* after a thorough consideration of his sources, these being essentially written ones. The great virtues of his *History* and *Commentary* are that they form the most extensive of extant early works of Islamic scholarship and that they preserve for us the greatest array of citations from lost sources. They thus furnish modern scholarship with the richest and most detailed sources for the political history of the early caliphate, above all for the history of the eastern and central lands of the *Dār al-Islām* during the first centuries of the Hid̲j̲ra, and also for the early stages of the development and subsequent variety and vitality of Islam as a religious institution and corpus of legal knowledge and practice.

In the building-up of these two great syntheses of knowledge, al-Ṭabarī relied, as by this time had become possible, on a wide spectrum of written sources which were available to him. When he introduced sources by such formulae as *ḥaddat̲h̲anā*, *ak̲h̲baranā* or *kataba*, this meant that he had the *id̲j̲āza* [*q.v.*] for the book from which the passage in question was quoted, whilst when he relied on older books for which he had no firm transmission tradition on which he could rely, he used words like *ḳāla, d̲h̲akara, rawā, ḥuddit̲h̲tu*, etc. Hence al-Ṭabarī's works are above all compilations of material written down during the two centuries from *ca.* 50/670 to *ca.* 250/864, and he did not in general use the works of his contemporaries. In his *Commentary*, when he does not trace traditions back to the Prophet, this means that al-Ṭabarī's sources were books which enshrined the interpretations or exegesis of their authors or their contemporaries.

We must not suppose that al-Ṭabarī worked single-mindedly on a particular work, completed it and then went on to a fresh project. It is likely that all his major works first took shape as dictated lectures (see, concerning this technique, MUSTAMLĪ), and developed and grew over lengthy periods of his life, especially when the subject-matter concerned allowed of its treatment in self-contained, component sections. This meant that a work might reach its final form on a certain date but parts of it might well have been in circulation at earlier times. This accounts for the facts that the same work appears under different titles, or that what seem to be works with separate titles are in fact component parts of greater works. But in any case, al-Ṭabarī rarely gives formal titles when he himself cites his works, but rather, he refers to them by their subject-matter; formal titles may never have existed for some (or the majority) of them. All these uncertainties make it difficult to arrange his works chronologically, although there is a certain amount of evidence, internal and external, regarding their times of composition and their issue in final, complete copies.

3. Works.

Only al-Ṭabarī's major works are mentioned here. A complete listing of titles as mentioned in the sources, including those which seem to denote parts of larger works only or which appear to be wrongly attributed to al-Ṭabarī, is given by Rosenthal, in his *General introduction*, 81-134, with a classification by subject and an attempt at placing the works in chronological order, is given in his Appx. B at 152-4. Likewise valuable is Gilliot, *Les œuvres de Ṭabarī*, in *MIDEO*, xix (1989), 49-90 (Gilliot must have been writing contemporaneously with Rosenthal), concentrating with great detail on al-Ṭabarī's works in the field of the legal sciences; Gilliot points out (49-50) how great a confusion there exists regarding the number, titles and contents of al-Ṭabarī's works as listed in the sources, in large measure due to the fact that *kitāb* is used both for complete works and also for chapter titles only. Ch. II of his *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam* (39-68) modifies his *MIDEO* article in some points. Of older listings, see Brockelmann, I², 148-9, S I, 217-18, and Sezgin, i, 326-8.

i. The *History*, usually simply referred to as such because of its fame; its most authentic title, as given by al-Ṭabarī himself in the colophon of one of the manuscripts, would appear to be *Muk̲h̲taṣar taʾrīk̲h̲ al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk wa 'l-k̲h̲ulafāʾ*, but others are found. The use of the term *muk̲h̲taṣar* "short version, epitome" apparently reflected the author's own modesty and may also have reflected the report that the fuller, original version was ten times as long as the extant version, which itself fills twelve-and-a-half volumes in the printed Leiden edition made by the team of editors brought together by M.J. de Goeje in the later 19th century (*Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, 1879-1901, 15 vols. including Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et corrigenda, Indices, etc.).

In form it is a universal history, dealing firstly with the Creation, the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, the rulers of ancient Israel and of the ancient Persians, and the culmination of the prophets before Muhammad, Jesus, before arriving at the history of the Persian Sāsānids. Then, after the account of the career of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *History* is arranged annalistically, with very great detail on the conquests period, the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, ups to the date 22 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 902/6 July 915. Al-Ṭabarī's sources included an Arabic version of the Persian *K̲h̲^w^atāy-nāmag* or "Book of Kings" for pre-Islamic Persian history and an array of *ak̲h̲bāriyyūn* for early Islamic history, such as al-Zuhrī, Abū Mik̲h̲naf, al-Madāʾinī, Sayf b. ʿUmar, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, ʿUmar b. S̲h̲abba, Ibn Isḥāḳ, Ibn Saʿd, al-Wāḳidī, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.vv.*], etc. (Sezgin, i, 324 n. 1, mentions a study published as articles from 1950 to 1961 by the ʿIrāḳī scholar D̲j̲awād ʿAlī, on al-Ṭabarī's sources, *Mawārid Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ṭabarī*). Al-Ṭabarī gave parallel accounts from all these last authorities of earlier Islamic

times, rather than attempting to furnish a conflated, connected story of historical events, even when the parallel accounts could not easily be harmonised or were even contradictory. His aim was, rather, to present the evidence for the course of the early Islamic history of the lands between Egypt and the far eastern fringes of the Iranian world so that others could evaluate it in a more critical fashion should they so wish. Hence a later historian like Ibn al-Athīr was to use the *History* very extensively, in general simplifying it, endeavouring to harmonise disparate accounts and trying to supply gaps from other sources. It was, indeed, through intermediaries like Ibn al-Athīr that subsequent historians continued indirectly to use the *History*, at a time when complete manuscripts of the original were less and less copied and were becoming harder to find: Ibn Khaldūn at first copied the famous *waṣiyya* or charge of Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn to his son ʿAbd Allāh from Ibn al-Athīr, and was only later able to collate this with the original text of al-Ṭabarī (actually itself stemming from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr) (see *Muḳaddima*, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 139 n. 751). The specific relationship between al-Ṭabarī's *History* and Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* was examined by C. Brockelmann in his dissertation *Das Verhältnis von Ibn al-Aṯīrs Kāmil fit-ta'rīḫ zu Ṭabarīs Aḫbār er-rusul wal mulūk* (Strassburg 1890).

The work's fame speedily led to continuations by other Arabic scholars, such as the *Ṣila* of the Andalusian scholar ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Ḳurṭubī; the *Mudhayyil* or *Ṣila* of al-Ṭabarī's pupil Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Farghānī, who had his master's *idjāza* to transmit the *History*; the *Takmila* of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī; continuations by Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābi' and his son Ghars al-Niʿma; etc. A Persian adaptation was made in 352/963 by the Sāmānid vizier Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Balʿamī [see BALʿAMĪ] which epitomised the original but added a certain amount of new matter, making it to some extent an additional historical source besides being of philological interest for students of early New Persian (see G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 38-41; E.L. Daniel, *Manuscripts and editions of Balʿamī's* Tarjamah-i tārīkh-i Ṭabarī, in *JRAS* [1990], 282-308), with further Arabic and Turkish translations made from this last. See Sezgin, i, 327, and ṢILA, at vol. IX, 604b; and for knowledge of the *History* in the West, and previous translations of parts of it before the appearance of the English translation under the general editorship of Ehsan Yarshater (*The History of al-Ṭabarī, an annotated translation*, Albany N.Y. 1985-, to be completed in 38 vols.), see Rosenthal, *General introduction*, 135-47. See also on the *History*, D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930, 110-12; Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, index.

ii. The *Commentary*, the official title of which, *Djāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl al-Ḳur'ān*, is mentioned in the *History* but was never apparently much in general use, the work being simply known as the *Tafsīr* par excellence. Al-Ṭabarī worked on this, too, over many years, and it was not ready for dissemination till some date between 283/896 and 290/903. It was immediately regarded very highly, and probably considered as al-Ṭabarī's outstanding achievement, even more so than his works on law and tradition; it has retained its importance for scholars till the present day. The Jacobite Christian philosopher and theologian Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974 [*q.v.*]) reportedly copied it twice for sale to provincial rulers. Also like the *History*, it is said to have been longer than its present very extended form; an authority cited in Yāḳūt's *Irshād* says that he saw a manuscript of it in Baghdād of 4,000 folios, although this does not seem to be extraordinarily longer than the 3,000 and more closely-printed pages of the text which we have.

In his work, al-Ṭabarī in general treated the Ḳur'ānic verses from a grammatical and lexicographical standpoint, but also made dogmatic theological and legal deductions from the Ḳur'ān text. After the commentary of Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) al-Ṭabarī's is the first major commentary to have survived—perhaps one should say that it is the first major running commentary *tout court* to have survived—other ones antedating al-Ṭabarī, such as those of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], having to be reconstructed or such as those of Mudjāhid b. Djabr and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Hammām al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827 [*q.v.*]) having survived only fragmentarily in late, possibly reconstituted manuscripts. Al-Ṭabarī took over al-Ḥimyarī's commentary in its entirety for his own work. H. Horst, in his *Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarīs*, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 290-307, surmised that al-Ṭabarī in fact used several, complete, older commentaries now lost.

The *Commentary*'s great value and its popularity ensured that supercommentaries upon it and epitomes early appeared, with an abridgement speedily made by the Baghdādī scholar of Turkish origin, Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938, cf. Sezgin, i, 624, and D. Gimaret, *EIr* art. *Ebn al-Ekšīd*). A Persian translation was commissioned by the Sāmānid *amīr* Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ I (d. 365/976) and made by a group of scholars in Transoxania; this translation, or rather, adaptation, has survived in far fewer copies than al-Balʿamī's *Tardjama-yi Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabarī*, but these manuscripts are old and the text likewise of great philological interest (see Lazard, *op. cit.*, 41-5). A French abridged translation and an English translation have recently started to appear (see Rosenthal, *Introduction*, 111), though it may be doubted whether any modern translation can convey the subtlety of al-Ṭabarī's thought and scholarship except in a very circuitous and prolix fashion. See further, TAFSĪR, and the extensive works on early Ḳur'ān exegesis by Gilliot, including his *Textes anciens édités en Egypte*, in *MIDEO*, xix (1989) to xxii (1996), *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, in *RMMM*, lviii (1990), 82-100, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*, and *Mythe, récit, histoire du salut dans le commentaire coranique de Tabari*, in *JA*, cclxxxii (1994), 235-68. The *Commentary* was first printed in 30 vols. at Cairo, 1321/1903, with a further edition (considered the better of these two) in 1323/1905, and more recently edited by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir and A.M. Shākir, 16 vols. Cairo 1954-68, incomplete (up to sūra XIV, 27); the best, complete edition is now that of A.S. ʿAlī, Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, Cairo 1954-7, repr. Beirut with indices, 30 vols.

iii. The *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā'*, partially preserved, seems to have had the full title *Ikhtilāf ʿulamā' al-amṣār fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām*. In this work on the differences between the approaches and doctrines of the "orthodox" great jurists of early Islam, al-Ṭabarī, according to Yāḳūt, presented the legal scholarship of Mālik b. Anas, al-Awzāʿī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and (?) Abū Thawr Ibrāhīm al-Kalbī, but excluded any representation of the Muʿtazila (and, as noted above, in section 1., he excluded Ibn Ḥanbal as not primarily a *faḳīh*). Yāḳūt also reports that the original ran to about 3,000 folios. The Cairo fragment was edited by F. Kern, Cairo 1902, and the Cairo one by

J. Schacht, *Das Konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb iḫtilāf al-fuqahā'*, Leiden 1933. See Rosenthal, *General introduction*, 103-5; Gilliot, *Les œuvres de Ṭabarī*, 52-6.

iv. *Tahḏhīb al-āthār* [*wa-tafṣīl maʿānī al-thābit ʿan Rasūl Allāh min al-akhbār*] was al-Ṭabarī's most ambitious work on traditions, arranged according to the latest transmitter of the *ḥadīths* and also according to the Prophet's Companions, but apparently never completed. It is more than a mere collection of traditions like Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, but examines exhaustively the philological and legal implications of each tradition, discussing its meaning and characteristics (e.g. whether it has any *ʿilal* or weaknesses) as well as its significance for religious practice; its contents thus amount to mongraphs on a number of topics. Only fragments are preserved, including those in which al-Ṭabarī took material from the *Musnads* of traditions going back to the Companions ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [see MUSNAD, at vol. VII, 706 a, middle]. What remains of the *Musnads* going back to the second and third of these three authorities has been published by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, 3 vols. Beirut n.d., introd. dated 1982. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 128-30; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 68-70; idem, *Le traitement du* ḥadīṯ *dans le* Tahḏīb al-āṯār *de Ṭabarī*, in *Arabica*, xli (1994), 309-51.

v. *Tabṣīr ulī 'l-nuhā wa-maʿālim al-hudā*, partly preserved and still in manuscript, is a statement of the principles of the faith (*uṣūl al-dīn*) written at the request of the scholars of his home town of Āmul. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 126-8.

vi. *Ṣarīḥ al-sunna*, a brief profession of faith or creed (*ʿaḳīda*), preserved, and published with a French translation by D. Sourdel, *Une profession de foi de l'historien al-Ṭabarī*, in *REI*, xxxvi (1968), 177-99. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 125-6.

vii. *al-Faṣl bayn al-ḳirā'a*, preserved but unpublished, on Ḳur'ānic readings, also mentioned under the title *al-Djāmiʿ fi 'l-ḳirā'āt*; this last was conceivably, but improbably, a separate work. Yāḳūt quotes Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1054-5) that the latter had seen a copy of it in 18 volumes, admittedly in a large script. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 95-7; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 73.

viii. *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, only surviving in a brief selection (*muntakhab*), was a supplement to al-Ṭabarī's *History*, with historical information on the religious scholars needed in connection with the *History*. The surviving text was appended to the Leiden edition of the *History* at iii, 2295-2561. The whole work would appear to be that often mentioned by the literary biographers, etc., as the *Ta'rīkh al-Ridjāl*, i.e. of religious scholars. See Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 89-90; Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 72.

Numerous other, substantially lost works are mentioned both within al-Ṭabarī's own works or in later literature, including a *Laṭīf al-ḳawl fī sharā'iʿ al-Islām* (many variants of this title), a "slim" work on the laws and principles of the Islamic faith; separate works on the *faḍā'il* or merits of the first four caliphs and of the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās, on which al-Ṭabarī seems at times to have lectured and for which he gathered material, without living long enough to put this into a single, compendious work; on the interpretation of dreams, *ʿIbārat al-ru'yā*; a refutation of the founder of the Ẓāhiriyya, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, *al-Radd ʿalā dhi 'l-asfār*; a refutation of some of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's view on Mālik, originating during his stay in Egypt; etc. There were also various works which were probably falsely attributed to al-Ṭabarī, including, e.g., *al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Ḥurkūṣiyya*; cf. on this last work, Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, 123-4 (accepting the possibility that it was by al-Ṭabarī), and Gilliot, *op. cit.*, 24-6 (sceptical of the attribution).

Bibliography: For earlier works, see the *Bibl.* to R. Paret's *EI*[1] art. The more recent bibl. is given by Rosenthal—combined with that for his tr. of the first 201 pp. of the *History*—in his *General introduction*..., 373-8, and Gilliot has a very detailed bibliography appended to his *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*. References are also given within the body of the present article, which is based substantially on Rosenthal's exhaustive *General introduction*. Finally, one should note, of most recently-appeared works, Gilliot, *Ṭabarī et les chrétiens taġlibites*, in Université Saint-Joseph, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, *Annales du Département des Lettres Arabes*, vi/B (1991-2) [1996] (= *In memoriam Professeur Jean Maurice Fiey, o.p., 1914-1995*), 145-59 (al-Ṭabarī held that the People of the Book should be expelled from the whole of the *Dār al-Islām* when they were no longer of use to the Muslim community); and idem, *Al-Ṭabarī and "The history of salvation"*, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *Procs. of the conference on the life and works of Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, St. Andrews 30 August-2 September 1995*, forthcoming.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ṬABARĪ, al-Ḳāḍī al-Imām ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB ṬĀHIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. ʿUmar b. Ṭāhir, principal authority of his time in the ʿIrāḳī branch of Shāfiʿism [see SHĀFIʿIYYA], born at Āmul in Ṭabaristān in 348/959-60, died in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I 450/May 1058.

At fourteen years of age, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī began his legal training under the tutelage of Abū ʿAlī al-Zadjdjādjī, who had been a pupil of Ibn al-Ḳāṣṣ, in his turn a disciple of the great Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]. Al-Ṭabarī completed his education with various Shāfiʿī masters, primarily Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Māsardjisī but also Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarā'īnī, who taught him theology and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īnī, in Djurdjān, Nīsābūr and Baghdād, where he established himself definitively.

"The Judge" (*al-Ḳāḍī*), as he was called by ʿIrāḳī Shāfiʿīs, pursued parallel careers as an educator and a judge. He apparently composed a considerable body of work in various branches of legal sciences but only a fragment of one of his texts, *al-Taʿlīḳa* (it is either a commentary which he wrote on the *Mukhtaṣar* of al-Muzanī or his commentary on the *furūʿ* of Ibn al-Ḥaddād), has survived to this day in manuscript form (Istanbul, Ahmet III, no. 850, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 204). In fact, as is indicated by the manner in which al-Ṭabarī is introduced by al-Nawawī ("the master of the author of the *Muhadhdhab*": *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt*, Beirut n.d., ii, 247), his renown was rapidly eclipsed by that of his more famous disciple, Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], who devoted to him one of the most laudatory notices in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā'*, describing him as "the greatest *mudjtahid*" whom he had ever encountered (Beirut n.d., 135). Only the titles of his other works have been preserved (besides the two above-mentioned works: *al-Mudjarrad, al-Minhādj fi 'l-khilāfiyyāt* and *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, Beirut 1988, 210-11). Al-Ṭabarī conducted his lectures in a *masdjid* in the *Bāb al-Marātib* quarter of Baghdād, attracting large numbers of students. Among his disciples or pupils who are still renowned, are included the Shāfiʿī historian and traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and the Ḥanbalī Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.vv.*].

An important personality of Baghdād (*madīnat al-salām*), and already well advanced in age, al-Ṭabarī was appointed to the post of judge (*ḳāḍī*) of the Karkh

quarter at the time of the death, in 436/1045, of his predecessor in this function, the Ḥanafī al-Ṣaymarī. Abandoning teaching, al-Ṭabarī remained *ḳāḍī* of al-Karkh until his death. According to al-Shīrāzī, although a centenarian "his reason was not disturbed nor his understanding impaired". His funeral was conducted on a lavish scale in the mosque of al-Manṣūr and he was interred in the cemetery of Bāb al-Ḥarb.

Bibliography: In the corpus of Shāfiʿī biographical literature, it is invariably the notice devoted to al-Ṭabarī by al-Shīrāzī (see above) which is reproduced as such, usually without any addition. The notice devoted to him by al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., v, 12-50) is considerably longer because it is augmented by, firstly, lengthy quotations from poems of al-Ṭabarī; secondly, the text of the controversies in which he was opposed by the Ḥanafīs (Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭālikānī, who was *ḳāḍī* of Balkh, and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḳudūrī); and thirdly, a brief account of the special features of the master's legal thinking.

(E. CHAUMONT)

AL-ṬABARĪ, AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, Shāfiʿī traditionist and jurist, b. 27 Djumādā II 615/20 September 1218, d. 2 Djumādā II 694/19 April 1295.

Considered as the greatest scholar of his century in the Ḥidjāz, he was born into a family who had recently settled in Mecca and who were destined to become one of the most important *buyūtāt*. His great-grandfather, Abū Bakr, had emigrated from Ṭabaristān to the Holy City in the seventies of the 6th/12th century. There he married and had seven sons and one daughter. From the second generation onwards the family became well established, with several of his sons already occupying prestigious positions (*khaṭīb*, *ḳāḍī* and *imām* of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* [*q.v.*]; in fact, this last position became the almost exclusive privilege of this family until the 18th century).

Al-Ṭabarī was educated essentially at Mecca. Sources do not take into account any *riḥla fī ṭalab al-ʿilm*. His principal teachers were the Ḥanbalī traditionist Ibn al-Muḳayyar (545-643/1151-1246, al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-taḳyīd*, ii, 189-90), Ibn Abī Ḥaramī (d. 645/1247, Brockelmann, S I, 607), the Mālikī scholar Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mursī (569-655/1173-1257, Brockelmann, I, 312; S I, 546), the Shāfiʿī traditionist Ibn al-Djummayzī (559-649/1164-1251, al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, xxii, 284), the mystic Bashīr b. Ḥāmid al-Tibrīzī (570-646/1174-1248, al-Ṣafadī, x, 161-2), and finally ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭabarī (576-640/1180-1242, al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, vi, 143-4) and Yaʿḳūb b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭabarī (592-665/1195-1266, al-Fāsī, vii, 473), both uncles of his father. He went to Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] to complete his education as a legal expert with the Mālikī Madjd al-Dīn al-Ḳushayrī (581-667/1185-1268, al-Ṣafadī, xxii, 298-303).

Al-Ṭabarī maintained privileged relations with the Rasūlid dynasty of the Yemen. Sultan al-Muẓaffar (r. 647-94/1250-95) appointed him as teacher in the *madrasa* of al-Manṣūriyya, which had been founded by his father al-Manṣūr within the precincts of the Kaʿba. Al-Ṭabarī travelled repeatedly to the Yemen to impart a knowledge of the tradition and of some of his own works to the sultan himself and to his children. He was the author of about forty works that have largely disappeared. The most important of them can be conveniently classified according to their main themes: Ḳur'ān, *Fiḳh*, *Ḥadīth*, History, Poetry, Mysticism and Miscellaneous.

a. Ḳur'ān

(1) *al-Ḳabas al-asnā fī kashf al-gharīb wa 'l-maʿnā*; (2) *al-Kāfī fī gharīb al-Ḳur'ān al-djāmiʿ bayn al-ʿUzayzī wa 'l-bayān*; (3) *K. Marsūm al-muṣḥaf al-ʿuthmānī al-madanī*; (4) a *tafsīr*.

b. *Fiḳh*

(5) *ʿAwāṭif al-nuṣra fī al-ṭawāf wa 'l-ʿumra*, a *fatwā* on the preferences available for the circumambulation or the minor pilgrimage (*unicum* at Princeton, no. 2275); (6) *Istiḳṣā' al-bayān fī mas'ala Shādhirwān*, *fatwā* on the Shādhirwān of the Kaʿba; (7) a *madjmūʿ fi 'l-khilāf* in the style of the ancients; (8) a summary (*al-Maslak al-nabīh fī talkhīṣ al-Tanbīh*) and a commentary on the *Tanbīh* by al-Shīrāzī.

c. *Ḥadīth*

(9) *Ghāyat al-iḥkām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, a collection of precepts drawn from the canonic corpus or otherwise in six volumes (the work is preserved in its entirety in manuscript); (10) al-Ṭabarī produced two abridged versions of this: *al-Aḥkām al-wusṭā* and *al-Aḥkām al-ṣughrā*; (11) *al-Ḳirā li-ḳāṣid umm al-ḳurā*, a text on the rites of pilgrimage (ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1367/1948); (12) *Ṣafwat al-ḳirā fī ṣifat ḥidjdjat al-Muṣṭafā*, partly abridged from *al-Ḳirā* (ed. R.M. Riḍwān, Cairo 1354/1935); (13) *K. Gharīb Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, commentary on the *rara* of *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl* of Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [*q.v.*] (ms. Rağıb Paşa Musalla Medresesi 1950/60); (14) *al-Muḥarrar li 'l-Malik al-Muẓaffar*, a collection of precepts of the two *Ṣaḥīḥ*s dedicated to the Rasūlid sultan al-Muẓaffar; (15) *al-ʿUmda*, an abridged version of the previously-mentioned work; (16) two alphabetic rearrangements of *al-Gharīb fi 'l-ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām [*q.v.*]: *al-Durr al-manthūr li 'l-Malik al-Manṣūr* and *Taḳrīb al-marām fī gharīb al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām*; (17) *Tartīb Djāmiʿ al-masānīd wa 'l-alḳāb*, an edition of the work of Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*].

d. History

(18) *Khulāṣat siyar sayyid al-bashar*, a compendium on the life of the Prophet (Indian edition 1343/1924-5); (19) *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿashara al-mubashsharīn bi 'l-djanna*, a work on the Ten Destined for Paradise (ed. Cairo 1327/1909, many reprints); (20) *Dhakhā'ir al-ʿuḳbā fī manāḳib dhawī 'l-ḳurbā*, a work on the close agnatic relationship of the Prophet (first annotated edition based on six manuscripts by F. Bauden, see *Bibl.* below); (21) *al-Simṭ al-thamīn fī manāḳib ummahāt al-mu'minīn*, a work on the wives of the Prophet (ed. M.R. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1346/1928, with many reprints).

e. Poetry

(22) *Dīwān* (fragments in the mss. Leiden Or. 2427, ff. 78a-b, and Berlin, Sprenger 872, ff. 173-7).

f. Mysticism

(23) *Mukhtaṣar ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, an abridged version of the work of al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*].

g. Miscellaneous

(24) two *mashyakha*s edited at the request of the sultan al-Muẓaffar, *al-Taʿrīf bi-mashyakhat al-Ḥaram al-sharīf* and *al-ʿUḳūd al-durriyya wa 'l-mashyakha al-makkiyya al-muẓaffariyya*.

The attractiveness of al-Ṭabarī lies especially in the method which he adopted. He omitted the *isnād* of the traditions which he cited but took care to give his sources. He probably thought that the *isnād* distracted the reader and stopped him from coming directly to the point which interested him, in other words, the *matn*. As far as al-Ṭabarī was concerned, anyone preoccupied with the *isnād* had only to refer to the source which he mentioned. If al-Ṭabarī did not innovate in regard to this method, it appears that he was the first to make use of it on such a scale, since he applied it to most of his works. This was

essentially why he gave a bibliographical list (170 titles) in his introduction to *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira*. He was to use this list for his other works without having to repeat it. Several later traditionists (al-Yāfiʿī, iv, 224; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIkd al-thamīn*, iii, 62-3) reproached him for not indicating which traditions were weak (*daʿīf*) or fabricated (*mawḍūʿ*) as such, and this despite his method. Nonetheless, al-Ṭabarī remains an extremely interesting author, if only for his sources, most of which are lost today and which only live on in the citations which he made of them.

Bibliography: On the family of al-Ṭabarī at Mecca, see F. Bauden, *Les Ṭabariyya. Histoire d'une importante famille de la Mecque (fin XII^e-fin XV^e s.)*, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Louvain (OLA 73), 1995, 253-66 (a preliminary study with a family tree of 164 members of the family, from a more extensive study which includes the family history from the 12th to the 18th centuries. The most thorough study of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī is that of Bauden, *Les Trésors de la Postérité ou les fastes des proches parents du Prophète (Kitāb Dhaḫā'ir al-ʿukbā fī manāḳib ḏawī al-ḳurbā) par Muḥibb al-dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (ob. 694/1295). Édition critique accompagnée d'une traduction annotée et d'une étude sur la vie et l'œuvre de l'auteur*, unpubl. doctoral diss. in 4 volumes, University of Liège, 1996. Vol. i contains the biography, a complete inventory of his works listing the manuscripts that are still extant, and a study of the sources in *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira* and *Dhakhā'ir al-ʿukbā*.

Biographical sources: Ibn Rashīd, *Mil' al-ʿayba*, ed. Muḥammad al-Khūdja, v, 233-52; Birzālī, *Ta'rīkh*, ms. Berlin Sprenger 61, fol. 416a; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dimashḳī, *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamā' al-ḥadīth*, ed. I. Zaybak, iv, 258-9 no. 1144; Dhahabī, *Muʿdjam al-shuyūkh*, ed. al-Suyūfī, 37 no. 34; idem, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iv, 1474-5; idem, *ʿIbar*, v, 382; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, facs. Frankurt, xxvii, 377; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 135-6 no. 3064; Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-djanān*, iv, 224-5; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 8-9; Asnāwī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ed. K. al-Ḥūt, ii, 72 no. 796; Ibn Kathīr, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahā' al-shāfiʿiyyīn*, ms. Chester Beatty 3390, fol. 79; idem, *Bidāya*, xiii, 340-1; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-aslāk*, ed. Weijers and Meursinge, 1846, 290; idem, *Tadhkirat al-nabīh*, i, 176; Khazradjī, *al-ʿUkūd al-lu'lu'iyya*, tr. Redhouse, i, 233, iv, ed. ʿAsal, 277; Fāsī, *al-ʿIkd al-thamīn*, iii, 61-72; idem, *Dhayl al-taḳyīd*, i, 323 no. 643; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, iii, 811, tr. Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, ii, 28; idem, *al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, i, 516-17 no. 503; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 162-4 no. 459; ʿAynī, *ʿIkd al-djumān*, iii, 284-5; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-shāfī*, ed. F. Shaltūt, i, 54 no. 184; idem, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, i, 342-9; idem, *Nudjūm*, viii, 74-5; Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa*, ed. al-Fiḳī, i, 194; Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, 510-11 no. 1131; Ibn al-ʿImād, v, 425-6; Ibn al-Ghazzī, *Dīwān al-islām*, ed. S.K. Ḥasan, iv, 160-1 no. 1877; Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, col. 101; Ziriklī, i, 159; Kaḥḥāla, i, 298-9; Brockelmann, I², 444-5, S I, 615; Bilādī, *Nashr al-rayyāḥīn*, i, 36-9; M. al-Ḥabīb al-Hīla, *al-Ta'rīkh wa 'l-mu'arrikhūn bi-Makka*, 53-8.

(F. Bauden)

AL-ṬABARĪ, ʿAlī b. Rabban, a 3rd/9th century convert from Christianity to Islam, who was known for his writings on medical topics and for two works in which he demonstrated the weaknesses of his former faith and the truth of the one he embraced.

ʿAlī's father's name is recorded in a variety of forms. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī explains that the word read by various authors and their copyists as a name was really the Jewish title *al-rabban*, which was given to experts on the religious law, and that ʿAlī's father was a distinguished Jewish scholar (*T. al-Ḥukamā'*, Cairo 1326, 128, 155, repeated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, i, 309-10). This, however, must be regarded as an *ex post facto* reconstruction in view of the fact that for most of his life ʿAlī himself was a Christian (e.g. Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, iii, 1276, 1283, 1293, and Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iii, 312, in addition to the evidence of ʿAlī's own works cited below), and in all probability so was his father's brother (ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, ed. A. Mingana, Manchester 1923, 129). In fact, without showing any religious self-consciousness, ʿAlī explains that his father was given this title because of his dedication to learning (*Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 1; M. Meyerhof, *ʿAlī ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī, ein persischer Arzt des 9. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. x [1931], 44, suggests it was a Syriac title). It seems safe to say that ʿAlī's full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī.

As a native of Ṭabaristān, ʿAlī is mentioned as secretary to the governor Māzyār b. Ḳārin [see ḲĀRINIDS], whom he represented more than once in negotiations (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1276-7; *Fihrist*, 296). He stayed loyal throughout Māzyār's insurrection against al-Muʿtaṣim, though when the governor was captured and executed in 225/840 he was admitted to the caliph's service in the new capital Sāmarrā' (*Fihrist*, 296; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, tr. E.G. Browne, Leiden 1905, 43). He evidently remained at court through the reigns of al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil, and the latter made him a table companion (*Fihrist*, 296). Given these connections and dates, it is difficult to identify him with the Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī, who was secretary to the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I (*Islamochristiana*, i [1975], 158-9), since Timothy died as early as 208/823, although ʿAlī very probably was a Nestorian (S.K. Samir, *La réponse d'al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl à la réfutation des Chrétiens de ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*, in *Parole de l'Orient*, xi [1983], 284-6).

At some point in this period he became a Muslim. Ibn al-Nadīm suggests that this was under al-Muʿtaṣim (*Fihrist*, 296), thus between 225/840 and the caliph's death in 227/842; but ʿAlī himself implies that al-Mutawakkil played an important part in his conversion, when he records this thanks for what the caliph has done (*K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, 144).

The evidence of ʿAlī's works themselves supports what he says here. For elsewhere in the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* (86, 93) he refers to an attack he has written on Christian doctrines, the *Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*, and at the beginning of this earlier work he explains that he was a Christian for the first seventy years of his life (ed. I.A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch, *Ar-Radd ʿala-n-Naṣārā de ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī*, in *MUSJ*, xxxvi [1959], 119). This valuable item of information makes it much more likely that he converted in al-Mutawakkil's reign, since a conversion under al-Muʿtaṣim means that he would have been improbably old by the time he came to write the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, which is quite definitely linked with al-Mutawakkil. It is likely that he converted in or after 235/850, since in the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, which he says he completed in this year, he mentions al-Mutawakkil without any sign of intimacy or thanks for kindness (*Firdaws*, 2).

The *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* may well have been written in 241/855 (see A. Mingana, *The book of religion and empire*, Manchester 1922, 138, n. 1), making it

possible that ʿAlī's conversion took place a few years earlier, and giving 165/781 or just after as a possible date for his birth. The date of his death cannot be fixed, though if he was over seventy in the late 230s/early 850s he cannot have survived long after 250/864.

According to this dating, it is quite possible that the reports which link ʿAlī with the historian Abū Dja'far al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*] are correct. According to Yāḳūt (*Udabā'* vi, 460, and cf. 429), Abū Djaʿfar, who was born in 224-5/839, took down his own copy of the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* from ʿAlī's dictation. But ʿAlī's link with the great physician Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], as reported by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (155), Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, (309) and Ibn Khallikān (*loc. cit*), is problematic in view of the fact that al-Rāzī was not born until 250/864, and could not have begun his education until ʿAlī would have been extremely old. This link, and particularly Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's vivid portrayal of it, must presumably be ascribed to the tendency to make connections between well-known scholars in a shared discipline, and maybe also to al-Rāzī's knowledge and use of ʿAlī's medical writings.

Of ʿAlī's works, twelve titles are known. These are, according to Ibn al-Nadim (*Fihrist*, 296, repeated by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 155), the *Firdaws al-ḥikma, K. Tuḥfat al-mulūk, K. Kunnāsh al-ḥadra, K. Manāfiʿ al-aʿṭima wa 'l-ashriba wa 'l-ʿaḳāḳīr*; in addition, from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (309), *K. Irfāḳ al-ḥayāt, K. Ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa, K. fi 'l-ruḳan, K. fi 'l-ḥidjāma, K. fī tartīb al-aghdhiya*; from Ibn Isfandiyār (*History*, 80), *Baḥr al-fawā'id*; cited by ʿAlī in the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* (113), *K. al-Īḍāḥ min al-siman wa 'l-huzāl wa-tahayyudj al-bāh wa-ibṭālihī*; and the two apologetic works, *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, and *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* (which ʿAlī also calls *al-Radd ʿalā aṣnāf al-Naṣārā, K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla*, 86). If he is identical with the ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 316), then that author's *K. fī 'l-ādāb wa 'l-amthāl ʿalā madhāhib al-Furs wa 'l-Rūm wa 'l-ʿArab* is a further title. Of these, some may well be alternative names for the same work.

Three of these works have been published, the *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* and the *Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*. The *Firdaws* was employed by many later medical authors, and enjoyed considerable circulation (see Meyerhof, *ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī's "Paradise of Wisdom", one of the oldest Arabic compendiums of medicine*, in *Isis*, xvi [1931], 16-46). The anti-Christian works, however, did not gain a comparable popularity. The *Radd* is incomplete, but its latter sections can be reconstructed in part from the quotations preserved in the 4th/10th century *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* of another convert from Christianity al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb (quoted at length in Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Djawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1905, ii, 312 ff., ed. and Dutch tr. F. Sepmeijer, *Een Weerlegging van het Christendom uit de 10e eeuw. De brief van al-Hasan b. Ayyub aan zijn broer ʿAlī*, Kampen 1985), and from the refutation made by the 7th/13th century Copt al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl (see Samir, *art. cit.*). Also, the authenticity of the *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* has been questioned ever since it was translated and edited in 1922-3. Despite strong defences of the work by a number of scholars, it has always been surrounded by the suspicion that it is a modern forgery. However, its antiquity is virtually settled by two convincing pieces of evidence, which are that the unique ms. which contains the work is undoubtedly old, and that it was almost certainly used by the 4th/10th century authors al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb (see Sepmeijer, *op. cit.*, 4-8) and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) So its age should no longer be questioned and its authorship not seriously disputed (see D. Thomas, *Ṭabarī's Book of Religion and Empire*, in *BJRUL*, lxix [1986], 1-7, adducing this evidence and citing the major participants in the debate).

These two anti-Christian works show great inventiveness in their arguments, and reflect ʿAlī's learning in his former faith. It could be that his informed approach was not well understood by Muslims whose knowledge of Christian teachings and beliefs was less extensive, and this may account for their comparative lack of direct influence in later discussions.

Bibliography: See also Brockelmann, S I, 414-15; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 236-40; ʿA.-M. Sharfī, *al-Fikr al-islāmī fi 'l-radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*, Tunis 1986, 128-35.

(D. THOMAS)

ṬABARISTĀN, in northern Persia, the name for the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, comprising both the narrow coastal plain region and the steeply-rising mountainous interior of the Elburz chain. It was bounded in mediaeval Islamic times by Gīlān and Daylam on the west and by Gurgān on the east.

The name Ṭabaristān enshrines a memory of the ancient people of the Τάπυροι, but received a popular etymology as "land of the axe (*tabar*)" because wood-cutting was an activity in this heavily-wooded region. Ṭabaristān (*nisba*, al-Ṭabarī) was the designation for the region up to Saldjūḳ times, but thereafter the name Māzandarān comes in and becomes general from the Mongol period onwards. Hence for the historical geography, history, coins, etc. of the region, see MĀZANDARĀN. (ED.)

ṬABARIYYA, Tiberias, modern Israeli Ṭeverya, a town of Palestine situated on the edge of the Sea of Galilee (Yam Kinnereth in Hebrew, Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya in Arabic) in the Jordan valley, already at this point 208 m/680 feet below sea level (lat. 32° 48' N., long. 35° 32' E.).

According to some traditions, the town which Herod Antipas founded in *ca.* A.D. 87 as a capital, which he called Tiberias after the Emperor Tiberius, was built on the site of the Biblical Rakkath of Josh. xix. 35. It was built on the model of Hellenistic towns, with temples, an amphitheatre, etc., and with the royal palace described by Josephus almost certainly on the mount of Herod (in recent times called *Ḳaṣr Bint al-Malik*) within the ancient walls. Strictly-observant Jews at first avoided Tiberias, hence it had a mixed population of people forcibly settled there by Herod and people attracted by the privileges which he conferred on them. However, it later became a centre of Talmudic studies, where a strict Jewish life could be lived, and where the Sanhedrin sat. It was here that the famous Mishna or collection of legal prescriptions was composed, and here that, at the opening of the 4th century, the Palestine Gemara (also called the Jerusalem Talmud) was put together. There were a series of tombs of great Jewish scholars, and one of them, that of Rabbi Meir Baʿal ha-Nes, was to become a place of pilgrimage. After the conversion of Constantine, Christianity appeared in Galilee. The town walls, which had been destroyed, were rebuilt by Justinian.

In 16/635 Tiberias fell into the hands of the Muslims, surrendering to Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana [*q.v.*], who guaranteed to the inhabitants their security and possession of half their houses and churches. They were also to hand over for every *djarīb* of cultivated land a *djarīb* of wheat or barley and a dīnār for each head of animals. Shuraḥbīl also reserved for himself the place where a mosque was to be built. In ʿUthmān's time, the inhabitants broke the agreement but were

subdued by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (or by Shuraḥbīl again) and accepted the former conditions. As capital of the province of al-Urdunn [*q.v.*], the town is described by the mediaeval Arab geographers, including by al-Muḳaddasī, 161-2, who describes it as a mile in length, stretched between the mountains and the Sea. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through the town in 438/1047 he described it as surrounded by walls except on the lake side, with a principal mosque and another one on the western side called the Masdjid al-Yāsamīn, which had the tombs of Joshua, son of Nun, and of 70 prophets killed by the Israelites, as well as the tomb of the Companion Abū Hurayra [*q.v.*] (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 16, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 18-19).

At the time of the Crusades, the town was given as a fief to Tancred, before falling finally to Raymond of Tripoli. Al-Idrīsī, who visited it in 549/1154, praises it as a fine town and mentions the making of rush mats there and the activity of boats provisioning it. On 23 Rabīʿ II 583/2 July 1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took possession of the town and burnt it. The Crusader troops encamped nearby at Ṣaffūriyya let themselves be convinced by the Grand Master of the Templars to make a move to rescue the town, despite the warnings of Raymond, and this attempt led to the disaster of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*], with the fall of Jerusalem and the reduction of much Crusader authority in the Levant. In 1240 it was recovered by the Christians, only to fall to Khʷārazmian troops in 1247. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, in 725/1325 the town was still in ruins.

After the Ottoman conquest of Syria, in *ca.* 1560 an attempt to revive the town by introducing the manufacture of silk, begun by Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos (to whom the town and its area had been granted by the sultan for Jewish settlement), failed, the exact reason for this being unknown. The modern town was founded in 1740 by the *shaykh* Ẓāhir al-ʿAmr, later the governor of Acre, who built a fortified wall with towers, the remains of this being still visible today. But the town suffered two severe earthquakes, in 1759 and above all in 1837.

The hot springs (*al-ḥammāmāt*) to the south of the town, the most important in Palestine, have always played a prominent role in Tiberias's history, being mentioned by Pliny (*Natural history*, V. 15) and often in the Talmud. They are described by the Arab geographers (their average temperature is 60° C.); al-Idrīsī mentions especially the great baths called al-Damāḳir and others called al-Luʾluʾ which were reportedly not saline. The springs were much frequented by those suffering from paralysis, chest complaints and wounds, who remained for three days in the waters and came out cured. The mild winter climate contributed much to making the town a famed centre for treatment. In 1703, the springs reportedly dried up for a period. Since the old baths had fallen into ruins, new premises, described by Burckhardt, were built at the opening of the 19th century. Ibrāhīm Pasha built a second one, splendidly decorated, in 1833, and a third, further to the south, was built in 1890.

But up to the First World War, the nearby region was almost desert, with traffic on the lake much reduced from what it had been in Antiquity. Only from *ca.* 1900 did the town revive, with the foundation in 1920 of the suburb of Qiryat Shemuel (named after Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner for Palestine under the British Mandate) for Jewish settlers, some 80 m/260 feet above the old Arab walled town. There was fighting at Tiberias during the war of 1948, with Arab and Jewish quarters of the old town largely destroyed, and the Arab population was evacuated in April 1948 by British troops. Since then it has come within the State of Israel, and has become essentially a centre for tourism and recreation, with the role of industry deliberately kept small. In 1970 the population was *ca.* 23,000.

Bibliography: Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical geography of the Holy Land*, London 1895, 447-55; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 30-2, 334-41; H.C. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, London 1930, 206, 208-9, 363, 367-8; Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Palestine and Transjordan*, London 1943, 338-9 and index; A.S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, 127-33. For other older references, see F. Buhl, *EI*[1] s.v. For the town in modern Israel, see Yehuda Karmon, *Israel, a regional geography*, London 1971, 171-3; and for archaeological excavations there, E.M. Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, New York 1996, v, 203-6. (M. Lavergne)

ṬABARḲA, Tabarca, known locally as Ṭbarḳa, a town on the north-west coast of Tunisia, 170 km/105 miles west-north-west of Tunis, 17 km/10 miles to the east of the Algerian frontier and 60 km/37 miles to the north of Djandūba, the chief town of the governorate of the region, of which Ṭabarḳa is a subdivision of 12,600 inhabitants. The layout of the road network which serves it is based on the two great ancient major axes, east-west and north-south, and since 1993 it has had an international airport. The railway line, which was the main link with the capital, now transports only freight. Ṭabarḳa also enjoys the asset of being a fishing port which is accessible to large trawlers, and has a marina frequented by holidaymakers in the Mediterranean.

Ṭabarḳa is built around a fertile sandy beach watered by the Oued-el-Kebir, the ancient Tusca, which rises in the mountains of Khumayr [*q.v.*]. The modern town is a tourist centre as well as a fishing resort where the most sought-after product for a long time has been coral. Citrus groves are also found there, and livestock is bred on the farms. Several timber-based industries have been established which produce fibreboard and cork stoppers (out of a total area of 37,000 ha there are 27,000 ha of forest in the district); briar blocks used in the manufacture of pipes, as well as tiles, cardboard, carved wooden objects and coral are all produced locally.

Ṭabarḳa was chiefly known in history as a rocky islet of 40 ha, which rises some 40 m from the shore, and this is the Tabarca of Western narratives. It is separated from the mainland by a small strait, but this has now been filled in to make a causeway, up to the Genoese fort; this fort was built by the Lomellini in about 1535 by order of Charles V.

This coastal locality did not find favour in the eyes of the Muslim travellers. For Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut 1979, 76, it had a notoriety because of the intense commercial transactions which made it "the port of the Andalusians". He added that they had formerly been compelled to pay tithes (*taʿshīr*). For al-Idrīsī, ed. Beirut 1989, 289, it was a coastal fort with only a few constructions round it, but it was also a very busy port. Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1984, adds that it was here the galleys were armed for their incursions against the Christians. He is in fact the only writer to mention the coral there, "several hundred quintals of which were gathered every year". Most of these authors agree that it had been possible to divert the Oued

el-Kebir to the gates of the city, and even in 1725 a French agent wrote to the minister Maurepas "that the river could be navigated with large flat boats (Denise Brahimi, *Témoignages sur l'île de Tabarque au XVIII^e siècle*, in *ROMM*, i [1970], 30). Today, the current of this river is much reduced. Al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. Van Leeuwen-Ferré, Tunis 1992, did not say much about it, but located here the scene of the heroic death of Kāhina [*q.v.*], or in a nearby place since called "Bīr el-Kāhina" (the Well of Kāhina); but M. Talbi, *L'Épopée de la Kāhina*, in *CT* [1971], 47, casts doubt on that location.

It is, however, an ancient site. Roman and Byzantine Thabraca was the port where Numidian marble was loaded from the quarries of Simitthu (Chemtou, 20 km from D̲jendouba on the left bank of the Med̲jerda), as well as other products from the hinterland such as cereals, oil, construction timber, minerals and even wild animals for the circus games at Rome (P. Gauckler, *Mosaïques tombales ... à Thabraca*, 1906, repr. *CT*, 1972, 154). Even writers as early as al-Bakrī, Yāḳūt and al-Ḥimyarī speak about the ancient ruins; the excavations undertaken since the end of the 19th century have brought to light more than one Christian necropolis where some of the sarcophagi were discovered to have been overlaid with mosaic, just like the semi-circular pavements from the trifolium of the "Godmet farm" (now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis). Ancient cisterns still exist in modern times; one of these has preserved the name basilica, because it was used until recently as a parish church, and is today the home of the Festival of Ṭabarḳa.

The modern population of the region certainly seems to have very ancient antecedents. Libyan inscriptions and Punic inscriptions have been discovered in the burial chambers (*ḥwānet*, pl. of *ḥanūt*) which are found in underground caves hollowed out of the cliff and covered with bichrome drawings. In a place called Keff Blīda one of these drawings represents a naval scene (Monique Selmi-Longerstay, *Les Houânet*, in *Bull. dactyl. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de la Khroumirie et des Mogods*, Tabarka 1980, 21) which would be evidence to support very ancient maritime activity.

From the 17th century onwards, however, Ṭabarḳa gained more importance thanks to the Isle of Tabarca and' the richness of the coral beds surrounding it. J. Ganiage, *Les origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, 62, talks of the sole fishing rights granted to the French from the reign of Henri IV onwards, but what is most certain is that the island was retroceded by the Spanish in 1530 or 1540 to the Lomellini of Genoa, who were given the responsibility for building a fort there. This was built in 1553 (Lt.-Col. Hannezo, *Tabarca*, in *RT* [1916]) to accommodate a garrison and to pay a rent in coral (J. Pignon, *Gênes et Tabarka au XVII^ème siècle*, in *CT* [1979], 26).

But commercial enterprise was not restricted to coral. Tabarca soon became the base from which forty coral-gathering frigates operated and a trading post from where the products of the region were sent to Europe: wheat, animal hides, leathers, honey, wax, livestock and horses. The island was also used as a staging post for the Christian prisoners being redeemed, an operation in which the Genoese probably played the role of intermediary. This concession was granted, it is said, in payment of the ransom for the famous Dragut who was captured by a pirate ship belonging to the same Lomellini (A. Rousseau, *Annales tunisiennes*, 124; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 572). The benefits gained under the Genoese, which had enhanced the strategic value of the island, succeeded in arousing the jealousy of the French companies established after 1561 in the French bastion near La Calle (the governor of this trading post, the adventurous Sanson Napollon, even tried to take possession of the island and was killed in the course of the operation), and of the French companies in Cap Nègre (where the Compagnie d'Afrique used to fix as it pleased the purchase price of local products which it then exported without even paying any duty to the Bey, cf. art. xiii of the treaty of August 1766). The other powers, however, England, Spain, the kingdom of Naples, etc., also wanted to appropriate the coral reefs. The Lomellini were harrassed by their consuls and their agents and consented to get rid of the island at the risk of being thought traitors to their faith and to their country, according to Italian authors (see A. Gallico, *Tunis et les consuls sardes*, tr. L. and M. Yalaoui, Beirut 1992, 105, and the *Fragments historiques et statistiques sur la Régence de Tunis du consul Filippi*, ed. Ch. Monchicourt, 1929, 171).

ʿAlī Bey, acting on a warning, decided to liberate the island (June 1741) after two centuries of Christian occupation. The inhabitants, who since that time had been called Tabarcans, generally went to repopulate the Sardinian island of San Pietro or settled in Tunis, but 168 of them converted to Islam. Two women, Sofia Bosso and Salvatora Paona, even became the wives of the beys Sīdī Muḥammad and Sīdī Muṣṭafā (A. Riggio, *Cronaca Tabarchina dal 1756 ai primordi dell'Ottocento*, in *RT* [1937], 10). The capture of the island by Yūnus Bey was the subject of two different narratives: the memoirs of A. Napoly, published by Plantet, *Correspondance des Beys de Tunis avec la cour de France*, ii, 324, and the chronicle of Ṣag̲h̲īr b. Yūsuf, *al-Mas̲h̲raʿ al-malakī*, ms. BN (from Tunis) 18,688, fol. 194b, tr. V. Serres and M. Lasram, Paris 1900, 196. The latter document confirmed that the Bey had the fortifications demolished and had the arm of the sea separating the island from the shore filled in with rubble, though al-Ḥimyarī had already said that there was such a causeway visible above the surface, except in winter when the waves sometimes covered it.

Within the Genoese fort there is accommodation for barracks and a working lighthouse. In 1742 De Saurins, a French naval officer, attempted an abortive raid on the island (Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 130). But the island remained Tunisian until April 1881 when, using the K̲h̲umayr tribal incursions into Algerian territory as a pretext, the French military authorities organised an expedition by land and sea which ended in the occupation of the region concomitantly with the occupation of the whole of Tunisia.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(G. Yver-[M. Yalaoui])

TABARRUʾ (a.), a term of Islamic religious polemics, derived from form V of the verb *bariʾa*. The term *tabarruʾ* or *tabarrī*, which can also be found in the apparently incorrect but not uncommon Arabo-Persian form *tabarrā* (see below), primarily denotes the general idea of exemption or of disengagement, in particular exemption from responsibility. Among the Arabs *barāʾa*, which is also called *k̲h̲alʿ* or *tabarruʾ*, is a pre-Islamic social and legal phenomenon, which has persisted in Bedouin society (Kohlberg, 1986, 139 ff.).

In the text of the Ḳurʾān it seems that *barāʾa* appears very late in the career of Muḥammad. *Barāʾa* and *ad̲h̲ān* ([*q.v.*], the call to prayer) were declared following the day of the great farewell pilgrimage. This gave rise to many commentaries, especially because of the association between the *barāʾa* and the

surrogatory prayers known as *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*], taken in the sense of imprecations or supplications (Rubin, 25; Kohlberg, 1986, 140 ff.). S̲h̲īʿī traditions attribute the proclamation of the *barāʾa* to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, acting on orders from Muḥammad, and this would have involved the Islamisation of pagan allies of Muḥammad (Rubin, 26 ff.).

With successive exegeses and other commentaries, *barāʾa* passed in meaning from dissociation to disunification or repudiation, these ideas being taken up in different separatist or sectarian movements. The K̲h̲āridjites were apparently the first to develop an important point of doctrine from *barāʾa* (dissociation from ʿAlī and from all their enemies; Kohlberg, 1986, 142 ff.). The expressions *tabarraʾa min/ʿan*, or often *bariʾa min/ʿan* in the sense of "to regard as an enemy", was used very early on by various groups of K̲h̲āridjites (see al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, 198, 203, 206, etc., tr. Gimaret, 366, 371, 372-3; see also Gimaret, index, under *tawallā*).

The S̲h̲īʿī use of *barāʾa* developed step by step, firstly in non-doctrinal terms, concerning the hostility between ʿAlī and his opponents, during and after the conflict with Muʿāwiya, on the occasion of his dissociation in connection with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, which implied an allegiance (*walāya*) to ʿAlī. The association of *walāya* with *barāʾa* (or sometimes *ʿadāwa*, enmity) became a central idea for the S̲h̲īʿīs, although it had its opponents among the ʿAlids of Kūfa (Kohlberg, 1986, 144 ff.).

The Imāms, however, in particular Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, made it, for various reasons, an article of faith. The *barāʾa/ʿadāwa* was also expressed as a wrong against the Companions, *sabb al-ṣaḥāba*, an idea which had to remain played down during the Occultation in the name of *taḳiyya* (Kohlberg, 1986, 145 ff.; Amir-Moezzi, 217 ff.).

The idea of *barāʾa/tabarrī/tabarruʾ* could apply to various opposing parties, even at the heart of Imāmism, including the members of the families of the Imāms (Kohlberg, 1986, 158-67). The concept of juxtaposing *tawallī—tabarrī* which Gimaret (64-5, 142, 435 and index), prefers to translate as avowal—disavowal, had various connotations among the S̲h̲īʿīs. But it was the Imāmīs especially, often known as the Rāfiḍīs [see AL-RĀFIḌA], who were distinguished by their practice of *walāya—barāʾa* which was condemned as a whole by the hard line of Sunnism, as particularly expressed in Ḥanbalism (see H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 162).

Although the idea of *barāʾa* and its variants (*tabriʾa, mubāraʾa, istibrāʾ, berāt* [*q.v.*] in Turkish, *barāt* in Persian) have preserved the technical and legal connotations included in Imāmism, the Imāmīs have been particularly characterised by their partisan practice of the *walāya—barāʾa*.

In Persian usage, instead of *tabarruʾ/tabarrī*, in accordance with Arab grammar, the term *tabarrā* is often used in association with *tawallā*. This terminology, and especially the expression *tabarrā* in the sense of "to abstain" or "to dissociate oneself from" was used by the great classical Persian poets (see the entry *Tabarrā* in Dihk̲h̲udā, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*). The practice of *tawallā—tabarrā* has been attributed to the Ilk̲h̲ancid G̲h̲āzān [*q.v.*] regarding his so-called conversion to Imāmism (see Calmard, 1993, 119). But it was particularly during the imposition of Twelver Imāmism as the state religion by the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl (1501-24, [*q.v.*]) at the beginning of the 10th/16th century that the use of the term *tabarrā* was widely extended beyond the closed circles of scholars and the *ʿulamāʾ*. In its use as a sort of euphemism for insult or execration (*sabb, taʿn, laʿn*) this term had the advantage of providing an agent noun, *tabarrāʾī*, execrator, with a usage current in Ṣafawid Persia.

The doctrine and practices of exclusion, or even excommunication of the Companions (*takfīr al-ṣaḥāba*), were ancient in Imāmism (see Kohlberg, 1984, 148 ff.). Various methods were used to slander or curse the Great Companions by the Imāmīs, the *G̲h̲ulāt*, the Zaydīs and the Ismāʿīlīs (Kohlberg, 1984, 160 ff.). Despite differences of opinion, the ancient Imāmī *barāʾa* was aimed especially at Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUt̲h̲mān. Other enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt* were included in this dissociation, in particular the Umayyad caliphs and the women ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, Ḥafṣa, Hind and Umm al-Ḥakam (Kohlberg, 1986, 144 ff.). However, the Rāfiḍīs were denigrated and condemned (Calmard, 1993, 121), most particularly for the execration or insulting of the Companions (*sabb al-ṣaḥāba*), and more especially of the first two caliphs (*sabb al-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ayn*), which certain people practised more or less openly.

The imposition of Ṣafawid S̲h̲īʿism on a population which was largely Sunnī posed various political and religious problems, and these were only partly resolved, in particular concerning the *tabarrāʾīs* and the contents of their imprecations. These official execrators—delators, whose social origin remains uncertain—seem to have practised their profession first of all at Tabrīz during the proclamation of S̲h̲īʿism in 1501. But they were practised above all at Harāt in 1510, at the time of the dramatic circumstances surrounding that proclamation (where acknowledging their presence under this name poses, however, problems), and especially at the time of the Uzbek-Ṣafawid conflicts. In the course of these the town changed hands several times, and then the *tabarrāʾīs* and their collaborators were seen at work. The latter were instructed, under pain of death, to curse and have cursed the first two or three caliphs, the Ottomans (there was some confusion in regard to the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān), Yazīd (who was particularly denigrated in the heterodox and popular circles, both Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī, in the Turco-Iranian area), and the Sunnīs (Calmard, 1993, 121 ff.; on Yazīd among the *G̲h̲ulāt*, see Moosa, index).

The cursing persisted under S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp I (1524-76 [*q.v.*]), including in his correspondence with Süleymān Ḳānūnī, which caused diplomatic complications with the Ottomans as well as with the Uzbeks (Calmard, 1993, 126 f.). These practices also annoyed the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* living in the territories under Ottoman control. Some of them condemned the doctrinal stance taken by the *mudjtahids* who had gone over into the service of the Ṣafawids, and particularly al-Karakī (Newman, 82 ff.). Despite the undertaking given to the Ottomans by Ṭahmāsp at the peace of Amasya (962/1555) to stop the ritual cursing, it persisted at least until Ismāʿīl II decreed its abolition. He also had suspended the *tabarrāʾīs* who were officially appointed and took measures against certain execrators, among whom were the *ʿulamāʾ*, who had a reputation for fanaticism (Calmard, 1993, 126; Calmard, 1996, 161). After this decree the *tabarrāʾīs* do not seem to have functioned as official agents in Ṣafawid Persia. The execrators included under this name nevertheless continued to practise, especially in the *rawḍa-k̲h̲ʷānīs* [*q.v.*] and other S̲h̲īʿī religious festivals.

The efficacy of the *tabarrāʾīs* can be measured by the very wide dissemination of the practice of cursing followed by the preachers and faithful S̲h̲īʿīs, which was to last at least until the Ḳādjār period in Persia. Among the opponents of the *Ahl al-Bayt* was above

all the caliph ʿUmar, who was both privately and publicly increasingly execrated and vilified, especially at the time of the ritual feast (*ʿUmar-kushān*) celebrated on 9 Rabīʿ I, in the course of which his effigy was burned, and also sometimes at ceremonies of Muḥarram; he is then confused with ʿUmar b. Saʿd, one of those chiefly responsible for the massacre of Karbalā (see Calmard, 1996, 161 ff.).

But in their hatred of the Sunnīs and the Ottomans, the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ṣafawid Persia made every effort to extend the ritual cursing to Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of the official Ottoman *madhhab* (Arjomand, 166). His tomb in Baghdād was desecrated and destroyed by Shāh Ismāʿīl (1508), ornamented with a cupola by Süleymān Ḳānūnī (1534), destroyed again by Shāh ʿAbbās (1623), and reconstructed by Murād IV (1638). Amid the almost permanent socio-religious troubles, the execratory character of Imāmism continued in ʿIrāḳ, which from then on was under Ottoman control, and among the strong Persian community in Istanbul until the end of the 19th century (see S. Derengil, *The struggle against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq. A study in Ottoman counter-propaganda*, in *WI*, xxx [1990], 45-62).

Shīʿism with its sectarian practices was to some extent exported to India, notably in the Shīʿī sultanates of the Deccan which resulted from the decline of the Bahmānids (1347-1527 [*q.v.*]). This is particularly the case for the ʿĀdilshāhīs of Bidjāpūr (1490-1686), the first Shīʿī state in India (see R.E. Eaton, art. *ʿĀdelšāhīs*, in *EIr*). The rituals of the *tawallā—tabarrā* also persisted in the popular Shīʿism of the state of Awadh [*q.v.*] in the north of India (see J.R.I. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shīʿism in Iran and Iraq. Religion and state in Awadh, 1722-1859*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1988, 108, 239 ff.). The adoption or rejection of these practices in other Shīʿī states in India (which were often more moderate) remains to be determined.

In the use that they made of the terms *tabarrā/tabarrāʾī* for elaborating and propagating Shīʿism, the Ṣafawids largely went beyond *taḳiyya* during the Occultation of the Imām. This was not accepted by all the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*. For some, insult (*sabb*, i.e. the effective content of the Ṣafawid *barāʾa/tabarrā*) was worse than *barāʾa* in the sense of dissociation (see Kohlberg, 1986, 156, n. 89; Calmard, 1993, 145).

Bibliography: This subject, which has only been briefly outlined here, and the related concepts which cover a very wide period, plus numerous references to primary sources, are given in the works cited in the text and in the following: Shahrastānī, *K. al-Milal wa 'l-niḥal*, ed. Fatḥ Allāh Badrān, Cairo 1366-75/1947-55, tr. D. Gimaret, with introd. and notes by idem and G. Monnot, *Le Livre des religions et des sectes*, i, Louvain-Paris 1986; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago 1984; U. Rubin, *Barāʾa. A study of some Quranic passages*, in *JSAI*, v (1984), 13-32; E. Kohlberg, *Some Imāmī Shīʿī views on the Ṣaḥāba*, in *ibid.*, 143-75; idem, *Barāʾa in Shīʿī doctrine*, in *ibid.*, vii (1986), 139-75; Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites. The Ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1988; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le Guide divin dans le shīʿisme originel*, Lagrasse 1992; A.J. Newman, *The myth of the clerical migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiite opposition to ʿAlī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism*, in *WI*, xxxiii (1993), 66-112; J. Calmard, *Les rituels shiites et le pouvoir. L'imposition du shiisme safavide: eulogies et malédictions canoniques*, in idem (ed.), *Etudes safavides*, Paris-Tehran 1993, 109-50; idem, *Shiʿi rituals and power. II. The consolidation of Safavid Shiʿism: folklore and popular religion*, in C. Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia*, Pembroke Papers, Cambridge, IV, London-New York 1996, 139-90. (J. Calmard)

ṬABARSARĀN (in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 16, Ṭabarstarān), a district of the eastern Caucasus, essentially the basin of the Rūbās river which runs into the Caspian Sea just south of Darband [see DERBEND], the early Islamic Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]. It now comes within the southernmost part of Dāghistān (see map in ḲABḲ, at IV, 344). Its population comprises Caucasian mountaineers plus a considerable admixture of Iranian speakers of Tātī dialect [see TĀT].

At the time of the Umayyad prince Marwān b. Muḥammad's raids through the Caucasus, there was a Ṭabarsarān Shāh (known also with this title in pre-Islamic times), who agreed to pay tribute to the Arabs (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 196, 208; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 2 = § 442). It is frequently mentioned in the *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb* from the 4th/10th century onwards, being ruled at various times by the Hāshimid *amīrs* of Darband and the Yazīdī Shīrwān Shāhs; see V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 91-2 and index.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also ḲABḲ and SHĪRWĀN SHĀH. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-**ṬABARSĪ** [see AL-ṬABRISĪ].

ṬABAS, the name of two places in eastern Persia, denoted in the early mediaeval Islamic sources by the dual form al-Ṭabasān[i] (e.g. in al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 45, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 20) and distinguished as Ṭabas al-Tamr "Ṭ. of the date-palms" and Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb "Ṭ. of the jujube trees", later Persian forms Ṭabas Gīlakī and Ṭabas Masīnān respectively. Ṭabas al-Tamr lay to the west of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in the central Great Desert at a junction of routes between the Dasht-i Lūṭ in the south and the Dasht-i Kawīr in the north and west. Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb lay farther to the east in Ḳuhistān, adjacent to the modern border of Persia with Afghānistān. It is the first which has been more important and which has played a role in Islamic history.

Ṭabas al-Tamr was reached in ʿUmar's caliphate by Arab raiders from Kirmān under ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl al-Khuzāʿī, and a peace treaty made with the inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 403). In the 4th/10th century it was a fortified place with a mosque, notable for its extensive date-palms and supplied with water brought to reservoirs by *ḳanāts*. Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through it in 444/1051 and noted that it was called Ṭabas Gīlakī after its *raʾīs*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Gīlakī (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-6, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 100). In the later 5th/11th century it passed under the control of the Ismāʿīlīs of Ḳuhistān, and in 494/1102 was attacked and partly destroyed by a Saldjūḳ army sent by Sultan Sandjar (Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 341, 354). In the time of the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I it was devastated by the Özbegs. It was soon after this, in 1621, that the first European to visit Ṭabas reached there, the Silesian nobleman Heinrich von Poser (A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 58). In the early 19th century, according to Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 43-4, the virtually independent ruler in Ṭabas was the Arab chief Mīr Ḥusayn Khān, who maintained a powerful army there; by Curzon's time, however, the hereditary chief Mīrzā Bāḳir ʿImād al-Mulk supplied only 150 cavalrymen to the Ḳādjār army (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 202-3).

Modern Ṭabas (Gīlakī) (lat. 33° 37' N., long. 56° 54' E.) is now the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *ustān* of Khurāsān. In *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 8,114, which had risen in 1991 to 17,071 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). Ṭabas (Masīnān), also in Khurāsān province (lat. 32° 48' N., long. 60° 14' E.), is a village in the *shahristān* of Bīrdjand; in *ca.* 1950 it had a population of 1,513, but in 1991 only 468 (*ibid.*).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬABĀSHĪR, a medicament used in mediaeval Islam. It is a crystalline concretion in the internodes of the bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea Willd., Gramineae*). The concretions, also known as "bamboo sugar", consist of silicic acid, silicates, and carbonate of calcium. They are extracted by burning the bamboo stems, often also through auto-combustion due to the heat by mutual friction of the stems when moved by strong winds (*yaḥtariḳ min dhātihī li 'ḥtikāk baʿḍihā bi-baʿḍ bi-rīḥ shadīda*). Some believed the concretions to be burnt elephant bones; most likely this is just a falsification using elephant teeth. Falsifications were also done with the burnt bones of ram's heads, whenever the price for *ṭabāshīr*, which in its Indian place of origin was practically worthless, was higher in the outside world. Others consider *ṭabāshīr* to be the roots of "Indian cane" (*al-ḳaṣab al-hindī*). The white, light, and soft concretions which were easily crushed and pulverised were considered the best (according to others those with a blueish hue). The Indians held especially the "knots" (*ʿuḳad*) and the dirham-size disks inside the stems in high esteem. *Ṭabāshīr* had been part of the Indian *materia medica* as of old; the Persian-Arabic name is supposed to be a translation of a Sanskrit word. The idea that *ṭabāshīr* is simply Dioscorides' σάκχαρον is no longer held. Popularly in Egypt and Syria *ṭabāshīr* denotes "chalk."

The medicinal effects attributed to *ṭabāshīr* are manifold. Taken internally or externally, it is used against inflammations of the gall bladder; it fortifies the stomach, is efficacious against high fever and thirst, lowers the heat of the liver, is beneficial against ulcers, pustules, haemorrhoids, and stomatitis of children. It is astringent, tonic, and a mild expectorant due to its slight bitterness. It is beneficial against eye inflammations, fortifies the heart, calms down heart palpitations and soothes stomach troubles of all kinds. Its application is also recommended in cases of diarrhoea and chronic liver ailments.

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(A. Dietrich)

ṬABĀṬABĀʾĪ, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, Persian statesman (1888-1969).

He was born in Yazd into a conservative, clerical family, and spent much of his childhood and youth in Shīrāz, where he received a traditional education, and then embarked upon a career in journalism, editing a pro-constitutional newspaper, the *Nidā-yi Islām*. He moved to Tehran where he continued his work as a journalist, editing the newspaper *Raʿd*.

In Tehran, Sayyid Ḍiyā''s reputation as a reformer grew and he became the centre of a group of like-minded individuals. He also assiduously cultivated the confidence of the British military and diplomatic establishment. In late 1919-early 1920 he was sent by the then Prime Minister, Wuthūḳ al-Dawla, to Baku to negotiate with the anti-Bolshevik Musāwāt party. As a result of this mission his prominence in official circles increased significantly.

In the circumstances of political collapse prevailing in Persia in late 1920-early 1921, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ entered into a conspiracy with Riḍā Khān [see riḍā shāh], commander of the Cossack force then stationed under British control at Ḳazwīn, and with certain officers of the nationalist Government Gendarmerie. On 20-21 February 1921 these elements marched on and captured Tehran and overthrew the government of Sipahdār, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ becoming the new Prime Minister. The programme of his government contained far-reaching proposals for the reform and reconstruction of the state with, as its centrepiece, the creation of a national army. Many members of the landed aristocracy, whose overthrow Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ had consistently advocated, were arrested and imprisoned, Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ intending to extract money from their families with which to finance the government's reforms.

Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ remained Prime Minister for three months, being forced out of office and into exile in early May 1921 as a result of the growth and combination of opposition from a variety of sources, including the Shāh and the court, the notables, state officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*, and, decisively, from Riḍā Khān, now War Minister. Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ was given refuge in Palestine, then under British mandatory rule, where he devoted his attention to Islamic issues, participating in the Islamic Congress in 1931, and also to farming and agriculture.

In 1943 Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ returned to Persia and resumed his political and journalistic activity on a right-wing and pro-British basis. He founded the National Will party, and was elected to the Madjlis. In the early 1950s he opposed both Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] and the Tūdah party. Subsequently he withdrew from politics. He died in 1969.

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(Stephanie Cronin)

TABATTUL [see zuhd].

ṬABBĀKH (a.), cook, a professional term, although rarely used as a *laḳab* in early Islamic times; however, the *ṭāhī* or *shāwī* "roaster" is mentioned in ancient poetry describing feasts, but these were probably slaves deputed to do the job, and not professionals.

The early Arabs' diet used to include dates, milk, vegetables, mushroom, lentils, onion, honey, coarse bread, and meat of various animals like lamb, goats, camels, rabbits, reptiles, etc. Most of the food they

ate did not require much cooking, hence the profession of cook only appears with the political expansion of the Arabs. The Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, apparently had a taste for good food and employed a cook named Bashīr from eastern Persia (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 86). The Arabs became familiar with the life-styles of their non-Arab subjects, including cooking tasteful food. By the time the ʿAbbāsids came to power in 132/750, the Arabs and Persians co-operated in social, economic and cultural activities. They also learnt a good deal of ancient culinary art and about applying colour to food. Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) observed that a professional cook (*ṭabbākh*) would talk about his ability to dye food, and the many ways of cooking chicken and making sweets (cf. *al-Bayān wa ʾl-tabyīn*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 222). However, *muḥtasib*s denied cooks the license to dye food as they wished, and only approved saffron as the dye for food. Moreover, in the urban centres of the caliphate like Baghdād, Fusṭāṭ and Cairo there were food markets (*sūḳ al-ṭaʿām*) wherein a person could buy and eat cooked food. However, market inspectors inspected the quality of food sold in cookshops and fined offenders who failed to observe the legal and customary guidelines for cooks. The *ḥisba* officials demanded cleanliness of cooks for the sake of public hygiene, and even recommended the cooks to follow instructions in al-Kindī's culinary pamphlet *Kīmiyāʾ al-ṭabāʾikh* "The chemistry of cooked foods".

Cooks of both sexes are cited in Arabic proverbs and literary works. In Fāṭimid Egypt there were female slaves (*djawārī*) working as professional cooks who were praised for their culinary skill, and in modern Egypt cooks have formed guilds.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

ṬABBĀL (A.), lit. drummer; owner of a drum; a drumming expert who earned his livelihood by playing various kinds of drums [see ṬABL].

The drummers (*ṭabbālūn*) as a group emerge in Arabic historical writings of the ʿAbbāsid period. Al-Iṣfahānī noted that people used to sing with drumbeats. Drummers performed in various celebrations and festivities. Birthdays were celebrated by the wealthy who feasted with friends and fed the poor amidst musical entertainment. In one particular instance, the drummers beat drums and musicians played clarions (*būḳāt*) while celebrating the birth of a son to the caliph al-Muḳtadī (467-87/1075-94) (*al-Muntaẓam*, ix, 14). Some Christians attended a funeral procession carrying crosses, accompanied by relatives, mourners and drummers in Baghdād in 403/1012 (*ibid.*, vii, 262).

Al-Djāḥiẓ cited the drums (*ṭubūl*) as a characteristic musical instrument of the Turks, who were recruited into the ʿAbbāsid army and housed in special barracks in Sāmarrāʾ from the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards. Drummers often accompanied the army on the battlefield and, despite their humble position, were required to wear coats of mail to protect themselves, because the outcome of the battle often depended on the standard-bearers and spirit-stirring drummers. Victory celebrations by the public also brought the drummers to the fore, as was the case in celebrating al-Ḳāʾim's victory over the rebel al-Basāsīrī in 451/1059 when men and women played kettledrums (*dabādib*), tambourines (*dufūf*) and clarions in daylight hours and carried torches at night. In times of emergency, the drummers awakened the public to impending danger, as they did at midnight during a Ḳarmaṭī military threat to the ʿAbbāsid capital in 320/932 (cf. *The Eclipse*, i, 132).

The custom of beating drums in front of the caliph's palace at the five times of prayer was recorded during the 4th/10th century. The Buwayhid Amīrs, especially Muʿizz al-Dawla and ʿAḍud al-Dawla, requested the same privilege from the *Khalīfa*. After prevarication, the latter granted a reduced privilege of beating the drum away from the gate of Muʿizz al-Dawla's palace for three times: at dawn, sunset and night prayers. Al-Ṭāʾiʿ allowed ʿAḍud al-Dawla to employ drummers in front of his palace in the Shammāsiyya district of Baghdād at three of the times of prayer. Under the Saldjūḳs, a certain Saʿd al-Dawla, according to Ibn al-Athīr, also enjoyed the privilege of being serenaded by drummers in front of his residence in 471/1078. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw witnessed an impressive display of beating of drums and blowing of trumpets by a thousand soldiers (perhaps an exaggerated number) in front of the royal palace at the sunset prayer (*maghrib*) in Cairo in 439/1047. The customary beating of drums thrice a day at prayer times (*rasm al-ṭabl al-nawba fī ʾl-ṣalawāt al-thalāth*) for *amīrs*, according to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, was practiced until 634/1236.

During the Mamlūk period the drummers were employed as part of a military band at *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*] where they performed at fixed hours and regular occasions for the sultans. In Yemen during the Rasūlid period (628-723/1228-1323), the *ṭabl-khāna* existed, wherein drums were beaten with other musical instruments like cymbals at processions as well as on various celebrations for three or seven days. Some members of the military band were of African descent. The privilege of having *ṭabl-khāna*s was sometimes extended to various *amīrs*. A place in Ṣanʿāʾ was known as the quarter of the drum-band (*ḥārat ṭabl-khāna*).

The drummers' status in society was low. In Ṣafawid Iṣfahān, they were grouped with people of other demeaning professions like dancers, singers, pigeon-trainers and brothel keepers. Inferior social status promoted solidarity among the drummers, who formed guilds in Ṣafawid Persia and early modern Egypt.

In Syria, the drummers earned their livelihood by performing their art at the circumcision of male children, at mock sword-plays for folk-entertainment and in marriage ceremonies for three days. During the harvesting seasons of olives and grapes, they per-

formed ritual beating of drums and sang songs to eke out a meagre wage. The drummers' work in pre-modern Syria, as elsewhere in the Middle East, was treated as a demeaning profession (*ḥirfa danīʾa*).

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(M.A.J. BEG)

TĀBIʿ [see POSTA].

ṬABĪʿA (A.), literally "nature", functional equivalents *ṭibāʿ* and *ṭabʿ*, a term of Islamic science, philosophy and theology. Numerous Arabic-writing authors have defined the term, and a first survey shows that in a large number of cases these definitions betray Aristotelian origins. In such cases, therefore, it would be legitimate to analyse *ṭabīʿa* in the context of Aristotle's φύσις, a term usually translated as "nature", provided that the distinct and varying conceptual range of the Arabic term is kept in view and it is not considered identical to its Greek source.

1. Appropriations of the Greek φύσις tradition.

Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] writes in his *K. al-Ḥudūd* that "*ṭabīʿa* is an essential first principle (*mabdaʾ awwal*) for the essential movement of that in which it is present; in short, for every essential change (*taghayyur*) and every essential persistence (*thabāt*)" (*Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 86; cf. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, 201). This is clearly an Aristotelian definition; in fact, in the *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, we find Ibn Sīnā providing a fairly faithful Arabic paraphrase of Aristotle's *Physics*, ii/1, 192.b.20-3: "*Ṭabīʿa* is a cause (*sabab* = αἰτία) in that it is a certain essential principle (*mabdaʾ* = ἀρχή) of motion and rest to that in which it is inherent, essentially and not by accident" (Arabic text in Goichon, 201). Similarly, to take another example, the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of pseudo-Maslama b. Aḥmad al-Madjrīṭī [*q.v.*] also defines *ṭabīʿa* as a cause and an essential principle; and in conformity with Aristotle it is expressly called a potentiality: we are told that *ṭabīʿa* is a certain *ḳuwwa* (δύναμις) existing in physical bodies by means of which their forms and acts are preserved for a finite period of time—"natural philosophers (*ṭabīʿiyyūn*) call this *ḳuwwa* the constraining cause (*al-sabab al-mumsik*) by means of which bodies persist without collapsing, disintegrating, or calcining. . . . The definition of *ṭabīʿa* is that it is the essential first principle . . . of motion and rest" (ed. H. Ritter, Berlin 1933, 284). Recall Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, ix/8, 1049.b.9-10: "φύσις is in the same genus as δύναμις; for it is a principle of movement". Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], too, in his polemical discourses on *ṭabīʿa*, says that it is a potentiality, and so do the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*] (see below).

But pseudo-Madjrīṭī continues to give the definitions of *ṭabīʿa* according to others, and here the question of sources, though they remain evidently Greek, becomes rather complex. According to the philosophers, he says, *ṭabīʿa* is a corporeal form (*ṣūra djismiyya*) and "it is in physical bodies (*al-badan*) through the mediation of the Sphere lying between this [corporeal form] and the Soul" (*loc. cit.*). Plato, he tells us, defined *ṭabīʿa* as a natural substance (*djawhar ṭabīʿī*). And like Ibn Sīnā—and here the texts of the *Ḥudūd* (Goichon, 201) and *Ghāya* are practically identical—he gives the definition of the physicians: "They apply the term *ṭabīʿa* to humour, natural heat (*al-ḥarāra al-gharīziyya*), aspects of the bodily organs (*hayʾāt al-aʿḍāʾ*), movements, and the vegetative soul" (*loc. cit.*).

Indeed, the term is widely used by Arabic physicians and, as Goichon points out (200), in this usage it carries the broad sense of the Latin *natura rerum*. In this connection, one should note what seems to be a fairly common feature of Arabic encyclopaedic works on animals: found in these writings is a section devoted to the *ṭabāʾiʿ* of each animal, followed by its properties (*khawāṣṣ*) (see, for example, Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawāfir (d. 701/1301), *Badāʾiʿ al-akwān fī manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Chester Beatty 4325; ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī (*fl.* 3rd/9th century), *K. Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Berlin 6240; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, Leiden 1970). Also, in natural historical writings sometimes the term used is *ṭibāʿ*, which functions as the equivalent of *ṭabīʿa*. Thus Aristotle's title *History of animals* is translated *Fī maʿrifat ṭibāʿ al-ḥayawān al-barrī wa 'l-baḥrī* (ed. A. Badawī, Kuwait 1977). Again, in the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Generation of animals* attributed to Yaḥyā b. al-Biṭrīḳ, φύσις is consistently rendered *ṭibāʿ* (see ed. J. Brugman and H.J. Drossaart Lulofs, Leiden 1971, 249). But the use of *ṭibāʿ* is not restricted to this particular context, since, for example, in a discourse on the souls of heavenly bodies Ibn Sīnā speaks of their *ṭibāʿ* in which, he says, inheres the principle of change and multiplicity (Arabic text in Goichon, 201).

An unmistakably Neoplatonic account of *ṭabīʿa* is found in the *Rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ which contains a whole chapter on the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of *ṭabīʿa*. "Those among the sages and philosophers who used to talk about cosmic phenomena occurring in the sublunar realm", we read in the *Rasāʾil*, "attributed all natural events and processes to *ṭabīʿa* . . . Know, O my brother, . . . that *ṭabīʿa* is only one of the potentialities of the Universal Soul, a potentiality spreading through all sublunar bodies, flowing through each of their parts". Then we are told that, expressed in terms of Divine Law, *ṭabīʿa* is a group of "angels who are assigned the task of protecting the world and carrying out natural creation (*tadbīr al-khalīḳa*) by the permission of God" (*Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1957, ii, 63). This is an interesting appropriation of the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, particularly as it is found in the historically important *Theologia Aristotelis*, a pseudo-Aristotelian text whose ultimate substratum is Plotinus' *Enneads*, iv-vi in Porphyry's arbitrary arrangement. In this text *ṭabīʿa* is spoken of as an emanation ultimately radiating forth from the First Cause, through the successive emanations of the hypostases of the Intellect and Soul (ed. A. Badawi, in idem, *Plotinus apud Arabes*, Cairo 1955, 6). Note that both Plotinus

and the Ik͟hwān agree on the intermediary roles of the Intellect and Soul in the creation of the natural world. God's method was to act indirectly, and for the Ik͟hwān, this meant that He carried out the affairs of the world through His angelic agents—and *ṭabīʿa* was one of them: "*ṭabīʿa* is only one of God's angels, His supporters and His obedient slaves, doing whatever they are commanded to do" (*Rasāʾil*, ii, 127; cf. I. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, Edinburgh 1982, 38). We have already seen that pseudo-Mad͟jrīṭī assigns this role to the Sphere.

Given the hierarchical ethos of Neoplatonic metaphysics, one frequently finds in the Islamic philosophical literature elaborate discourses on the ranks of created beings, and man's place on this scale. An example is the ethical treatise *K. al-Nafs wa 'l-rūḥ* (ed. M.S.H. Maʿṣūmī, Islamabad 1968) of Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]. In this work, the author organises his four ranks of beings on the basis of, *inter alia*, the existence or non-existence of *ṭabīʿa* in a given being. Angels were on the top, endowed with intellect but no *ṭabīʿa*; next came lower animals possessing *ṭabīʿa* and desire, but no intellect; then inanimate objects, having none of the three; and finally the fourth place belonged to human beings, possessing all three, *ṭabīʿa*, intellect, and desire. But then, we are told that it is the privilege only of human beings to be God's vicegerents, because they had faculties of which other beings were deprived (see M. Fakhry, *Ethical theories in Islam*, Leiden 1991, 186); and in this sense man becomes the highest created being. Here it is interesting to note that al-Rāzī does not admit of *ṭabīʿa* in inanimate objects, and this clearly means that he is thinking of it exclusively in psychological terms; for him, *ṭabīʿa* was a faculty which necessarily implied volition, and this is certainly not Aristotle's φύσις.

2. In Kalām.

In the *kalām* literature [see ʿILM AL-KALĀM], the term *ṭabīʿa* is often used interchangeably with *ṭabʿ*. Thus, in his own reformulation of the meaning of the two terms, the *mutakallim* al-As͟hʿarī [*q.v.*] conflates them: when, he says, one is accustomed to seeing the occurrence (*ḥudūt͟h*) of some specific accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) invariably (*ʿalā watīratⁱⁿ wāḥidatⁱⁿ*) in some specific bodies, one calls them "*ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*" (Ibn Fūrak, *Mud͟jarrad maḳālāt al-As͟hʿarī*, ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1987, 131-2). But this does not mean that here we have a total conceptual equivalence, for frequently one finds in *kalām* a distinction between *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*. In general, the latter term in its standard non-*kalām* usage is understood by the *mutakallimūn* to mean the natural disposition of a physical entity which *necessarily* determines its particular behaviour, and here *ṭabīʿa* is practically synonymous with the *k͟hilḳa* of the *mutakallim* al-Naẓẓām as reported by al-S͟hahrastānī [*q.v.*]: "Everything that lies beyond [the action of human beings] ... is the work of God by the necessitation of a *k͟hilḳa*" (al-S͟hahrastānī, 38). Again, in a qualified manner, the term is functionally equivalent to the *maʿnā* of Muʿammar (see R. Frank, *Al-maʿnà: Some reflections on the technical meaning of the term in the Kalâm and its use in the physics of Muʿmmar*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii [1967], 248; cf. H.A. Wolfson, *Philosophy of the kalâm*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 566). On the other hand, the *mutakallimūn* view the standard notion of *ṭabʿ* in a distinct generic sense of a natural causal agency which brings about the real phenomena of the world (see below). It would appear, then, that here *ṭabīʿa* is a special case of *ṭabʿ*; and since both of them were equally considered to imply natural causation for physical processes, as opposed to direct divine will or command, they were both equally unacceptable to practically all *mutakallimūn*. It is for this reason, it seems, that they sometimes do not bother to keep the two terms distinct from each other.

Mentioned among those whom the *mutakallimūn* censure for believing in natural causation is a group of thinkers called *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, espousers of *ṭabāʾiʿ*—and this seems to be a rather broad designation for those who pursue natural philosophy (see A. Dhanani, *The Physical theory of kalām*, Leiden 1994, 4, 182). However, it is clear that the *mutakallimūn* attribute to these *aṣḥāb* such views on *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa* as are shared also by the alchemists, for the alchemists did believe in *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa* as an agency of natural causation (see 3. below). But it is an interesting fact that in the *Sirr al-k͟halīḳa* of pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana [see BALĪNŪS], a fundamentally important source of early Arabic alchemy [see RUKN], we find mentions of *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* as a group of people who deify and worship *ṭabāʾiʿ* and whom the author of the text strongly condemns (*K. Sirr al-k͟halīḳa wa-ṣanʿat al-ṭabīʿa*, ed. U. Weisser, Aleppo 1979, 30, 60). Further, in his *K. al-Sabʿīn*, D͟jābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], too, refers to *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*, whom he evidently considers outsiders to his field of alchemy (see P. Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, Cairo 1942, 17). Thus the self-perception of some alchemists was that they are not among this group; but they do nonetheless fulfill the *mutakallimūn*'s criterion of what definitively characterises *aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ*.

Ṭabīʿa and ṭabʿ as causality. It should be noted that the *kalām* discourses on *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa*, and they are voluminous, are always carried out in the larger context of the problem of causality. Indeed, one would agree with the claim that for the *mutakallimūn* the "term [*ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa* is] the equivalent of causality" (Wolfson, *op. cit.*, 559). Ibn Rus͟hd [*q.v.*] expresses this the other way around, but categorically: denial of causality is, in effect, a denial that things have a *ṭabīʿa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, xvii/5, 520). A lucid explanation of the *mutakallimūn*'s position on this matter is to be found in the *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* of Mūsā b. Maymūn (Maimonides) [see IBN MAYMŪN]. Here one reads the report of the *kalām* doctrine that all physical bodies consist of atoms (*d͟jawhar*, pl. *d͟jawāhir*/*d͟juzʾ*, pl. *ad͟jzāʾ*) and accidents (*ʿaraḍ*, pl. *aʿrāḍ*) created by God through His will. All attributes of bodies (colour, smell, motion, growth, decay, life, death, etc.) are accidents. But these accidents do not arise out of, even less, are necessarily caused by, a *ṭabʿ* or *ṭabīʿa* inhering in bodies and acting naturally without God's direct creative causal action. Everything in the world that comes into being comes into being by an act of free creation by God as He wills. The object of this doctrine, Maimonides tells us, is to guard against the idea that there is in any sense a *ṭabīʿa* in things and that this *ṭabīʿa* of a thing requires necessarily that there should be joined to it such and such accident (*Le Guide des égarés*, ed. and tr. S. Munk, Paris 1856-66, i, 375 ff.).

In other words, *ṭabʿ/ṭabīʿa*, in its standard usage, is considered by the *mutakallimūn* to signify a real principle of natural causation, and this is in conformity with Aristotle. Again, Ibn K͟haldūn [*q.v.*], speaking of the *mutakallimūn*'s denial of causality, characterises them succinctly by his statement "They denied *ṭabīʿa*" (*Muḳaddima*, iii, 114). Ibn Ḥazm says of the As͟hʿarīs that they used the term *ʿāda* (custom) instead of *ṭabīʿa* to designate the natural course of events not broken off by miracles (*K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1320, v, 15). To be sure, in the *Maḳālāt* al-As͟hʿarī declares: "One who holds *ṭabīʿa* to be necessitating (*al-mūd͟jiba*) and

ṭabʿ to be that which causally engenders (*al-muwallid*) is mistaken" (Ibn Fūrak, 131; note here the distinction between *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa*). He then explains his position by saying that it is simply a matter of linguistic usage that people say, "the *ṭabʿ* of so and so is good" and that "the *ṭabʿ* of so and so is evil". They do so because they are accustomed to (*iʿtādū*) seeing some specific accidents occurring invariably in certain bodies (132). Thus *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa* has no ontological significance. Again, "He [al-Ash̲ʿarī] used to reject the views of the philosophers, the espousers of *ṭabāʾiʿ* (*ṭabāʾiʿiyyūn*), and the Muʿtazila, all of whom argue for their belief in causality (*tawallud*) by saying that there exists in fire a tendency (*iʿtimād*) which causally engenders its upward motion, and a tendency in stone which causally engenders its downward motion. He would say: all that is in these bodies is the creation of the All-Powerful, the Wise, Who does whatever He wills to do, without cause (*sabab*) and without any mediating processes (*muʿālad̲j̲a*). Indeed, we have already elucidated his views concerning his denial of the doctrine of *ṭabāʾiʿ*" (276).

In explaining the regularity and predictability of natural phenomena, Abū Ḥāmid al-G̲h̲azālī [*q.v.*] also substitutes *ʿāda* for *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa*. But his explanation is more sophisticated. Why is it that fire always burns, and (to take one of his own examples) a boy never turns into a dog? His answer is twofold: (a) God creates certain events in succession to other events; this succession continues in the same way since God has caused the continuance of custom (*ʿāda*), and (b) God has created in us the knowledge of (a), namely that the custom will continue, and that fire will continue to burn, and a boy will not turn into a dog. Thus natural phenomena are not caused, of necessity, owing to a *ṭabʿ*, but due to a divinely-created custom, a custom of which we possess a divinely-created knowledge. (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270-86).

But the substitution of *ʿāda* for *ṭabʿ*/*ṭabīʿa* came under heavy criticism in the hands of Ibn Ḥazm. Thus arguing on grounds of linguistic usage, he says, "'*ʿāda* in the Arabic language" is used with regard to something which may either be avoided (*tarkuhu*) or not avoided, and whose absence (*zawāluhu*) is possible (*mumkin*), in contradistinction to the term *ṭabīʿa*, which is used with regard to something the avoidance of which (*al-k̲h̲urūd̲j̲ ʿanhā*) is impossible (*mumtaniʿ*) (*Fiṣal*, v, 15-6). Thus unlike *ṭabīʿa*, *ʿāda* cannot explain the regularity in the processes of the world, since they always happen in the same way. He then explicates the term: *ṭabīʿa*—which is, he tells us, synonymous (*mutarādifa*) to *k̲h̲alīḳa*, *salīḳa*, *bahīra*, *g̲h̲arīza*, *sad̲j̲iyya*, *sīma*, and *d̲j̲ibilla*—only means the potentiality (*ḳuwwa*) of a thing whereby the qualities therein, such as they are, come to pass (*Fiṣal*, v, 15). But Ibn Ḥazm goes on to say that this does not mean that bodies act independently by virtue of their *ṭabīʿa*, for *ṭabīʿa* so defined has no intelligence (*ʿaḳl*) and therefore actions of things are not created by the things themselves. Of necessity, says Ibn Ḥazm, we know that with regard to these actions, their creation is due to something outside of the things in which they appear, and that can be none other than God. Thus by rejecting the ontological equivalence of *ṭabīʿa* and natural causation, Ibn Ḥazm makes *ṭabīʿa* a potentiality whose actualisation is caused directly by divine will, even though for him the *ṭabīʿa* of a thing is fixed once and for all by God ("*al-kalām fi 'l-tawallud*", *Fiṣal*, v, 59-60; cf. Wolfson, *op. cit.*, 576-7).

3. *Ṭabāʾiʿ* in the alchemical tradition.

In the Islamic alchemical literature there exists a rigorously systematic and rich theory of *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and the grand corpus of tantalising Arabic texts attributed to D̲j̲ābir b. Ḥayyān remains its supreme representative. Indeed, so central is the doctrine of *ṭabāʾiʿ* in the alchemy of D̲j̲ābir that his entire natural scientific system can be reduced to a theory of *ṭabāʾiʿ*, their place, and their combinations; and in the development of this theory the *Sirr al-k̲h̲alīḳa* of pseudo-Apollonius seems to have served as a direct source (cf. Kraus, *op. cit.*).

"All things", says the author of the *Sirr*, "arise out of the four *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and they are: Hot (*al-ḥarr* [elsewhere *al-ḥarāra*]), Cold (*al-bard* [elsewhere *al-burūda*]), Moist (*al-līn* [elsewhere *al-ruṭūba/billa*]), and Dry (*al-yubs* [elsewhere *al-yubūsa*])" (ed. Weisser, 3). Identical declarations are to be found throughout the D̲j̲ābirian corpus (e.g., see *K. al-Aḥd̲j̲ār*, ed. S.N. Haq, in idem, *Names, natures and things*, Dordrecht and London 1993, *passim*). Indeed, for both pseudo-Apollonius and D̲j̲ābir, the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* constituted the fundamental principles of the natural world; they were the First Simple Elements (*al-ʿanāṣir al-basāʾiṭ/al-basāʾiṭ al-uwal*) of all bodies. They were uncompounded entities (*al-mufradāt*) out of which the first compound elements (*al-murakkabāt*), Fire, Air, Water, and Earth were formed, and these latter were Second Elements (*ʿanāṣir t̲h̲awānī*) (see *Muk̲h̲tār rasāʾil*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, *passim*; *Aḥd̲j̲ār*, ed. Haq, 38-4; *Sirr*, ed. Weisser, *passim*). Again, "when these four *ṭabāʾiʿ* enter into combination, they give rise to Fire, Water, Air (*al-rīḥ*), and Earth (*al-turāb*), and they are then called *usṭuḳussāt*; they are the generators (*al-ummahāt*) and principles (*al-uṣūl*) of all individual things (*al-afrād*)" (*Sirr*, 187).

The temptation to read Aristotle's four qualities into these *ṭabāʾiʿ* must be resisted; for even though some isolated similarities do exist here, the two sets of entities remain both metaphysically and functionally distinct from each other. Aristotle's qualities were conceptual entities, *ṭabāʾiʿ* were real elements; the former were not to be found in isolation from the four Empedoclean primary bodies in which they inhered, the latter were independently existing entities capable of physical acts, such as motion, combination, and separation. In the *Sirr*, each of the *ṭabāʾiʿ* is sometimes referred to as a *ḳuwwa* (e.g. 186, 330, 372), but in the context the term seems to have a peculiar sense of a motive force, something that is conceptually far removed from δύναμις or ποιότης (Ar. *kayfiyyāt*). As for the D̲j̲ābirian corpus, Aristotelian appellations in this particular matter are almost totally absent; indeed, the author of the corpus sometimes explicitly distinguishes *ṭabāʾiʿ* from *kayfiyyāt* (see *K. Ik̲h̲rād̲j̲ mā fi 'l ḳuwwa ilā 'l-fiʿl*, ed. Kraus, 92).

In both the *Sirr* and the D̲j̲ābirian corpus, the generation of bodies out of *ṭabāʾiʿ* is explained in mechanistic terms. Thus: "When the Sphere (*al-falak*) [which encloses the world] moves perpetually and becomes vigorous in its motion, the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* form pairs (*izdawad̲j̲at*), one with the other. They become different, and one knows one pair from the other by its essence (*ʿayn*) and form (*ṣūra*)... Thus come to pass by their combination the four compound *ṭabāʾiʿ*, namely, Fire... Water... Air... and Earth" (*Sirr*, 187). The explanation is more elaborate in D̲j̲ābir who speaks in Neoplatonic terms: At the root of the generation of the corporeal world lies the Desire (*s̲h̲ahwa*) of the Soul which endows substance (*d̲j̲awhar*) with formative power; thus substance attaches to *ṭabāʾiʿ*, and the four elementary bodies come to pass. The D̲j̲ābirian *ṭabāʾiʿ* get themselves "implanted" in substance, they "attack" substance, and "act upon" it;

they "shape" it, "embrace" it, and "compress" it (see Haq, 57-62). All this stands in sharp contradistinction to Aristotle.

It should be noted that the Djābirian *ṭabāʾiʿ* were indeed the true material elements of things; things could be decomposed into their constituent *ṭabāʾiʿ*; they could be made to undergo transmutation by augmentations, suppressions, and rearrangements of *ṭabāʾiʿ*; and like all material entities, *ṭabāʾiʿ* possessed weights and all other physical properties too (see *K. al-Sabʿīn*, ed. Kraus, 473). Indeed, the elixir was only a substance in which the four *ṭabāʾiʿ* existed in a perfect numerical proportion (see ed. Haq, *passim*). Aristotle had said that to each elementary body there was only one affection (*Generation and corruption*, ii/3, 331.a.3-6); this meant that when, say, Fire is deprived of Hot, the contrary quality, Cold, always appeared—Fire which was hot and dry, thus became Earth which was cold and dry. But in the Djābirian system, we could, through alchemical procedures, extract Hot from Fire, and in this way reduce the latter to pure Dry; and of course there did exist bodies which were only hot, or only cold, and so on (see Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân*, ii, 135-85). To be sure, the whole of alchemy consisted in nothing other than systematic operations on, and manipulations of, *ṭabāʾiʿ*.

In the Islamic alchemical literature, the words *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿa* do occur in their ordinary sense of the natural properties or disposition of a thing, or the temperament of a person. But when so employed, these words do not seem to function as technical terms; rather, they are used informally in the way in which al-Ashʿarī describes them—that is, as they are uttered in ordinary linguistic usage.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, see Abū Rashīd, *K. al-Masāʾil fī ʾl-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa ʾl-Baghdādiyyīn*, ed. and tr. A. Biram, Leiden 1902; A. Altmann and A.M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, London 1958; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d.; idem, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1346; Bāḳillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957; Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-iʿtiḳād*, ed. and tr. J.D. Luciani, Paris 1938; M. Fakhry, *A History of Islamic philosophy*, New York 1983; R. Frank, *Notes and remarks on the* ṭabāʾiʿ *in the teaching of al-Māturīdī*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie. Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden 1974, 137; Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1315; A.-M. Goichon, *Introduction à Avicenne*, Paris 1933; idem, *La distinction de l'essence et de l'existence d'après Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1937; B. Haneberg, *Ibn Sīnā und Albertus Magnus*, in *Abh. der Philos.-philol. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, xi [1868], 191; Job of Edessa, *Book of treasures*, ed. and tr. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935; Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. and tr. A.N. Nader, Beirut 1957; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa ʾl-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, with the commentary of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, ed. A. Nūrānī, Tehran 1980; U. Weisser, *Das "Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung" von Pseudo-Apollonius von Tyana*, Berlin and New York 1980. (S. Nomanul Haq)

4. In astronomy.

It seems that the non-Ptolemaic planetary models of the 7th/13th to 10/16th centuries largely grew out of metaphysical speculations on the *ṭabīʿa* of heavenly bodies. Recall that Ptolemy in Book ii of his *Planetary hypotheses* explains the diurnal rotation of the heavenly spheres by the *ṭabīʿa* of the outermost Sphere and that of all the other spheres, which move uniformly and simultaneously in a circular motion. But the motions of the spheres within each planetary sphere he attributes to the will of the soul of that planet as well as to the *ṭabīʿa* of ether (see A. Murschel, *The structure and function of Ptolemy's physical hypotheses of planetary motion*, in *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, xxvi [1995], 33). In the system of Ptolemy, then, simple bodies had composed motions.

Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] was troubled by this, considering it to be a violation of the *ṭabīʿa* of celestial bodies. Thus in ms. Y of his *Fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (ed. and tr. Y.T. Langermann, New York 1990, 66-7, 230-1) he is quoted as saying that stars are natural (*ṭabīʿiyya*) bodies that by themselves can have only *one* natural motion. There are four premises on which explanations of planetary motions must be based:

1. A natural body does not move by its nature with more than one natural motion,
2. A simple natural body does not move with a varying motion,
3. The body of the heavens does not admit of being acted upon,
4. A void does not exist.

Ibn al-Haytham's argument runs something like this: since each star is of a simple substance, its motions must be regular and uniform. And given that there cannot be a void, each planet has a sphere whose circular motion carries it about. But since each planet has several motions, all planets have a separate sphere to account for each of their motions.

Much of this is accepted by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] in his *Tadhkira*, i/2. Of interest is i/2, 2: "If the motion of a self-moved mobile is monoform, its principle of motion is called a nature (*ṭabʿ*), whether the motion is natural and elemental or voluntary and celestial. Otherwise its [principle of motion] is called a soul (*nafs*), whether the [motion] be vegetative or animal" (ed. and tr. F.J. Ragep, New York 1993, 100). It is in ii/7, 25, that al-Ṭūsī enumerates the ways in which Ptolemy's lunar model violates the principle of simple motion for simple bodies (for Mercury, see ii/8, 19, and also ʿuṭārid)—a violation, that is, of their *ṭabīʿa*.

(D.E. Pingree and S. Nomanul Haq)

ṬABĪB [see ṭibb].

ṬABĪʿIYYĀT [see Suppl.].

TAʿBĪR [see ruʾyā].

TĀBIʿŪN (a.) (sing. *tābiʿ* or *tābiʿī*), usually translated as Successors, means the Successors of the Companions of the Prophet [see ṣaḥāba]. The Successors are the members of the generation of Muslims that followed the Companions, or those Muslims who knew one or more of the Companions but not the Prophet himself. They played a significant role in the early stages of Ḳurʾān commentary [see tafsīr], the biography of the Prophet including the history of his campaigns [see maghāzī; sīra; taʾrīkh], jurisprudence [see fiḳh] and the collection and dissemination of traditions [see ḥadīth]. In all these fields, the earliest material consists of reports about the actions and sayings of the Prophet, his family and his Companions. The Companions transmitted this information to the Successors, who in turn transmitted it, both in writing and orally, to one another, to their students and to the leadership of the larger Muslim world of the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. Chronologically, the last of the Successors were those who knew the Companions who lived for the longest time after the Prophet's death. Among these are included those who studied and worked with the Companion Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*], who did not die until 91-3/709-11 and was the last Companion to die in Baṣra.

There are biographies of the Successors in *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*] works, as well as in the biographical dictionaries devoted specifically to establishing the reliability of *ḥadīth* transmitters [see AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL; ʿILM AL-RIDJĀL]. In *ṭabaḳāt* works, Successors are ranked chronologically; *ridjāl* works tend to list transmitters alphabetically (e.g. al-Bukhārī's *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*).

In his *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845 [*q.v.*]) divides his biographies of the Successors into a number of classes corresponding to the places in which they taught and studied and to their contact with the most important Companions. The first class consists of Medinan Successors who transmitted from either Abū Bakr or ʿUmar or both; the second, of Medinan Successors who transmitted from ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, as well as from eight other well-known Companions. After the Medinans come the Successors of Mecca (starting with those who transmitted from ʿUmar), and then a few who were active in other parts of Arabia. He then moves on to notices of Successors active in Kūfa, Baṣra and Baghdād, then in Syria and North Africa and finally he mentions one person, Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 158/774), in al-Andalus.

Some of the Successors are especially noted for their contribution to one or another of the fields of learning mentioned above. In *tafsīr*, for example, among the students of the Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/687 [*q.v.*]), Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr (d. 95/714) and Mudjāhid b. Djabr (d. 104/722 [*q.vv.*]) were particularly important; in *maghāzī*, Abān b. ʿUthmān (d. 105/723) and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. *ca.* 94/713 [*q.vv.*]). A great many of them are known for their contributions to several fields. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742 [*q.v.*]) is possibly the most famous polymath among the Successors. As an historian, he was one of the foremost early authorities on the life of the Prophet [see SĪRA; MAGHĀZĪ] and he was a teacher of al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/823 [*q.v.*]); as a traditionist, he played a crucial role in the written transmission of *ḥadīth*. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) is claimed as a seminal figure by virtually all branches of religious learning (although Sezgin lists him with the theologians; see *Bibl.*).

As jurists, the Successors were considered the link to the early period of Islam that made it possible to ascertain the established practice, the *sunna* [*q.v.*], of the Prophet and of the early community. Certain of them are associated with the legal development of a particular place. In Medina, prominent among the many Successors mentioned in early Mālikī texts [see MĀLIKIYYA] are the Medinan Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) and Nāfiʿ b. ʿUmar (d. 117/735). In Kūfa, the legal opinions of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/715 [*q.v.*]) form the basis of early Ḥanafī doctrine. They were compiled by his student Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (also a Successor, d. 120/738), with whom Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]) studied. In Mecca, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732 [*q.v.*]) stands out; in Damascus, Ḳabīṣa b. Dhuʾayb (d. 86/705).

As the repositories of the legacy of the Prophet and the Companions, all the Successors were potentially traditionists. Distinguishing among them to determine exactly who each was and whether he could be considered a reliable transmitter in the link of an *isnād* chain is the most important component of the sciences of Tradition (*ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*) [see ḤADĪTH. IV]. Thus their biographers are particularly careful about their genealogies, the time and place of their birth, the cities where they spent their active lives and their teachers. Once it is ascertained with whom they studied, then the precise nature of the contact must be explored. In the case of the Successors who knew one or more Companions, for example, the question is whether they associated with them or simply encountered them, and whether they actually heard (*samāʿ*) traditions from those Companions, or merely transmitted on their authority (*rawā ʿan*, or only *ʿan*) [see MUʿANʿAN; also again ḤADĪTH].

The *ḥadīth* collections of a number of Successors happen to have survived in manuscript; they are listed in Sezgin (see *Bibl.*). Two examples are Ḥumayd b. al-Ṭawīl (d. 142/759), and Hishām b. ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 146/763). The biographical information about them that can be gleaned from various sources (see *Bibl.*) will serve to illustrate what we find for the vast majority of Successors. The Baṣran Ḥumayd transmitted on the authority of the Companion Anas b. Mālik (see above), and is said to have taken and copied al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's books and then returned them. However, the jurist and traditionist Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (d. 143/760) is reported to have said that, whenever he asked Ḥumayd anything about al-Ḥasan's *fatwās*, he would say he could not remember. It is not clear whether Ḥumayd actually heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb or only transmitted on his authority; similarly, he may have only transmitted on the authority of Anas b. Mālik without actually having known him, despite the fact that he was a younger contemporary of Anas's in Baṣra (al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī [see *Bibl.*] mentions Ḥumayd as one of those Successors guilty of *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], or improperly altering *isnāds*). Hishām was born in Medina and died in Baghdād. He related from his father, the Successor ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, and from his uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73/692 [*q.v.*]), a nephew of ʿĀʾisha's. The noted Kūfan traditionist Wakīʿ b. al-Djarrāḥ (d. 197/812) reported that at a certain point he spent some time among the scholars of Kūfa.

In his work on *ḥadīth* methodology, *K. Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 404/1014 [*q.v.*]), like Ibn Saʿd, divides the Successors into a number of classes, although his classification system is not the same as Ibn Saʿd's (and is not fully explained). His first class is comprised of the Successors who transmitted from those Companions to whom the Prophet promised Paradise (*al-mubashshara al-ʿashara*). Other classes include one made up of the seven jurists of Medina [see FUḲAHĀʾ AL-MADĪNA AL-SABʿA, in Suppl.]; Successors born in the period of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*], *al-mukhaḍramūn* [see MUKHAḌRAM]; and people falsely credited with actually hearing (*samāʿ*) one of the Companions when they in fact had heard only a fellow Successor.

Al-Ḥākim prefaces his section on the Successors by saying that whoever does not know who the Successors are will not be able to distinguish between them and the Companions, nor will he be able to distinguish between them and the Successors of the Successors (*tābiʿ al-tābiʿīn* or *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn*). These, al-Ḥākim explains, are the third generation (*ṭabaḳa*) of Successors after the Prophet and among them are found such people as Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*]), Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767).

With this group we move to the scholars in the forefront of the development of Islamic law who were known both as jurists and traditionists and whose use of traditions in legal reasoning, exemplified by al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820 [*q.v.*], made *ḥadīth* studies an inextricable part of jurisprudence [see again FIḲH; also UṢŪL]. During this period, when the lives of the Prophet and the Companions were becoming part of the dis-

tant past, the authority of the Successors as heirs to the knowledge of those times increased. Concern that their knowledge might be lost led the Umayyad caliphs of the early 2nd/8th century to patronise the efforts made by *ḥadīth* scholars, most notably al-Zuhrī, to collect and write down as many traditions as possible.

In Muslim scholarship both of the pre-modern and modern periods, biographical information about *isnād* transmitters is utilised to assess the worth of each transmitter's contribution. The fact that many transmitters are known to have been inaccurate about their contacts and scholarly activities is considered proof of the veracity of the biographies. In secular and orientalist scholarship, most, if not all, of this information is viewed as later fabrication, and it is utilised to figure out how, when and for what purposes the scholars of the generations after the Successors chose to participate in the practice of depending upon and elaborating *isnāds*; the Successor and Companion links in the *isnāds* that go back to the Prophet are considered particularly problematic.

Bibliography: For biographies of Successors, see Bukhārī, *K. al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1361-5, 8 vols.; Ibn Ḥadjār al-ʿAsḳalānī, *K. Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325-7, 12 vols.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-ʿIlal wa-maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, eds. Talât Koçyigit and İsmail Cerrahoğlu, Ankara 1963; Ibn Saʿd, *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kubrā*. For individual Successors and primary and secondary sources about them, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i. For *ḥadīth* methodology, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *K. Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, Beirut n.d. For a reaction to the critical view of the role of the Successors, see Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, Chicago 1967, ii, and Sezgin, *op. cit.* For critical studies of their role, see M. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma*, Cambridge 1981, ch. 11 "The dating of traditions"; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, Cambridge 1983; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950; H. Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, AKM 50, 2, Stuttgart 1991. (SUSAN A. SPECTORSKY)

ṬABKH (A), the action of cooking either in a pot, by boiling or stewing; or by roasting, broiling, frying or baking. Beyond the narrow sense of cooking only fleshmeat, *ṭabkh* meant the transformation from a raw state of every conceivable foodstuff for consumption. Possibly the Arabic substantive for "cook" (*tabbākh* [*q.v.*]) also contained the Hebrew sense of serving food at table, in addition to its preparation. According to some lexicons, cooked food, *ṭabīkh*, was distinguished from *ḳadīr*, the latter specifying fleshmeat cooked in a pot seasoned with pepper, cumin and the like, while the former meant meat not thus seasoned; or, *ṭabīkh* meant fleshmeat cooked with broth or gravy, while a different term applied to meat prepared without such liquid (Lane, s.v. *ṭ-b-kh*). It is evident, however, from the extant mediaeval culinary manuals (*kutub al-ṭabīkh*) that such distinctions did not obtain in practice, the term "cooked" applying to a dish comprising any combination of ingredients prepared by any of the methods noted above. Food as nourishment, and factors determining diet in pre- and classical Islamic times, are treated in the art. GHIDHĀʾ, while MAṬBAKH describes the kitchen, its major appliances and utensils employed therein. Here, cooking techniques will be dealt with, together with the main categories of ingredients used.

Cooking techniques varied somewhat according to the social location of the "kitchen". Bread making, an activity common to all segments of the population, illustrates the point well. J.L. Burckhardt observed the following method among the Bedouin of the Arabian peninsula in the early 19th century. First, a circular "element" of stones was heated. The fire was then removed and dough made from coarse-ground grain was set on the stones over which the glowing ashes were placed until the bread was cooked (*Notes on the Beduins and Wahabys*, London 1831, 58). Unleavened bread made in this fashion was called *khubz malla* or "roasted" bread, *malla* referring to the hot ash and embers (Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Ḥaydarābād, 1925-33, s.v.). Another method was a kind of grilling process which involved the cooking of large thin loaves on a concave metal plate (*ṣādj*) inverted and supported on stones over a fire, with the dough placed on the convex side (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Beduins*, New York 1928, 92). Bread was also prepared in the communal oven (*furn*) employed by households among settled hamlet and village as well as the less affluent urban populations; either the dough was prepared in the home and baked in the *furn*, the baker retaining a portion of the dough as payment, or else a poorer quality bread could be purchased directly from the baker. By contrast, bread made for a comfortable urban household was prepared in its own kitchen from the best wheat flour; the appliance used was the *tannūr*, the bee-hive shaped baking oven of Mesopotamian origin. Another general contrast between the urban and rural-nomadic techniques may be found in methods of food preservation. In the latter tradition, sun- and wind-drying of raw materials like meat were common, desiccation being nature's own way of preservation. In the urban kitchen, ingredients such as salt, vinegar, lemon juice, mustard and other spices and the process of smoking were used in addition to the more "natural" means of preservation. Finally, there was a contrast in the use of condiments accompanying a dish and flavourings in food. Complicated preparations like *murrī* and *kawāmikh* were commonplace in the urban "high" cuisine, while natural plant flavourings, where they could be had, were employed elsewhere. The cookbooks which have survived reflect the urban milieu of a leisure class, although they undoubtedly contain as well traces of regional or rural oral cooking traditions. For example, the preparation *sawīḳ* [*q.v.*] was traditionally made of barley, parched and dried for use on long journeys; the meal was reconstituted with water or milk when required. Food by the same name was sold in the markets of Baghdād as a poor man's staple made from powdered chickpeas. However, in more affluent households this rustic fare was made from fine wheat flour sweetened with sugar or mixed with other ingredients like pomegranate seeds. In the two extant cookbooks of Andalusī-North African provenance, regional tastes appear reflected in the frequent use of eggs in a range of substantial dishes, in the traditional dish of Berber origin, couscous [see KUSKUSŪ], and in dishes associated with particular locales (D. Waines, *The culinary culture of al-Andalus*, in *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. S.K. Jayyusi, Leiden 1992). The processes and ingredients discussed below are, however, derived solely from the culinary manuals.

The most characteristic cooking method for creating substantial dishes was the "stew" or "casserole" preparation where the ingredients (e.g. meat, vegetables, seasonings) were cooked in liquid in a pot over the heat of a fire. Recipes for meat dishes other than fowl usually use only the word "meat" (*laḥm*) which, appearing unqualified, should be assumed to mean mutton, a meat preference supported by medical opin-

ion. It is impossible to tell at what age the mutton was deemed best for eating, whether as hoggets (between one and two years) or older. Lamb and kid were also enjoyed. Beef is only infrequently mentioned in recipes, possibly mirroring the medical view that, owing to its coarse nature, it was more suited to the toiling and labouring classes. Game meat such as rabbit, hare, wild cow, wild ass, gazelle, horse, mountain goat, oryx and stag were all considered edible. Dishes containing fowl, especially chicken, were also popular. In one recipe for the famous Persian dish *sikbād̲j̲* [*q.v.*], mutton, beef and chicken are cooked together (al-Warrāḳ, 132).

Typically, these are meat dishes with vegetables and seasonings, but also with dried fruit in many cases. The meat in the first stage of the cooking process may be sautéed briskly in hot oil to which water is then added, furthering the cooking, while other ingredients and seasonings are placed in the pot; conversely, the meat may first be boiled in a stock of water and oil to which other ingredients are added while the cooking process is brought slowly to an end. A recipe for *zirbād̲j̲* follows the second procedure:

Take a fine quality chicken, joint and clean it and place in a clean pot. Then pour over one-half *raṭl* of fresh water and a half *ūḳiyya* of good quality oil, some white of onion and boil all together. When boiled, pour in white vinegar of half a *raṭl* and two *ūḳiyya* of white sugar and one *ūḳiyya* peeled almonds and one *ūḳiyya* of rose water. Add the spices, pepper, cinnamon and ginger tied up in a fine cloth so that they do not alter the dish's colour. Leave on the fire a little, allowing it to thicken (al-Warrāḳ, 153).

This recipe illustrates a number of interesting points about the mediaeval cuisine. First, the dish is also Persian, indicating its strong influence upon the cosmopolitan character of the urban "high cooking culture"; many other dishes, such as *t̲h̲arīd, maṣliyya* and *maḍīra* [*q.v.*], are contributions of traditional Arab provenance. Second, the recipe gives measures of ingredients, a rare feature of the corpus where measures and proportions were left to the cook's discretion. However, characteristic of the recipes is their usually clear, step-by-step description of the process of preparation. Thirdly, *zirbād̲j̲* is an example of the common practice of "meat substitution" in dishes; while the main feature of the dish is its sweet-sour flavour, other recipes for *zirbād̲j̲* call for meat (*laḥm*) or a combination of meat and fowl, a practice found today, for example, in North African cooking. Fourthly, recipe references to slaughtering and cleaning an animal or bird indicate that fresh meat could be had from livestock, for example goats and chickens, kept by the household. Finally, a word on the use of spices in cooking. A spice combination in common use throughout the Middle East was cinnamon, coriander (often plus cumin), with pepper and saffron widely employed as well, while regional preferences probably also existed. The essential oils of pepper and cinnamon were known for their antiseptic, preservative properties. Their use was likely as much a matter of aesthetics as anything, their preservative function being useful when left over food could be served the following day, with the flavour of the dish perceptibly enhanced. This "spice spectrum" was inherited from the Middle East and transformed much of the European cuisine from the 14th century onward (T. Peterson, *The Arab influence on western European cooking*, in *J. of Medieval History*, vi [1980], 317-41). The achievement of balance in bouquet and flavour between "aromatic" (e.g. cinnamon) and "pungent" (e.g. coriander) spices was another feature of the cuisine.

Popular meat dishes were also prepared in milk or with milk products; for example, *maṣliyya* was a dish of lamb (or kid) with finely-chopped dried curd cheese (*maṣl*) sprinkled on top, while *maḍīra* was meat cooked in soured milk.

Other dishes containing meat were known, however, by a vegetable or fruit highlighted in it. Thus *isfānāk̲h̲iyya* was a spinach (and meat) dish, *tuffāḥiyya* an apple dish, and *sald̲j̲amiyya* a dish of turnip, chicken, onion, cheese and seasonings. In the gardens and orchards of the urban Middle East, vegetables and fruits were seasonally available the year round. In the mediaeval culinary lore, vegetables (*buḳūl*) included edible plants which today would be considered herbs such as mint, dill, fresh coriander and fennel. Fruits (*fawākih*) were classified as dried and fresh; dried fruits included soft fruit like apples and apricots as well as nuts like almonds, pine seeds and pistachios. Fresh fruit, the most common being dates, of which there were said to be more than three hundred varieties, was also used in cooked dishes or else consumed before or after a meal. Plant food classified as "grains" or "seeds" (*ḥubūb*) included chick peas, lentils and the mungo bean (*mās̲h̲*) and the grasses wheat, barley and rice.

Vegetables prepared alone without meat formed another broad category of victuals for the table. They could be served hot or cold. One process was to stew the vegetable and then blend into it a quantity of oil into which seasonings had been lightly heated, and finally fold a beaten egg into the mixture while heating it in a pan. Cold dishes were called *bawārid*, and were prepared not only from vegetables, but also from meat, fowl and fish. Frequent ingredients of vegetable *bawārid* were vinegar and a sweetening agent, sugar or honey.

Fish dishes were popular as well. Rather than being stewed, they were generally prepared in a (frying) pan. Fresh fish rather than salted or dried fish appear to be the norm; it was recommended washing the fish thoroughly first, including scaling and gutting, lightly flouring and then frying it. The dish might be simple, prepared for example with pepper, garlic, finely chopped fresh coriander and onion cooked into a kind of sauce which was served over the fish at table. Or else the cleaned fish could be filled and covered with a highly seasoned pasty stuffing and baked slowly in the communal oven.

The cereals wheat, barley and rice were probably common to the tables of the urban leisure class and poor alike. The difference between them was that the daily bread of poor was made from inferior quality wheat or other cereals while in times of real hardship, "secondary grains" such as pulses and nuts (acorn and chestnut) had to suffice. The well-to-do had access to the finest wheat for even their plainest loaf; the same kitchen could also produce "glass-bread" a loaf baked in a thin glass mould which was broken upon completion of the baking. Wheat flour was also used to prepare many varieties of pastry and sweetmeats.

The culinary manuals include not only preparations for immediate consumption. The preservation of foodstuffs by pickling made mealtime planning more flexible. A preparation called *ḥallām* describes the steps for slaughtering either a kid or calf and boiling the jointed carcass in vinegar until cooked; the meat was then soused overnight in a mixture of vinegar, cinnamon, galingal, thyme, celery, quince, citron, and salt and then stored in glass or earthenware vessels. Again, chicken lightly boiled whole in water, salt and

oil was then jointed and the portions placed in jars filled with vinegar and seasonings; when ready for use it was fried in oil and served. Vinegar, which was genuine *vin aigre*, was also the preserving agent for a wide variety of vegetable *mukhallalāt* which included pickled onions, capers, cucumber, turnip, garlic, egg-plant and mint. These dishes were offered during meals to "cleanse the palate of greasiness, to appetize, to assist the digestion, and to stimulate the banqueter" (A.J. Arberry (tr.) *A Baghdad cookery book*, in *IC*, xiii [1939], 205).

Another variety of relish or condiment was called *kawāmikh*. They may have been served, several at a time, in small bowls into which bread or morsels of food could be dipped. Certain kinds of *kāmakh* or *kāmakh* juice (*mā' kāmakh*) were added to the pot as seasoning during cooking. One of the most important of this class of condiment was *murrī*, a cereal-based preparation often mistakenly referred to as *garum*, the fish-based condiment of the classical world (D. Waines, *Murrī: the tale of a condiment*, in *al-Qanṭara*, xii, [1991], 371-88). It required a long, complicated process which took some three months from the end of March when preparation commenced. The condiment could then be stored for future use; shorter methods lasting only two days were also known which could have been employed the year round.

Activities in the mediaeval kitchen were not merely concerned with the preparation of food for pleasure but also with matters of bodily equipoise (see R. Kuhne Brabant, *Un tratado inedito de dietetica de al-Razi*, in *Anaquel de estudios arabes*, ii [1991], 35-55). Recipes for main dishes as discussed above often add a brief note as to its benefit for the régime and hygiene. One dish might be recommended to stimulate the appetite and strengthen the stomach, another for cooling the body. A certain class of meatless dish called *muzawwar* was identified for its aid to those with fever (D. Waines and M. Marín, *Muzawwar: counterfeit fare for fasts and fevers*, in *Isl.*, lxix [1992], 289-301). Moreover, other preparations were intended more directly to alleviate the consequences of over-indulgence of food, as well as to stimulate other bodily functions and desires; these included such "home remedies" as electuaries, stomachics and medicinal powders and syrups, all prepared in the kitchen for immediate or future use.

Finally, a word on "forbidden" beverages (*sharāb muskir*). Explicit religious injunctions notwithstanding, intoxicating beverages were consumed at every level of society, although never by those who strictly observed the *sharī'a* code. Recipes are found in the cookbooks for a barley beer called *fukkā'* which was simply and cheaply made; fermentation was achieved by placing the barley wort in a skin container and leaving it for two days so that it was ready for drinking on the third. Moreover, wine (*nabīdh* [*q.v.*]) was made in fermented and unfermented varieties. Some medical writers noted the medicinal benefits of *sharāb muskir*, although they warned against its possible addictive qualities or even shorter term dangers.

This brief survey of operations in the domestic kitchens of the urban leisure classes has covered the period from about the 3rd/9th to 8th/14th centuries. The major innovation of this "high cooking tradition" was in the collection, transformation, elaboration of and experimentation with hundreds of traditional, local, regional dishes within a dynamic cosmopolitan context. Although the culinary manuals are a rich resource for the study of this aspect of domestic life, they still do not yield answers to all a historian's questions. While the names of two cooks, one male the other female, are known to have held honourable positions in 'Abbāsid court circles, one would like to know much more about those who performed the myriad operations in this, the most important space of the domestic household, the kitchen; but see further ṬABBĀKH.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, the following items have been selected which deal with cooking activities in the broadest sense. The most important primary sources are A. Huici Miranda (ed.), *La cocina hispano-magrebi en la época almohade según un manuscrito anónimo*, Madrid 1965; *Faḍālat al-khiwān fī ṭayyibāt al-ṭa'ām wa 'l-alwān*, ed. M. Benchekroun, Beirut 1984; Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, ed. K. Öhrnberg and S. Mroueh, Helsinki 1987; Ibn al-'Adīm, *al-Wuṣla ilā 'l-ḥabīb fī waṣf al-ṭayyibāt wa 'l-ṭīb*, ed. S. Maḥdjūb and D. al-Khaṭīb, Aleppo 1988; *Kanz al-fawā'id fī tanwī' al-mawā'id*, ed. M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. Two recent anthologies of essays are *La alimentación e las culturas islámicas*, ed. M. Marín & D. Waines, Madrid 1994; *Culinary cultures of the Middle East*, ed. S. Zubaida and R. Tapper, London 1994; see also M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* (1949), 95-165, and E. Garcia Sanchez, *Fuentes para el estudio de la alimentación en la Andalucia Islámica*, in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I.*, Malaga 1984, 269-88. (D. WAINES)

ṬABL, the generic name for any instrument of the drum family. Islamic tradition attributes its "invention" to Tūbal b. Lamak (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 88-9 = § 3213, and see LAMAK), whilst another piece of gossip says that Ismā'īl, the founder of the *musta'riba* Arabs [*q.v.*], was the first to sound it (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/2, 239). The word is connected with Aramaic *tablā*. According to al-Fayyūmī (733/1333-4), the term *ṭabl* was applied to a drum with a single membrane (*djild*) as well as to that with two membranes. This, however, does not include the *duff* or tambourine [*q.v.*]. It is certainly an ancient Middle Eastern instrument, and players of large and small kettle drums appear on the Sāsānid period Ṭāḳ-i Bustān reliefs (near Kirmānshāh), including as part of a military band, what in Islamic times would have been called a *ṭabl-khāna* [*q.v.*] (H.G. Farmer, *The instruments of music on the Ṭāq-i Bustān bas-reliefs*, in *JRAS* [1938], 404-5, 410).

The *ṭabl* family may be divided into two classes, viz.: 1. the cylinder type; and 2. the bowl type.

1. The cylinder type. There are two kinds of cylinder drums, viz.: *a*. the single membrane; and *b*. the double membrane. Of the former we have several shapes, although generally the body (*djism*) is either cylindrical or goblet-shaped. The earliest name for the cylindrical drum with a single membrane would appear to be *kabar* which we find mentioned as early as Ya'ḳūb al-Mādjishūn (d. 164/780-1) (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iv, 270, ed. 'Abbās, vi, 376). It is identified by al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (d. 308/920) as a drum (*Ancient Arabian musical instruments as described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (9th century) in the unique Istanbul manuscript of the* Kitāb al-malāhī *in the handwriting of Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī* (*d. 1298*). Text in facsimile and translation edited with notes by James Robson (= Collection of Oriental Writers on Music, ed. H.G. Farmer, iv), Glasgow 1938, 17: "... the *ṭabl*, which is the *kabar* and the *kūba*..."), and Ibn Khallikan (tr. de Slane, iv, 272, ed. 'Abbās, vi, 378) affirms that it had one membrane. The Arabic lexicographers confuse this word (cf. also the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*, 85, 562,

and Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, 59; see now *WKAS*, i, 24b). The name was probably derived from the Ethiopic *kabaro*, and we know that the Arabs borrowed at least one drum from Abyssinia (Lane, *Lexicon*, col. 2013). A more definite clue to the identity of this particular kind of drum is to be found in al-Shaḳundī (d. 629/1231-2 [*q.v.*]), where an instrument called the *aḳwāl* is mentioned (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 144). It still exists in the Maghrib. Dozy (*Supplément*, i, 30) says that it is a Berber word and Meaken writes it *agwāl*. It is delineated by Höst who, however, gives it as a goblet-shaped drum and calls it the *akwāl* (*Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781, 262, tab. xxxi, 9). The *aḳwāl/agwāl* is also known in Algeria as the *gullāl* and it is generally about 60 cm long. In Tripolitania, a similar instrument called the *tabdaba* is used among the folk (Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et de la musique arabes*, Paris 1886, 39; Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, 2794, 2932).

The goblet-shaped instrument may have been the *dirrīdj* mentioned by earlier Arabic writers such as al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama (*op. cit.*, fol. 21), although he thought that it was a pandore (*ṭunbūr*), as do many of the Arabic lexicographers. That it was a drum we know from al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124). According to Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the proper vocalisation is *durraydj*, and to-day it is this name, with colloquial variants, which is heard in the Maghrib (Crosby Brown, *Cat. of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments*, New York, iii, 51, 53: *AM*, xx, 239). East of Morocco, the instrument has come to have a different name. In Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania, it has long been called the *darbūka* (Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1879, 79; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe*, Paris, 31; Delphin and Guin, 43; Laffage, *La musique arabe*, Tunis, vi, xxxii; Lavignac, 2935), whilst in Egypt and Syria it carries the name *darbukka* [*q.v.*], *darabukka, dirbakka, darābukka*, or *ḍarābukka* (Villoteau, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, i, 996; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ch. xviii; Darwīsh Muḥammad, *Ṣafā' al-awḳāt*, Cairo, 13; El-Hefny, *Congrès de musique arabe*, Cairo, 660; H. Hickmann, *La daraboukkah*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. de l'Egypte*, xxxiii [1952]). For illustrations of both these instruments, see the authorities quoted above, whilst specimens may be found in most museums, notably Paris (nos. 954-7, 1457), Brussels (nos. 112, 330-4, 680), and New York (nos 335, 345, etc.). In some parts, the *darbūka* is known as the *ṭabla* (Farmer, *Studies*, i, 86).

In Persia, the instrument is known as the *dunbak* or *tanbak*, although wrongly registered by lexicographers as a bagpipe. See Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, Paris, 13, and pl.; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum ... fasciculi 5*, Lemgoviae 1716, 742, fig. 6; Lavignac, 3076.

The double-membrane drum is also found in several shapes. We read of the *kūba*, a drum shaped like an hour-glass which was forbidden to be used by Muslims, as early as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (d. 18/639) (see *WKAS*, i, 420b-421a). It is condemned by several legists, including Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) because of its association with people of low character (*Dhamm al-malāhī*, ed. and tr. J. Robson, London 1938, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, Cairo 1987, 55, 59). The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (10th century) call it the *ṭabl al-mukhannith* (ed. Bombay, i, 91). According to al-Djawharī (d. *ca.* 392/1002) it was "a small drum, slender in the middle", although al-Ghazālī says that it was "long" (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1908, ii, 186). Mediaeval designs of the *kūba* may be seen in the 6th/12th-century woodwork at Palermo (*BZ*, ii, 384), a 7th/13th-century bowl from al-Mawṣil (Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1856, 2734/56), and in a ms. of al-Djazarī (dated 755/1354) at Istanbul (Martin, *Miniature painting and painters of Persia*, ii, pl. 2). The *ṭabl* of which we read so frequently in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Būlāḳ, viii, 161, ix, 162) as a rhythmic instrument in concert music, was probably either the *kūba* or *dirrīdj* (= *darbūka*). It is rarely seen nowadays in the Islamic East, except in India.

The cylindrical or barrel-shaped drum has been more favoured. The former was probably the shape of the early warlike drum of which we read among the ʿAbbāsids in the 3rd/9th century (*Aghānī*, xvi, 139). It is to be seen in several mss. on automata by al-Djazarī dating from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, tab. ii; *The legacy of Islam*, 1st edn., Oxford 1931, fig. 91; D.R. Hill (tr. and comm.), *The Book of knowledge of ingenious devices* (Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya) *by Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī*, Dordrecht-Boston 1974, 43 (= fig. 34), showing the "water-clock of the drummers" with kettledrum, cylindrical drums (with drumstick, *ṣawladjān*), trumpet and cymbals). This long-bodied cylindrical drum was popular until the beginning of the 19th century and designs may be seen in Höst (tab. xxxi) and Niebuhr (tab. xxvi); Villoteau (*loc. cit.*) calls it the *ṭabl al-turkī*. Since mediaeval times it has been played with a curiously crooked drumstick. By the 18th century, a second percussive implement, a switch, was in use. In modern times, this drum has been superseded by a drum with a shorter body. In early times, this seems to have been known in Persia and Arabic-speaking lands as the *duhul*. It is mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. in the 1070s) as one of the martial instruments of the Fāṭimids (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 43, 46, 47), and by al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) among the Mamlūk sultans (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i/1, 173-4). That it was different from the *ṭabl* we know from both Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*Mathnawī*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, iii, 159). In Egypt of modern times it is known as the *ṭabl al-baladī* (Villoteau, *loc. cit.*; Lane, *op. cit.*, ch. xviii). Specimens may be seen at Brussels (nos. 336, 338, 341) and New York (nos. 417, 1321). Kaempfer (740, fig. 4) calls the Persian cylindrical drum the *danbāl* and delineates it. The *tabīr* of Firdawsī may have been similar. See also the *dhol* of India. The *dāwul* in Turkey is said by Ewliyā Čelebi (*Travels*, i/2, 226) to have been first used by Orkhan (724-61/1324-60), but we know of it in the time of his predecessor ʿOthmān I. The Turks, like the Arabs, used a drumstick (*čangal*) and a switch (*daynak*) to play this drum.

In modern Persia, the *dohol* is a barrel-shaped drum (Advielle, *loc. cit.*; Lavignac, 3076; cf. Kaempfer, 743, fig. 12). The Arabic *ṭabl* or the Persian *tabīr* was the parent of the European *tabel, atabal, tabor, tambour*, etc.

2. The bowl type. This is represented by the kettledrum. Although tradition says that Bābā Sawindīk, the Indian, played the kettledrum (*kūs*, for which see *WKAS*, i, 436a, *naḳḳāra*) in the wars of the Prophet Muḥammad (Ewliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*, 226), it is more likely, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 44, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 50) that the Arabs did not use drums in wartime at this period. The early Muslim legists discriminate between the *ṭabl al-ḥarb* (war drum), the *ṭabl al-ḥadjdj* (pilgrimage drum), and the *ṭabl al-lahw* (pastime drum). The first two were allowable but the last was not (al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, ii, 186). The two former were doubtless identical with the modern *naḳḳāra* and *ṭabl al-shāmī*.

The largest of the kettledrums used by Islamic

peoples was the *kūrgā* which was greatly favoured by the Mongols. It was the royal drum which conveyed commands. The *ṭabl al-kabīr* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 127, tr. Gibb, ii, 343) was doubtless the *kūrgā*. We get an idea of the size of this drum from the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. H.G. Blochmann, i, 50-2), where it is nearly the height of a man. Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī says here that the *kūrgā* and *damāma* were identical (i, 50), but the *damāma* of India is a much smaller kettledrum (see specimen at New York, 26). ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Samarḳandī (d. 1482) clearly distinguishes between the *kūrgā, damāma* and *naḳḳāra* (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, in *NE*, xiv, 129, 321). See also Farmer, *Studies*, ii, 12-13.

The kettledrum next in size was the *kūs* which, among the Arabs of the 4th/10th century, was the largest of their kettledrums (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, i, 91). This also was a martial instrument; for its use, see ṬABL-KHĀNA. There is a 7th/13th-century Arabic ms. reproduced by Schulz (*op. cit.*, pl. 8) showing three pairs of *kūsāt*.

The ordinary kettledrum was what the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ call the *ṭabl al-markab* (mounted drum). They say that its tone was softer than that of the *ṭabl al-kūs*. Another early name for this drum was *dabdāb* or *dabdaba*. Later, it came to be known as the *naḳḳāra*, a word, together with the instrument, which was adopted by Europe as the *naker, nacaire*, etc., whilst Persian *ṭinbal* became the European *timbale, tymbala*. For mediaeval designs of the *naḳḳāra*, see Schulz (*op. cit.*, tab. ii), *The legacy of Islam*, 1st edn. (fig. 91), the *Kitāb al-Burhān* (Bodleian ms., Or. 133, fol. 38), and the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (Edinburgh University, fols. 54b, 157). See also ṬABL-KHĀNA. Early 19th-century examples are delineated by Villoteau (992-3), whilst actual specimens may be seen at Brussels (no. 335) and New York (no. 1232). For the Turkish *dunbalak* or *ṭablak*, see Farmer, in *JRAS* (1936).

In Turkey, a medium-sized kettledrum is known as the *ḳudūm*, and it is said to have been played at the nuptials of Muḥammad and Khadīdja (Ewliyā Čelebi, i/2, 234). It was to be found in the *darwīsh* communities; for an illustration of Mawlawī/Mewlewī *küdumzen*s or players in these drums, see *Oriens*, xv (1962), pl. viii.

The smallest of the kettledrums is the *nuḳayra* or *ṭubayla*, which belongs to concert music. We read of the former among the ʿAbbādids (5th/11th century) of Moorish Spain (Dozy, *Historia Abbadidorum*, ii, 243), and in the *Vocabulista Aravigo* (1505) the word equates with the Spanish *atabalia*. In Russell's *Aleppo* (1794), there is a design (pl. iv) of the *naḳḳāra* (= *nuḳayra*), whilst another may be found in Höst (tab. xxxi, 10) and Christianowitsch (32, pl. 12), the latter being copied by Fétis (*Hist. générale de la musique*, Paris, ii, 163) and Lavignac (2793).

Villoteau, speaking of Egypt at the close of the 18th century, mentions a number of small hand kettledrums but, with the exception of one called *ṭabl-i bāz*, most of these names are unknown today (Villoteau, 994). It was, obviously, a drum used for decoying birds or recalling the hawk (*bāz*), but by this time it had become the favourite instrument of the criers at Ramaḍān and the *darwīsh* fraternities, and was actually known as the *ṭablat al-musaḥḥira*. There are specimens at Brussels (no. 329) and New York (nos. 421, 2661). It was held in one hand and beaten with a short stick held in the other hand. A slightly larger instrument was the *ṭabl al-midjrī* (sic). This was beaten with a leathern strap.

Shallower types of kettledrums were the *ṭabl al-shāmī* and the *ḳaṣʿa*. The former was probably the *ṭabl al-ḥadjdj* so frequently quoted by the legists. It was suspended from the neck, the head or membrane being perpendicular. There is a representation (10th/16th century) of pilgrims with these drums in a Bodleian Library ms. (Or. 430, fol. 15). For early 19th-century designs and details, see Villoteau (992-4) and Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, chs. ii, vi, xviii). There are specimens at New York (nos. 386, 494). The *ḳaṣʿa* of the Maghrib today has a flat bottom like a dish (*ḳaṣʿa*), hence its name. It is played upon with rods called *maṭariḳ* (Delphin and Guin, 44; Lavignac, 2932); in the past it was a martial instrument.

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ṬABL-KHĀNA, NAḲḲĀR-KHĀNA, NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA, NAWBA-KHĀNA, literally the "Drum House", "Kettledrum House", "Military Band House", the name given in Islamic lands to the military band and its quarters in camp or town. These names are derived from the drums (*ṭabl, naḳḳāra*) which formed the chief instruments of the military band, and from the name given to the special type of music (*nawba*) performed by this band. Originally, the *naḳḳāra-khāna* or *ṭabl-khāna* consisted of drums only, and in some instances of particular kinds of drums. This we know from several authorities. Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 815/1412) speaks of the "kettledrums (*dabādib*), i.e. the *ṭabl-khāna*". Al-Ẓāhirī (d. 872/1468) alludes to "three sets (*aḥmāl*) of *ṭabl-khāna* and two trumpets". Ibn Iyās (d. *ca.* 930/1524) has a reference to "the *ṭabl-khāna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*)" (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, tr. Quatremère, Paris 1845, ii/1, 123, ii/2, 268, al-Khazradjī, *The pearl-strings*, *GMS*, London 1906-18, iii/5, 135, 229). As for the *nawba*, this was a special piece of music, which later comprised several movements (*fuṣūl*), performed by the *naḳḳāra-khāna* at the five hours of prayer [see ṢALĀT] by royalty, but at the three obligatory hours of prayer by dignatories of lesser rank. The sounding of the *nawba* was not only jealously guarded as one of the attributes of sovereignty, but its performance necessitated respectful silence from auditors (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ii, 188, tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8; von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1835, i, 75). The custom of the *nawba* is said to have been handed down from the days of Alexander the Great (al-Nasawī, *Hist. du Sultan Djelal ad-Din Mankobirti*, Paris 1895, 21).

The Ancients. Instruments of percussion appear to have been specially favoured by peoples of the Orient for their martial display from time immemorial. According to the Greeks, who only used the trumpet and flute in war, instruments of percussion belonged to the barbarians. Yet in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callesthenes of the *History of Alexander the Great* (tr. Budge, 96) we find that the world-conqueror added drums to his martial music. If we turn to the Pseudo-Aristotelian Arabic treatise the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (3rd-4th/8th-9th century) and the contemporary works of Mūrisṭus [*q.v.*], also in Arabic, it would seem that Alexander also introduced a monster organ (*urghanūn*) of the hydraulis type as a means of signalling to his troops and to spread dismay in the ranks of the enemy (Farmer, *The organ of the Ancients*, London 1931, 119-38). Strabo (1st century B.C.) says that the youth of

Persia were called to arms by the sound of brazen instruments, and that the kings of India moved in public to the din of drums and cymbals (*Geogr.*, xv.1, 55, xv.3, 18). Plutarch (d. *ca.* A.D. 120) speaks of the Parthians using kettledrums to frighten the enemy (Crassus, xxiii, 10). The pages of the *Sh̲āh-nāma* of Firdawsī (d. 411/1020) abound with details of the military music of Persia of old. Here we read of instruments of the horn and trumpet type (*karranāy, sh̲aypūr, būḳ*), the reed and brazen-pipe (*nāy, ruwīn nāy*), the drum and great kettledrum (*tabīra, kūs*), as well as the Indian bell, sonette and cymbal (*hindī darāy, zang, sind̲j̲*).

The Arabs of the D̲j̲āhiliyya. Clement of Alexandria (2nd century A.D.) says that the Arabs of pre-Islamic days used cymbals in war (*Paedagogus*), but Arabic authors only mention the tambourine (*duff* [*q.v.*]) of the matrons and singing-girls (*ḳiyān* [see ḲAYNA]) in battle. This is what we see at Uḥud and Badr, although it is highly probable that the reed-pipe (*mizmār* [*q.v.*]) was also an instrument of martial music in these days (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, London 1929, 10-11; *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 172). That highly imaginative Turkish writer, Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1091/1680) avers that in the time of Muḥammad it was neither the trumpet nor the flute that sounded in his wars but only the great kettledrum (*kūs; Travels*, tr. von Hammer, London 1846, i/2, 194). On the other hand, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (d. 808/1406) says that the early Muslims used neither horns (*abwāḳ*) nor drums (*ṭubūl*; ed. Quatremère, ii, 44, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 50). It is certain that, although the Arabs used the horn (*būḳ* [*q.v.*]) in civil life, it was not a military instrument with them since it is specially mentioned in the 3rd/9th century as being used by Christians (al-D̲j̲awharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*).

Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids. Under the Umayyads, the drum and kettledrum appear to have been introduced into martial music and served as better accompaniments to the reed-pipe (*mizmār*) than the tambourine (*duff*; Seyyid Ameer Ali, *A short history of the Saracens*, London 1899, 65). Persian influences, which so strongly asserted themselves under the early ʿAbbāsids led to the Persian reed-pipe (*surnāy*) being adopted in place of the more primitive *mizmār* (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, xvi, 139, but read سرناى instead of سرناب). With the Persians the *surnāy* (= *suryānay*) went with the drum (*ṭabl*; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, viii, 90 = § 3214). By the 4th/10th century, several types of kettledrums were in use in martial array: the *ṭabl al-markab* or "mounted drum" which was probably identical with the *dabdāb* or *dabdaba* and the *naḳḳāra*, and a larger type, the great kettledrum called the *kūs* (*Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, ed. Bombay, i, 91). These were used in pairs and were carried on either side of a horse's or camel's neck. The *būḳ* or horn had also been adopted into military music by this time. Although originally fashioned out of the natural horn of an animal like the more primitive *ḳarn*, it came to be made in metal, and Ewliyā Čelebi says that the metal form (*pirind̲j̲ būrū*) was introduced by the Sald̲j̲ūḳid Alp Arslan (d. 465/1073; *Travels*, i/2, 238). The trumpet proper was the *nafīr*. This was first known as the *būḳ al-nafīr* or "military *būḳ*" (Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fak̲h̲rī*, ed. Derenbourg 30).

The Buwayhids. Up to the 4th/10th century, the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* or *ṭabl-k̲h̲āna*, which by this time comprised kettledrums, drums, trumpets, horns and reed-pipes, was part of the insignia (*marātib*) of the caliph and reserved, with the *nawba*, for the Commander of the Faithful alone (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, ed. Quatremère, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 48; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 418). With the decline of the caliphate and the rise of petty rulers there came demands from all and sundry for the privilege of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* and the *nawba*. Thus the custom arose that, when the caliph conferred regality on subject rulers, a drum or kettledrum usually accompanied the other patents or symbols of authority sent by the caliph, such as a diploma, banner, or standard; the type of instrument, the number, and the specific use of the *nawba*, being determined by the rank of the recipient. Muʿizz al-Dawla (d. 356/967), the Buwayhid *amīr*, sought from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ the privilege of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna*, but was refused. Yet in 355/966 this caliph allowed a commander to sound kettledrums (*dabādib*) during a campaign, an honour which the latter appears to have retained. It is said, however, that the first prince to obtain these coveted musical honours was the *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983). He was granted the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* by the caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ in 368/979, but he was only allowed the three-fold *nawba* at the obligatory hours of prayer, the five-fold *nawba* being reserved for the caliph. One of the Buwayhids, Abū Kālīd̲j̲ār (d. 440/1048), assumed the five-fold honour in Bag̲h̲dād and although asked by the caliph to content himself with the three-fold one, he refused. Yet the caliph had already permitted others to have or assume this privilege. In the year 390/1000, under the caliph al-Ḳādir, a minister was allowed to beat a drum (*ṭabl*) for the five-fold *nawba*, and in 408/1017, Sulṭān al-Dawla was allowed or had assumed a similar honour (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 418; Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, ii, 264, 396, iii, 345; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq* (*945-1055*), Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 186-8).

The Sald̲j̲ūḳids. Considerable extensions of the privileges of the *naḳḳāra-k̲h̲āna* were made under these rulers. The caliph al-Muḳtadī (d. 487/1094), in appointing a governor to a province, conferred the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) on him, with permission to sound the five-fold *nawba* within his province, but only the three-fold one outside of this. When the two Sald̲j̲ūḳid princes Berk-yaruḳ and Muḥammad took the titles of *sulṭān* and *malik* respectively in 494/1101, they adopted the five-fold and three-fold *nawba* with these respective ranks. Both Alp Arslan and the Eldigüzid Ḳïzïl Arslan (d. 587/1191) used the five-fold honour (Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī, *Muntaẓam*; al-Bundārī, *Zubda*).

The Arabs in Islamic times. In Yaman in the 3rd/9th century the Ḳarmaṭī al-Manṣūr b. Ḥasan had thirty drums (*ṭubūl*), and Saʿīd al-Aḥwal (d. 482/1089) of the Nad̲j̲āḥids [*q.v.*] had horns (*būḳāt*) and drums (*ṭubūl*). Later, we read of the *ṭabl-k̲h̲āna* and the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) and kettledrums (*naḳḳārāt*; H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, 84; al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī, *op. cit.*, iii/1, 103, 160, iii/2, 3, 75, iii/3, 52). At Ẓufār in ʿUmān in the 8th/14th century the sultan had reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) at his gate. At al-Ḥilla, the military music consisted of horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*ṭubūl*) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 98, 212, tr. Gibb, ii, 325, 390). At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the ʿUḳaylids favoured the horn (*būḳ*) and kettledrum (*dabdāb*) in their martial music (*JRAS* [1901], 755, 785), whilst elsewhere we find a small shallow kettledrum called the *ḳaṣʿa* in use. In the *Alf layla wa-layla*, the most imposing martial musical display is made up of reed-pipes (*zumūr*), horns (*būḳāt*), trumpets (*anfār*), drums (*ṭubūl*), and cymbals (*kāsāt, kuʾūs*).

Egypt. The Fāṭimids dispensed musical honours upon subject rulers on very much the same lines as the caliphs of Bag̲h̲dād (D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr.

Raverty, London 1881, ii, 616; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, tr. Lowe and Ranking, Calcutta 1884-98, i, 94, 310). When al-ʿAzīz (d. 386/996) marched into Syria he had five hundred horns (*abwāḳ*) sounding (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 45, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 51). Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes the Fāṭimid military band (*ca.* 438/1047), and mentions that it comprised such instruments as the horn (*būḳ*), reed-pipe (*surnā*), two kinds of drum (*ṭabl* and *duhul*), the latter a Persian variety, kettledrum (*kūs*) and cymbal (*kāsa; Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1881, 43, 46, 47). In the year 567/1172, when Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were together at Damascus, the former, who was the suzerain of the latter, sounded the five-fold *nawba*, whilst the latter contented himself with the three-fold one (Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 419). Under the Mamlūk sultans, the military band was organised on more elaborate lines and, similar to the practice in ʿIrāḳ and al-Maghrib, it was linked up with the banners, standards and similar emblems of authority, as Ibn Iyās informs us (al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 226). According to al-Ẓāhirī, the band of sultan Baybars I (d. 676/1277) comprised forty great kettledrums (*kūsāt*), four drums (*duhul*), four reed-pipes (*zumūr*), and twenty trumpets (*anfār*). He says that the *duhul* and *zumūr* were of recent adoption, but we have seen them in use under the Fāṭimids, the *zamr* and *surnā* both being reed-pipes. Ibn Taghrībirdī says that under Ḳalāwūn (d. 678/1290) a *wazīr* possessed a *ṭabl-khāna*, and we read of a similar privilege in 821/1418, although we are told that the custom was not usual. Ibn Khaldūn states that the great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) were allowed to each *amīr* and general (ii, 46, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52), yet according to Ibn Taghrībirdī it was only the *umarāʾ* commanding a thousand men who were granted this honour. Among the instruments used in the *ṭabl-khāna* of an *amīr*, says al-Ẓāhirī, were the drum or *duhul* (two), the reed-pipe or *zamr* (two), and the trumpet or *nafīr* (four), but *not* the great kettledrum (*kūs*). An *atābak* was allowed twice this number, whilst an *amīr muḳaddam* was only permitted to have a horn or *būḳ*. By the 9th/15th century, however, an *amīr* of forty cavaliers was permitted to possess a *ṭabl-khāna*, but for a time he was only allowed to sound it when on duty. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt in 923/1517, the bands of the *umarāʾ* were suppressed (Quatremère, in al-Maḳrīzī, i/1, 173-4, i/2, 272). For instruments of martial music in 18th and 19th-century Egypt see Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1776, i, 145-6, tab. xxvi; Villoteau, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, fol. ed., i, 701-3, 931-40, 948-9, 976-97 and plates.

The Maghrib. Ibn Khaldūn says that the nomadic Arabs of North Africa employed an improvisator (*munshid*) who sang at the head of the troops just as the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula did in the *Djāhiliyya*. The Almohads suppressed bands used by local governors, and reserved the use of the *ṭabl-khāna* for royalty alone (Ibn Khaldūn, ii, 45-6, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 51-2). This was formed into a separate company with the standards (*bunūd*) which became known as the *sāḳa*. The first Almohad sultan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 558/1163) had more than two hundred drums (*ṭubūl*) and among them were such large instruments that the ground quaked when they were played (al-Marrākushī, *Hist. des Almohades*, ed. Dozy, Leiden 1881, 165). The Marīnids possessed a large drum of this type, and this passed into the possession of the Saʿdian dynasty. It was an enormous instrument and could be heard a great distance (*Nuzhat al-hādī*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1888-9, 117). For designs of 18th-century instruments of martial music in Morocco, see G. Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, 1787, tab xxxi, 261.

The Bilād al-Sūdān. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was at Mogadishu [see MAḲDISHŪ] in the Eastern Sūdān and heard the *ṭabl-khāna* of the sultan, which comprised reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), horns (*abwāḳ*), trumpets (*anfār*), and drums (*aṭbāl*). At Māllī in the Western Sūdān [see MALI], the sultan's military band was made up of horns (*abwāḳ*) and drums (*aṭbāl*), the former being made out of elephant's tusks (ii, 188, iv, 403 tr. Gibb, ii, 377-8, iv, 958). One of the last of the Sonni rulers of the Songhay of Gāo (1335-1493), ʿAlī (d. 1492), used a drum as a symbol of authority. Their successors, the *Askiya* kings (1493-1590), also used the drum, and under the *Askiya* al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad troops were assembled in 1493 to the beating of the drum (*ṭabl*). In 1500-1, a large trumpet called the *kakaki* was adopted by the cavalry of the Songhay. The *Askiya* Muḥammad Bunkan (d. 1537) invented a horn called the *futurifu*. There was also a drum known as the *gabtanda*, and both this and the *futurifu* were used at Gāo. He fixed the limit outside a town where no drum save the royal drum (*ṭabl al-salṭana*) could be sounded. This royal drum continued to be used until the end of this dynasty. On the Moroccan conquest in 998/1590, and the governorship of the *pashas* in the place of the native kings, a change came in the martial music. Under Pasha Aḥmad al-Khalīfa (1105-6/1694-5), reed-pipes (*ghiyāt*), drums (*aṭbāl*), and other instruments, including the native tambourines (*dufūf al-asākī*), were counted among the martial instruments of the *pasha*'s court. The military music of the Bambara chiefs were horns (*būḳāt*) and tambourines (*dufūf*), and one chief had great horns (*būḳāt al-kibār*) as tall as a man (*Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh*, ed. Houdas and Delafosse, Paris 1913, 49, 54-5, 70, 84, 153; *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1901, 43, 45, 93, 120, 152; *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1900, 79, 122, 197).

The Il-Khānids. Under the early Khāns, a royal prince was allowed kettledrums and a drum, whilst a *wazīr* had a kettledrum. The commander-in-chief was given drums, and an *amīr* of 10,000 (?) men, as well as tributary princes were allowed a [kettle]drum (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 581; iv, 96, 187, 566; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876-88, iii, 296). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives a picturesque account of the military music of the sultan Abū Saʿīd (d. 736/1355) at Baghdād. It consisted of drums [and kettledrums] (*ṭubūl*), trumpets (*anfār*), horns (*būḳāt*), reed-pipes (*surnāyāt*), and singers. According to this writer, the *umarāʾ* had horns (*būḳāt*) as well as drums (*ṭubūl*), and each royal princess (*khātūn*) had a drum, whilst the Il-Khān himself had a special monster kettledrum called by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the *ṭabl al-kabīr* ("great drum"), but known to the Mughals as the *kūrgā* (ii, 126 tr. Gibb, ii, 342-3). The *kūrgā* was the personal musical emblem of the Il-Khān and at his death it was destroyed, as Rashīd al-Dīn, the historian of the Mongols, has related. In times of mourning, it was also customary to refrain from sounding the *nawba*. This was an old practice which we find as early as the caliph al-Muḳtadī who, when he lost his son Muḥammad in 480/1087, forbade the beating at the hours of prayers (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*). Similarly, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, having suffered a reverse at the hands of the Crusaders, abandoned the *nawba* until he had won a victory (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 42). During the Tīmūrid period, according to the apocryphal *Tūzūkāt* ("Institutes"), the military band was carefully regulated. A *beglerbeg* had a kettledrum (*naḳḳāra*) and a horn (*būrghū*: for یورغوی read بورغو), and the *amīr al-umarāʾ* and an

amīr of the four-tailed *tūḳ* had a kettledrum only. A *ming pas͟ha* had a trumpet (*nafīr*), and a *yüz pas͟ha* and *on pas͟ha* a drum (*ṭabl*), whilst an *oymāḳ* (tribal chief) had a horn (*būrg͟hū; Institutes, political and military*, ed. Davy and White, Oxford 1781, 290-2).

In India, the Mug͟hals maintained the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* as one of their attributes of sovereignty. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa points out that when the Medinan *s͟harīf* Abū G͟hurra visited India he caused great consternation by his use of drums (*ṭubūl*) and trumpets (*anfār*) because here, unlike ʿIrāḳ, Egypt or Syria, nobody but the king could use the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* (i, 422-4, tr. Gibb, i, 259-62). Al-ʿUmarī (d. 750/1349), in his *Masālik al-abṣār*, speaks of the five-fold *nawba* of the sultan of Dihlī being played by two hundred pairs of kettledrums (*naḳḳārāt*), forty pairs of great kettledrums (*kūsāt al-kibār*), twenty horns (*būḳāt*), and ten pairs of cymbals (*ṣunūdj*; see Quatremère, in *NE*, xiii, 189). The *naḳḳār-k͟hāna* of Akbar the Great (d. 1014/1605) is described by Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllamī. It was made up of the monster kettledrum called the *kuwargā* or *kūrgā* (about 18 pairs), the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra* (about 20 pairs), the drum or *duhul* (four), the reed-pipe or *surnā* (nine, both Indian and Persian types), the large trumpet known as the *ḳarranā* or *ḳarnā* (four or more), the trumpet or *nafīr* (Indian, Persian and European types), the horn or *sing* (two) and the cymbals or *ṣindj* (three pairs; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H.G. Blochmann, Calcutta 1873-94, i, 50-2). A description of the *nawba* is also given in this latter work. By this time, kettledrums were sometimes conferred on high civil or military functionaries, but the latter had to be of the rank of two thousand *suwārs* at least, and they could not be sounded in the presence of the emperor nor within a certain distance from his residence. In conferring this privilege, the recipient had miniature drums placed around his neck (Thorn, *Memoir of a war in India*, 1818, 356; *JASB* [1879], 161). For other details of the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* of the 18th century, see F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1665-1668*, ed. Constable, 363; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine. For later information, see Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 30, 196, 207; Day, *The music and musical instruments of Southern India*, London 1891, 96; Meadows-Taylor, in *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, ix/1.

The Ottomans. Until comparatively recent times, the Turks made a special feature of their military music which, like the Mongols, they linked up with the insignia of flags, banners and *ṭūg͟hs*. When ʿOt͟hmān I, the founder of the dynasty, was made a prince by the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in 688/1289, he was invested with a drum, flag and *ṭūg͟h*. At the ceremony, absolute silence was insisted on during the performance of the *nawba*. The large kettledrums called *kūsāt* were used in the time of ʿOt͟hmān I (d. 724/1324) when they were carried by elephants on some occasions. Ewliyā Čelebi, who mentions this latter point, gives a few details of the military music of the 11th/17th century (*Travels*, i, 225-6, 236-9). Murād IV (d. 1050/1640) introduced the large trumpet called the *ḳarnā* from Persia. Military music was regularly organised during this century, and Turkish bands comprised the large reed-pipe or *ḳābā zūrnā*, the small reed-pipe or *djura zūrnā*, the flute or *nay*, the big drum or *ḳābā duhul*, the ordinary drum or *duhul*, the great kettledrum or *kūs*, the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra*, the cymbal or *zill* and the "Jingling Johnny" or *čag͟hāna* (Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, 2nd ed., ii, 184). Coeck, in his *Les Mœurs... de Turcz*, 1553, ed. W.S. Maxwell in 1873 as *The Turks in 1553*, gives a woodcut of a party of Janissaries headed by reed-pipes and kettledrums. In the 18th-century, a *pas͟ha* of three tails had the reed-pipe or *zūrnā*, the trumpet or *būrū*, the kettledrum or *naḳḳāra* and the cymbal or *zill* (de Marsigli, *Stato militaire dell' imperio Ottomanno*, 1732, ii, 54-5 (and pl. xviii). The sultan's military band comprised sixty-two players under the command of an officer called the *mīr mihtār ṭabl wa-ʿalam*.

Persia. Before the rise of the Il-K͟hānids, we find how important the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* and the *nawba* were in the Middle East. G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn the G͟hūrid (d. 599/1203) had great kettledrums (*kūsāt*) of gold which were carried on a chariot (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. i, 404). Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu (d. 628/1231), the last S͟hāh of K͟hʷārazm, had his *nawba* performed on twenty-seven drums of gold encrusted with precious stones, the players being sons of subject rulers (al-Nasawī, *op. cit.*, 21). A fine pair of bronze kettledrums from Dag͟histān, but probably of Persian manufacture, were exhibited at the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London 1931, but were not catalogued. They belonged to the 6th-7th/12th-13th century. Persian art teems with representations of military bands (see *Bibl.*, Iconography). For the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs, and its survival into the Pahlawī period, see NAḲḲĀRA-K͟HĀNA. It would appear that the English trumpet was known in Persia, as it was in Turkey (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Travels*, i/2, 238). The instruments used in Persian military music were the reed-pipe (*surnā* or *surnāy*), the large trumpet (*karnā*), the trumpet (*nafīr*), the horn (*s͟hāk͟h*), the large kettledrum (*kūs*), the kettledrum (*naḳḳāra*), and the drum (*duhul*). For modern instruments, see Laborde, *Essai sur la musique*, 1780; Jourdain, *La Perse...*, 1814; Ouseley, *Travels in various countries in the East*, 1819; Fétis, *Hist. générale de la musique*, ii; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, 1885; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, 3073-7.

Modern conditions. In almost every Islamic land today, the march of Western civilisation has brought Western ideas of the military band. Brass and reed instruments of European manufacture and of equal temperament are gradually ousting the old conception of the *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna*. Yet in the Middle Ages, it was Europe that borrowed from the Muslims. The *naḳḳāra-k͟hāna* was an indispensable factor in military discipline, exercise, and tactics, as Christian armies soon found out. It was the rallying-point in battle, and the silence of the band was a sign that the banners and standards were in danger. Europe soon adopted the device, and up till the 17th century at least, the colours and the regimental music were kept together (Sir John Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, London 1899, i, 14-15; Farmer, *Rise and development of military music*, London 1912, 13). The West also borrowed the *naḳḳāra* as the *naker*, *nacaire*, etc., the *ṭabl* as the *tabel*, *tabor*, etc., the *ṭinbāl* as the *timbale*, the *ḳasʿa* as the *caisse*, the [*al-*]*būḳ* as the *alboque*, the [*al-*]*nafīr* as the *anafil*, whilst such terms as *fanfare* and *tucket* may possibly be derived from *anfār* and *tuḳā* (see Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930, 18-19). The percussion instruments in the modern military bands of Europe were adopted from Turkey in the early 18th century, and when adopted in orchestral (string band) music they were for a long time called "Turkish Music".

The English "Jingling Johnny" (Fr. *chapeau chinois*, Germ. *Schellenbaum*), with its horse-tails, carries a relic of its Turkish name *čag͟hāna* (> "Johnny"). It has been superseded by the portable glockenspiel. The fanfares

of European military bands may very well be survivals of mediaeval Oriental practice.

Bibliography: The most important references to the *naḳḳāra-khāna* and *nawba* are to be found in the following works: Walley, *Year book of oriental art 1924-1925*, London 1929; al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, as cited; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, as cited; Ibn Faḍl Allāh ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie des Mamelouks*, Paris 1927, pp. lvi-lviii; Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, as cited; Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, as cited; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian music*, 109, 154, 206-8.—Iconography. Printed books. Many of the numerous works on Oriental art and painting contain pictures of the military band and the *naḳḳāra-khāna* quarters, among them Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the viii*th *to the xviii*th *century*, 1912, ii, pl. 12, 183; P. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, 136, pls. xxxi, xlvi; N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian painting*, Bombay 1926, 93, pl. 38; *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pls. i, xxix, lv.—Manuscripts. In all the great public collections of illustrated Oriental mss., examples of both the military band and the quarters of the *naḳḳāra-khāna* are to be found.—Instruments. For instruments used in the *naḳḳāra-khāna*, see the catalogues of museum collections mentioned in the *Bibls.* to BŪḲ, MIZMĀR, ṬABL. See also the *Bibl.* to NAḲḲĀRA-KHĀNA.

(H.G. FARMER*)

TABLĪGH [see DAʿWA].

TABLĪGHĪ DJAMĀʿAT (in Arabic, *Djamāʿat al-tablīgh*), a Muslim missionary organisation founded in India around 1927 and established after 1947 throughout the world. The internal designation is *dīnī daʿwat*, religious mission, from the term *daʿwa* [*q.v.*], taken here in the modern sense of a proselytising undertaking.

The movement is founded on five basic principles. The invitation (*daʿwat* in Urdu, for *daʿwa*) to the practice of Islam is not the business of an élite of religious specialists but the individual responsibility of all Muslims who are required to devote time and money to this project. One should not wait for people to come but take the initiative and go to them: preaching is the activity of self-financing itinerant groups, criss-crossing first India and then the world. The mingling of social classes is obligatory within these groups, since they must lodge together in mosques, eat at the same tables and engage in mutual instruction. The primary objective is the deepening of the faith of those who are already Muslims, preachers as well as congregations; proselytism directed towards non-Muslims remains a marginal activity. The promotion of Muslim unity is a fundamental objective; theological controversies are prohibited and the political sympathies of members must not interfere with the activity of what is ostensibly an apolitical movement.

However, the history of the movement is firmly rooted in politics. It was created between 1925 and 1927 at the time when, in British India, the rift between Hindus and Muslims was becoming irreparable, presaging the partition of the sub-continent which took place in 1947 with the creation of Pakistan. Both religious communities felt threatened; each promoted missionary organisations with the object of attracting converts from the other. Numerous Muslim groups committed to propagating the faith (*tablīgh*) were created at this time; linked to political parties they had an ephemeral existence. Muḥammad Ilyās (1885-1944) [see HIND. v, c] founder of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat, guaranteed its survival by avoiding any direct political involvement. Belonging to the scholarly lineage of the Kāndhalawī, he received a religious education in the Deoband [*q.v.*] movement, then lived in seclusion at the Ṣūfī sanctuary of Nizamuddin (Niẓām al-Dīn) at Dihlī; there he created the Tablīghī Djamāʿat with the object of purifying the religious practices of the Mēōs, semi-Islamised peasants from the region of Mēwāt [*q.v.*] to the west of Dihlī. He acquired the support of reformist schools such as Deoband and the *Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ* [*q.v.*] and of the merchants of Dihlī; he was thus enabled to establish his movement in northern and central India (United Provinces, Pandjāb, Karachi and Bhopal). In order to avoid political complications, proselytism directed towards non-Muslims was forbidden. His son and successor, Muḥammad Yūsuf (1917-65 [see YŪSUF, MUḤAMMAD]) refused to transfer to Pakistan in 1947 and retained his headquarters or "centre" (*markaz*) at Nizamuddin. He consolidated the Tablīghī Djamāʿat throughout the sub-continent with secondary centres in Pakistan (Raiwind near Lahore) and in East Pakistan, which in 1971 became Bangladesh (Tongi near Ḍhakā). He transformed it into a worldwide movement, extending proselytism to non-Muslims and operating systematically in five continents: the first missions were sent into the Arab states and Turkey between 1946 and 1951; the western countries (Britain, the United States, Japan and continental Europe) were reached between 1950 and 1961; the Afro-Asiatic countries (Black Africa and South East Asia) were explored systematically from 1956 onward; and the movement is currently active in Western China and in former Soviet Central Asia. Although omnipresent at the time of the death of Muḥammad Yūsuf, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat remained little known; it became visible and impossible to ignore under his cousin and successor Inʿām al-Ḥasan (d. 1995) at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s; since then the annual gatherings (*idjtimāʿ*) held in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh have regularly attracted millions of worshippers; in western countries, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat is often the principal religious organisation for Muslim immigrants, especially in Britain, France, Belgium and Canada. Since the death of Inʿām al-Ḥasan, the movement has been led collectively by two sons of his, Iẓhār al-Ḥasan and Zubayr al-Ḥasan (d. 1996), and one grandson of Muḥammad Yūsuf, Saʿd.

A didactic literature which eschews all theological or political controversy is produced and diffused among the faithful: it constantly extols the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of canonical religious practices and preaches meticulous imitation of the Prophet and of his Companions. It essentially comprises nine monographs written between 1928 and 1964 by a cousin of Muḥammad Ilyās, Muḥammad Zakariyyā Kāndhalawī (1898-1982) who taught *ḥadīth* at Sahāranpūr [*q.v.*] (a subsidiary of Deoband) before moving to Medina, where he died. These monographs are distributed in the original Urdu and in English, French and Arabic translations as a means of reaching all the world's Muslims; most translations are printed in Dihlī. The entire corpus is collected in one or two volumes under the title *Tablīghī niṣāb* (officially translated as *The teachings of Islam/Les enseignements de l'Islam*). These texts are read and reread, memorised and discussed in order to permeate the minds of the faithful and to induce them to conform to the prestigious models of the Prophet and his Companions. The movement also distributes publications of Deoband-affiliated theologians, such as the *Bihishtī zewar* of Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (1863-1943 [*q.v.*]); broadly it adheres to the teachings of the Deoband

school, in other words a reformed Ḥanafī Sunnism which eschews the cult of saints but accepts a purified form of Ṣūfism. It enjoins an austere practice of Islam, with female seclusion, and prohibition of music and cinema attendance.

The organisation of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat is centralised and secret. Leadership has been provided since its inception by the dynasty of the Kāndhalawīs, three of whose members have so far been chiefs (*amīr*) of the movement, with the present collective directorship (see above) made up of their offspring; they are based at Nizamuddin (Dihlī), where they are also buried. Here a large building accommodates the central administration of the movement and the publishing house from which its literature is distributed throughout the world. Teams working in other countries are trained at this centre. In each country, the Tablīghī Djamāʿat has a chief who in his turn delegates authority, by stages, to those responsible for provinces, districts and towns... down to the smallest preaching group of some dozen persons, this group too having its own hierarchy. Members are trained and indoctrinated; in order to progress in the organisation they are required to gives pledges of their commitment, devoting a proportion of their time and their income to missionary ventures. Only then are they granted access to the inner circles of the movement, the functioning of which remains closed to outsiders. The financial apparatus of this vast world-wide organisation is also a closely-guarded secret.

This secrecy raises the question of the ultimate political motivations of the Tablīghī Djamāʿat. At its inception it had the form of a clan-based Ṣūfī fraternity; at the end of its universal expansion, its functioning is more closely related to that of a sect. It exercises considerable worldwide power, with its dynamic proselytising, which it conceives as a form of *djihād* [*q.v.*] enabling it to mobilise millions of persons on a global scale. It may be wondered whether one day it will reveal political ambitions which are for the time being disguised.

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(M. GABORIEAU)

AL-ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), ABŪ MANṢŪR AḤMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, Imāmī scholar and author. (For the vocalisation of his *nisba* see the next entry.) He lived in the first half of the 6th/12th century; the death-date of *ca.* 620/1223 given by some late sources is probably erroneous. Virtually nothing is known of his life; the claim that he hailed from Sāriya [*q.v.*] (Khwānsārī, i, 73), like the claim that he was related to al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī [*q.v.*], appears to be uncorroborated. He studied with Abū Djaʿfar Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī, and Ibn Shahrāshūb [*q.v.*] was among his pupils. Some of his legal opinions are cited by later authors, including al-Shahīd al-Thānī [*q.v.*]. His shrine, in a place named after him and today called Ḳaryat Shaykh Ṭabarsī, is located near Bārfurūsh [*q.v.*] in Māzandarān.

Ibn Shahrāshūb (in his *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*) lists six works by al-Ṭabrisī: *K. al-Kāfī fi 'l-fiḳh*, *al-Iḥtidjādj*, *Mafākhir (Mufākharat) al-ṭālibiyya*, *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimma*, *Faḍāʾil al-Zahrāʾ* and *K. al-Ṣalāt*. Of these, only the *Iḥtidjādj* (more fully, *al-Iḥtidjādj ʿalā ahl al-ladjādj*) is known to have survived. It opens with the text of debates which the Prophet held with representatives of various religions, but its bulk consists of disputations which the Imāms and a number of their followers held with opponents of the Shīʿa. Also included are rescripts from the Twelfth Imām to various Shīʿī leaders. Al-Ṭabrisī neither identifies his sources nor provides the *isnāds* of the traditions cited, except in

the case of the *Tafsīr* attributed to the Imām al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*] which, al-Ṭabrisī explains, is less well-known than the other sources he uses (*al-Iḥtidjādj*, Beirut 1410/1989, 14; it is cited on pp. 15-55, 235-9, 319-21, 330-1, 445-61). The *Iḥtidjādj* was particularly popular in the Ṣafawid period, when it was twice rendered into Persian (Storey, i/i, 14, 16).

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AL-ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), AMĪN AL-DĪN (or AMĪN AL-ISLĀM) ABŪ ʿALĪ AL-FAḌL B. AL-ḤASAN, Imāmī scholar and author. His *nisba* refers to Ṭabris (Ṭabrish), which is the Arabicised form of Tafrish, a village between Kāshān and Iṣfahān mentioned by ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169-70) as the place of origin of al-Ṭabrisī's family (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, 420). The pronunciation Ṭabarsī was first defended by some 17th-century Ṣafawid scholars, who took the *nisba* Ṭ-b-r-s-ī to refer to Ṭabaristān; and in the following two centuries, a number of Shīʿī authors actually called themselves Ṭabarsī (see Karīmān, i, 166-205, 313-33).

Al-Ṭabrisī was born in 470/1077-8 or shortly before and grew up in Khurāsān. Among his masters were ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḳriʾ al-Rāzī (alive in 503/1109-10), who was a student of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, and al-Ṭūsī's son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (alive in 515/1121-2). Some of al-Ṭabrisī's teachers were Sunnīs; they included the Ḳurʾān commentator Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza b. Naṣr al-Kirmānī (d. *ca.* 500/1106-7) and the Shāfiʿī Abu ʾl-Fatḥ ʿUbayd Allāh (in most sources, erroneously, ʿAbd Allāh) b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ḳushayrī (d. 521/1127), a son of the renowned mystic [*q.v.*]. For many years al-Ṭabrisī lived in Mashhad, where he had close ties with the Shīʿī Zubāra family. In 523/1129 he moved to Sabzawār [*q.v.*] and taught in the Madrasat Bāb al-ʿIrāḳ. He died on 10 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 548/26 February 1154. According to al-Bayhaḳī, his death occurred in Sabzawār, though others maintain that he died in Mashhad; but all agree in any event that he was buried in Mashhad. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī al-Kaydarī (Kaydhurī) (alive in 610/1213-4) refers to al-Ṭabrisī as a martyr (*shahīd*), and this is repeated by some later biographers, who suggest that he was poisoned. His shrine is at Ḳatl-gāh (or Ghuslgāh), said to be the spot where the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] died (or where his body was washed). Al-Ṭabrisī's students included some of the best-known Imāmī authors of the 6th/12th century, such as Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177-8), Muntadjab al-Dīn (d. *ca.* 585/1189), Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) [*q.v.*] and Shādhān b. Djibrāʾīl al-Ḳummī (alive in 593/1196-7). Al-Ṭabrisī was a prominent jurist, and some of his legal pronouncements are cited by later authorities; but he is not known to have written a work of *fiḳh*. In theology, he broadly followed the Muʿtazilī doctrines adopted by his Imāmī predecessors.

The titles of over 20 works by al-Ṭabrisī are mentioned in the sources (cf. Karīmān, i, 260-90). Among the best-known are:

(i) *K. Madjmaʿ al-bayān li ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān* (or *fī maʿānī ʾl-Ḳurʾān*/*fī tafsīr al-ḳurʾān*), described by Muntadjab al-Dīn (145) as comprising 10 volumes. It was written for al-Sharīf Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Hibat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Zubārī (d. 8 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 539/2 May 1145) and completed on 15 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 534/2 July 1140 or 536/11 June 1142; it eventually became one of the most authoritative Imāmī Ḳurʾān commentaries. In the introduction, al-Ṭabrisī acknowledges his debt to al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Tibyān*, but criticises al-Ṭūsī for including unreliable material and for occasional stylistic infelicities. Al-Ṭabrisī's method is to take up one group of verses at a time and discuss *ḳirāʾāt*, language and grammar before providing a detailed commentary on the text, based on both Sunnī and Shīʿī sources and incorporating his own views.

(ii) *al-Kāfī al-shāfī min kitāb al-kashshāf*, a one-volume Ḳurʾān commentary also known as *al-Tafsīr al-wadjīz*. As its title suggests, it is an abridgement of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*—a work which al-Ṭabrisī came to know and admire after completing the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān*. The *Kāfī* was still available to ʿAlī al-Karakī [*q.v.*] (see al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, cviii, 48).

(iii) *Djawāmiʿ al-djāmiʿ*. This 4-volume work, also known as *al-Tafsīr al-wasīṭ*, was the last to be written of the author's three Ḳurʾān commentaries; it was composed at the request of al-Ṭabrisī's son al-Ḥasan and completed in a single year, on 24 Muḥarram 543/14 June 1148. The material in the *Djawāmiʿ* is culled from both the *Madjmaʿ al-bayān* and the *Kāfī*.

(iv) *Iʿlām al-warā bi-aʿlām al-hudā*, written for the Ispahbadī ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Shahriyār b. Ḳārin (r. 511-34/1117-40) [see BĀWAND]. It comprises biographies of the Prophet, of Fāṭima and of the Imāms, and is based on a wealth of Sunnī and Shīʿī sources. This work, under its alternative title *Rabīʿ al-shīʿa*, was on occasion erroneously attributed to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (Kohlberg, 65).

(v) *al-Ādāb al-dīniyya li ʾl-khizāna al-muʿīniyya*, a work of *adab* dedicated to Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Maḥmūd, who for two years, until his assassination by Ismāʿīlī *fidāʾīs* in Rabīʿ I 521/March-April 1127, was a vizier of the Khurāsānian ruler Sandjar b. Malikshāh (d. 552/1157 [*q.v.*]).

(vi) *Tādj al-mawālīd*, containing succinct biographical information about the Prophet, Fāṭima and the Imāms. The work was written in 509/1115-6 (*Tādj al-mawālīd*, in *Madjmūʿa nafīsa fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimma*, Ḳumm 1406/1985-6, 139, 146).

(vii) *Nathr al-laʾālī*, alphabetically arranged apothegms of ʿAlī. It is sometimes confused with a work of the same title by ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (alive in 589/1193) (Kohlberg, 298-9).

All of these, with the possible exception of the *Kāfī*, are extant.

Al-Ṭabrisī wrote abridgements (*ikhtiyārāt*) of various works, including (besides the *Kāfī*) the *Muḳtaṣad fī*

'l-naḥw of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078) [q.v., in Suppl.] and the Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa of al-Marzūḳī (d. 421/1030) [q.v.]. He appears to have also written his own commentary on the Ḥamāsa, entitled al-Bāhir fī sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa, of which an incomplete manuscript survives (see H. Ritter, in Oriens, ii [1949], 259, whence F. Sezgin, GAS, ii, 71, no. 26; see also Brockelmann, S I, 40).

Prominent scholars among al-Ṭabrisī's descendants include his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl (fl. mid-6th/12th century), author of Makārim al-akhlāḳ, and his grandson Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan (fl. late 6th/12th century), author of Mishkāt al-anwār.

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ṬABRISĪ (Ṭabarsī), Ḥādjdj Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taḳī Nūrī (1254-1320/1839-1902) Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿī scholar and divine considered by some to have been the greatest Shīʿī exponent of ḥadīth and akhbār since Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī (d. 1699 [q.v.]). Ṭabrisī first studied in his home province of Nūr in northern Persia under Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Burūdjirdī, with whom he later travelled to the Shīʿī shrine centres in ʿIrāḳ. He studied in Nadjaf, Karbalā' and Sāmarrā for several years (with intervals in Persia) under Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī (known as Shaykh al-ʿIrāḳayn), as well as under the two leading marādjiʿ of the day, Shaykh Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī and Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī. He died in Nadjaf on 21 Djumādā II 1320/25 September 1902.

Ṭabrisī's scholarly interests lay mainly in the spheres of biography and tradition, specialising in the lives of ʿulamā', muḥaddithūn and ruwāt. His books include Nafs al-Raḥmān, a biography of Salmān al-Fārisī; al-Fayḍ al-ḳudsī, a biography of Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī; Maʿālim al-ʿabr, a continuation of vol. xvii of Madjlisī's Biḥār al-anwār; and the well-known Mustadrak al-wasā'il wa mustanbaṭ al-masā'il (3 vols., Tehran 1311-21), a continuation of al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's ḥadīth collection the Tafṣīl wasā'il al-Shīʿa.

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TABRĪZ, the traditional capital of the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān [q.v.] and now the administrative centre of the ustān of eastern Ādharbāydjān (lat. 38° 05' N., long. 46° 18' E., altitude ca. 1,340 m/4,400 feet).

1. Geography and history.

Geographical position. The town lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmiya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Adjī čay ("bitter river") which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawalān, runs along the Ḳaradja dagh which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the town. The left bank tributary of the Adjī čay, Mihrān rūd (now the Maydān čay), runs through the town. Immediately to the north-east of the town rise the heights of ʿAynali-Zaynali (the ziyārat of ʿAwn b. ʿAlī and Zayd b. ʿAlī) which (6,000 feet) form a link between the mountain system of the Ḳaradja dagh (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 30 miles south of the town) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the Ḳaradja dagh is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabrīz and Marāgha, the site of Tabrīz is the only suitable pass for communications between east and north. Lastly, as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of Lake Urmiya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, Ḳaradja dagh) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistān) must also take place via Tabrīz.

This fortunate position predestined Tabrīz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and the former Russian Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Istanbul and India (only Tiflīs, Tehran, Iṣfahān and Baghdād fall into the same category).

The climate of Tabrīz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer, the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy.

One feature of Tabrīz is the frequent earthquakes. The most formidable took place in 244/858, in 434/1042 (mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his Safar-nāma and predicted by the astronomer Abū Ṭāhir Shīrāzī), in 1641, in 1727, in 1780, etc. Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabrīz; they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand. See further, N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, A history of Persian earthquakes, Cambridge 1982, 37 ff., 57, 62.

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The part of the town called the Ḳalʿa is therefore no longer

separated from the former part *extra muros*. The town has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the town and the south-east. The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west.

The name. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 822, the name of the town is pronounced Tibrīz. Yāḳūt gives as his authority Abū Zakariyyā' al-Tabrīzī (a pupil of Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī [*q.v.*], of whom we know that he spoke the local Iranian dialect (see Sayyid Aḥmad Kisrawī Tabrīzī, *Ādharī yā zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehran 1304/1925, 11). The pronunciation Tibrīz must be one of the peculiarities of this dialect which is related to those called "Caspian", or, more probably, Arabic purism assimilating it to the *fi'īl* form of the noun. The modern pronunciation is exclusively Tabrīz (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Ādharbāydjān: Tarbīz). The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with *a*. The popular Persian etymology explains *Tabrīz* as "making fever run" (= disappear) (Ewliyā Čelebi: *sïtma döküdjü*), but it is possible that the name rather means "that which makes the heat disappear", in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand. The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pahlavi T'avrēž and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sāsānid and perhaps pre-Arsacid.

History. The identification of Tabrīz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion (cf. the résumé in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 770-9). According to the Armenian historian Vardan (14th century), Tabrīz was founded on Persian territory by the Arshakid Armenian Khusraw (217-33) as an act of revenge against the first Sāsānid king Ardashīr (224-41), who had killed the last Parthian king Artabanus; this story is not found in any ancient source and is probably to be explained by popular etymology.

Arab rule. During the conquest of Ādharbāydjān by the Arabs (*ca.* 22/642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabīl. Tabrīz is not mentioned among the towns from which the Persian Marzubān had levied his troops (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326). After the devastation mentioned by Faustus of Byzantium (4th century), Tabrīz must have become a mere village. The later legend (Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 730/1340) of the "building" of Tabrīz in 175/791 by Zubayda, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umayyad estates Zubayda had received Warthān (in Ādharbāydjān on the Araxes). According to al-Balādhurī, 331 and Ibn al-Faḳīh, 285 (cf. also Yāḳūt, i, 822), the rebuilding of Tabrīz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdī and particularly of the latter's sons, al-Wadjnā' and others who built the walls round the town. Al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1171 = Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 315) speaking of the rebellion of Bābak (201-20/816-35 [*q.v.*]) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muḥammad b. Ba'īth, owner of two castles: Shāhī, which he had taken from al-Wadjnā', and Tabrīz (no details given).

When Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, wrote (232/840), Tabrīz belonged to Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād. In 244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). Tabrīz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (*ca.* 340/951), 181, the strip of territory which included Tabrīz, Djabrawān (or Dih-Kharraḳān?) and Ushnūh bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudaynī, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/978), 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence, for the history of the Sādjids [*q.v.*] (lords of Ādharbāydjān 276-317/889-929) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabrīz.

After the disappearance of the Sādjids, Ādharbāydjān became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīdj, Lashkarī b. Mardī, had seized the province in 326/938. He was driven out by the Kurd Daysam, who soon came into conflict with the Daylamī Musāfirids [*q.v.*]. The people of Tabrīz invited Daysam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marzubān. Daysam left Tabrīz, and the rule of al-Marzubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Ādharbāydjān (*ca.* 330/942).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear, but their successors the Rawwādids [*q.v.*] can be traced at Tabrīz down to 446/1054. The following events are connected with these Rawwādīs: in 420/1029, Wahsūdān b. Mahlān (Mamlān?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabrīz (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 279); in 434/1043 an earthquake destroyed Tabrīz, and the *amīr* (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of al-Ghuzz al-Saldjūḳiyya (*ibid.*, 351); in 438/1046-7 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found in Tabrīz a king Sayf al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad (Mamlān?) Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn; in 446/1054 the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl received the submission of the lord of Tabrīz, al-Amīr Abū Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī (*ibid.*, ix, 410).

The geographers and travellers. While Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, al-Balādhurī, 331, al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 285, and even al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181, simply mention Tabrīz among the little towns of Ādharbāydjān, al-Muḳaddasī already sings the praises of Tabrīz, and his contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/978) considers it the most prosperous town in Ādharbāydjān, with a busy trade. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) calls Tabrīz a "noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens", and its inhabitants "brave, martial and rich". According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the area occupied by the town in 438/1046-7 was 1,400 × 1,400 paces, which is only about a third of a square mile.

Saldjūḳ period. Tabrīz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saldjūḳs. In the vicinity of the town, Ṭoghrïl celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 111). During his struggle with his brother Muḥammad, Berk-yaruḳ retired in 494/1101 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabrīz, but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabrīz fell to Muḥammad, who appointed Sa'd al-Mulk as *wazīr* there (498/1104-5). In 505/1111-12 we find Amīr Sukmān al-Ḳuṭbī mentioned as lord of Tabrīz, i.e. the founder of the dynasty of Shāhs of Armenia (Shāh-i Arman [*q.v.*]), which ruled at Akhlāṭ 493-604/1100-1207.

Under the branch of the Saldjūḳs of 'Irāḳ, whose capital was at Hamadān, Ādharbāydjān played a more important part. In 514/1120 Sultan Maḥmūd spent some time at Tabrīz to calm the inhabitants, who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the Atabeg of Ādharbāydjān at this period was Kün-toghdï. After his death (515/1121), the Amīr of Marāgha Aḳ-Sunḳur Aḥmadīlī endeavoured to get Tabrīz out of the hands of Ṭoghrïl (brother of the sultan), but these intrigues came to nought. Maḥmūd appointed to Ādharbāydjān the Amīr Djuyūsh of Mawṣil, who was killed at the gate of Tabrīz in 516/1122. After the death of Maḥmūd (525/1131), his brother Mas'ūd occupied Tabrīz and was besieged there by

Dāwūd, son of Maḥmūd. Finally, Dāwūd established himself in Tabrīz and from this town ruled (526-33/1132-9) a great fief composed of Ādharbāydjān, Arrān and Armenia. Ādharbāydjān and Arrān were later entrusted to Ṭoghrïl I's old slave, the Atabeg Ḳara Sunḳur whose capital seems to have been at Ardabīl (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 52). After his death in 535/1140-1, the Amīr Djā'ūlī (Čawlï) al-Ṭoghrïlī succeeded him, but we soon find Ildegīz [*q.v.*], the founder of the dynasty of Atabegs which ruled the province till 622/1225, established in Ādharbāydjān. The centre of Ildegīzid power was at first to the north-west of Ādharbāydjān, while Tabrīz became part of the possessions of the Aḥmadīlī [*q.v.*] Amīrs of Marāgha, for it was not till 570/1174-5 that the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildegīz [*q.v.*] took Tabrīz from Falak al-Dīn, grandson of Aḳ Sunḳur b. Aḥmadīl, and gave it to his brother Ḳïzïl Arslan. It was during the period that Ḳïzïl Arslan was Atābeg (582-87/1186-91) that Tabrīz definitely took its place as the capital of Ādharbāydjān.

In 602/1205-6 the Amīr Ḳara Sunḳur 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmadīlī, in alliance with the Atbeg of Ardabīl, made an attempt to retake Tabrīz from Ḳïzïl Arslan's successor, the bon-vivant Abū Bakr. The attempt failed, and Ḳara Sunḳur lost Marāgha.

The Ildegīzids lived in great style, as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Niẓāmī and Khāḳānī [*q.vv.*], but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhčiwān [*q.v.*].

The Mongols. The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabrīz in the winter of 617/1220-1. The incapable Ildegīzid Atabeg Özbeg b. Pahlawān obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year, the Mongols came back again. The Atabeg fled to Nakhčiwān, but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams al-Dīn al-Ṭughrā'ī and the Mongols departed with a new ransom, after which Özbeg returned to Tabrīz. In 621/1224 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Özbeg the surrender of all the Khʷārazmians in Tabrīz. Özbeg hastened to yield to this demand.

Djalāl al-Dīn. The Khʷārazm Shāh soon arrived from Marāgha and on 27 Radjab 622/15 July 1225 gained admittance to the town, which Özbeg had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender, especially as Djalāl al-Dīn was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Turkomans of the tribe of Aywā (al-Aywā'iyya). Djalāl al-Dīn having married the *malika*, the former wife of Özbeg, held Tabrīz for six years, but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 323). As early as 627/1230, a Turkoman chief of the tribe of Ḳush-yalwa (?), a chief of Rūyīndiz (near Marāgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabrīz. In 628/1231 Djalāl al-Dīn left Ādharbāydjān and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabrīz which is the very heart (*aṣl*) *of* the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 328). The *malik* of the Mongols (Djurmaghun noyin) sent for the notables, levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khatā'ī* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ögedey) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Güyük, the effective rule of Arrān and Ādharbāydjān was in the hands of Malik Ṣadr al-Dīn, a Persian ally of the Mongols (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 518).

The Mongol Il-Khāns. After the taking of Baghdād in 654/1256, Hülegü went to Ādharbāydjān and settled at Marāgha [*q.v.*]. In 661/1263, after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berke's troops, Hülegü returned to Tabrīz and massacred the merchants there of Ḳïpčaḳ origin. In 662/1264, at the re-distribution of the fiefs, Hülegü confirmed Malik Ṣadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabrīz.

Tabrīz became the official capital under Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Öldjeytü. In 688/1289 under Arghun, the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Manṣūr to Tabrīz. Under Gaykhatu, the revenues of the province of Tabrīz were estimated at 80 *tūmāns*. In 693/1294 Tabrīz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*čao*). It was in the reign of Ghazan Khān that Tabrīz attained its greatest splendour. This monarch entered Tabrīz in 694/1295 and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghun in the village of Shām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Adjī čay. Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum. In 699/1299 on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghazan began a whole series of buildings. He intended Shām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest. A building was erected there higher than the *gunbad* of Sultan Sandjar at Marw, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world. Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two *madrasas* (one Shāfi'ī and the other Ḥanafī), a hostel for Sayyids (*dār al-siyāda*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water and baths with hot water. *Wakfs*, the revenues from which amounted to 100 *tūmāns* of gold (Waṣṣāf), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanserai, a market and baths. Fruit trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabrīz itself, great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*bārū*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces"). Ghazan gave it a new wall 25,000 *gāms* in length (4½ *farsakhs*). All the gardens and the Kūh-i Waliyān and Sandjarān quarters were incorporated in the town. Within the wall on the slopes of the Kūh-i Waliyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Aynali-Zaynali) a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, and the quarter was therefore known as *Rab'-i Rashīdī* (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 76, tr. 79-80). We have a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 82.

As if to emphasise the fact that Tabrīz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*kīla, gaz*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabrīz (d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 144, 271-7, 350, 466-9).

Tabrīz was also at this time an important focus of Muslim literature, spirituality and mysticism, eulogised by Rūmī in his *Mathnawī*, Book VI, vv. 3106-5, tr. Nicholson, vi, 429-30. The Ṣūfī poet Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. *ca.* 718-20/1317-20 [*q.v.*] came from a small town near Lake Urmiya and lived and worked at Tabrīz amongst other places (see L. Lewisohn, *The political milieu of Mongol Persia*, in *Beyond faith and infidelity. The Sufi poetry and teachings of Mahmud Shabistari*,

London 1995, 55-103), and another notable Ṣūfī master of Tabrīz was Kh^wādja Muḥammad b. Ṣadīḳ Kudjudjī (d. 677/1279), whose descendants were later *shaykh al-islāms* in Tabrīz under the early Djalāyirids, the Tīmūrids and the early Ṣafawids (see J. Aubin, *Études safavides. I. Shāh Ismāʿīl et les notables de l'Iraq persan*, in *JESHO*, ii [1959], 60-3, and Lewisohn, *Palāsī's memoir of Shaykh Kujujī, a Persian Sufi of the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS*, 3rd ser., vi [1996], 345-66).

In 703/1304 Ghazan Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Shām. In 705/1307 his successor Öldjeytü conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*]. It was, however, not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715/1315 we still find the ambassador from the Özbegs of Ḳïpčaḳ following the route by Tabrīz instead of the shorter Mughān-Ardabīl-Sulṭāniyya. It is also noteworthy that Tādj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh (vizier from 711/1312) had begun the construction of a magnificent mosque at Tabrīz (outside the Mihād-mihīn quarter).

In 717/1317 under Abū Saʿīd, the retiring vizier Rashīd al-Dīn went to Tabrīz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rabʿ-i Rashīdī sacked (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who was called to power by Abū Saʿīd himself, continued to enlarge Rabʿ-i Rashīdī. The capital continued to be Sulṭāniyya, judging from the fact that Abū Saʿīd was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built (d'Ohsson, iv, 720).

When in 736/1336 his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu), his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror ʿAlī Pādshāh Oyrat. The property of the family of Rashīd al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabrīz, and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

The Djalāyirs and the Čobanids. In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Djalāyir [*q.v.*] dynasty, whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabrīz. In 736/1336 Ḥasan Buzurg Djalāyir established on the throne of Tabrīz his candidate Sultan Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature, this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital. The Čobanid Ḥasan Kūčik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Ḥasan Buzurg retired to Baghdād and Ḥasan Kūčik (740/1340) put on the throne Sulaymān Khān with rule over ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Ḥasan Kūčik, his brother Ashraf, in 744/1344 proclaimed a new puppet, Anūshirwān, whom he relegated to Sulṭāniyya while he himself remained in Tabrīz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an "intervention in the cause of humanity" by Djānī Beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Ḳïpčaḳ). Ashraf was defeated at Khoy and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabrīz (756/1355). The vizier Akhidjūḳ whom Djānī Beg had left in Ādharbāydjān found his authority disputed on several sides. Tabrīz was temporarily occupied by the Djalāyir Uways b. Ḥasan Buzurg who came from Baghdād. Hardly had he been driven out by Akhidjūḳ than the Muẓaffarid of Fārs, Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelling with Djānī Beg, who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty, arrived from Shīrāz, defeated Akhidjūḳ at Miyāna and seized Tabrīz in 758/1357. After two years he retired before Uways, who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabrīz and slew Akhidjūḳ.

When the news of the death of Uways (776/1377) reached Fārs, the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shudjāʿ, who had succeeded Mubāriz al-Dīn, set out from Shīrāz to take Tabrīz. Ḥusayn, son of Uways, was defeated and Tabrīz occupied, but after a few months, a rebellion having broken out at Ūdjān, forced Shudjāʿ to evacuate the town which Ḥusayn reoccupied without striking a blow. Sulṭāniyya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muẓaffarids in the north-west (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 723-5). In 784/1382 Ḥusayn Djalāyir was slain at Tabrīz, and his brother Aḥmad succeeded him in Ādharbāydjān, but his rule was to be brief, for Tīmūr soon after appeared on the scene.

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule, the Djalāyirs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabrīz. Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shīrwān and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. Among their buildings in Tabrīz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishḳiyya and a large building by Sultan Uways, which, according to Clavijo contained 20,000 chambers ("camaras apartadas é apartamientos") and was called Dawlat-khāna ("Tolbatgana... la casa de la ventura").

The period of Tīmūr. During his first invasion of Persia (786/1384), Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand after taking Sulṭāniyya. His great rival Toḳtamïsh Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Ādharbāydjān via Darband in 787/1385. The invaders took Tabrīz, which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Djurdjān driven out by Tīmūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khudjandī) and returned to Darband (Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 392; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 321).

Hardly had Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir recovered Tabrīz than he was driven out again by Tīmūr (788/1386), who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Tīmūr encamped at Shām-Ghāzān and levied an indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of Tabrīz (see Yazdī, i, 326).

In 795/1392 the "fief of Hülegü" (*takht-i Hūlāgū*), consisting of Ādharbāydjān, al-Rayy, Gīlān, Shīrwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mīrān Shāh (*ibid.*, ii, 623) and Tabrīz became the capital of this territory. Three years later, this prince became insane and committed a series of insensate actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings; *ibid.*, ii, 200, 213, and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii, 71). Tīmūr immediately on his return from India set out for Ādharbāydjān in 802/1399-1400 and executed those who shared in Mīrān Shāh's debauches.

In 806/1403-4, Mīrzā ʿUmar, son of Mīrān Shāh, was placed at the head of the "fief of Hülegü" and the lands conquered by Tīmūr in the west. His father Mīran Shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in ʿIrāḳ) were placed under the authority of Mīrzā ʿUmar. After the death of Tīmūr, a long struggle began between ʿUmar and Abū Bakr. In 808/1405-6, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabrīz a tribute of 200 ʿIrāḳī *tūmāns*. ʿUmar returned to Tabrīz, but his Turkomans harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabrīz than the Turkoman rebel Bisṭām Djāgīr entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān [*q.v.*]. In 809/1406-7 the latter handed over Tabrīz to Aḥmad Djalāyir as to its true sovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion; see ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, tr. Quatremère, 109. On 8 Rabīʿ I, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Ghāzān, but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabrīz (in 1404 and with intervals 1405, i.e. from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A.H.). In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade. Clavijo speaks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabrīz.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. On 1 Djumādā I 809/ 14 October 1406, Ḳara Yūsuf, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkoman, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr, who in his retreat handed Tabrīz over to plunder, and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, 110). Ḳara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sulṭāniyya and carried off the population of this town to Tabrīz, Ardabīl and Marāgha. Abū Bakr soon returned to Ādharbāydjān, but Ḳara Yūsuf assisted by Bisṭām defeated him at Sardarūd (5 miles south of Tabrīz). Mīrān Shāh fell in this battle and was buried at Tabrīz in the cemetery of Surkhāb.

Ḳara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir at the time when both were in exile in Egypt, had recourse to a stratagem. With great ceremony, he put on the throne of Tabrīz his son Pīr Budāḳ who was regarded as Aḥmad's adopted son (according to the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, Ḳara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pīr Budāḳ till 814/1411-12). Aḥmad to outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Ḳara Yūsuf was absent in Armenia, he occupied Tabrīz. Aḥmad was finally defeated in battle (28 Rabīʿ II 813/30 August 1410). He was executed by Ḳara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimishḳiyya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabrīz were with the last Djalāyir king; cf. Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilkhaniens*, in *JA* [1876], 316-62.

Tabrīz is regularly mentioned as the centre from which Ḳara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, fearing the influence of Ḳara Yūsuf in 817/1414, undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond al-Rayy (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, 238, 250). When in 823/1420 he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Ḳara Yūsuf (on 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 823/12 November 1420). Anarchy broke out in the Turkoman camp, and a week later Mīrzā Baysunghur occupied Tabrīz. Shāh Rukh arrived there in the summer of 824/1421 after defeating in Armenia the sons of Ḳara Yūsuf. In 832/1429 Iskandar, son of Ḳara Yūsuf, seized Sulṭāniyya. Shāh Rukh again arrived at Shām-Ghāzān at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu at Salmās. In the winter of 833/1429-30 Ādharbāydjān was given to Abū Saʿīd b. Ḳara Yūsuf, who had come to pay homage to Shāh Rukh. In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar. In the winter of 838/1434, Shāh Rukh came to Ādharbāydjān for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him, but his brother Djahān Shāh hastened to join Shāh Rukh. The latter spent the summer of 839/1436 in Tabrīz, and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Djahān Shāh.

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabrīz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Harāt. The most remarkable building in Tabrīz, "the Blue Mosque" (*Gök masdjid*) is the work of Djahān Shāh (according to Berezin, of his wife Begum Khātūn). It is possible that the presence in Tabrīz in the Surkhāb and Čarandāb quarters of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sect [*q.v.*] dates from the time of Djahān Shāh, on whose heretical views see Münedjdjim Bashî, Tkish. tr., iii, 154.

The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. On 12 Rabīʿ II 872/ 10 November 1467 Djahān Shāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Uzun Ḥasan Bayandurī, chief of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkomans. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabrīz their dervish brother Ḥusayn ʿAlī, but Begum Khātūn, widow of Djahān Shāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabrīz was, however, occupied by Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the mad son of Djahān Shāh (by another wife), who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives (Münedjdjim Bashî).

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, Ḥasan ʿAlī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to the death of Abū Saʿīd himself. In 873/1468 Uzun Ḥasan seized Tabrīz, which he made his capital (he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman sultan, see Ferīdūn Bey, *Münsheʾāt*).

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Uzun Ḥasan. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the Republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabrīz, to which embassies came from all parts. Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls "Aptisti" (*Haft* + ?). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabrīz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan "who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia". Uzun Ḥasan died in 852/1477 and was buried in the Naṣriyya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Yaʿḳūb. During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (883-96/1478-90), the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idrīs was his secretary) and in 888/1483 built in the garden of Ṣāḥibābād the Hasht Bihisht palace. This palace (*Astibisti*) was also described by the Venetian merchant; on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc. Beside the Hasht Bihisht there was a harem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast *maydān*, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients (see also Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 249).

The Ṣafawids and the Turco-Persian wars. Ismāʿīl I occupied Tabrīz in 906/1500 after his victory at Sharūr over Mīrzā Alwand Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Of the 200-300,000 inhabitants of the town, two-thirds were reported to be Sunnī but the new ruler was not long in imposing Shīʿism upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 31). In his hatred of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ismāʿīl had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (G.M. Angiolello). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismāʿīl set out for Arzindjān after Alwand, the latter succeeded in returning to Tabrīz and during his brief stay there "oppressed the rich" (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 31).

The battle of Čaldirān [*q.v.*] (2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabrīz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghlu and the *defterdār* Pīrī and on 6 September Sultan Selīm made his triumphal entry into it. In the town, the Turks conducted themselves with moderation (Browne, *LHP*, iv, 77) but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Istanbul 1,000 skilled artisans. The sultan only stayed a week in Tabrīz, as he had to return to his own lands in consequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (von Hammer, *GOR*^{2}, i, 720).

The events of 920/1514 were a grave warning to the Persians, and under Ṭahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Ḳazwīn. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Ṭahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Turkoman tribe of Tekke) the troops of Süleymān I under the command of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, occupied Tabrīz in 941/13 July 1534 and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Saʿīdābād?). Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a began to build a fortress at S̲h̲ām-G̲h̲āzān. The government of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān was entrusted to Ulāma, who had held the same post under Ṭahmāsp. On 27 September, Süleymān himself arrived in Tabrīz. A little later, he made a thrust as far as Sulṭāniyya and occupied Bag̲h̲dād. On his return to Tabrīz, he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Wān. Again in 955/28 July 1548, at the instigation of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā, brother of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp, Süleymān occupied Tabrīz but only stayed five days there. The sultan refused Alḳāṣ Mīrzā's proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d'Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabrīz and testifies to Süleymān's efforts to protect the town (*Voyage*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1887, 83). In 962/29 May 1555 there was signed at Amasiya the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years (von Hammer, ii, 112, 120, 269; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 49-59).

In 993/1585 the Grand Vizier of Murād III Özdemir-zāde ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabrīz. The governor of Wān, Čig̲h̲ala-zāde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Čaldirān and Ṣofiyān, the Turks arrived before S̲h̲ām-G̲h̲āzān. The Persian governor ʿAlī Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, after a bold sortie which cost Čig̲h̲ala-zāde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town. As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian chief minister Ḥamza Mīrzā operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops. To defend Tabrīz, ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a built a square citadel, the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyā Čelebi, *miʿmār-i mekki ars̲h̲unī*). This citadel, which was erected in 36 days, was inside the town. It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men. The eunuch D̲j̲aʿfer Pas̲h̲a was appointed governor of Tabrīz. On 29 October 1585, ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a died. Čig̲h̲ala-zāde, whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops, succeeded in defeating the Persians, but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Ferhād Pāshā definitely relieved the garrison (von Hammer, ii, 354). By the disastrous peace of 998/1590, S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth, the Turks took their occupation of Tabrīz seriously. Their many buildings, especially those of D̲j̲aʿfer Pas̲h̲a, are mentioned by Ewliyā in Tabrīz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sultan Meḥemmed III. In the autumn, S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās left Iṣfahān unexpectedly and entered Tabrīz 12 days later. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a was defeated at Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Ḥarāmī (2 farsak̲h̲s from the town), after which the citadel surrendered. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās treated the defeated foe with generosity, but in a revival of S̲h̲īʿī fanaticism the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. ʿAbbās I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 441, 451).

In 1019/1610, in the reign of the weak Sultan Aḥmed III, the Turks again tried to resume the offensive. The Grand Vizier Murād Pas̲h̲a unexpectedly appeared with an army in front of Tabrīz, but ʿAbbās I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pīr Budaḳ K̲h̲ān. No fighting took place, but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste. Five days later, the Turkish army was retracing its steps, while S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās and Murād Pas̲h̲a continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabrīz, which was built under the shadow of Surk̲h̲āb in the Rabʿ-i Ras̲h̲īdī quarter. The materials were taken from old ruins, particularly at S̲h̲ām-G̲h̲āzān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 584, 601). On the other hand, the unsuccessful invasion by Murād Pas̲h̲a led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022/1612 by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp and Sultan Süleymān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 600, 611; von Hammer, ii, 736, 745).

In 1027/1618, at the instigation of some Tatar K̲h̲āns of the Crimea, the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Wān suddenly invaded Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. The Persians evacuated Tabrīz and Ardabīl. The Turks, who were short of supplies, revictualled at Tabrīz and advanced to Sarāb, where Ḳarčḳay K̲h̲ān, *sipāhsālār* of Tabrīz, won a brilliant victory over them. A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022 (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 656-61; von Hammer, ii, 773).

After the death of ʿAbbās I, the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor S̲h̲āh Ṣafī, Sultan Murād IV invaded Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in 1045/1635 and entered Tabrīz on 12 September. The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murād ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabrīz" (Ewliyā, *eyid̲j̲e örseleyip*), Murād, in view of the advance of the season, hastened to return to Wān. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Eriwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045/1635, says that after the devastation wrought by Murād IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen" (*D̲j̲ihān-numā*, 381). Even S̲h̲ām-G̲h̲āzān was not spared; the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan alone was left intact.

Such then was the state of the town, but a series of travellers who visited it a few years later say that it had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyā Čelebi (in the reign of ʿAbbās II in 1057/1647) gives detailed statistics of Tabrīz, its *madrasas*, schools, caravanserais, houses of notables, dervish *tekiyyes*, gardens and animated public promenades. In the same period, Tavernier says that, in spite of the damage done by Murād IV, "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin

(ii, 328), in 1673 under Shāh Sulaymān I, there were in Tabrīz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops. It was "really a large and important town... There is plenty of all the necessaries of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it". There was a hospice of Capuchins at Tabrīz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The *beglerbegi* of Tabrīz had under his authority the Khāns of Ḳarṣ, Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl and 20 *sulṭāns* (= local chiefs).

The end of the Ṣafawids and Nādir. The Afghān invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy. The heir to the throne, Ṭahmāsp (II), who had fled from Iṣfahān arrived in Tabrīz where he was proclaimed king in 1135/1722. When by the treaty of 12 September 1723, Ṭahmāsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabrīz and Eriwān. After the fall of Eriwān, Nakhčiwān and Marand, the Turks under the *serʿasker* ʿAbd Allāh Pasha Köprülü arrived before Tabrīz in the autumn of 1137/1724. The Persians, who made Shām-Ghāzān their base, held out. The Turks had some success, but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month. In the following spring, Köprülü returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days, but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate. The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000. The survivors of the Persian garrison, to the number of 7,000, withdrew without hindrance to Ardabīl (ʿAlī Ḥazīn, ed. Balfour, 153; Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, London 1754, ii, 229).

The treaty of 1140/1727 concluded with the Afghān Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of northwestern Persia as far as Sulṭāniyya and Abhar. Two years later, Nādir defeated Muṣṭafā Pasha's army at Suhaylān (*vulgo* Sawalān or Sīnikh-köprü) near Tabrīz. He entered this city on 8 Muḥarram 1142/3 August 1729 and made prisoner Rüstem Pasha, governor of Hashtarūd.

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shāh Ṭahmāsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Ḳuridjān (near Hamadān) and the *serʿasker* ʿAlī Pasha returned to Tabrīz in the winter of 1144/1731 and even built a mosque and *madrasa* there. By the treaty concluded a little later (16 January 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabrīz and the western provinces. As Tabrīz had actually been occupied by ʿAlī Pasha, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier (von Hammer, iv, 281). On the other hand, the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nādir an excuse for deposing Ṭahmāsp II. After checking Nādir near Baghdād, the governor of Wān, Rüstem Pasha, re-occupied Tabrīz. In 1146/1734, Nādir set out for Tabrīz and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia, the treaty of 1149/1736 re-established the status quo of 1049/1639.

Towards the end of the reign of Nādir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabrīz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sām Mīrzā. The death of Nādir in 1160/1747 might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs especially as Riḍā Khān, son of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān, *dīwān-begi* of Tabrīz, had come to Erzerūm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne (a Nādirid; von Hammer, iv, 474), but Turkey maintained complete neutrality.

Nādir Shāh had entrusted Ādharbāydjān to his valiant cousin Amīr Arslān Khān, who had 30,000 men under him. After Nādir's death, this general aided Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān to defeat his brother ʿĀdil Shāh (Sulṭān ʿAlī Shāh), but Ibrāhīm at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabrīz where he had himself proclaimed king (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd-Nādiriyya*, ed. O. Mann, 36-7). He was soon killed by Shāhrukh, grandson of Nādir.

The history of Ādharbāydjān during the rule of the dynasty of Karīm Khān Zand is still little known. The Afghān Āzād Khān was at first lord of the province. In 1170/1756 it was taken from him by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Ḳādjār. Next year, Karīm Khān defeated Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshar of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Ādharbāydjān (Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*). In 1194/1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabrīz (see Ambraseys and Melville, *op. cit.*, 54-5).

The Ḳādjārs. Towards the end of 1205/1790, Āḳā Muḥammad, founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, set out to occupy Ādharbāydjān. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoy, Ḥusayn Khān Dumbulī. Āḳā Muḥammad added Tabrīz to his fief. After the assassination in 1211/1796 of the first Ḳādjār Shāh, troubles broke out in Ādharbāydjān. Ṣādiḳ Khān of the Shiḳāḳī tribe attempted to seize the supreme power, and appointed his brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Sulṭān to Tabrīz. The Dumbulī Khāns took an active part in suppressing the rising, and in return, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh confirmed Djaʿfar Ḳulī Khān Dumbulī in the governorship of Tabrīz. The latter as soon as he arrived in Tabrīz in 1213/1798 formed a coalition with Ṣādiḳ Khān, who had re-established himself in Sarāb, and the Afshār Khān of Urmiya, and shaking off "the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence" drove out the Shāh's representatives. Troops were sent against Djaʿfar Khān who, with the help of the Kurds, held out for some time in Khoy; cf. Sir Harford Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, 50, 84, etc. In 1214/1799 the heir to the throne of Persia, ʿAbbās Mīrzā, established himself in Tabrīz with Aḥmad Khān Muḳaddam (of Marāgha) as his *beglerbegi*. Djaʿfar Khān sought refuge in Russia [see SHAḲḲĪ], but for some time other members of the Dumbulī family continued to rule in Tabrīz.

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801), complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabrīz became the principal centre of Persian activities. ʿAbbās Mīrzā set himself the task of Europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission, including a number of very notable explorers of Persia (Ouseley, iii, 399; Ritter, ix, 876-80), made its headquarters in Tabrīz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov, later assassinated) also came to the court of ʿAbbās Mīrzā. The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was, however, but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin. Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50-60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families. Kinneir gives Tabrīz ("one of the most wretched cities") only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants,

in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabrīz had only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it had no public buildings of note.

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828. During the operations of 1827, the General Prince Eristov, with the help of certain discontented Khāns, entered Tabrīz with 3,000 soldiers on 3 Rabīʿ II 1243/24 October 1827. ʿAbbās Mīrzā was away and opinions in the town were divided. Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle, but an important cleric, the Imām Mīrzā Fattāḥ, insisted on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace, Mīrzā Fattāḥ had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia.) The commander-in-chief Count Paskevič then came to Tabrīz and met ʿAbbās Mīrzā at Dih-Kharraḳān. An armistice was signed, but the court of Tehran did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl. The peace of Turkman-čay 5 Shaʿbān 1243, 22 February 1828 [see TÜRKMEN ČAY[Ī]], which fixed the frontier on the Araxes, finally put an end to the Russian occupation (*uruslukh*).

After the time of ʿAbbās Mīrzā, Tabrīz became the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muḥammad Shāh in 1250/1834, the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabrīz (J.B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii, 247). Their transfer to Tehran marked the definite transference by the Ḳādjārs of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the 19th century, little of general importance marked the life of Tabrīz. On 27 Shaʿbān 1286/8 July 1850, the Bāb [*q.v.*] was executed in Tabrīz at the entrance to the arsenal (*djaba-khāna*). In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh [see SHAMDĪNĀN] greatly disturbed the people of Tabrīz. Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them if necessary, but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb.

The consolidation of Ḳādjār power secured peace for Ādharbāydjān, and Tabrīz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830-1, the census made in Tabrīz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100-120,000 people (Berezin). In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150-200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (S.G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, London 1896, 53). Twenty years later, the population was certainly over 200,000 and, in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation, the town showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabrīz, after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports from Russia over exports from Persia produced a great crisis in 1837. The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti-Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond-Tabrīz.

Twentieth century. The history of Tabrīz in the opening years of the century was very stirring. The Turks of Tabrīz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Ghuzz, Mongols, Turkomans, etc.), played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement. Open rebellion broke out in Tabrīz on 23 June 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Tehran. The names of Saṭṭār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amīr Khīz quarter, and his companion Bāḳir Khān, are closely associated with the brave defence of Tabrīz, but darker sides of their activity were noted by E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 491-2. The government troops under Prince ʿAyn al-Dawla surrounded the town, and at the beginning of February 1909 blockaded it completely. On 20 April the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg agreed to send to Tabrīz a Russian force "to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town". The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabrīz on 30 April 1909 (Browne, *op. cit.*, 274). The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911, when the Russian ultimatum presented at Tehran on 29 November provoked a new agitation in the country. On 21 December the *fidāʾīs* of Tabrīz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabrīz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thiḳat al-Islām, an important member of the Shaykhī sect [see SHAYKHIYYA]). In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the "disputed" districts west of Ādharbāydjān were recalled, but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier [see KURDS, KURDISTĀN] remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore remained in Ādharbāydjān till 1914, when the First World War broke out [see further on the constitutional movement, DUSTŪR, iv. Īrān].

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawdj-bulāḳ towards Marāgha and Tabrīz. At the same time, Enwer Pasha's raid on Sarï-ḳamïsh (south of Ḳarṣ) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Ādharbāydjān. Between 17 December 1914 and 6 January 1915, the Russian troops and, following them, the bulk of the local Christian population, had left Tabrīz. On 8 January Aḥmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhal, at the head of a body of Kurds, entered the town. The situation changed suddenly, and on 31 January the Russians, returning in force, re-occupied Tabrīz (see the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabrīz, W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, 8-127).

Since 1906, a paved road connecting Tabrīz with the Russian frontier (Djulfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company, which had obtained the concession from the Persian government. The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on, and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofiyan to Lake Urmiya 25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory [see SIKKAT AL-ḤADĪD].

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. Ādharbāydjān was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government, and even the Crown Prince, had remained all this time at their places, but when the last Russian detachment left Tabrīz on 28 February 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the Democratic Party and its head Ismāʿīl Nawbarī.

Meanwhile, the Turks emerging from their inactivity, quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On 18 June 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabrīz. On 8 July General ʿAlī Iḥsān Pasha arrived, and on 25 August Kāẓim Ḳara Bekir

Pas̲h̲a, who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbarī and supported the appointment of Mad̲j̲d al-Salṭana as governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. This troubled situation lasted for a year, and only with the arrival in Tabrīz of the new Governor-General *sipāhsālār* (June 1910) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Riḍā K̲h̲ān [see RIḌĀ S̲H̲ĀH], who became first of all Minister of War and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of 26 February 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persia, and the railway from Tabrīz to D̲j̲ulfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Tabrīz suffered after the Constitutional period from the decline of the transit trade from Turkey and Russia, and from a lack of favour by the Pahlawīs, suspicious of Azeri political and linguistic separatist feelings. From being in the 19th century the second city of Persia, in 1980 it was the fourth one, with a population of some 600,000, risen by 1991 to 1,088,985 (Preliminary results of the 1991 census, Statistical Centre of Iran, Population Division). After the Second World War, however, streets were widened and public gardens laid out. Local industries include the traditional one of carpet-weaving, plus textile manufacturing, leatherworking, agriculture and food processing, etc. A railway links Tabrīz via Zand̲j̲ān and Kazwīn with the Trans-Persian line at Tehran, whilst a westwards extension to Van in eastern Turkey has been constructed.

With the abdication of Riḍā S̲h̲āh in September 1941, Russian troops occupied Tabrīz and northwestern Persia for military and strategic reasons. Their control there enabled the Soviets to encourage and train pro-Communist elements there, so that, although British troops withdrew from southern Persia in March 1946, Russian troops remained. Tabrīz had meanwhile become the capital, proclaimed there on 10 December 1945, of an autonomous, potentially secessionist, régime of the Democrat Party in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān under a veteran Bolshevik leader, D̲j̲aʿfar Pīs̲h̲awarī. The régime was not wholly kept in power by Soviet manipulation, but expressed some genuine local grievances against Riḍā S̲h̲āh's centralisation policies and discrimination against the use of Azeri Turkish. It made a start on land reform and nationalisation of the larger banks, and a University of Tabrīz was inaugurated, but there was a real danger of complete secession and possible union with the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In fact, the diplomatic skills of the Prime Minister in Tehran, Aḥmad Ḳawām al-Salṭana, American pressure and unfavourable publicity for the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organisation, brought about a Soviet abandonment of their erstwhile protégés. The Imperial Persian army entered Tabrīz on 12 December 1946, and a purge began of pro-Communist elements, with Pīs̲h̲awarī fleeing to Baku. In the ensuing years, Tabrīz and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in general suffered from the profound suspicions of the Tehran government regarding Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ānī secessionist sentiment, seen *inter alia* in a discouragement in schools, etc., of the majority Azeri Turkish language, an attitude which was only gradually relaxed somewhat by the 1970s.

Bibliography: For the mediaeval period, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 161-3; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1000 ff., 1955-74; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1983, 217-23; the works of Jahn and Mas̲h̲kūr cited in the *Bibl.* to 2. below; Judith G. Kolbas, *Mongol money. The role of Tabriz from Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 616 to 709 AH/1220 to 1309 AD*, U.M.I. dissertation services, Ann Arbor 1992; also L. Lockhart, *Famous cities of Iran*, London 1939, 19-23. For detailed bibl. of Western travellers to and residents in Tabrīz, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. s.v. See also those to *EI*[2] ĀD̲H̲ARBĀYD̲J̲ĀN and DUSTŪR, iv. For the modern period, see G. Lenczkowski, *Russia and the West in Iran 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949: R. Rossow, *The battle of Azerbaijan, 1946*, in *MEJ*, x (1956), 17-32; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between the two revolutions*, Princeton 1982.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. Architecture.

In the early Islamic period, the city walls around Tabrīz enclosed a small urban area less than half a mile square on the south bank of the Mihrān River. Twelve gates led to bazaars surrounding the congregational mosque. When the Ilk̲h̲ānid ruler G̲h̲azan made Tabrīz his capital, the urban area was tripled within a perimeter wall 25,000 paces around. To judge from contemporary reports by historians and travellers, the city's bazaars were particularly flourishing at this time. The city also had two major suburbs. The one on the west known as S̲h̲ām (or S̲h̲anb)-i G̲h̲azan was centred on G̲h̲azan's dodecagonal tomb and included institutions of learning, a library, a hospital, and a mosque. The suburb on the east known as the Rabʿ-i Ras̲h̲īdī was centered on the tomb complex founded by the vizier Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn in 709/1309. Although almost totally destroyed, it can be reconstructed from the text of its endowment deed (S.S. Blair, *Ilkhanid architecture and society. An analysis of the endowment deed of the Rabʿ-i Rashīdī*, in *Iran*, xxii [1984], 67-90). Surrounded by ramparts, the quarter had a monumental entrance leading to the founder's tomb complex, a hospice, a *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*, a hospital and service buildings. The endowment provided upkeep for the buildings, support for more than 300 employees and slaves, and for the copying of luxury manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīt̲h̲* and Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn's own works (eadem, *Patterns of production and patronage in Ilkhanid Iran. The case of Rashid al-din*, in *Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, x, 1996).

The only monument to survive from Ilk̲h̲ānid Tabrīz is the congregational mosque founded *ca.* 710/1310 by the vizier Tād̲j̲ al-Dīn ʿAlīs̲h̲āh just outside the southern gate to the city. Now known as the Arg or fortress, it comprised a huge barrel-vaulted hall (30 × 65 m with walls 10 m thick), flanked by a *madrasa* and *zāwiya* and fronting on a large, lavishly-decorated courtyard with a pool (reconstruction in D. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khānid period*, Princeton 1955, no. 51). The vault, meant to surpass the fabled Sasanian *īwān* at Ctesiphon, fell soon after its construction.

Tabrīz continued to be a major metropolis and artistic centre after the demise of the Ilk̲h̲ānids. The Dawlatk̲h̲āna, the palace built by the D̲j̲alāyirid sultan Uways (r. 757-76/1356-74), for example, was reported to have had 20,000 rooms decorated with paintings. After the Tīmūrids took the city several times, many of its public monuments were destroyed and its artisans carried off to Central Asia, but building was resumed under the Turkmen confederations of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, and the garden suburbs north of the river were developed. The most famous was the garden created by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857-82/1453-78 [*q.v.*]), known from a lengthy description by a Venetian merchant who visited the city in the 1460s (summarised in L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture*

of Iran and Turan, Princeton 1988, 178-9). A vast area lined by populars, the garden centred on a large octagonal palace called Hasht Bihisht ("Eight Paradises"). Set on a raised marble plinth, it measured some 63 to 72 m in circumference and had a central domed hall surrounded by 32 rooms. Other amenities included an adjacent pool, a guest house with many rooms to the east and a covered hall overlooking the garden.

The best surviving example of the rich architectural patronage left by the Turkmens is the Blue Mosque or Masdjid-i kabūd, so-called because of the extraordinary blue tile revetment that covered both interior and exterior surfaces (F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, 27-32; Dj.T. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Nakshhā va nigāshtihā-yi masdjid-i kabūd-i tabrīz*, Tabrīz 1348/1969; Golombek and Wilber, no. 214). Located outside the south-east entrance to the city, it was part of the complex erected in 870/1465 by Khātūn Djān, wife of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu sultan Djahānshāh. According to an endowment deed dating from the previous year, the complex included a hospice for Ṣūfīs with two pools fed by a canal and was intended as a mausoleum for the queen and her family. The mosque has an unusual plan, with a domed square hall (diameter 16 m) enclosed on three sides by a U-shaped corridor covered with nine domes. Behind the square hall on the axis of the main entrance is a smaller domed hall containing a *miḥrāb*. The tile revetment is unequalled in variety and technical virtuosity and includes not only the standard floral and arabesque designs but also medallion-shaped panels set against a background of unglazed brick tiles. The hall with the *miḥrāb* was particularly lavishly decorated, with a white marble dado surmounted by a revetment of small purple-glazed hexagonal tiles accented with designs in gold leaf.

Wars between the Ṣafawids and Ottomans in the 16th century took their toll on the city's monuments, as did repeated earthquakes, but with the growing importance of the Russian frontier, Tabrīz again became of special interest under the Ḳādjārs. New boulevards were cut through the city core, and mosques and caravanserais were erected after the devastating earthquake of 7 January 1780, the strongest ever to hit the city. Large gardens, such as the Bagh-i Shimāl on the north, were added and became the stage for intriguing among foreigners.

Bibliography: In addition to the studies on individual sites cited in the text, see K. Jahn, *Täbris, ein mittelalterliches Kulturzentrum zwischen Ost und West*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, cv/16 (1968), 201-12; ʿA. Kārang, *Āthār-i bāstānī-yi Ādharbāydjān*, i, Tehran 1351/1972; M.Dj. Mashkūr, *Tārīkh-i Tabrīz tā pāyān-i karn-i nuhum-i hidjrī*, Tehran 1352/1973; C. Melville, *Historical monuments and earthquakes in Tabriz*, in *Iran*, xix (1981), 159-77; and art. *Tabriz*, in *The dictionary of art*, London 1996. (Sheila S. Blair)

TABRĪZĪ, the *nisba* normally to be expected from the name of the city in Ādharbāydjān of Tabrīz [*q.v.*]. This was, however, hypercorrected by early Arab writers to al-Tibrīzī. Hence in the *EI* early scholars writing in Arabic appear under this latter form, whereas those writing in Persian during later times or emanating from Tabrīz appear under *Tabrīzī*.

TABRĪZĪ, Aḥmad Kasrawī [see kasrawī tabrīzī].

TABRĪZĪ, Ḳāsim-i Anwār [see ḳāsim-i anwār].

TABRĪZĪ, Muḥammad ʿAṣṣār [see ʿaṣṣār].

TABRĪZĪ, Muḥammad Ḥusayn [see muḥammad ḥusayn tabrīzī].

TABRĪZĪ, Shams-i [see shams-i tabrīz(ī)].

al-**TABRĪZĪ**, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf [see burhān].

TABSHĪR [see Suppl.].

TABŪK, a town of northwestern Arabia, now the centre of an *imāra* or province of Saudi Arabia (lat. 28° 22' N., long. 36° 32' E., altitude 6,500 m/2,250 feet), some 233 km/145 south-southeast of Maʿān and separated from the Red Sea and Gulf of ʿAkaba by the Ḥismā mountains.

It seems to be the Thapaua of Ptolemy, and formed part of the Roman *Provincia Arabia* set up in A.D. 106. It was in the tribal area of the Banū Kalb, and later had a Byzantine military post, in the environs of which lived Arabs of the Lakhm, ʿĀmila and Djudhām tribes [*q.vv.*]. In the summer of 9/630, the Prophet Muḥammad ordered preparations for a raid from Medina on Tabūk, where he had heard the Byzantines and Arab tribes were assembling., this being his second attempt in this direction after the abortive Mu'ta [*q.v.*] expedition of the previous year. However, many Muslims were reluctant to go on the expedition in the summer heat and during the harvest period, so that it was referred to as the *ghazwat al-ʿusra* "raid of hardship"; the laggards were denounced in Sūrat al-Tawba, IX, of the Ḳur'ān. The Prophet did not make contact with hostile forces at Tabūk, but received the submission of some local chiefs of the region and the Gulf of ʿAḳaba-Red Sea coastal region (sc. Midian [see madyan shuʿayb]). An expedition was sent out under Khālid b. al-Walīd against Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Kindī, the Christian ruler of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*], who also submitted and agreed to pay the *djizya*. Muḥammad then appointed ʿAmr (or al-Ḥakam) b. al-ʿĀṣ to govern northwestern Arabia, with Muʿādh b. Djabal as collector (*djābī*) of the *ṣadaḳa*. In 98/716 the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz built a mosque at Tabūk, the Masdjid al-Tawba, on the spot where the Prophet had prayed, a mosque revered through the centuries by pilgrims passing through the town en route for Medina. This was several times repaired, with the present mosque built by King Fayṣal Āl Suʿūd in 1393/1973.

Tabūk's importance as a station of the Syrian *ḥadjdj* route was because of the availability of water in its well, which was blessed by the Prophet. Pilgrims and travellers used to encamp there to fill their water skins, and occasionally, as in 937/1530, marauding Arab tribes attacked the pilgrims and prevented them from reaching the water in Tabūk or elsewhere. The region has a great amount of underground water, which accounts for the notable agricultural schemes which have been implemented there. The well was well maintained by the Ottomans, who provided it with a pumping machine to keep the water clean, as part of their project to build the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*]. References in geographical texts indicate that there had been palm, olive, lemon, and grape trees at Tabūk; grapes from Tabūk were well-known in the Ḥidjāz.

Two years after Bedouin attacks against the Pilgrimage caravan in 965/1557, Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent ordered the construction of a number of fortresses along the pilgrimage routes, including one at Tabūk. A surviving inscription states that it was rebuilt in 1064/1653. It had a mosque and a well, and was flanked by two ponds. Tabūk enjoyed security because of the fortress, with its permanent garrison that was provided even with cannons. This explains the degree of prosperity that it enjoyed, as is reflected in the 17th century travellers' accounts;

Syrian merchants went at Tabūk to meet the pilgrims on their return and sell them provisions, sweets, and clothing.

Tabūk was visited by a number of European travellers, sc. Georg August Wallin (1850) and Charles Doughty (1877), who provided a grim picture of it as a place with few residents, while Charles Huber (1884) stated that it had been totally deserted by its inhabitants. This changed by the start of the 20th century as a result of the construction of the Ḥidjāz Railway, to which Tabūk was connected. It was selected as one of the workshop stations, a new suburb was built, and a hospital and medical quarantine were established. Eight buildings referred to as the Ḳalʿa, which are still extant, were constructed, and as noted above, water resources were managed and the mosque was rebuilt.

When the Kingdom of the Ḥidjāz was declared following the Arab Revolt, Tabūk was part of the new province of Maʿān that was created in 1432/1924 by King Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Two years after the Ḥidjāz was annexed by King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1344/1925, an *amīr* was appointed over Tabūk and took up residence in the fortress. A number of governors, mostly members of the Sudayrī family and the Suʿūdī royal family, succeeded to this office.

During the 19th century, the inhabitants of Tabūk were from the Ḥamīdāt clan, but with passage of time and its growth, people of diverse origins settled in the city, which was surrounded by a number of different tribes, *viz.* the ʿAṭiyya, Balī, Ḥuwayṭāt, and ʿAnaza. It has developed, thus, from a small settlement into an urban centre due to development schemes, and today it is the northern-western gateway of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

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ṬABŪR (t.) (a word which has passed into French in the form *tabor*), from Eastern Turkī *tapḳūr* and *ṭapḳūr*, denoting a pallisade formed of waggons arranged in a circle or square; a body of troops sent out for reconnaissance; a battalion; or a body of about 1,000 men commanded by a *biñbashî* (chief of a thousand).

In Morocco, from the mid-19th century, it denoted the first permanent military units. Under the French Protectorate, the term was applied to a group made up of several goums (*gūm*, an armed group of *ca.* 150 men commanded by officers of the Indigenous Affairs Department), hence parallel to a battalion. Several *ṭabūrs* could make up a regiment. The Moroccan *ṭabūrs* acquitted themselves gloriously in the Italian campaign (1944) and that of Indo-China (1945-54). Goums and tabors have formed the nucleus of the Royal Moroccan Army since Independence.

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TADALLĪS, Tedellès, the town now known as Dellys on the Algerian coast in the *wilāya* of Tizi-Ouzou (lat. 36° 57' N., long. 3° 55' E.). It is 110 km/70 miles east of Algiers and 5 km/3 miles to the east of the mouth of the Sebaou (Wādī Sabāw), the main river of Kabylia, from which it is separated by a mountain massif.

1. Geographical situation.

The urban centre has developed on a slope towards the sea. It falls into three parts. In the north, the Arab-Kabyle town is the most densely populated and the only ancient quarter existing in Lower Kabylia; then, bordering on the ravine and developing to the south of that, is the town from colonial times; and to the east, there is the port quarter linked to the upper town by stairways or sinuous, very steep ways, as well as by the road which describes a hairpin bend to avoid the abrupt change of levels. Finally, the suburban zone of the gardens, attributed to the arrival of the Andalusians, has developed on the old, raised bank which looks northward; a centre for new development (dating from the War of Independence), the Garden City, has been formed with solid houses built within little patches of ground enclosed by reed hedges. As for the small blocks of apartments, these appeared after the years 1958-62 in order to accommodate an influx of rural population and as a result of the strengthening of the administrative infrastructure. The little port (designed by the colonial authorities with the aim of making Dellys both the administrative centre of Lower Kabylia, easy of access, and also an entrepôt and landing-place in case of troubles) is protected from the north-west winds by a promontory; hence is of a type of site for ports frequent along the Algerian coast.

Before 1860, Dellys was the only town of Lower Kabylia. In 1844 it had 1,150 inhabitants, in 1886, 3,900, and in 1968, 20,000. The people are of Kabyle Berber origin, but like the majority of tribes in the neighbourhood, speak only Arabic.

2. History.

The site of Dellys was occupied in the Roman period by the town of Rusucurru, a few traces of which have been discovered (remains of walls, cisterns, etc.). This town must have been destroyed at the Arab conquest, and for long the site remained uninhabited. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. de Slane, 135) does mention a port situated to the east of Marsā 'l-Ḥadjadj which he calls the town of the Banū Djannād.

The name itself under the form Tadellast, Tadellist ("the cottage") does not appear till the period when the Ḥammādid sovereigns [see ḥammādids] established their capital in Bougie. Owing to its position, which enabled relations to be easily established with the people of the valley of the Sebaou, this little town acquired a certain commercial and military importance; it even had a Ḥammādid governor. In 496/1102-3, the sultan al-Manṣūr gave this office to a prince of Almeria who had taken refuge in Africa. Al-Idrīsī (104) describes Tadāʾilis as a town on an eminence and surrounded by a strong wall. He mentions the fertility of the country around, the low cost of living, and the abun-

dance of cattle which were exported to the adjacent regions. After the fall of the Ḥammādid kingdoms, Dellys passed under the rule of the Almohads, was taken by Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ Ibn Ghāniya (622/1226-7), and then its possession was disputed among the Almohads, Zayyānids, Ḥafṣids and the Marīnids, who took it in 796/1394. In the 9th/15th century, according to Leo Africanus (bk. iv, tr. Schefer, iii, 69), Dellys shared the fate of Algiers. Like all the towns on the coast, it received a number of refugees from Spain who must have contributed to the economic and intellectual life of the town. Leo (*loc. cit.*) says that the inhabitants engaged in dyeing, traded successfully and were noted for their skill in playing the lute. As to their fashion of dress, he says it is like that of the people of al-Djazā'ir. When the Algerians had submitted to Spain (1510), the people of Dellys followed their example, but in 1517 it was retaken by ʿArūdj [*q.v.*]. The Turks put a garrison there and made the town a base of operations against the tribes of the valley of Sebaou. Although the inhabitants kept up a constant intercourse by sea with Algiers, Dellys only vegetated under Turkish rule. It was a wretched village when the French occupied it on 7 May 1844. A European quarter was established there two years later. The conquest of Kabylia, which was followed by the transfer of the military establishment to Tizi-Ouzou and Fort-National, arrested its development. In the course of the insurrection of 1871, Dellys was blockaded on the land side by the Kabyles (April-May), but maintained its own communication by sea so that it could not be taken by the rebels.

After that time, peace reigned, with only a little European colonisation developing on the town's outskirts.

Because of its tripartite nature, with three distinct nuclei, the town hardly possesses a centre, unless it be the square which, together with the municipal headquarters and the post office, forms the geometric centre of the three quarters. Most of the shops and commercial activity are aligned on the street which runs to the north-east of the square, in the direction of Algiers; others (and also some of the administrative services) are along the road which goes down towards the coast in a southwest direction, and also in the little street which one takes for going in the direction of the Djebel Bou Arbi. Finally, some businesses and cafés are grouped at the port, without any of these three poles being exclusive for these various activities; thus, e.g. some small booths can be found in the narrow streets of the old town. Some buildings are on the periphery, such as the technical high school and the collective apartments. Finally, some small units of production (shoes, food processing) are spread out within the whole urban area. Dellys nevertheless suffers from its position away from the main axes of development in contemporary Algeria; since the last century, the building of the Algiers-Tizi-Ouzou railway has strongly affected the commercial activities linked to the presence of the port.

In sum, Dellys forms an authentic small town, with firm roots and with a relative firm social coherence. Its original feature lies in the fact that it has an active population, anciently established, better educated and less agricultural in origin than in the other towns of Lower Kabylia.

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(G. YVER-[J. BISSON])

TADBĪR (A.), *maṣdar* or verbal noun of form II of the root *d-b-r*.

1. In the sense of "direction, administration".

The Arabic lexicographers explain *dabbara* as a verb from the noun *dubur* "the hindmost, the end" (opposite, *ḳubul*), meaning "to consider the end, or result, of an affair" (see *LA*, *s.r.*, *an tanẓura ilā mā taʾūlu ilayhi ʿāḳibatuhū* "to heed what one attains at the end of the matter"; cf. Lane, 844), hence "to manage, or conduct the affairs (as of a country, *umūr al-bilād*)". But it is most likely a loanword from Aramaic, cf. Syriac *dabbar* "to run, govern, administer (something)", though strangely not listed in Fraenkel's *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen.*

As a technical term, *tadbīr* is used: (a) in the sense of "government, administration", synonymously with *siyāsa* [*q.v.*] (e.g. in the title of an ethical-political compendium by Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, *Sulūk al-mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik*), and (b) in the phrase *tadbīr al-manzil* = οἰκονομία, "administration, management of a household". (This, in its turn, is called *al-siyāsa* in Ibn Sīnā's treatise on the subject, see below.) Thus for example, Ibn Khaldūn says in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Quatremère, i, 62, cf. iii, 127, on *siyāsa madaniyya*, and tr. F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddima*, i, 78): "Political government (*al-siyāsa al-madaniyya*) is the administration of a household or of a city (*tadbīr al-manzil aw al-madīna*) in accordance with the demands of ethics (*akhlāḳ*) and philosophy (*ḥikma*) for the purpose of directing the mass towards behaviour that will result in the preservation of the [human] species".

The *Tadbīr al-manzil* is one of the three subdivisions of practical philosophy in the Hellenistic tradition; ethics (*ʿilm al-akhlāḳ*), economics (*ʿilm tadbīr al-manzil*), and politics (*ʿilm al-siyāsa*); going back to Aristotle, *Nicomachean ethics*, VI 8-9, 1141b31-2, 1142a9-10, this tripartition is well attested in later Greek and Syriac introductions to philosophy. In Arabic classifications, it is regularly referred to from the late 4th/10th century onwards, as in e.g. the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Beirut 1957, i, 274: *ʿilm al-siyāsa al-khāṣṣiyya*), al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 132, and in Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya* (in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Constantinople 1298/1881, 73, and ed. Ḥasan ʿĀṣī, Beirut 1986, 85).

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Œconomica*, dealing with the family household as a pre-political form of society, left few direct traces in the Arabic treatments of the topic. It is mentioned as a textbook by Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) in his prolegomena to Aristotelian philosophy, heavily dependent on Alexandrian Greek sources (*Tafsīr kitāb Ḳāṭīghūriyās*, ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Muṣṭafā Fāḍil *ḥikma* 1, fol. 5a3), and also by Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam* (ed. L. Cheikho, 39). Ibn al-Ṭayyib most probably wrote the epitome of *Œcon.* book 1, entitled *Thimār maḳālat Arisṭū fī tadbīr al-manzil*, extant in two mss. (Escurial[2] 888, among similar *thimār/istithmār* compendia by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, and Zaḥle (Lebanon), Maʿlūf collection, ed. ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf, in *RAAD*, i [1921], 377-85).

All other Arabic treatments of economics depend directly or indirectly upon the *Oikonomikos* of the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Bryson (2nd century A.D.?), a small work dealing in four chapters with the main topics set by ps.-Aristotle: 1. the necessity, acquisition, preservation and spending of property (*māl*), 2. the treatment of slaves, 3. the tasks of women in the household and the rôle of man and woman in mat-

rimony, and 4. the education of children—everything being regarded in view of attaining the greatest possible good fortune. The unique ms. of the original (4th/10th century?) Arabic version (*Kitāb Brsys fī tadbīr al-radjul li-manzilihī*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr *akhlāk* 290, pp. 62-96) was edited by L. Cheikho (in *Machriq*, xix [1921], 161-81; idem, *Anciens traités arabes*, Beirut 1920-3, 13-33) and re-edited—with the mediaeval Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation—by M. Plessner, *Der* Οἰκονομικός, 144-259. "Bryson" (*Burūsun*, also *Ubrūsun*, *Burūsīs* and other variants) is first quoted as the standard textbook of economics by Miskawayh (*Tahdhīb al-akhlāk*, ed. K. Zurayk, Beirut 1966, 55 ff.), and Ibn Sīnā (*R. fī aksām al-ʿulūm al-ʿakliyya*, in *Tisʿ rasāʾil, loc. cit.*), and then in many later encyclopaedias and classifications of the sciences, as by Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348), *Irshād al-kāṣid* (ed. J.J. Witkam, *De egyptische arts Ibn al-Akfānī en zijn indeling van de wetenschappen*, Leiden 1989, 64, 1, 845), followed by Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 968/1561) in his *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* (ed. Kāmil Bakrī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abu 'l-Nūr, Cairo n.d., i, 407). Important excerpts are found in Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb* (*loc. cit.*), used also by al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, books 12-14, see Plessner, 131 ff.), in the *K. al-Siyāsa* of Ibn Sīnā (ed. L. Maʿlūf, in *Machriq*, ix [1906] = idem, *Traités inédits d'anciens philosophes arabes*, Beirut 1911, 1-17), and in the *Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, a handbook on trade written between the end of the 4th/10th and the middle of the 5th/10th century by Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Dimashkī (analysed by H. Ritter, *Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*). Independent use of the same source was made by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the second part of his *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī*, expanded from other Muslim Arabic and Iranian sources (Plessner, 52-103). All later treatments of the subject—as in the ethical manuals of al-Īdjī, al-Āmulī, al-Dawānī, etc.—depend on al-Ṭūsī's exposition of economics.

Bibliography: Christel Hein, *Definition und Einteilung der Philosophie: von der spätantiken Einleitungsliteratur zur arabischen Enzyklopädie*, Frankfurt am Main etc., 1985, 226-32, 320, 324; M. Plessner, *Der* Οἰκονομικός *des Neupythagoreers Bryson und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, Heidelberg 1928 (diss., Breslau 1925); idem, art. *Bryson*, in *PW*, Suppl. 11, Stuttgart 1968, 356-7; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, 227-9; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 4-14; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Mudjtabā Mīnuwī and ʿAlī-Riḍā Ḥaydarī, Tehran 1356/1977 ([5]1373/1995), 205-44; *The Nasirean Ethics*, tr. G.M. Wickens, London, 1964, 151-84. See also TIDJĀRA. 2, 3.

(W. HEFFENING-[G. ENDRESS])

2. In the sense of "manumission of a slave".

This is a type of manumission which, however, only becomes operative after the death of the master. *Dabbara* is in this case a verb formed from the noun *dubur* "(life's) end", i.e. death, see *LʿA*, v, 358; al-Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s.v. The manumitted slave (*mudabbar*) is in the same legal position as the *umm walad* [*q.v.*], except that, in the calculating of a dead man's estate for inheritance purposes, the cost of the manumission of an *umm walad* is to be debited wholly to the man's assets, but only one-third of the cost of manumitting a *mudabbar*.

Bibliography: D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1926, i, 122; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 129, 169. See also ʿABD.

(W. HEFFENING*)

TADHKIRA (A.), "memorandum" or "aide-mémoire". The word is considered a verbal noun of the form II verb *dhakkara* "to remind", but already in its nine occurrences in the Kurʾān it tends to mean a concrete "reminder" rather than a verbal "reminding".

1. In Arabic literature.

Tadhkira occurs not infrequently in the titles of books. From a closer scrutiny of these titles, two clusters of books emerge that represent two different "genres" of text presentation: (1) handbooks and (2) notebooks. It should be noted that, in most cases, the word is not yet used as a strict technical term, although in its second meaning it comes close to being such.

In the sense of "handbook", the term appears in the titles of books in a large variety of fields. Here are a few characteristic examples: (a) *adab* encyclopaedia: *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥamdūniyya* by Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), ed. I. and B. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1996; (b) poetic anthology of the *Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*] type: *al-Tadhkira al-Saʿdiyya fī 'l-ashʿār al-ʿarabiyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-ʿUbaydī (8th/14th century), [vol. i], ed. ʿA. al-Djubūrī, Baghdād 1391/1972; (c) *ḥadīth* transmission: *al-Tadhkira fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* by Ibn al-Mulakkin (d. 804/1401), ed. ʿA.Ḥ.ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ʿAmmān 1988; (d) Kurʾān readings: *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-kirāʾāt* (title varies) by Ibn Ghalbūn (d. 389/999), ed. ʿA.B. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1990; (e) theology: *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-djawāhir wa 'l-aʿrāḍ* by Ibn Mattawayh (5th/11th century [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), ed. S.N. Luṭf and F.B. ʿAwn, Cairo [1975]; (f) medicine: *Tadhkirat ulī 'l-albāb wa 'l-djāmiʿ li 'l-ʿadjab al-ʿudjāb* by Dāwūd al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599 [*q.v.*]); (g) ophthalmology: *Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn* by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Kaḥḥāl (5th/11th century [*q.v.*]), ed. Ghawth Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-Sharafī, Ḥaydarābād 1383/1964; (h) astronomy: *al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa* by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274 [*q.v.*]), ed. F.J. Ragep, New York 1993; (i) biography: *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348 [*q.v.*]) and *Tadhkirat al-nuḥāt* by Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]), ed. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Beirut 1986. The Persian and Turkish use of the term for a biographical dictionary of poets (see below) is attested in Arabic too, but is probably due to Ottoman influence, thus *al-Tadhkira* by al-Fayyūmī (ʿAbd al-Barr b. ʿAbd al-Kādir, d. 1071/1660 in Istanbul, cf. Brockelmann, II[2], 377).

In its second meaning the word refers to, sometimes huge, collections of text snippets that the compiler found of interest to himself and gathered mainly for his own use. Some of these have been at least partially preserved, the best known perhaps being *al-Tadhkira al-Ṣalāḥiyya* of al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]) in thirty volumes, of which a stray number is found in various libraries. The oblong book format of the *safīna* seems to be popular for these notebooks, in which case the word may appear in the title (cf. e.g. Brockelmann, II[2], 391, 558, S II, 55, 387, 402, 416, 912). These collections often contain valuable materials not found elsewhere. Thus the *Safīna* of ʿAlī b. Mubārakshāh (mid-9th/15th century) has yielded unknown *zadjals* by Ibn Kuzmān and others (see W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter, *Neue Materialien zum Zacal. I*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 266-316, see 267).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W.P. HEINRICHS)

2. In Persian literature.

Although most often concerned with the lives of poets, some works called *tadhkira* deal with calligraphers, the Ahl al-Bayt, Ṣūfī *shaykhs* or other categories of memorable persons (see e.g. the variety of the

works mentioned by Storey). Actually, the oldest book carrying this term in its title is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* ("Memoirs of the saints"), a collection of hagiographies. The special connotation of a work on literary biography was derived from the *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* ("Memoirs of the poets"), completed by Dawlatshāh [*q.v.*] in 892/1487, which set an authoritative example for future generations. Basic to the genre is the combination of biography and anthology, although the importance of the latter frequently outweighs that of the former. *Tadhkiras* have often been criticised on account of their unreliability, especially as far as datings are concerned, and accused of recording legend rather than historical fact. Whatever limitations they may have as historical sources, it cannot be denied that the *tadhkiras* constitute the only form of literary history created by the tradition itself.

If each of its two aspects is considered separately, Dawlatshāh's work cannot be regarded as a complete innovation. Already during the preceding centuries, anthologies had been assembled in many different forms [see MUKHTĀRĀT]. ʿAwfī's [*q.v.*] *Lubāb al-albāb* (composed at Lahore, 617/1220-1), a precursor of the *tadhkira*, is still predominantly an anthology, but a biographical interest can be found also in other mediaeval genres. In the *Čahār maḳāla* (written *ca.* 550/1155), Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] related anecdotes on a number of great poets, which typify different sides of court poetry. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī [*q.v.*] added a separate chapter on the poets to his *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* (tr. E.G. Browne, in *JRAS* [1900], 721-62 and [1901], 1-32), and other historiographers equally paid attention to the lives of poets. Short biographies of poets who were the pride of their native towns can be found in the geography *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād* by Zakariyyāʾ al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*]. The most important Ṣūfī poets were dealt with separately by Djāmī [*q.v.*] at the end of his hagiographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, and he inserted a section on poets into the elegant prose work *Bahāristān*.

The genre of the *tadhkira* proliferated in the 10th/16th century and afterwards. A rough distinction can be made between general works, surveying the entire history of Persian poetry up to the time of the author, and those which are focussed on a specific period (usually the compiler's own), a region or a special kind of poetry; among the latter there are, e.g., works devoted to women poets only. General *tadhkiras* are often chronologically divided into sections on poets of the early period (*mutaḳaddimīn*), of the middle period (*mutawassiṭīn*) and recent times (*mutaʾakhkhirīn*). The information concerning older poets tends to be handed down cumulatively from one *tadhkira* to another, but even in a 19th century work like the comprehensive *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ* by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat [*q.v.*] there are data not to be found in earlier works still extant. The most valuable data are, of course, those which refer to the author's contemporaries. (For further details on the history of the *tadhkiras*, see MUKHTĀRĀT.)

The *tadhkiras* have been drawn upon by modern writers on the history of Persian literature ever since Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall chose Dawlatshāh's work as the main source for *Die schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna 1818). Nathaniel Bland introduced to Orientalist scholarship ʿAwfī's *Lubāb al-albāb*, as well as many other *tadhkiras*. This new material stimulated the study of the beginnings of Persian poetry, pursued notably by Hermann Ethé in a great number of articles. The *tadhkiras* have further provided a wealth of factual information to the authors of catalogues of Persian manuscripts.

Bibliography: The most comprehensive survey of Persian *tadhkiras* is A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1348-50 *Sh.*/1969-71. See further N. Bland, *On the earliest Persian biography of poets, . . . and some other works of the class called Tazkirat ul Shuârá*, in *JRAS*, ix (1848), 111-76; H. Ethé, in *GIPh*, ii, 213-7 ("Übersicht über die Quellen"); E.G. Browne, *The sources of Dawlatsháh . . .*, in *JRAS* (1899), 37-60; Storey, i/2, 781-922; F. Tauer, in J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 453 ff.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

3. In Turkish literature.

The first Turkic biography of poets was produced by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in the Čaghatay dialect in 897/1491-2. His *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, along with two Persian works of this genre, Djāmī's *Bahāristān* (883/1478) and Dawlat Shāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ* (892/1487) were known to, and used as models by, the first Ottoman biographer of poets, Sehī of Edirne (d. 955/1548 [*q.v.*]) who composed his *Hesht bihisht* in Ottoman Turkish and finished it in 945/1538. There are, altogether, twenty-four of these collections of biographies of note. The last one was completed in 1930 by İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal. Generally referred to as *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ* by the Ottomans, this uninterrupted series has contributed considerable detail to the history of Ottoman literature.

The compilers were mostly members of the *ʿulemāʾ* class and reflected the mentality, interests and tastes of this class. The *tedhkeres* themselves constitute the chief source of biographical detail on the biographers. Nearly all the biographers were poets in their own rights, and as such were featured in the works of colleagues who were their contemporaries or continuators. Biographical matter on the poets included in the *tedhkeres* was generally obtained from previous *tedhkeres*, secondary documentary sources and oral sources of one kind or another. The biographers, like the historians, demonstrate a desire to satisfy the need for an unbroken chain of recorded facts placed in works that could be serialised by means of *dheyls*. The poetic citations that were invariably added to the end of the biographies were acquired mainly from *dīwāns* and *medjmūʿas*.

The arrangement and length of individual notices vary between a few words to identify the poet to several folios. Each entry is identified most frequently by the *nom-de-plume* or *makhlaṣ* or, in the case of sultans, statesmen or administrators, by the given name. This is followed by the name of the town where they originated or the one in which they reside. There is little information given about ancestry and date of birth, but more information is supplied on the date of death. Generally, details concerning the education and training of poets are restricted to the *ʿulemāʾ*, and citations pertaining to careers and professions range from single words like "judge" and "janissary", to much longer descriptions of the careers of better-known poets. There is hardly any reference to character or appearance, but the longer *tedhkeres* sometimes include additional biographical, anecdotal and incidental material.

The Ottoman Turkish biographies of poets, like their Arabic and Persian counterparts, felt the need to tabulate, serialise, describe and preserve the best of the literary enterprises of the Ottomans for the benefit of posterity. As far as the compilers themselves were concerned, it may be suggested that a second reason for and an objective of compiling these biographical dictionaries was to create opportunities

for the compilers to exercise their very mild critical prowess as well as to praise the creativity of their fellow-bards. The following are the twenty-four major *tedhkeres*, listed in chronological order: (1) Sehī (of Edirne), d. 1548; *Hesht bihisht*, comp. 1538; covers *ca.* 1400-1538. (2) Laṭīfī (ʿAbd ul-Laṭīf of Kastamonu), d. *ca.* 1582; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1546; covers *ca.* 1400-1546. (3) ʿAhdī (Aḥmed of Baghdād), d. *ca.* 1593; *Gülshen-i shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1563; covers *ca.* 1520-63. (4) ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi (Pīr Meḥmed of Prizrin), b. 1519, d. 1571; *Meshāʿir ül-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1569; covers *ca.* 1400-1569. (5) Ḳinalīzāde (Ḥasan Čelebi of Bursa), b. 1546, d. 1603; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1585; covers *ca.* 1400-1585. (6) Beyānī (Muṣṭafā of Rusčuk), d. 1597; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1595; covers *ca.* 1400-1585. (7) Riyāḍī (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1572, d. 1644; *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1609; covers *ca.* 1400-1609. (8) Rīḍā (Zehīr-i Mārzāde Seyyid Meḥmed of Edirne), d. 1671; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1640; covers 1591-1640. (9) Yümnī (Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ of Istanbul), d. 1662; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp *ca.* 1662; covers *ca.* 1600-62. (10) Güftī (ʿAlī of Edirne), d. 1677; *Teshrīfāt ul-shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1669; covers *ca.* 1600-69. (11) Müdjīb (Muṣṭafā), b. 1671, d. 1726; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1710; covers 1609-1710. (12) Ṣafāʾī (Muṣṭafā of Istanbul), d. 1725; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1719; covers 1640-1719. (13) Sālim (Mīrzā-zāde Meḥmed Emīn of Istanbul), b. 1687, d. 1743; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1721; covers 1687-1720. (14) Belīgh (Seyyid Ismāʿīl of Bursa), b. 1668, d. 1729; *Nukhbet ül-āthār li-dheyl-i Zübdet ül-ashʿar*, comp. 1726; covers 1620-1726. (15) Rāmiz (Ḥüseyin of Istanbul), d. *ca.* 1785; *Ādāb-i ẓurafāʾ*, comp. second half of 18th century; covers 1721-84. (16) Esrār Dede (Seyyid Meḥmed of Istanbul), d. 1796; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarā-yi Mewlewiyye*, comp. 1796; covers *ca.* 1400-1790. (17) Shefḳat (ʿAbd ül-Fettāḥ of Baghdād), d. 1826; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1813; covers *ca.* 1730-1813. (18) ʿĀkif (Meḥmed), d. *ca.* 1796; *Mirʾāt-i shiʿr*, comp. 1796; covers his contemporaries. (19) Esʿad (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1786, d. 1847; *Bāghče-yi ṣafā-endūz*, comp. 1835; covers 1722-1835. (20) ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (Seyyid Aḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1786, d. 1858; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. *ca.* 1836; covers 1589-1836. (21) Faṭīn (Dāwūd of Drama), b. 1814, d. 1867; *Khātimet ül-eshʿār*, comp. 1852; covers 1722-1852. (22) Tewfīḳ (Meḥmed of Istanbul), b. 1843, d. 1893; *Ḳāfile-yi shuʿarāʾ*, comp. 1873; incomplete. (23) ʿAlī Emīrī (of Diyarbakır), b. 1857, d. 1923; *Tedhkere-yi shuʿarāʾ-yi Āmid*, *ca.* 1878; covers the principal poets of Diyarbakır. (24) Inal (İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal), b. 1870, d. 1957; *Son asır türk şairleri*, comp. 1930; covers 1852-1930.

Bibliography: J. Stewart-Robinson, *The Ottoman biographies of poets*, in *JNES*, xxiv (1965), 57-74.

(J. STEWART-ROBINSON)

AL-TAʿDĪL (A.), in planetary astronomy the correction or equation (corresponding to medieval Latin *aequatio*) applied to mean positions of the sun, moon and planets to derive the true positions [see ḲAMAR; SHAMS. I.; TAḲWĪM; ZĪDJ]. Muslim astronomers generally tabulated these functions in the same way as Ptolemy had done in the *Almagest* [see BAṬLAMIYŪS] but occasionally introduced more extensive sets of tables to facilitate the tedious application of more than one equation (as in the case of the moon and planets).

Bibliography: E.S. Kennedy, *Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy*, in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-7, and M. Tichenor, *Late medieval two-argument tables for planetary longitudes*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 126-8, both repr. in Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 108-13 and 122-4; D.A. King, *A double-argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnus*, in *Centaurus*, xviii (1974), 129-46, repr. in *idem*, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, [2]Aldershot 1993, V; G. Saliba, *The double-argument lunar tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, vii (1976), 41-6, and *idem*, *The planetary tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. of the Hist. of Arabic Science*, ii (1978), 53-65; and B. van Dalen, *A table for the true solar longitude in the* Jāmiʿ Zīj, in A. von Gotstedter, (ed.), *Ad radices. Festband zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften Frankfurt am Main*, Stuttgart 1994, 171-90.

(D.A. KING)

AL-TAʿDĪL BAYN AL-SAṬRAYN (A.), literally, correcting between the two lines, an expression used in Islamic mathematics and mathematical astronomy for interpolation. Muslim scientists used linear and non-linear procedures for calculating intermediate values in mathematical and astronomical tables.

Bibliography: J. Hamadanizadeh, *A survey of medieval Islamic interpolation schemes*, in D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant. Studies ... in honor of E.S. Kennedy*, New York 1987, 143-52. See also King, *Ibn Yūnus' Very Useful Tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Science*, x (1973), 342-94 (repr. in *idem*, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, 2nd ed. Aldershot 1993, X), especially 354-7, for a highly sophisticated double-order procedure advocated by Ibn Yūnus *ca.* 400/1010, and J.-P. Hogendijk, *The Qibla table in the* Ashrafī Zīj, in A. von Gotstedter (ed.), *Ad radices. Festband zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften Frankfurt am Main*, Stuttgart 1994, 81-94, for an example of a 8th/14th-century table where the interpolation has gone awry.

(D.A. KING)

TAʿDĪL AL-ZAMĀN (A.), or *taʿdīl al-ayyām bi-layālīhā*, the equation of time, a fundamental notion in mathematical astronomy. Times derived from observations of the sun [see MĪḲĀT] need to be corrected by a function which takes into consideration the fact that the true sun does not move on the celestial equator but on the ecliptic [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ] and the fact that its motion on the ecliptic is not uniform. This correction, which varies throughout the year, is the equation of time, and it was tabulated in Islamic astronomical handbooks [see ZĪDJ]. Since tables of this function are dependent on three different parameters (the obliquity of the ecliptic [see MAYL] and the solar apogee and eccentricity [see SHAMS. I.]), they present a particular challenge to modern investigators.

Bibliography: E.S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomica tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philosophical Society*, N.S. xlvi (1956), especially 141; and B. van Dalen, *Ancient and mediaeval astronomical tables. Mathematical structure and parameter values*, Utrecht 1993, 97-152.

(D.A. KING)

AL-TĀDILĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Ribāṭī (1242-1311/1827-94), scholar from Tadla, in particular, in the field of music. He was descended from Sīdī Djābir, whose mausoleum is on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and who was of Djusham Arab origin, a group which had been established in that region since the 7th/13th century. For generations, his ancestors had lived in Rabat, which confirms the belief that they had emigrated in the course of the 17th century, fleeing the troubles which shook Tadla after the death of Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

The Tādilīs of Rabat were renowned for their knowledge, their dignity and their distinction, and they were among the most illustrious families in the town; they were put on the same footing as those who were originally from al-Andalus.

Ibrāhīm al-Tādilī was unique among his contemporaries for his encyclopaedic mind and his familiarity with European and oriental languages. Having finished the basic cycle of education which was usual for that period, he went to Fās to continue his studies. For fifteen years he attended courses in the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*]. Among his teachers he had illustrious scholars such as al-Walīd al-ʿIrāḳī, Aḥmad Bennānī, Ḥamdūn b. Ḥādjdj al-Sulamī, and several others.

As well as following the linguistic and Islamic disciplines, together with a few other students he applied himself to studying the rational disciplines, which were generally passed over and were no longer offered for study except in smaller mosques or in particular places, including, mathematics, astronomy, equations, astrology, medicine and logic, with music also included. In his writings he reserves a place for the teachers of music at Fās, whom the biographers have totally neglected, such as Ḥādjdj Ḥaddu Bendjellūn, Rashīd Djamal and his brother al-Ghālī Djamal, Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān and al-Makkī Maḥrūsh. Al-Tādilī was therefore the only one to have recorded first-hand the facts of music teaching at Fās in the second half of the 19th century.

On his return journey he stopped off several times at Meknès, and then derived learning from the local *ʿulamāʾ* of Marrākush. When he reached Rabat again, he busied himself with his tasks as a teacher. But feeling that he had not yet learned enough he decided to travel and hear the *ʿulamāʾ* of the East, once in 1862, and again in 1867.

At the Azhar he deepened his knowledge of the disciplines of *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* with the *shaykh* ʿUllaysh. At Mecca, he studied law according to the different schools: Mālikī, with which he had already familiarised himself in Morocco; Ḥanafī, with the *shaykh* Djamāl al-Dīn al-Hindī; and Shāfiʿī, with the *shaykh* al-Ḥamzāwī. He also put his stay in Mecca to good use by following other courses on different specialities with the *shaykh*s Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān al-Kannawdjī [see NAWWĀB SAYYID ṢIDDĪḲ ḤASAN KHĀN] and al-Naḥrāwī, and finally with a Moroccan scholar who was resident in the Holy City, *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Daḥḥu al-Zāmmūrī, who issued him with an *idjāza* which sanctioned his transmission of the most authentic *ḥadīth*s. On his return to his homeland, he taught at Rabat for three decades, delivering five to eight lectures daily.

His works number more than 120, and can be divided into three categories. First, there are the didactic materials, which group together his commentaries on old texts and his own lectures. Most of these were unfinished for lack of time, and today quite a number of them are known only by their titles. Then there are books on current Muslim disciplines. To his work on Mālikī *fiḳh* he added commentaries on Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*. Finally, there are the books on subjects which appeared to be new for that period, such as geography, astronomy, medicine, etc. The titles of three of these works are *Zīnat al-naḥr fī ʿulūm al-baḥr*, in which he deals with the technique of navigating sailing boats and steam boats; *Ḥisān al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ wa ʾl-raḳāʾiḳ fī ḥisāb al-duradj wa ʾl-daḳāʾiḳ*, which deals with the mathematical measurement of spheres, constellations, latitude and longitude; and *Aghānī al-siḳā wa-maʿānī al-mūsīḳā* or *al-Irtiḳāʾ ilā ʿilm al-mūsīḳā*. The subject of this third book, music, which formed an important aspect in the life of the author, did not attract any particular attention from his biographers.

In fact, *Aghānī al-siḳā* was finished in 1891, and it appeared at a time when Tetuan was experiencing a resurgence of musical activity. This was crowned in 1885 by the compilation of *Kunnāsh al-ḥāʾik*, which grouped together the eleven *nawbāt* of Andalusian music still in use today. All this suggests that al-Tādilī contributed to the composition of the Tetuan booklet, for in fact the origin of these eleven *nawbāt*, their time patterns, their cadences as well as the methods of playing and singing them based on the Fās model are set out in *Aghānī al-siḳā* in ch. iv and those which follow in that book. His music courses in Rabat were to produce several musicians, such as Muḥammad al-Rṭal the singer, al-Ḥadjdj Ḳāsim b. ʿAsīla the player of the *ḳānūn*, and the lute player Makkī al-Figīgī.

In Rabat, al-Tādilī led a peaceful life. But his prestige and his audiences earned him jealousy from his enemies; no-one understood what were the prime motives behind his incarceration, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Brībrī, the *ḳāḍī* of Rabat, intervened. His biographers all bear witness to his courage in denouncing iniquity, so it was not surprising that in the course of his lectures, in which some members of the *makhzan* were present, he became indignant about the illegal imposition of the *maks*, an unpopular tax which had been levied for a long time in Morocco when products of commercial value were brought into the towns.

He was fearless, too, when he declined, for health reasons, the invitation from the king to participate in the religious evening at the Great Mosque in Rabat on the occasion of the night of 27 Ramaḍān 1302. What is more, he seized the opportunity to ask the chamberlain to beg Sultan Ḥasan I to abolish the *maks*. Five months later, in the *ẓahīr* of 13 Rabīʿ I, 1303/20 December 1885, this tax was abolished.

In 1886 al-Tādilī undertook a third voyage to the East, but this time with a political aim. He went to Turkey in an attempt to bring together the Ottoman *khalīfa* and the Sharīfī *khalīfa*, and was warmly received in Istanbul. For him this was a chance to meet politicians and Muslim scholars and to appreciate the progress in modernisation and development that had been made by the Turks. From there he went on to Beirut, where he met Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], who was in exile and whose reformist ideas had aroused his admiration, and then to Palestine, where he lectured at the al-Aḳṣā mosque.

He died in Rabat on the night of Thursday and Friday 18 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1311/15 June 1894.

Bibliography: Several of al-Tādilī's own works remain in ms., but see Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960; ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Iʿlām*, i, Rabat 1974; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ben ʿAbd Allāh, in *Encyclopédie marocaine*, Fédala 1975, s.v.; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ben Manṣūr, *Aʿlām al-Maghrib al-ʿarabī*, i, Rabat 1979; ʿAbd Allāh al-Djirārī, *Abū Isḥāḳ al-Tādilī*, Casablanca 1980; Muḥammad Lamnūnī, *Maẓāhir yaḳẓat al-Maghrib al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1985; Mohammad Hajji, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque sbīhiyya*, Kuwait 1985; Muḥammad Larbi al-Khaṭṭābī, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Royale* (*Hasaniyya*), iv, Rabat 1985; Muḥammad Dinyā, *Madjālis al-inbisāt*, Rabat 1986; Muḥammad Bū Djāndār, *al-Ightibāṭ*, Rabat 1987; ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Fāsī, art. *al-Tādilī, Ibrāhīm*, in *Encyclopédie du Maroc*, Salā 1992; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Lahrīshī, *Catalogue abrégé des mss. de la Fondation ʿAllāl al-Fāsī*, i, Casablanca 1991; ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūda, *Itḥāf al-muṭāliʿ*, Beirut 1996.

(MOHAMMAD HAJJI)

AL-TĀDILĪ, YŪSUF B. YAḤYĀ, IBN AL-ZAYYĀT [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT].

TĀDJ (A.), crown, a Persian loanword in Arabic going back to the Old Persian **tag*; cf. Armenian *tʿag*, Aramaic *tāgā*. From it are formed in Arabic the broken plural *tīdjān* and the corresponding verb *t-w-dj*, forms II "to crown", V "to be crowned", and *tāʾidj*, "crowned" (Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 81; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 74, 84, Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 62). Like the name, the object itself comes from old Persia. The form of the crowns of the old Persian kings, which we know best from their coins, was not unknown in Arabic literature. Al-Masʿūdī, for example, tells us he had seen an old book with coloured pictures of Persian kings wearing their crowns, which was translated into Arabic for the Umayyad Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (*Tanbīh*, 106). A whole series of books now lost with titles like *Kitāb Siyar al-mulūk* and *Kitāb al-Tādj* seem to have been of similar content. The *Kitāb al-Tādj* edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo 1332/1914) is a compilation of Arab and especially Sāsānid Persian traditions; its translator, Ch. Pellat (*Le livre de la couronne*, Paris 1954, Introd.), thought that its author was an Arabised Persian, conceivably Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Taghlibī/al-Thaʿlabī, but certainly not al-Djāḥiẓ (see also Brockelmann, S I, 246; NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK; and AL-THAʿLABĪ). It is presumably on such sources that are based the statements on the Persian crown in Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh Sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa ʾl-anbiyāʾ* (Berlin, Kaviani Press, 17, 24-5, 32, 35 ff.), and the Persian *Mudjmil al-tawārīkh* which utilises him and the statements in al-Ṭabarī also (on the relation of their sources, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, Introd. (on the crown among the Persians, cf. especially, 95, 221, 304, 385, 453); A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*, Copenhagen 1907, 14, 89 ff., 106; idem, *Le règne du roi Kawadh I et le communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen 1925, 22 ff.). In the Arabic *Awāʾil* [*q.v.*] literature, we are told that the first to wear a crown was al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 415).

On Islamic miniatures which depict the old Persian kings, the latter wear regular crowns, but their form is, of course, in no way authentic. On the miniatures, crowns are also worn by the angels, and notably by the Prophet Muḥammad and Burāḳ in the *Miʿrādj* (see the miniature in the edition of the Uyghur *Miʿrādj-nāme*, ed. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1882).

The Arabs made their first acquaintance with crowns before Islam, for the Persian kings occasionally gave their Arab vassal kings crowns as a token of their rank, e.g. to the Lakhmid Imruʾ al-Ḳays (d. 328 A.D. (if *tg* in the Namāra inscription really equals *tādj*, which is by no means certain); cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéol. Or.*, vi, 307: *Le roi de "tous les Arabes"* and vii, 176: *Le Tâdj-dâr Imrou 'l-Qais et la royauté générale des Arabes*; U. Monneret de Villard, *Il Tāǧ di Imruʾ l-Qais*, in *RCAL*, Cl. di Sc. morali, storiche e filologiche, viii [1953], 224-9; Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984, 36-7, 413-14; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 35, 375: also on the difference between *iklīl* and *tādj*; the latter seems to mean a simple chaplet only), and to the Lakhmid Nuʿmān III (see G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥîra*, Berlin 1899, 128) and to the *Dhu ʾl-Tādj* Hawdha b. ʿAlī, the Christian ruler of Yamāma in the time of Muḥammad, to whom the Prophet is said also to have sent a demand to become converted to Islam (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 971; al-Ḳalḳashandī, vi, 379; Fraenkel, 62; al-Ṭabarī, i, 985; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, 258). Crowns and bearers of crowns were often celebrated by the poets (see Siddiqi, 84; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 289-90, where the crown is said to be a peculiarity of the Yemen, possibly a reminiscence of the old relations between Yemen and the Abyssinians; on the crown of the latter, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 225, 233).

The celebrated crown of Khusraw II Aparwīz was among the booty which the Arabs took at Ctesiphon (Christensen, *L'Empire*, 106). But the crown continued to be something foreign and rare among the Arabs. There is a *ḥadīth* which says *al-ʿamāʾim tīdjān al-ʿArab*, "the turbans are the crowns of the Arabs", i.e. according to the usual explanation in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and elsewhere, turbans are as rare amongst them as crowns, for most Bedouins do not wear turbans but only *ḳalānis* (caps, see KALANSUWA) or no headdress at all.

Islam knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power. When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers, etc. The *tādj al-Bābā* is the tiara of the Pope and the *tādj al-usḳuf* the mitre of a bishop. Only in the case of the so-called *tādj al-khalīfa* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*ālāt al-mulūkiyya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the ʿAbbāsid period, and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Umayyads (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 453). The caliph wore this *tādj* on ceremonial occasions (*mawākib* [*q.v.*]) on the great feast-days. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (iii, 472, 484 = Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi*, 172, 182) describes the *tādj* of the Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt. It is evident from him that it was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems, including a particularly large one called *al-yatīma*, weighing seven dirhams, of the colour of the Fāṭimids, namely white, for the elaborate winding of which (*shadd al-tādj al-sharīf*) a special official (the *shadd*, later called *laffāf*) was appointed (cf. Inostrantsev, *The ceremonial procession of the Fāṭimid caliphs* [in Russian], St. Petersburg 1905, 64; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil*, ed. Bahdjat, 27[1]). The Ḥafṣid sultan, too, wore a *tādj* on his *mawākibs* (see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-abṣār*, extract, *Waṣf Ifrīḳiya wa ʾl-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis [*ca.* 1922], 23, no. 2).

Among the robes of honour which the caliph or the sultan used to send to governors, ambassadors, etc., there was usually a *tādj*, as is often expressly mentioned. Thus according to al-Ḳalḳashandī, viii, 375, on his accession the caliph presents a crown set with jewels (*tādj muraṣṣaʿ*; cf. also Wüstenfeld, *Statthalter*, iii, 38). A similar *tādj* seems also to appear as an emblem on the arms of *amīrs* of the Mamlūk period [see RANK].

The name *tādj* was also given to the headdress of the Ottoman sultans. Even ʿOthmān I is said to have worn a *tādj-i Khurāsānī* (d'Ohsson, ii, 135). We know exactly the kind of headdress worn by the conqueror of Constantinople from the paintings by Bellini. He wears a large turban, and the *tādj*; the inner cap of this turban is in the shape of a truncated cone and is usually red and rippled (? stitched). Round this is wound the turban proper (*ṣarīḳ*) of thin cloth. The form of the turban of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ found on his paintings is also shown on the medals. When we find, on the reverse of a medal, three regular crowns, which

are believed to represent the three kingdoms of Asia, Greece and Trebizond united under Ottoman rule, the explanation probably is simply that the medal was designed and executed by a European artist (cf. G.F. Hill, in *NC* [1926], 287-98 and pl. xiv). Karabacek has dealt fully with the *tādj* of the Ottoman sultans. According to him, the Perso-Turkish *tādj* corresponds to the *ṭarṭūr* of Arabic-speaking lands, a rather high cap which is found represented as early as a papyrus of the 7th century A.D., and assumed many varying forms in the course of time. In remarkable agreement with these forms are the headdresses (*hen*[*n*]*in*) of the 14th-16th centuries of ladies in France and Spain, which according to Karabacek came direct from the east (the name, Arabic *ḥanīnī*, as well as the object itself). Particular forms of this headdress have survived on women to the present day, e.g. among the Druses of the Lebanon and in Algeria and Tunis. In modern Egypt, there has developed from this the *ḳurṣ* as a woman's headdress. This is a plate-like ornament of gold and gems, which is sewn on the crown of a rather high cap and is sometimes of considerable weight. This *ḳurṣ* is put on the top (*shāhid*) of the bier of dead women, as is done with the turban in the case of men (cf. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, Appendix A; idem, *Arabian society in the Middle Ages*, 218, 234). The use of a special crown for brides, which is found all over the world, is also sometimes found in the Muslim world (Lane, *The thousand and one nights*, i, 424; Lagarde, *Arabes mitrati*, in *Nachrichten... Göttingen* [1891], 160 ff.; and the title of the well-known dictionary *Tādj al-ʿarūs*; cf. for Eastern Turkestan, Brockelmann, in *Asia Major*, ii, 122).

The *tādj* was given a special religious significance as a headdress among the dervishes. The assumption of the *tādj* was an essential part of the *shadd* [*q.v.*]. The different dervish orders each had their *tādj* of distinct form and colour, frequently with 12 seams (*terk*) from the number of the Imāms, or with 9, 7 etc., and there were numerous names and symbolical interpretations associated with them (see Aḥmed Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-maḳāṣid*, Istanbul 1293, 212-15; Brown, *The Darvishes*, 148 ff.; pictures in d'Ohsson, ii, 292; there is also a large coloured table of the 14 most important dervish orders with pictures of their *tādj* and accounts of the *silsile* of their founders, printed in the Istanbul press of Maḥmūd Bey, publ. by the *Ṣanāʾiʿ-i nefīse resim-khānesi* of Ẓiyā Bey, dated 15 Shaʿbān 1314). In Persia, under Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*; whence *Tādj-i Ḥaydarī*] and Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], we find the Ṣūfī *tādj* as a kind of official headdress for the king, the court, the army and the officials, granted with a special ceremonial, but it probably existed before them (see Karabacek, *op. cit.*, 87; and ḲIZIL-BĀSH).

We find *tādj* used in many ways with a metaphorical application. Names of honour (*alḳāb*) combined with *tādj* are very common in later times, and were probably most popular in the Mamlūk period. At first they were content with simple epithets like *Tādj al-Dīn* for soldiers (al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 488) or *Tādj al-Dawla* for Christian secretaries (*ibid.*, v, 487); then we get double epithets like *ʿAḍud al-Dawla wa-Tādj al-Milla* (v, 492), *Tādj al-ʿUlamāʾ wa ʾl-Ḥukkām* for *ḳāḍīs* (vi, 41) and many others. For infidel kings, forms of address like *Baḳiyyat Abnāʾ al-Tukhūt wa ʾl-Tīdjān* (vi, 85), *Mukhawwil al-Tukhūt wa ʾl-Tīdjān* (vi, 175), *Wārith al-Asirra wa ʾl-Tīdjān* (vi, 177) were used. Perhaps the custom, of which there are countless examples, of giving books titles in the form of *Tādj* with a genitive is connected with this.

In astronomy, *Tādj-i Saʿdān* = Saturn [see ZUḤAL]; *Tādj al-Djabbār* = a star near Orion. *Tādj ʿamūd* is the capital of a column (see Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise*, ii, 185); *tādj* is also the name given to the comb of a cock and similar birds. A famous palace of the caliphs was called *Ḳaṣr al-Tādj*. It was built under the caliphs al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī out of the ruins of a palace in al-Madāʾin, one of the seven wonders of the world, burnt down in 549/1154 after being struck by lightning, rebuilt but not finished, and completely destroyed in 574/1178-9 (Yāḳūt, i, 806-9, tr. in *ZDMG*, xviii, 403-6; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 74; von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii, 54; Sarre-Herzfeld, i, 92, ii, 63, 148). Among the pleasure houses (*manāẓir*) of the caliphs in Cairo there was one called *Manẓarat al-Tādj*, built by Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], which was in ruins by the time of al-Maḳrīzī (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 481, ii, 129; Yāḳūt, suppl., v, 15; Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 224, 228).

Bibliography: In addition to the particular works mentioned in the text, see in general: Dozy, *Dictionnaire des vêtements*, s.v. *Tādj*; *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. *Crown*; Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler in Konstantinopel im 15. u. 16. Jahrhundert, I. Italienische Künstler am Hofe Muhammeds II. des Eroberers 1451-1481*, in *Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, lxii/1 (1918). See also ḲIZIL-BĀSH and LIBĀS and their Bibls. (W. BJÖRKMAN*)

TĀDJ MAḤALL, the mausoleum which the Mughal emperor Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*] (r. 1037-68/1628-58) built for his favourite wife Mumtāz Maḥall at Āgra [*q.v.*]. This is the grandest in a series of monumental dynastic mausoleums that have become synonyms of Mughal architecture. Mughal imperial tombs are the most spectacular exponents of a funerary tradition which creatively synthesised and developed ideas of its Tīmūrid heritage and local Indian building conventions.

The architecture. The success of the Tādj Maḥall lies not only in its aesthetic, romantic and symbolic appeal but in the fact that it expresses in a canonical form the architectural principles of the period. The Mughals had no written architectural theory; it was laid down here in a built form: (1) A rational and strict geometry brought about by modular planning using grid systems based on the Shāhdjahānī *gaz* (varying in length between 80 and 82 cm or *ca.* 32 inches) (see R.A. Barraud, *Modular gaz planning of the Taj Mahal, Agra*, unpubl. ms. 1995; Begley's and Desai's grids [*Taj Mahal*, figs. 13, 17] are not correct); (2) Consistent symmetrical planning with emphasis on bilateral symmetry on both sides of a central axis (*ḳarīna*) into which are integrated centralised schemes; (3) A hierarchical grading of material, forms and colour down to the most minute ornamental detail; and (4) A sophisticated symbolism in the architectural programme.

The mausoleum is set at the northern end of the main axis of a vast oblong walled-in complex (*ca.* 1,114.5 × 373 *gaz*) formed of three units: the tomb and its garden with elaborate water works (Fig. 3, A, B, E), and two courtyard complexes to its south with subsidiary structures (C, D), only one of which survives. The preserved Tādj complex measures *ca.* 561 m × 300 m (690 × 313 *gaz*). In its layout the tomb garden (A and B) is the monumentalised version of the Shāhdjahānī expression of the waterfront garden, a type specific to Mughal architecture (Koch, *The Mughal water front garden*, in A. Petruccioli (ed.), *Theory and design of gardens during the times of the great Muslim empires*, Leiden 1997). The plan shows the characteristic configuration of a raised rectangular terrace (*kursī*,

A) on which are placed the main buildings and a lower centrally planned four-part garden (*čahār bāgh*) (B); its square, measuring 368 × 368 *gaz*/296.31 × 296.31 m, formed the basis for developing the grid of the plan. The two complexes with the subsidiary structures are arranged according to the same compositional scheme of a rectangle (C) combined with a centrally-planned unit (D) but here the buildings consist of open courtyards formed of narrow wings and arcades, typical of the residential and utilitarian architecture of the period (for the function of the buildings see MUGHALS. 7. ARCHITECTURE, at Vol. VII, 332). The courtyard complex adjoining the tomb garden contains also subsidiary tombs for other women of Shāh Djahān's *zanāna*. These tombs are set in miniature replicas of the main garden (C, 9a, b). (Their form revives an older Sultanate type of a domed octagon surrounded by arcades, translated into the lighter architectural vocabulary of the period; see MUTHAMMAN; Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 101, and figs. 34, 35.) Outside the walled enclosure is another small tomb complex varying this pattern (9c) and a tomb and a mosque (11, 12).

The income of the *bāzārs* and the *karwānsarā'īs* of the subsidiary complexes (8, 10)—together with that of thirty villages from the district of Āgra—was devoted by imperial command to the upkeep of the mausoleum.

In the tomb garden, emphasis is on the features on the central axis: the grandiose group of the mausoleum (*rawḍa*) (1) and its four minarets, flanked by a mosque (2) and a "guest house" (*mihmān-khāna*), rather an assembly hall (3), set the main accent. Radial symmetry is observed in the gatehouse (*darwāza*, 5) and the tomb proper. Both follow the ninefold plan (Fig. 4), the favourite plan of Mughal architecture with Tīmūrid antecedents (L. Golombek, *From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal*, in *Islamic art and architecture. Essays in Islamic art and architecture in honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, Malibu 1981, i, 43-50; E. Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 44-50, 80-1, 99-100). The plan of the mausoleum is inscribed in a square with chamfered corners or irregular octagon, described in the contemporary texts as *muthamman* [*q.v.*] *baghdādī*. The elevation follows—in the interior—the Tīmūrid concept of two super-imposed tomb chambers surmounted by a high double dome (Fig. 2). The exterior—composed of monumental *pīshṭāks* [*q.v.*] flanked by double-storey niches—brings the cubical tomb of the Dihlī tradition enhanced by Deccani features (bulbous profile of the dome) to a formal apotheosis of unparalleled elegance and harmony (Fig. 1). The balanced proportions are highlighted by the sophisticated facing of the brick structure: the white marble inlaid with *pietre dure* reacts to atmospheric changes and enhances the mystical and mythical aura of the building. All the subsidiary structures of the Tādj complex are faced with red sandstone; special features, such as domes may be clad in white marble. This hierarchically graded colour dualism—generally characteristic of imperial Mughal architecture but here explored with unparalled sophistication—connects with ancient Indian *śāstric* traditions, laid down in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (8th century?) (tr. P. Shah, Ahmedabad 1990, 268, 271) where white-coloured stones are assigned to *brāhmaṇs* and red ones to *kṣatriyas*. The marble for the Tādj was brought from Makrāna in Rādjasthān and the sandstone from the quarries of the Vindhyan system in the region of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and Rūpbās.

The architectural decoration with naturalistic flowers and plants executed in relief (Fig. 5) and in the famous Italianate inlay with semi-precious stones (*pietre dure*, Mughal *parčīn kārī* [*q.v.*]) (Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Graz 1988, esp. 15-22, 39 n. 24) finds its richest and most artistic expression in the central chamber of the tomb (Fig. 6). It symbolises eternal bloom and supports thus the architectural programme of the building as an earthly replica of the abode of the pardoned Mumtāz in the gardens of heavenly Paradise. The elaborate Ḳur'ānic inscriptions designed by Amānat Khān al-Shīrāzī focus accordingly on the Day of Resurrection, Last Judgement, and the Reward of the Faithful.

The architect. The question about the identity of the architect of the building has as yet not been entirely solved, since contemporary sources minimise the role of the architects and emphasise the involvement of the patron. Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm, Djahāngīr's leading architect and the Mughal official Makramat Khān are named as overseers of the construction; Ustād Aḥmad Lāhawrī is also reported to have been connected with the building (Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal*, pp. xli-xliii, 260-86). The craftsmen made their contribution known with numerous mason marks, which still await systematic study.

History. Mumtāz died on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/17 June 1631 in Burhānpūr [*q.v.*] and was temporarily buried there. The construction on the Tādj started in Djumādā II 1041/January 1632 after the takeover of the site had been negotiated with its then owner, Rādjā Djai Singh Kačhwaha of Amber. The body of Mumtāz was brought in December 1631 from Burhānpūr to Āgra and temporarily reburied in January 1632 on the construction site. In June 1632 Shāh Djahān commemorated the first death anniversary (*ʿurs*) in the *ṣaḥn* (courtyard [*djilaw khāna*]?) of the building with rites aimed at obtaining divine pardon for the deceased. The second *ʿurs* in May of the following year was already held on the monumental platform (*čabūtra*) on the terrace (*kursī*) raised over the third and final burial place of Mumtāz; the place of the tombstone was on this occasion surrounded by a screen of enamelled gold, the work of the imperial goldsmiths' department supervised by Bībadal Khān (replaced in 1643 by the present inlaid marble screen). At this time, the domed tomb structure had not as yet been raised. According to two inscriptions in the interior of the mausoleum and one in the portal of the west façade, the main mausoleum was completed in 1048/1638-9. The histories report that the entire complex was finished in 1052/1643 but—according to an inscription on the garden façade of the main gateway—work on the decoration went on at least until 1057/1647. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō even reports that the entire complex took twenty years to be completed. The cost amounted to 50 lakhs (4 to 5 millions) rupees (see S. Moosvi, *Expenditure on buildings under Shahjahan—a chapter of imperial financial history*, in *Procs. of the Indian History Congress, 46th session Amritsar, 1985*, 285-99).

The *ʿurs* celebrations are mentioned intermittently until the fourteenth death anniversary. Of particular importance was the 12th *ʿurs* on 17 Dhu 'l Ḳaʿda 1052/6 February 1643, when the tomb was officially reported as being complete, on which occasion Lāhawrī and Kanbō provided detailed descriptions of the entire complex which—with regard to exactitude, detail and consistent terminology—are unparalleled in all of Mughal writing on architecture. After the 14th *ʿurs*, Shāh Djahān spent over two years in the north of his empire and moved his capital in 1648 to the newly-constructed Shāhdjahānabād at Dihlī. The last documented imperial visit to the Tādj is that of Ṣafar

1065/December 1654. When Shāh Djahān died in 1076/1666, after having spent the last years of his life in captivity at Āgra, he was buried in the tomb at the side of his wife.

After Shāh Djahān's burial little is known about the mausoleum until the later 18th century when it began to enter the awareness of the west through the depictions and descriptions of British visitors to India in search of the picturesque (Pal, 199 ff.). In 1803 the British conquered Āgra and the tomb became the focus of their selective restoration of monuments, which was put on a more systematic basis at the beginning of the 20th century when the Archaeological Survey of India (founded in 1860) also took on the agenda of conservation. Today, the Tādj Maḥall is included in the Monuments of World Heritage in India and also, sadly, appeared on the 1996 list of the world's hundred most endangered historic sites, according to World Monuments Watch (tourism and uncontrolled industrial growth in its surroundings). Despite India's uneasiness with its Islamic past, the Tādj Maḥall has become India's national symbol, advertising in particular tourism.

Bibliography (including references given above): 1. Original sources. All known 17th century sources—Mughal and Western—related to the Tādj Maḥall have been compiled and translated by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: the illumined tomb*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989; the work includes also a detailed photographic documentation.

2. Studies. The vast literature on the Tādj Maḥall comprises surprisingly few serious scholarly studies. There is as yet no monograph dedicated to its architecture; J.A. Hodgson's plan (1828) published in *Memoir on the length of the Illahee guz, or imperial land measure of Hindostan*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 42-63, remained until recently the most accurate survey of the Tādj complex and the basis of all later plans. A new plan based on measurements taken in 1995 by R.A. Barraud and E. Koch is published here as Pl. IV. Pioneering studies are M. Moin-ud-Din, *The history of the Taj and the buildings in its vicinity*, Agra 1905; and M.A. Chaghtai, *Le Tādj Maḥal d'Agra (Inde): histoire et description*, Brussels 1938. In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see R. Nath, *The immortal Taj Mahal. The evolution of the tomb in Mughal architecture*, Bombay 1972; R.A. Jairazbhoy, *The Taj Mahal in the context of East and West: a study in the comparative method*, in *Jnal. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxiv (1961), 59-88; Begley, *Amānat Khān and the calligraphy on the Taj Mahal*, in *Kunst des Orients*, xii (1978-9), 5-39; idem, *The myth of the Taj Mahal and a new theory of its symbolic meaning*, in *The Art Bulletin*, lxi (1979), 7-37; P. Pal, J. Leoshko *et alii*, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles and London 1989; and for excellent photographs, see J.L. Nou, A. Okada and M.C. Joshi, *Taj Mahal*, Paris and New York 1993. For the most recent treatment in the context of Mughal architecture, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture: an outline of its history and development (1526-1858)*, Munich 1991, and C.B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge 1992. See also the bibls. to ĀGRA and MUGHALS. 7. Architecture.

(EBBA KOCH)

TĀDJ AL-DAWLA [see TUTUSH].

TĀDJ AL-DĪN [see AL-SUBKĪ].

TĀDJ AL-DĪN YILDIZ MUʿIZZĪ, Turkish slave commander of the Ghūrid sultan Muʿizz or Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, who after that ruler's death in 602/1206, made himself, with the support of a group of other Turkish soldiers, independent in Ghazna in eastern Afghānistān. Muʿizz al-Dīn's successor at Fīrūzkūh [*q.v.*], Maḥmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, had to manumit Yildiz and recognise him as governor in Ghazna. During his nine years' rule there, Yildiz treated another Muʿizzī slave commander Iltutmish [*q.v.*], who had established himself in northern India, as his subordinate. But in the end, Yildiz was driven out of Ghazna in 611/1215 by the Khwārazmian forces of Djalāl al-Dīn; he fled to India, but was defeated there in battle by Iltutmish and executed.

Bibliography: The main source is Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 410-14, tr. Raverty, i, 496-506. See also M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. v. The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, 198-214.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TĀDJ AL-MULŪK [see BŪRIDS].

TADJALLĪ (A.), a *maṣdar* formation from form V of the root *dj-l-w*, which means "to appear, to come to light, to be clear or brilliant". Rabāḥ b. ʿAmr al-Ḳaysī (d. *ca.* 180/796) of ʿIrāḳ seems to have been the first to use this term to designate the manifestation of God to a person at the time of the Judgement and then in Paradise (L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 217).

Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) introduced it into Ṣūfism, giving it a meaning which is reproduced in the manuals of the 10th and 11th centuries (G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, 172-5 and index s.v. *tağallī*; al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, Damascus 1986, 121-2; al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Damascus 1988, 74; al-Sarrādj, *al-Lumaʿ fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, ed. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, 362, etc.). The *tadjallī* consists of *mukāshafa*, an "unveiling", which allows divine light to "irradiate" the heart of the meditator; it therefore releases human nature from its darkness in the same way that the sun chases away gloom (cf. Ḳurʾān, XCII, 2).

The influence of al-Tustarī is also equally noticeable in the Sālimiyya, a spiritual movement which grew from him, as in his disciple al-Ḥallādj (L. Massignon, *Passion*, ²Paris 1975, i, 432, 568, 621, iii, 181-2; but note that Massignon has a tendency to "Christianise" the word *tadjallī* by translating it as "transfiguration", and in fact Christian Arabs use this same term to denote the Transfiguration of Christ).

Later mystics retain the meaning of "unveiling" in the term (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Iṣṭilāḥ al-ṣūfiyya*, in *Rasāʾil*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 9, and this is often taken up again by other authors) while also exploring its range of meaning for initiation. *Tadjallī* reveals divine knowledge which is in the heart of man, thus opening to him the pathway to gnosis. Such theophany is so powerful (according to Ḳurʾān, VII, 143, it reduced Mount Sinai to dust before the eyes of Moses) that it made the human ego volatile. Mystics then experiment by attempting to annihilate the "Sinai of the soul", according to the formula of Kubrawī Ṣūfīs (cf. the introduction of H. Landolt to N. Isfararayini, *Révélateur des mystères*, Lagrasse 1986, 106; and see also M. de Miras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme iranien, Nur Ali-Shah*, Paris 1973, 295, 322). Therefore a person can only tolerate theophanies of divine attributes, names and acts, and these paradoxically form "so many protective veils between the divine essential being and the creature".

The term *tadjallī* also has a metaphysical and a cosmogonic meaning; as the correlative of the first, it
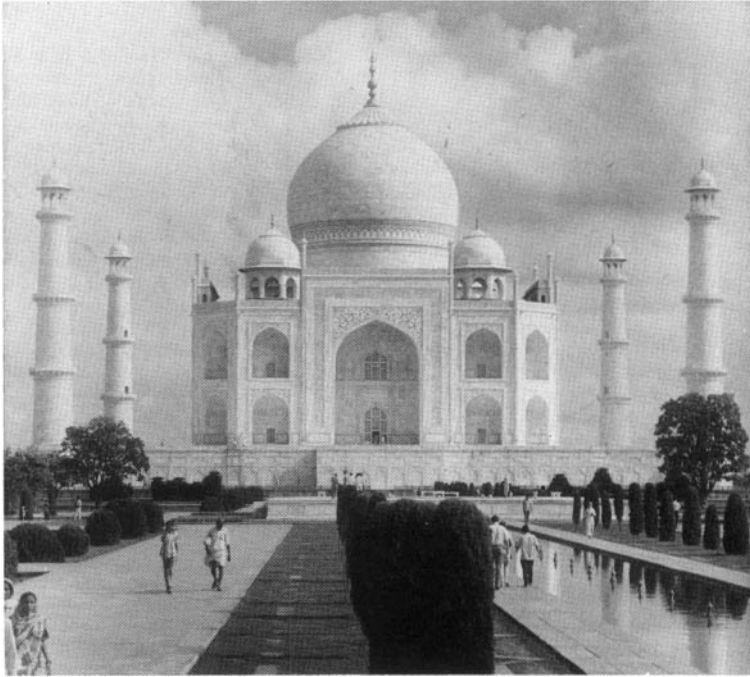
Fig. 1. Tādj Maḥall 1041-52/1632-43
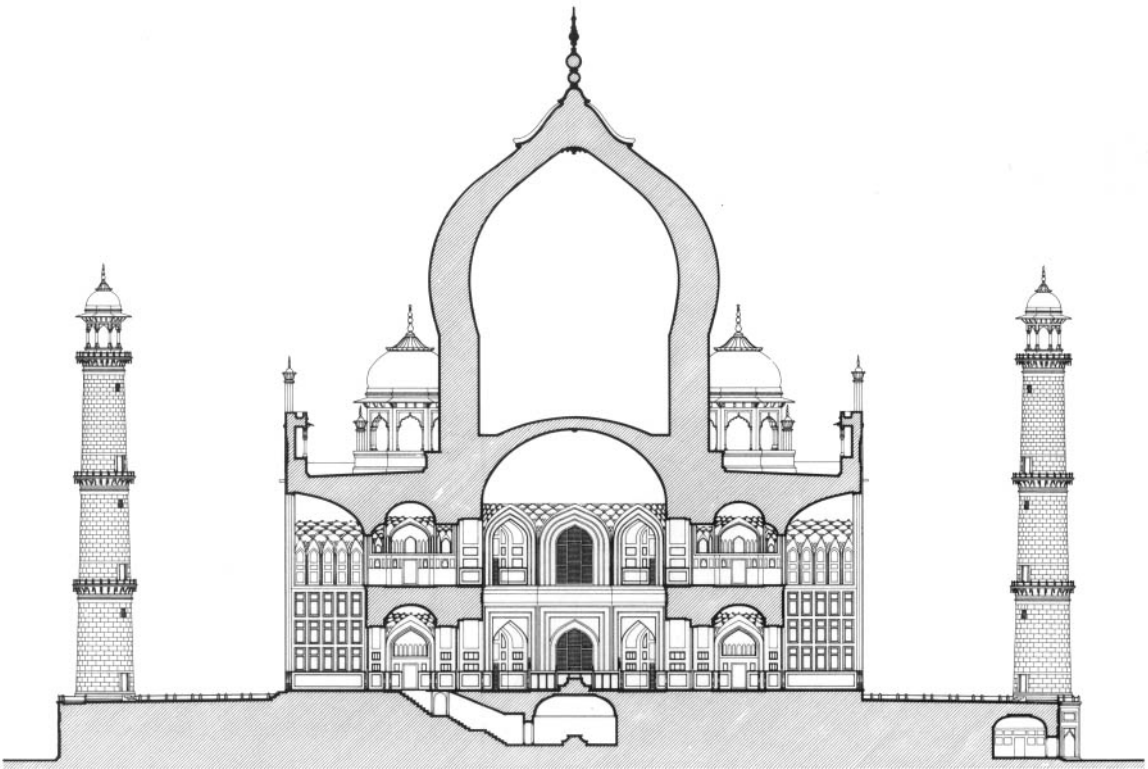
Fig. 2. Section (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)
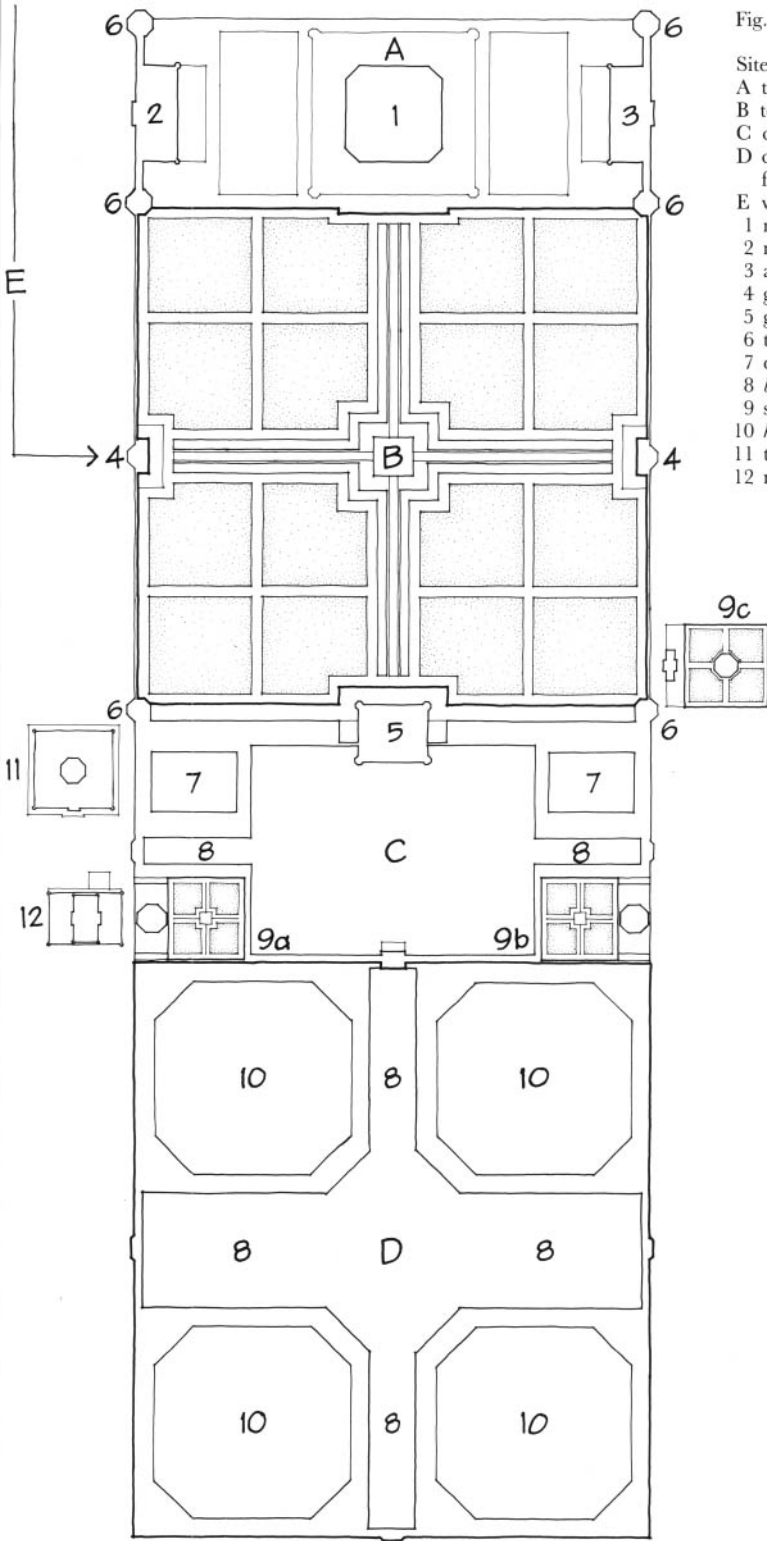
Fig. 3.

Site plan (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)
A terrace (*kursī*)
B tomb garden (|*čahār*|*bāgh*)
C complex of forecourt (*djilaw khāna*)
D complex with cross-shaped (*čār sū*) *bāzār* and four |*karwān*|*sarā'īs*
E water works
1 mausoleum (*rawḍa*)
2 mosque (*masdjid*)
3 assembly hall (*mihmān khāna*)
4 garden pavilion
5 gate (*darwāza*)
6 tower pavilion (*burdj*)
7 quarters for tomb attendants (*khawāṣṣpūra*)
8 *bāzār* street
9 subsidiary tomb (*maḳbara*)
10 *karwān*|*sarā'ī*
11 tomb
12 mosque

10 0 20 40 60 80 m
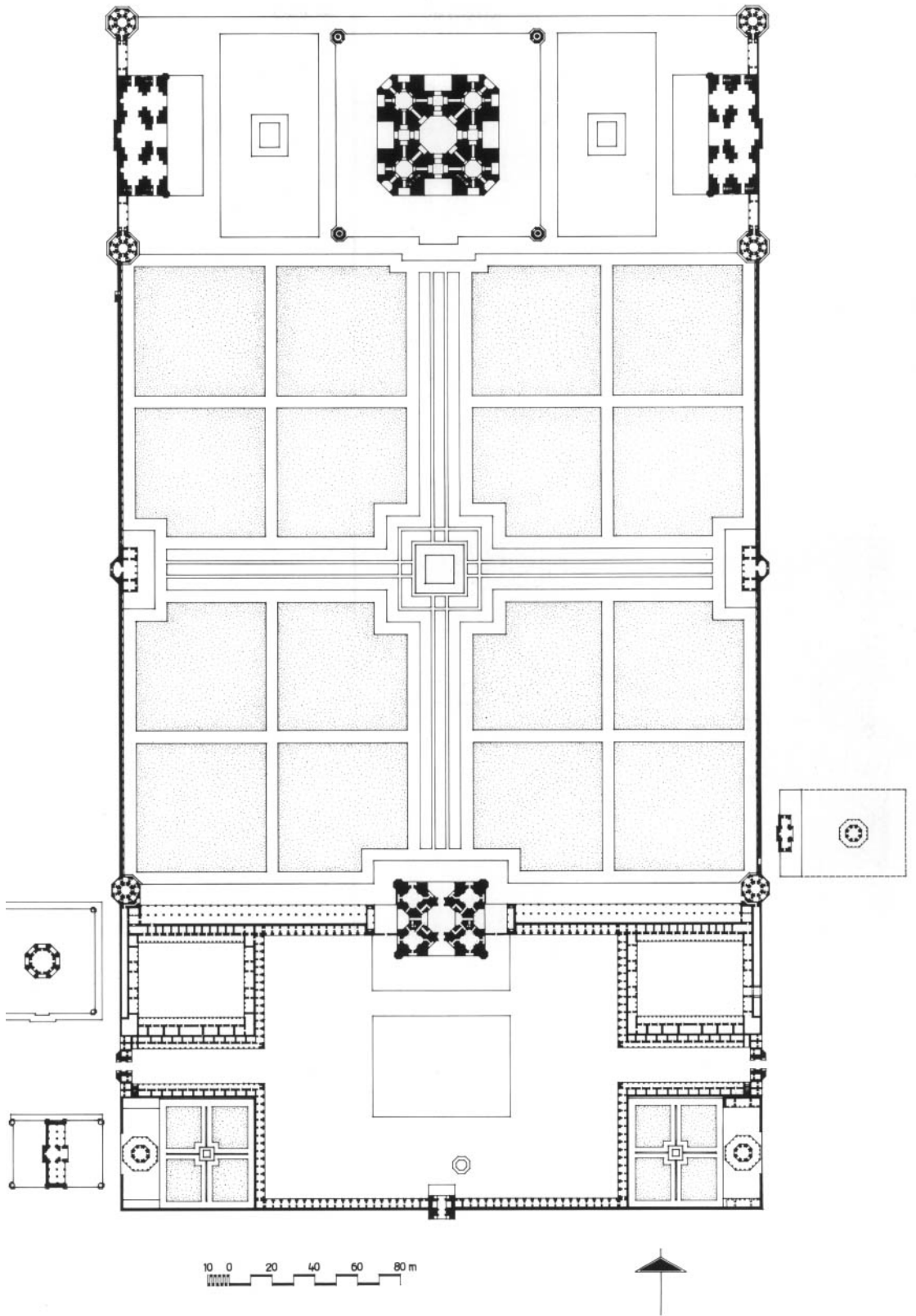
Fig. 4. Overall plan of preserved complex showing main levels of the individual buildings (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch)
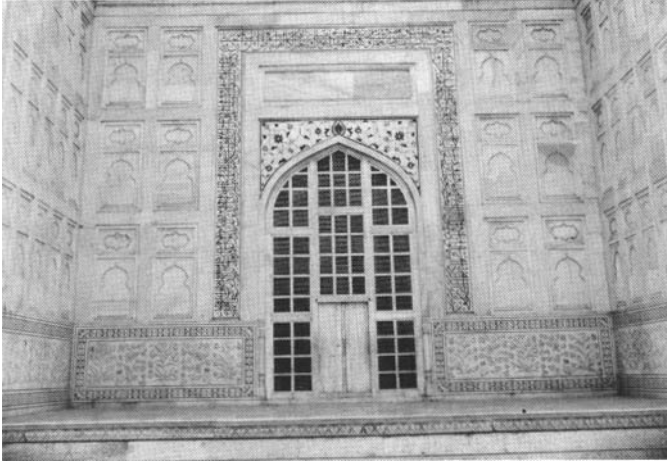
Fig. 5. Main mausoleum, northern portal (Photo: E. Koch, 1979)
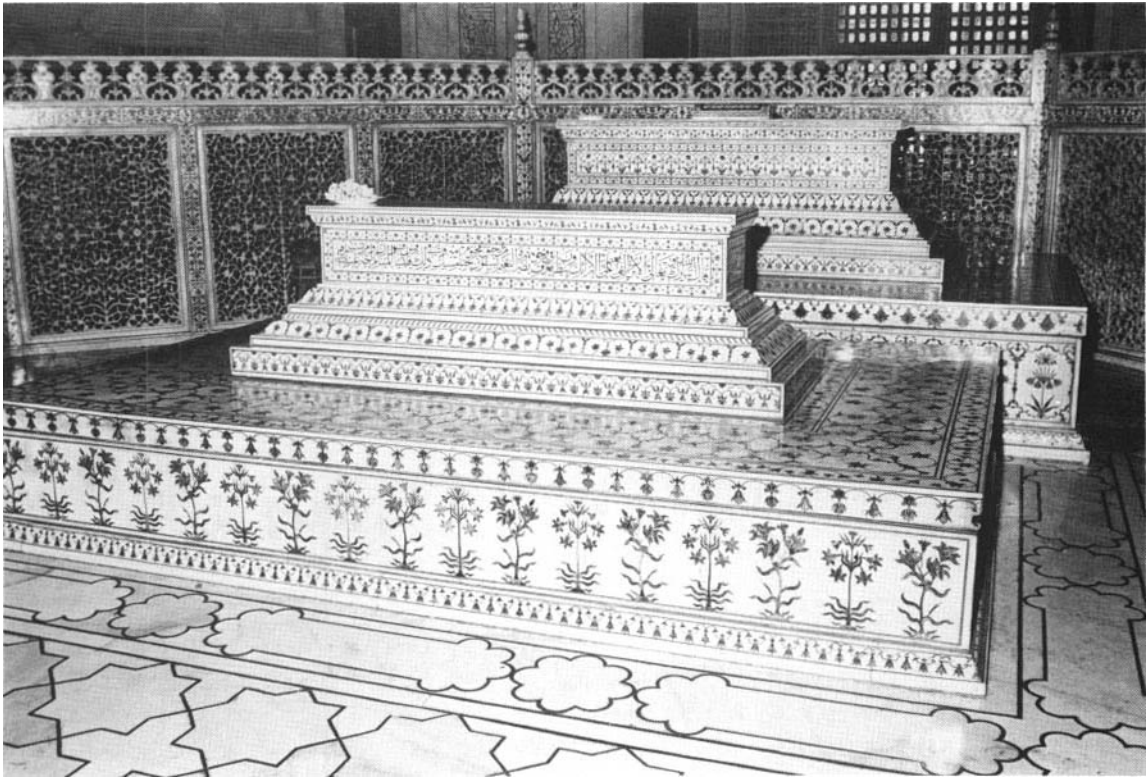
Fig. 6. Tombstones in main tomb chamber (Photo: E. Koch, 1981)

appears in Ṣūfism, especially from Ibn al-ʿArabī onwards. The Arab philosophers were already using *tadjallī* in such a perspective. For Ibn Sīnā, souls and the tangible world flow by "irradiation" from the actuating intellect, which itself comes from God, the supreme light (L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 52, 166). In the work of the *falāsifa*, as in that of the later mystics, the notion of *tadjallī* shows affinities with that of *fayḍ*, the theory of "emanation", borrowed from Plotinus.

Ibn al-ʿArabī, who distinguishes the two terms, made the first one of them the foundation for his metaphysical doctrine. Ibn Khaldūn puts *tadjallī* elsewhere as a characteristic tenet of the major representatives of "the school of theophany" (*ahl* or *aṣḥāb al-tadjallī*) which in his opinion represents the major current of thought in "modern" Ṣūfism (*Shifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahdhīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 212; *Muḳaddima*, tr. V. Monteil, *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle*, Beirut 1968, 1017-22; however, the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who is also included in this changing hierarchy, favours the term *fayḍ*). According to Ibn al-ʿArabī, multiplicity extends gradually outwards from unity, through a long unbroken line of theophanies, which assume countless different forms; the world continues to exist thanks to "perpetual creation" (*khalḳ djadīd*). By the "irradiation" of the Divine Essence on them, creatures pass from nothingness to existence, or from virtual existence to effective existence. Everything or every being is therefore a "theophanic locus" (*maẓhar, madjlā*), a receptacle (*ḳābil*) which receives this "irradiation" according to its predispositions (*istiʿdād*). Consequently, man sees only his own image in the divine mirror.

Elsewhere, most of the masters deny that God is revealed to objects in His Essence (*tadjallī dhātī*; cf., e.g. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, ii, 606). For Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1964, ii, 312), an author as early as al-Ḳushayrī had this perception of *tadjallī*, but he was afraid to divulge its esoteric implications in his *Risāla* (*loc. cit.*).

Ibn al-ʿArabī develops the metaphysics of *tadjallī* in many passages of his works (in particular the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and the *K. al-Tadjalliyāt*; for this last work, use the edition of O. Yahia in *al-Mashriḳ* [1966-7]). This doctrine has clearly diffused mainly into the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Ḳāshānī, Djīlī, Ḳayṣarī, etc.) but also into more orthodoxly Sunnī Ṣūfism (cf. for example *K. al-Tadjalliyāt* of the Shādhilī Ibn Zaghdān, ms. Berlin We II, 1505), Imāmite gnosis (cf. *La philosophie shiʿite*, texts by H. Amoli, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Paris-Tehran 1969), and also to Ismāʿīlī gnosis (ʿAzīz-i Nasafī, *Le livre de l'homme parfait*, ed. M. Molé, Paris-Tehran 1962; H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Paris-Tehran 1961); the Ismāʿīlīs already professed the doctrine of the cycles of occulation (*satr*) and of manifestation (*tadjallī*).

Bibliography: The occurrences of the term *tadjallī* in mystical literature, particularly in that which is later than Ibn al-ʿArabī, are too numerous to be recorded here. But a discussion of the teaching of the master on this subject is presented by Suʿād al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 257-69; similarly see H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn ʿArabī*, Paris 1958, 324 (index); G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in Classical Islam. The Qurʾānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl At-Tustarī* (d. 283/896), Berlin and New York 1980; W.C. Chittick *et alii*, *Les Illuminations de la Mecque, The Meccan Illuminations*, Paris 1988, 501 n. 7 (with copious references to passages on *tadjallī* in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Ibn al-ʿArabī); Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989, index s.v. *jilwa*.

(E. Geoffroy)

TADJDĪD (A.) "renewal", verbal noun of the form II verb *djaddada* "to renew", a term of both classical and modern Islamic politico-religio-social vocabulary.

A well-known tradition preserved in Abū Dāwūd's *ḥadīth* collection (Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 364) reports how the Prophet predicted that at the beginning of each century, God will send someone who will renew the religion of that century: *ʿalā raʾsi kulli miʾati sanat^in man yudjaddidu lahā dīnahā*.

The title of *mudjaddid* [*q.v.*] "renewer" has been bestowed, amongst others, on the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (*r.* 717-20) and the famous theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). The great writer al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) expected his contemporaries to recognise him as the renewer of the 10th/16th century [see further, MUDJADDID].

In modern times, the idea of a renewer for each century of the Muslim era has remained alive. It may be more a part of popular Islam than of the High Islam of the established official *ʿulamāʾ*. The first day of the first month of the Muslim year 1400 fell on 21-2 November 1979. On the eve of the 15th century A.H., a number of candidates for the title of Renewer of the century were under discussion.

One of these was Rūḥ Allāh al-Khumaynī, who had come to power in Iran earlier that year. But the Egyptian Muslim reformer and cult leader Shukrī Muṣṭafā (b. 1942, executed March 1978 for his involvement in an assassination which had taken place in July 1977) was, earlier in the 1970s, seen by many as, possibly, the Renewer of Islam of the 15th century.

Also, the word *tadjdīd* is repeatedly used in the title of books about the renewal of the Arab Muslim world in its confrontation with the West. One of the most famous of such books is *Tadjdīd al-fikr al-ʿarabī* (1971) by the Egyptian neopositivist philosopher Zakī Nadjīb Maḥmūd (1905-93). This book argues that every culture is a collection of techniques, values, beliefs, utensils, etc., and that modern Arab culture should not simply imitate the West but has carefully to select the elements which it wants to take over from the West in order to create a new, cohesive culture that is truly both modern and Arab at the same time.

The tension between High and Low Islam, it has been repeatedly pointed out, especially eloquently and convincingly in the writings of Ernest Gellner (d. 1995), has been responsible for the frequent launching of internal purification and renewal movements. Periodically, High Islam would attempt to impose itself on the whole of society. In the long run, this could not be successful, so that the resulting pattern has been one that might be called cyclical reformation.

In the confrontation with the West, this state of affairs has created a particular development. Should Muslim countries, it was now asked, emulate those with whom they wished to be equal in power (thereby spurning their own tradition), or should they, on the contrary, affirm the values of their own tradition, even at the price of material and military weakness?

The dominant and persuasive answer did not recommend emulation of the West, nor idealisation of some folk virtue and wisdom. It commended a return to, or a more rigorous observance of, High Islam. Self-renewal did, in this case, not have to go outside the society. Society could find self-renewal in its own perfectly genuine and real Higher Culture which had

been recognised, though not implemented, as a valid norm by the rest of Muslim society.

It is this vision which is now conquering the Muslim world. The many books and articles about renewal of the Muslim world which are written and published in the Middle East often do not do much more than present a version of this view. In the West, since the seventies, such views, especially when violent, are usually called "fundamentalist".

Bibliography: J.J.G. Jansen, *The philosophical development of Zakī Nagīb Maḥmūd*, in *Bi Or*, xxxiv (1977), 298-300; idem, *The significance of modern Muslim radicalism*, in C. van Dijk and A.H. de Groot (eds.), *State and Islam*, Leiden 1995, 115-23 (on Shukrī Muṣṭafā); E. Gellner, especially his *Postmodernism, reason and religion*, London and New York 1992.

(J.J.G. Jansen)

TĀDJĪK, the later form of a word Tāzīk or Tāžīk used in the Iranian and Turkish worlds. In Islamic usage, it eventually came to designate the Persians, as opposed to the Turks.

1. Etymology and early linguistic development of the term.

The traditional explanation of the term goes back at least to E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks de l'Egypte*, ii/2, Paris 1845, 154-5, and was set forth, e.g., in Barthold's *EI*[1] art. This derives Tāzīk, etc./Tādjīk from the name of the Arab tribe of Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*], Syriac Ṭayyāyē, meaning "Arabs", said to have been the first Arab tribe encountered by the Persians in pre-Islamic times (this would presumably be from contacts with the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra, who used the Ṭayyiʾ as frontier guards in ʿIrāḳ, with Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa al-Ṭāʾī in A.D. 602 actually taking over the wardenship of the marches from the Lakhmids), so that the Persians then applied it to the Arabs in general. The usage of the term may, however, be older than the 6th century. It spread eastwards with the Arab advance through Persia in the 7th century A.D., and when Arab troops reached Transoxania and first encountered members of the Western Turkish empire, the latter gradually took over the term, at first applying it to all Muslims (between whose component ethnic groups they did not as yet distinguish) but subsequently to the Iranian peoples of Transoxania and then Persia proper, as the Muslim people with whom they were, by that time, most in contact. From the Turkish side, the Turks' nomadic, steppe background led them to use Tāzīk, etc., as applied essentially to sedentary agriculturists and town dwellers, somewhat disparagingly (for similar processes at work here with other terms from the same milieu and period, see SART and TĀT). However, it also begins to be used by the Persians themselves. In the mid-11th century, the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī in his *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 594 ult., has a Persian official at the court speaking of his people as "we *tāzīkān*", i.e. it was by then a self-designation of the Persians in their relations with the Turkish ruling and military classes.

In a thoroughgoing study of more than half-a-century ago, H.H. Schaeder examined the origins and development of the terms Tāt and Tādjīk. He noted the MP form *tāčīk* (and the Armenian one *tačik*), which would normally yield in NP **tāzīg*. The transition is visible in languages of the Further East, where the term begins to be borrowed from MP: Old Turkish *täzik*, twice appearing in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions of the first half of the 8th century to denote non-Turkish peoples of Central Asia, such as Transoxania; Chinese *ta-she*; and Tibetan *stag-gzig* = *ta-zig*. Hence when New Persian evolved, Tāzīk appears from the first half of the 11th century, and especially from the Mongol period, e.g. in the contrasting pair of terms *Turk u Tāzīk*. The Old Turkish form *täzik* must come not from NP but from MP *tāčīk* > *tažik* > *tazik* (*tāžīk* in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, and forms with *ž* in the Cairo ms. of the *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]). At the side of *tāzīk* we have in NP the word *tāzī* for the Arabs (hence Firdawsī speaks of *tāziyānī*, i.e. Arab, horses, see Ph. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, s.v.). Here, the process of development from the name of the Arab tribe Ṭayyiʾ seems clear, and Schaeder felt that *tāzī* and *tāzīk* could only spring from a common origin.

The form Tādjīk would thus be a later development, but seems to have become the standard one by the 15th century; the oldest citation for it which Schaeder could find was in verses of Djālāl al-Dīn Rūmī (13th century [*q.v.*]). He suggested that the transition *tāzīk* > *tādjīk* first took place in western Persia via an intermediary form *tāžīk*.

The topic has since been taken up by V.A. Livshits and Werner Sundermann. The implication now is that NP *tāzī* "Arab" goes back to a MP **tāzīk/g* and Middle Parthian **tāžīk/g* which was an Iranian calque on Ṭayyāyē arising quite early in the Christian era (possibly on analogy with MP *rāzīk/g* as the ethnic adjective from the city of al-Rayy, rhyming closely with Ṭayyiʾ, and especially with its truncated form Ṭayy). Thus coined in western Persia to denote "Arab", the term would then have been carried by Persians and Parthians, traders and others, into various parts of Central Asia, but more probably by Parthians, the western neighbours of Sogdia, given the Sogdian spelling *t'zyk* = *tāžīk/g*. When, on the other hand, Arabs or Muslims in Central Asia are referred to, in the sources from the 8th century onwards, as Tāzīk with *z*, it must have been Persians who introduced the name or confirmed it by then established Persian pronunciation with *z*. The majority of Persian invaders of Transoxania in early Islamic times were, however, no less Muslim than their Arab commanders, to whom they, for ethnic and not for religious distinction from themselves, referred as Tāzīk/g. Hence Barthold and Schaeder thought it possible that the name Tādjīk, as today applied to and used by native speakers of the form of Persian language current in what is now the former Tādjīkistān SSR, finds its ultimate explanation in a restriction to the meaning "Persian", by the still un-Islamised Turks of Inner Asia, of a term originally meaning "Arab", which they had come to use in the sense of "Muslim".

There is, however, a complication in that popular speech in the western province of Fārs was at the end of the 19th century using the term *tādjīk* (not with *z* or *ž*) to designate the everyday Persian koine spoken there, in order to show its distinctiveness from the true Iranian dialects of Fārs (see O. Mann, *Die Tâjîk-Mundarten der Provinz Fârs. Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, Abt. 1., Berlin 1909, p. XXVIII). This peculiar usage may go back as far as Sāsānid times. W. Henning (cited in M. Muʿin's ed. of the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, Tehran, i, 455) therefore concluded that *tādjīk* in the sense of "Persian" has nothing to do with MP *tāzīk/g* and MParth *tāžīk/g*, which exclusively mean "Arab", and convincingly postulated an origin for *tādjīk* in **Tāt-čīk*, originally **Tād-čīk*. Persians migrating from Fārs to Transoxania would have brought with them their own name for themselves and their language, a name quite distinct from Tāzīk and Tāžīk, names by which the Persians and Parthians respectively called the Arabs.

In later centuries of the Islamic period, as with the term Sart [*q.v.*], Tādjīk became for some Turkish peoples of Inner Eurasia especially associated with the Iranians in their role as traders. Thus amongst the Volga Tatars, Tādjīk/Täzik came to be used as a common noun "merchant, trader"; according to one of the original sources for the Russian conquest of Ḳāzān [*q.v.*] in 1552 (Prince Kurbskiy's account), the citadel of Ḳāzān was defended by the "ditch of the Tezik" (*tezitskiy/teshitskiy rov*), with Tezik explained as meaning "merchant".

By the 19th century, Tādjīk was sometimes used to denote the Eastern Iranian peoples of Khurāsān and Transoxania, as distinct from the Persians proper of central and western Persia; hence its particular usage during the 20th century in the designation of the Tādjīkistān Autonomous SSR, set up in 1924 (in 1929 a SSSR), the present independent Tadzhikistan Republic, and the language used there [see below, TĀDJĪKĪ 1.; and TĀDJĪKISTĀN].

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Barthold, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; H.H. Schaeder, *Türkische Namen der Iranier*, in G. Jäschke (ed.), *Festschrift F. Giese*, Sonderband der Welt des Islams, Leipzig 1941, 1-34; V.A. Livshits, *Sogdiiskie dokumenti s gorî Mug II*, Moscow 1962, cited in Sundermann (see below); W. Sundermann, *An early attestation of the name of the Tajiks*, in *Medioiranica. Procs. of the Internat. Colloquium... Katholieke Universiteit Leuven... 1990*, Leuven 1993, 163-71. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Historical development of the term from Tīmūrid times onwards.

In the usage of early Islamised Turks in Central Asia (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, and in the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]) the word *Težīk* (alongside *Tāt*) appears as a designation for the "Persians". In Persian documents up to the 19th century (in historiographical works since Bayhaḳī) the word appears regularly with the meaning of "Persians", almost always in a delimiting or contrastive combination with *Turk*. In this context, the comprehensive term *Turk u Tādjīk* may mean something like "the totality of the subjects", the focus here being on social rather then ethnic differentiations. This situation becomes particularly clear in Tīmūrid times (9th/15th century). According to the stereotypical imaginations typically formulated in this period, the following was generally accepted: The *Turk* are the warriors (*ahl-i sayf*), organised in tribes and being conscious of their tribal affiliations; the *Tādjīk* are free of all tribal connections and are sedentary (peasants or urban dwellers); in the expectations of others they are not warriors, but rather tradesmen and, most particularly, merchants and bureaucrats (*ahl-i ḳalam*). The use of Persian is no differentiating criterion: at least those Turks that belonged to the élite were just as well in command of it as were the Tādjīk. They had, however, one linguistic advantage: they spoke, in addition to Persian, their own Turkish vernacular which the Tādjīk learned only in exceptional circumstances. At least, this is the way the contrast appeared to the Turk politician and poet Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] in the courtly society of the late Tīmūrid state; he belonged to the class of the *amīrs*, i.e. the *ahl-i sayf*, although he himself was no active military man. The functional segregation of *Turk* and *Tādjīk* was explicitly regulated in the government and court of the Tīmūrids: there were two princely councils (*dīwān*), the "Turkish Dīwān" (in Persian *dīwān-i umarāʾ*, in Turkish *Türk dīwānî*) for the tribal and military leaders, and the "Persian Dīwān" of the bureaucrats (in Persian *dīwān-i tādjīkān*, in Turkish *sart dīwānî*; see Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, 169 ff.). *Sart* [*q.v.*] was a further designation of the Tādjīk, taken from Turkish usage, originally having the explicit meaning of "trader", "merchant" (for the semantic development of the term *Sart* see Baldauf, 79 ff.).

Thus from the time of the Tīmūrids onward (and in Persia proper and Central Asia certainly up to the 19th century) the term *Tādjīk* was used, first and foremost, in the contrastive pair *Turk* vs. *Tādjīk*, without any specific regional correlation. The two terms had, if at all, only partially an ethnolinguistic semantic component. *Turk* implied also military prowess, tribal nobility, and other such attributes, whereas *Tādjīk* (with its synonym *Sart*) denoted, alongside the use of Persian, also sedentariness, lack of tribal affiliation, and often an urban way of life and the occupation of merchant (Bregel, *Turko-Mongol influences*, 63). Members of Persian-speaking tribes were never called *Tādjīk*.

This state of affairs changed with Russia's colonial rule over Central Asia. During the repeated censuses of the Russian colonial administration, observations of ethnographers were used as statistical categories throughout the empire. Thus it became current among the Russian bureaucrats to use *Tādjīk* for those inhabitants of Transoxania, Farghāna, and the Pamirs who spoke Iranian languages and dialects, while sedentary people living in towns and rural areas and speaking predominantly Turkish (often, however, being bilingual) were statistically assigned the term *Sart*. This was based to a large extent on a misunderstanding, given that until then the two terms had denoted the same type of inhabitants. Even the fact that the major part of the urban Sart/Tādjīk of the Zarafshān [*q.v.*] valley (Samarḳand, Bukhārā) and of the Farghāna valley had become bilingual during the last three hundred years, had not been taken into account with this new terminology. During Russian rule, *Sart* and *Tādjīk* were considered to be designations for two ethnolinguistic groups that were conceived of as quite distinct.

In the early Soviet period, this differentiation was further developed. Literati like Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī (Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni, passim*) and the "regionalist" and Turkestanist ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat (Bečka, *Tajik literature*, following Bertel's) [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 2. Literature] superimposed the notion of *Tādjīk* on to the linguistic term *Tādjīkī* (*todjikī*), which denoted a modernised form of the Persian literary language as adapted to the colloquial language of the inhabitants of Bukhārā and Samarḳand. ʿAynī was also representative of a tendency favoured by the Soviets, to separate the Tādjīk as a Persian-(Tādjīkī-)speaking nation from the Uzbeks, who were conceived as Turkophone. The term *Uzbek*, up to that time a tribal name, from now on also covered the Russian colonial term *Sart*. With the founding of the Soviet Republic of Tādjīkistān (Todjikiston) in 1929, *Tādjīk* finally became the official name of a Soviet titular nation and, since 1991, that of the majority nation of an independent republic [see TĀDJĪKISTĀN]. In Uzbekistan, *Tādjīk* indicates the minority of Persian-(Tādjīkī-)speakers in Bukhārā, Samarḳand, the Ḳashḳa Daryā region and in parts of Farghāna, which are mostly bilingual (Uzbek, Tādjīk). Since the "national delimitation" of Central Asia in 1924, the Tādjīk of the Uzbek part of the Zarafshān valley have been exposed to an extensive process of Uzbekisation. Following the usage of Russian colonial times, speakers of non-Persian Iranian languages and dialects were also called *Tādjīk*, a fact which led to further confusion (Bregel, *Notes*, 15). For the sake of differentiation, terms like "Mountain Tādjīks" (a synonym of *Galča*) were introduced; these were all foreign des-

ignations, which were, however, adopted by the peoples concerned under the influence of colonial, later Soviet, language regulation.

In the People's Republic of China, *Tādjīk* today almost exclusively means speakers of Iranian Pamir languages in Xinjiang (Sinkiang [*q.v.*]), in particular, speakers of Sarikulī. In Afghānistān, to the present day, it is the Persian-speaking, traditionally sedentary, and in no way tribally-bound population that is called *Tādjīk*. As a self-designation this term, which earlier on had been more or less pejorative, has become acceptable during the last twenty years, particularly as a conscious and comprehensive delimitation of Persian-speaking Afghāns. The self-designation of Persian-speakers in Afghānistān had been for a long time most commonly *Fārsīwān, Fārsībān*, or *Fārsī-gū*(*y*). However, even today *Tādjīk* does not comprise all Persian-speaking groups in Afghānistān; it has obviously preserved a socio-cultural semantic component. The Uzbeks in northern Afghānistān, mostly bilingual and thus also Persian-speaking, consider themselves, as can be expected, clearly distinct from the Tādjīk, and so do the Persian-speaking Shī'ī Hazāra [see HAZĀRAS, in Suppl.] and some other tribes.

Until today, under the influence of the ethnographers, a meaning of the term *Tādjīk* has been preserved in scholarly literature on regions outside the Republic of Tajikistan, one which corresponds closely to the concept of the Russian colonial administration. This may be helpful as a convention among scholars, but has little to do with the historical and the modern meanings of the term and the self-understanding of the Tādjīk.

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(B.G. FRAGNER)

TĀDJĪKĪ.

1. Language.

Tādjīkī is the name of an Iranian (Irano-Aryan) language commonly applied to the official language of Tādjīkistān (formerly a republic of the Soviet Union which declared its independence on 8 September 1991). Closely-related varieties of the spoken language called Tādjīkī are used by different ethnic groups (not necessarily sometimes identifying themselves Tādjīks) in many places over Central Asia, northern Afghānistān, Pakistan and the Sinkiang-Uygur province of China. All these genetically South-Western Iranic dialects go back to the classical New Persian language of the 9th-16th centuries, the common ancestor of modern Persian, Tādjīkī and modern Darī of Afghānistān. In Tādjīkistān, South-Western forms of Iranian supplanted indigenous Eastern Iranian languages (Bactrian, Sogdian and others) over a long period of time, mainly after Islamisation of the area (8th-9th centuries) [see further, ĪRĀN. 3. Languages, in Suppl.].

The total number of speakers can be estimated at about 7-8 millions (over 3 millions in Tādjīkistān). In Central Asia, dialectically differentiated are so-called groups of "northern" (Bukhārā, Samarkand, Khudjand, Farghāna), "central" (Zarafshān, Ḥiṣār, Dushanbe), "southeastern" (Badakhshān, Darwāz) and "southwestern" (Kulyāb—Khatlān) dialects.

The first indications of Tādjīkī grammatical peculiarities may be traced in literary texts originating in Central Asia and written in Arabo-Persian script from the 16th century onwards. After the introduction in 1929 of a Latinised alphabet into Tādjīkistān, the phonetical features of Tādjīkī became obvious. This Latinised alphabet was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic (Russian) one, with 6 additional letters. Appeals for the restoration of the Arabo-Persian script are now being mooted.

The written variety of Tādjīkī is characterised by a phonetic system of 6 vowels and 24 consonants (compared to the modern Persian 8 vowels—6 monophthongs and 2 diphthongs—and 23 consonants' system). In morphological structure, Tādjīkī is differentiated from Persian by the existence of a developed system of verb formation, including several specific forms for definite tenses (such as *xonda istoda-ast* "he is reading now", *xonda istoda bud* "he was reading at some definite time in the past"), subjunctive participles in *-gī* (*xondagī-st* "he is supposed to have read"), composite verbal aspectual formations of various types (*xonda mond* "he finished reading") and also other peculiar verbal constructions (auditive, i.e. "non-obvious" perfect and other forms).

Written Central Asian Tādjīkī is clearly orientated more to the spoken dialect variety of the "northern" group. Some dialects of this group are strongly under Turkic influence, and intermediate Uzbek-Tādjīk vernaculars exist in the region of active Uzbek-Tādjīk bilingualism where Uzbek is supplanting Tādjīkī in all spheres of life (not only in the bazaars but also amongst families at home). In the south, on the contrary, the process of Tādjīkī's supplanting local Eastern Iranic (i.e. Pamir) languages continues (especially as Tādjīkī till recently remained the only written language of the Western Pamir area).

Naturally, there is much Russian influence and a great amount of loanwords and Russian loanword-formations in the sphere of official and journalistic language; but attempts are now being made to substitute

for Russian loanwords Persian ones (sometimes, ones coming from other European languages).

The dialectal spoken varieties of Tādjīkī become closer to Persian ones as one goes towards the south-west (sc. towards Khurāsān). Among the Turkicised varieties of the north, some can be classified as Turkic by morphology, but lacking such Turkic features as vowel harmony (together with some Iranised Uzbek dialects).

The authors of important works on Tādjīkī and its dialects include the Russian scholars M.S. Andreyev, A.A. Semenov, I.I. Zarubin, V.S. Rastorgueva and A.Z. Rosenfeld, and the Tādjīk scholars M. Shukurov, Sh. Rustamov and R. Ghafforov.

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(I. Steblin-Kamensky)

2. Literature.

Tādjīkī is an indivisible part of Persian literature [see Īrān. vii], but its thousand-year existence and its historical circumstances justify treating it as a separate entity. In the Central Asia where the Tādjīks live, there originated, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the first Persian poets, whence the oldest style of Persian literature is called *sabk-i turkistānī*, but until the 15th century at least, Persian literature was homogeneous, and the classic works of Saʿdī, Niẓāmī, Ḥāfiẓ, and Rūmī [*q.vv.*] have always been considered a part of the literature of the Tādjīks in Central Asia.

From the 16th century onwards, a certain separation in culture from Shīʿī Persia and Central Asia began. Some authors used local dialects at times, and the influence of the large Turkī population was also felt. Literary production was more and more influenced by the so-called Indian style, *sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*]. From the region sprang authors like Hilālī, Wāṣifī, Bannāʾī [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Mushfiḳī (932-94/1525-85 [*q.v.*]), author of several *mathnawīs* and a *dīwān-i mutāʿibāt*, which won him place among the popular jesters. Mīr Ābīd Sayyidā Nasafī, was the representative of the so-called artisanal poetry, author of the often-imitated *dāstān*, the *Bahāriyyāt* or *Ḥaywānāt-nāma*. Central Asian literature in Persian was completely taken over by the style of the Indo-Persian author Bīdil [*q.v.*], unknown at that period in Western Persia, and from the 18th century onwards, there was no poet or writer in Central Asia or in Afghānistān who did not imitate him. A prominent representative of derwish poetry was Ṣūfī Allāhyār Kattaḳurghānī (d. 1136/1723), who, in verse written in Persian and Turkī, preached the renunciation of the earthly life. In the 19th century were notable the Bukhāran poets ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khʷādja Sawdā (1239-90/1823-73) and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Shāhīn (1274-1312/1857-94), the author of a *dīwān* and of the *mathnawī Laylā wa Madjnūn*, the *Tuḥfat-i dūstān* and the prose work *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*. A new spirit was brought into the poetry by Tāshkhūdja Asīrī of Khodjand (1261-1315/1864-1916), and new ideas are discernible in Aḥmad Dānish Kalla (1242-1315/1827-97) [see Āzādī, in Suppl., at 109], author of the prose work *Nawādir al-waḳāʾiʿ* containing new opinions on education, culture and technology. His *Risāla* contains a condemnation of the Bukhāran ruling dynasty. Dānish was a predecessor of the so-called Djadīd or Young Bukhāran movement, whose theoretician then became ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat [*q.v.*]. An important follower of theirs was a pupil from the *madrasas* of Bukhārā, Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAynī (1878-1954 [*q.v.*]), who was, for his reformist educational methods (*maktab-i uṣūl-i djadīd*), condemned to 75 strokes of the cane in 1917 and narrowly escaped death.

Tādjīkī literature takes a new path after the Bukhāran revolution in 1920. ʿAynī, Fiṭrat and others welcomed in their verse the fall of the amirate; its backwardness was described by ʿAynī in his story *Ādīna* about the life of a poor Tādjīk boy, the first truly realist piece of prose in the Tādjīk language.

In 1926 ʿAynī's *Namūna-yi adabiyyāt-i tādjīk* was published, a traditional-type *tadhkira* that brought together samples of and short notices about 500 Central Asian poets and several writers, such as the Persian Lāhūtī [*q.v.*], who participated prominently in the formation of post-revolutionary Tādjīk poetry. In the poetry of the 1920s, the leading place belongs to the innovator Payraw Sulaymānī (1899-1933).

A serious estrangement from the mainstream of Persian literature was caused by the substitution of a Latin script for the Arabic-Persian one in 1929 and later, 1940, a Cyrillic alphabet. In these years ʿAynī and the Tādjīk language scholars were fixing the norms of their language, which showed differences in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary from the Persian of Iran and Afghānistān; these differences are above all evident in works of prose, especially in journalistic language.

ʿAynī's novels *Dokhunda* (1930) (a transcription from the Tādjīk Cyrillic script is used from here onwards) and *Ghulomon* (1934) form, together with *Odina*, a trilogy about the destiny of the Tādjīk nation. It was followed by the successful satirical novel *Margi sudkhūr* (1939, new version 1953). Tādjīk poetry is marked by the arrival of poets brought up in post-revolution schools, who published poetry which, in a less traditional form, praises the liberation of women, the growth of education, victory over the Basmačis [*q.v.*] and the so-called success of the Soviet development, including eulogies of Lenin and Stalin. As everywhere in the Soviet Union, so in Tādjīkistān there were in the 1930s repressions; some writers were imprisoned, exiled or even lost their lives, and ʿAynī himself was persecuted. He then, in the 1940s and early 1950s, wrote his fundamental work, a book of recollections, *Yoddoshtho*, a chronicle of the Bukhāran society at the turn of the 19th century. ʿAynī's followers are younger writers like Djalol Ikromī (1909-93), with a short novel *Tirmor* (1939), an autobiographic novel *Subhi djavonii mo* (1954) and others works, and also several plays for the theatre on historical and contemporary subjects. The 1960s brought a certain détente. In poetry, the leading place belongs to Mirzo Tursunzoda (1911-77), who was for a long time President of the Tādjīk Writers Union. He published several books of poetry denouncing colonialism, stressing the brotherhood between the eastern nations, and also some intimate lyrics. There are series of lyrical epic poems (*dostons*) about the changes in Tādjīk life: *Hasani arobakash* (1954), *Az Gang to Kreml*, about the journey of Raja Pratap to Moscow, or *Čaroghi abadī* (1958), in honour of Sadriddin Ayni. Mirsaid Mirshakar (1911-93) published collections of poems as well as poetry for children or *dostons* like *Ḳishloḳi tilloī* (1944) a legend from the Pamir region, and others, as well as his memoires

Yordi yori mehrubon (1979). Muʿmin Ḳanoat (b. 1932) wrote *Korvoni nur*, and the *dostons Surudi Stalingrad, Gahvorai Ibni Sino*, etc. To the distinguished poets of this time belong Ghaffor Mirzo, Abdudjabbor Ḳahhorī, the poetess Gulrukhsor Safiyeva, Loiḳ Sheralī, Bozor Sobir and others.

Although poetry was dominant, Tādjīk prose is now gaining more prominence. Ikromī published his novel on contemporary themes *Zoghhoi badmur* (1977), and the crimes against humanity during the Stalinist era are treated in his short story *Duvozdah kilometr* (1967), published only in 1988. Ulughzoda published historical works such as Firdusī (1978); Rahim Djalil (1909-89) wrote about the formation of socialism, and Foteh Niyozī (1914-91) treated mostly of war events. An author of some promise was Fazliddin Muhammadiyev (1928-91), with his novel *Palatai kundjakī* ("The corner room") showing a more liberal civil standpoint. Contemporary life is the theme of authors like Yusufdjon Akobirov, Muhiddin Khodjayev, Amindjon Shukūhī or Djumʿa Odina, whose novel *Guzashti ayyom* (1978) was prohibited because of its critical attitude to a Communist party functionary; and there are many other authors, like Ūrun Kūhzod, Sorbon, Bahrom Firuz, Adash Istad, etc. The plays of Ghanī Abdullo (1912-84) and those of authors like Ulughzoda, Ikromī, Shukūhi, Muhammadiyev, including the poets Mirshakar and Fayzullo Ansorī, have been staged in Tādjīkistān theatres.

In 1989 the Tādjīkistān Parliament accepted a law about the priority of the "*todjikī* (*forsī*)" language, which is expected to mean a return to the traditional script, but this has not so far been implemented. At the University of Dushanbe there has been created a department for the study of *adabiyoti navini forsii todjik*. Political liberation at the end of the 1980s resulted in an outpouring of patriotic poetry, verses praising the mother-tongue, the national traditions, including Islam, and condemning the Soviet régime, the losses of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, etc. After civil war broke out in 1991, a quarter of a million Tādjīks, mostly intelligentsia, left the country, and from Russia, Persia and other countries are now resounding proclamations and verses of protest: *doston* Muʿmin Ḳanoat's *Hamosai dod* (1994), the verses of Bozor Sobir, the collection of sorrowful poems *Zodruzi dard* (Moscow 1994) by the poetess Gulrukhsor, and others.

Bibliography: Ṣ. ʿAynī, *Namūna-i adabiyyāt-i tādjīk*, Moscow 1926; J. Bečka, in J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 483-605, J. Bečka, *Adabiyyāt-i fārsī dar Tādjīkistān*, Tehran 1372/1993; A. Abdulloyev and S. Saʿdiyev, *Adabiyoti forsu todjik dar nimai duyumi asri XI va avvali asri XII*, Dushanbe 1986; A. Abdulloyev, *Adabiyoti forsu todjik dar nimai avvali asri XI*, Dushanbe 1986; Usmon Karimov, *Adabiyoti todjik dar asri XVI*, Dushanbe 1985; U. Karimov, *Adabiyoti todjik dar nimai duvvumi asri XVIII va avvali asri XIX*, Dushanbe 1974; Rasul Hodizoda, *Adabiyoti todjik dar nimai duvvumi asri XIX*, Dushanbe 1968; J. Bečka, *Sadriddin Ayni. Father of modern Tajik culture*, Naples 1980. (J. Bečka)

TĀDJĪKISTĀN (*Djumhurii Todjikiston*), a modern republic in Central Asia bordering on China (frontier of 430 km), Afghānistān (1,030 km), Uzbekistān (950 km), and Kirgizstān (590 km). 93% of its territory (in total 143,000 km^2) is covered by mountains, almost half of them higher than 3,000 m/9,840 feet above sea level. Its capital is Dushanbe, renamed 1929-61 Stalinābād. The state language is, according to the constitution of 1994, Tādjīkī (under Soviet rule officially promoted as a distinct Iranian language, nowadays generally regarded as a variant of New Persian) [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 1.], and besides that, Russian for "international relations". The population amounts to *ca.* 5.5 million consisting, according to the last census (1989), of 62.3% Tādjīks, 23.5% Uzbeks, 7.6% Russians, and others (these figures may partly have changed due to developments connected with the civil war of 1992).

As already the topography of the country suggests, the titular nation of the Tādjīks is of a regionally rather diverse character. It ranges between, on the one hand, a population of mixed Turkic-Iranian extraction (prior to the 1920s, in the Russian sphere of influence usually referred to as Sarts [*q.v.*]), not seldom bilingual in Turkic and Persian, and originating in the densely-populated agricultural regions and urban centres of the lowland; and, on the other hand, population remnants of Eastern Iranian elements, which have survived in the refuge areas of remote high mountain valleys, and have in part preserved their archaic languages (such as Yaghnābī, Yazghulāmī, Shughnī and Wakhī). Even though certain popular traditions and religious practices were more or less radically suppressed in Soviet times, the local population, especially the rural one, to a certain extent kept up their customs and beliefs (predominantly Sunnī of the Ḥanafī law school, with an Ismāʿīlī community in Gorno-Badakhshān).

The creation of the state of Tādjīkistān was brought forth under Soviet auspicies by the so-called national-territorial delimitation of Central Asia in 1924. The Tādjīk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), functioning as a part of the Uzbek SSR, was made up of Eastern Bukhārā—till then belonging to the Bukharan People's Republic (removed by the above-mentioned delimitation; until September 1920 the Emirate of Bukhārā); a part of the Pāmīrs [*q.v.*] (since 1895 under Russian dominion), and twelve districts (*volost'*) of the Turkestan ASSR (also removed by the delimitation of 1924; until 1917, a governor-generalship of Russia). In October 1929 the province and city of Khudjand [*q.v.*] (renamed Leninābād) was added to the territory of Tādjīkistān, which at the same time received the status of a Union Republic (SSR).

Tādjīkistān was included in the general development schemes of the Soviet Union (collectivisation, industrialisation, etc.) and became subject to various campaigns—all of them, more or less extensively, for the first time launched from 1927-8—such as the elimination of illiteracy, the changeover to the Latin then to the Cyrillic alphabet [see TĀDJĪKĪ. 1], the unveiling and liberation of women, the promotion of atheism, resettlement operations and political purges. During the first decade of these policies, there were waves of emigration (mainly to Afghānistān) and anti-Soviet, traditionalist, armed resistance by the Basmačis [*q.v.*]; one of the most prominent Basmači leaders was Ibrāhīm Bēg (arrested 1931, executed 1932).

In the decades following World War II, Tādjīkistān, although continuing to be considered as the poorest republic of the Soviet Union, in a technical sense represented a relatively developed country, with a certain amount of industrial and agricultural production, a basic infrastructure, and broad networks of public health and education. At the breakdown of the Soviet Union (August 1991), Tādjīkistān declared itself independent but soon fell into a precarious situation. Regional animosities and political quarrels led to a civil war (1992). These conflicts and their manifold consequences are not yet (1996) finally resolved. The economy, apart from its having been a integral and therefore heavily dependent part of the centralised

economy of the USSR, has almost come to a halt, thereby fostering further social disruption.

Bibliography: There exists an ample amount of biased Soviet literature on Tādjīkistān. For general information see, e.g., *Istoriya Tadzhikistana* (*Ukazatel' sovetskoy literaturi 1917-1983*), i ff., Dushanbe 1986 ff.; *Tadzhikskaya Sovetskaya Socialističeskaya Respublika*, Dushanbe 1974. For a post-Soviet assessment of the recent situation, see *Respublika Tadzhikistan. Otčet po čelovečeskomu razvitiyu 1995*, Bishkek 1995. Well-informed, comprehensive Western studies are not available. For certain aspects, see T. Rakowska-Harmstone, *Russia and nationalism in Central Asia. The case of Tadzhikistan*, Baltimore and London 1970; M. Atkin, *The subtlest battle. Islam in Soviet Tajikistan*, Philadelphia 1989; *Le Tadjikistan, existe-t-il? Destins politiques d'une "nation imparfaite"* (*Cahiers d'Études sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le Monde Turco-Iranien*, no. 18, 1994). (R. Eisener)

TĀDJIR (A.), merchant, trader, further defined by Arabic authors as a person engaged in the buying and selling of commodities. The etymology of the term and the attitude towards merchants and trading in early Islamic society, with the evidence from the Ḳur'ān and from *Ḥadīth* and then from subsequent writers, is considered below in TIDJĀRA. 2. Hence here will be given only some few comments on the role of the merchant; for an extended treatment, see TIDJĀRA.

The trader was certainly a well-known figure in the urban societies of pre-Islamic Arabia and Arabia at the time of the Prophet, even if some aspects of the significance of trading within the global society of Arabia and its Near Eastern environment are matters for controversy (see Patricia Crone, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton 1987). Muḥammad himself acted as a trader in the earlier part of his life, and Companions such as Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [*q.vv.*] likewise followed this avocation.

Yet, as Islamic society developed, traders often had something of an ambivalent status within it. There was a hierarchy within them, with perfume sellers and clothiers somewhere near the top, and the customary prescriptions of *kafā'a*, social compatibility for marriage, meant that e.g. a weaver was not regarded as the equal of a jeweller (*djawharī*) or money-changer (*ṣayrafī*). Senior government officials were considered to be higher in status than traders. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] was probably voicing public opinion of his time when he said that these last lacked refinement (*adab*) and moral virtue (*muruwwa*), so that they ranked below the élite or *khāṣṣa* of the ruler and his courtiers (*al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, Cairo 1944, iii, 60-1). A proverbial saying echoed such beliefs, that traders were like wolves beneath their outward clothing (*ahl al-sūḳ dhi'āb taḥt al-thiyāb*).

The cognomen of *al-Tādjir* was known for merchants who traded outside their own towns or lands on a large scale (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. fol. 102a-b = ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 2-4), such as the trader with the Far East cited by Ibn al-Faḳīh, 11, Sulaymān al-Tādjir.

Bibliography: This is substantially given in TIDJĀRA, but see also S.D. Goitein, *The rise of the Near Eastern bourgeoisie in early Islamic times*, in *Jnal. of World Hist.*, iii (1957), 596-604; M.A.J. Beg, *Social mobility in Islamic civilization*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 28-30. (M.A.J. Beg)

TADJMĪR (A.), the verbal noun of form II of *dj-m-r* meaning basically "to come together".

In early Islamic military and administrative usage, *djammara* had the meaning of "to keep the troops quartered on distant frontiers, far away from their families" (see *LA*[1], v, 217). The caliph 'Umar is said to have disapproved of this, as leading to discontent and rebelliousness amongst the Arab warriors. But once the initial phase of the Arab conquests was over, the *muḳātila* found themselves fighting in distant, climatically and topographically difficult environments like Central Asia and Afghānistān, so that complaints grew. It was discontent at al-Ḥadjdjādj's [*q.v.*] policy in the late 690s of stationing troops on the far eastern frontiers in permanent garrisons (*tadjmīr al-bu'ūth*) which sparked off the revolt of the "Peacock Army" under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath in 82/701 and almost toppled the Umayyad caliphate (see IBN AL-ASH'ATH and C.E. Bosworth, *'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, l [1973], 268-83).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. Bosworth)

TADJNĪS (A.), a technical term for a rhetorical figure (alternative names, all from the same root, are *djinās* [very common], *mudjānasa*, *mudjānas*, and *tadjānus*), variously translated as paronomasia, pun, homonymy, and alliteration. The last two terms, however, do not cover all the types that have traditionally been subsumed under this heading, while "pun" has also been used to render *tawriya* [*q.v.*], the difference being that *tawriya* is a one-term pun (*double entendre*). A general definition of *tadjnīs* would be: a pair of utterances (mostly, but not necessarily single words), within a line or colon, which are semantically different but phonetically, either completely or partially, identical. The alternative "completeness or lack of such" is the basis for distinguishing the various subtypes that the rhetoricians have discovered. Since words that are only partially identical are very likely to be semantically different anyway, it becomes clear that two notions have merged in the *tadjnīs* concept: a narrow one which covers only the case of complete phonetic identity (this is the *tadjnīs tāmm*, which some say, or imply, is the original and "correct" meaning of the term), and a broader one in which the two terms of the *tadjnīs* show any kind of lesser degrees of assonance, down to root-repetition (*ishtiḳāḳ*, *figura etymologica*). Some authors deny that *ishtiḳāḳ* is a subtype of *tadjnīs*.

I. Literary history

Tadjnīs is without doubt one of the most popular and sought-after rhetorical figures, especially in later Arabic poetry and ornate prose, whence it became also a favourite in other Islamic literatures. Word plays are, of course, universal in all languages and literatures. In world-views that consider names not to be arbitrary, puns are used to discover and express hidden relationships between similarly named things, while those who do not believe in "natural" names, may still use puns the same way, though tongue in cheek, or else employ them to create witty and unexpected connections. However, Arabic, as a Semitic language, has particularly ample possibilities here due to its root-and-pattern structure. Different derivations from the same root play an important role even in everyday syntax, as shown by such constructions as the cognate accusative (e.g. *ḳāla ḳawl^an^*), the participial expression of an indefinite subject (e.g. *ḳāla ḳā'il^un^*), and the strengthening of a noun with an etymologically related but *per se* meaningless adjective (e.g. *layl^un^ lā'il^un^/alyal^u^; laylat^un^ laylā'u*) (see Reckendorf and Grünert, in *Bibl.*). This kind of repetition (*figura etymologica* in Classical terms, and *ishtiḳāḳ* in the later rhetorical taxonomy,

but see below) thus comes naturally to artisans of the language and is made the starting-point for other more artistic uses of root-derivations. Examples collected by the rhetoricians from early, pre-"modern" poetry show that this particular type is moderately well attested. Particularly rich are the Umayyad *radjaz* poets: Ru'ba [*q.v.*] has more than 1,200 cases in his *Dīwān* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. xciii; and see the specimens, pp. xciv-xcvii). One specific use of this figure is to extract "meaning" from a personal or geographic name, a method that remains popular also in later poetry (cf. Djarīr [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, 326, l. 6: *fa-mā zāla ma'ḳūl^an 'Iḳālun 'ani 'l-ulā—wa-mā zāla maḥbūs^an 'ani 'l-madjdi Ḥābisu*, a closure line in a *hidjā'* against al-Farazdaḳ that resounds with its two malicious name games). Apart from root repetition, there are also other, less extended, phonetic repetitions that were clearly intended by the poets, but which find their way into the later *tadjnīs* category only in part (see Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣide*, Wiesbaden 1971, 183-93; Th. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 163-71). Word repetition is not uncommon in early poetry (*ibid.*), but rarely has the second word a different meaning; thus the repetition does not constitute a *tadjnīs* in the later taxonomies. The rhetoricians who can be trusted to have looked very hard cannot muster more than four or five examples of *tadjnīs tāmm* in ancient poetry (e.g. al-Afwah al-Awdī [*q.v.*] *apud* Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-'Umda*, i, 322: *wa-aḳṭa'u 'l-hawdjala musta'nis^an—bi-hawdjal^in 'ayrānat^in 'ayṭamūs* "I cut through the pathless desert [*hawdjal*] taking comfort—in an onager-like magnificent fleet camel mare [*hawdjal*]").

With the rise of the "modern" poetry of the 'Abbāsid era, *tadjnīs* became a bone of contention, as it was one of the phenomena in the centre of the *badī'* controversy. As Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) correctly explains (*Badī'*, 1), poets like Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846 [*q.v.*]), who was the focus of the debate, "exaggerated" the use of this and other figures of speech and thus shifted the character of these figures from being a means of poetic style to becoming an essential part of the poetic endeavour. For a study of *tadjnīs* in this period in general, see J.E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe. Précedée de Essai sur un discours critique*, Paris 1989, 186-202 (who deals only with the *ishtiḳāḳ* variety), and for individual poets, see E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās. Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1965, 432-36; Magda M. al-Nowaihi, *The poetry of Ibn Khafāja. A literary analysis*, Leiden 1993, 71-96; and, on al-Ma'arrī, S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989, 142-51 (who includes phonetic repetition). Although the *figura etymologica* can probably claim the lion's share, the *tadjnīs tāmm* and, in particular, its *murakkab* variety gain much in popularity and soon have their own specialists, such as Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī (d. 400/1010 or later [*q.v.*]). His friend, the arch-*adīb* al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038 [*q.v.*]), declared the *tadjnīs murakkab* to be the crowning achievement in this field and he compiled a sizable anthology of thematically arranged verse displaying this particular variety of punning (*Anīs*, see *Bibl.*), in which al-Bustī figures prominently (e.g. *Anīs*, 452: *ḳad tafā'altu bi 'l-arāki fa-lammā—an ra'aytu 'l-arāka ḳultu arāki—khā'ifan min ṣalāḥihī li-siwākin—an yakūna 'lladhī arāhu siwāki* "I took the arak-tree [*arāki*] for a good omen and when—I saw the arak-tree, I said: I shall see you [*arā-ki*],—(though) fearing that, due to its being good for (the making of) tooth-sticks [*siwāki(n)*],—the one I shall see will be someone other than you [*siwā-ki*]."). Actually, the *Anīs* contains also a number of instances of *tadjnīs tāmm*. One particular use made of both varieties is homonymous rhyme. Examples of this artifice, which retained a certain popularity through the centuries, are already attested for the 3rd/9th century (an *inshād* of Tha'lab [*q.v.*] quoted by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *K. al-Ṣinā'atayn*, 438-40, with eleven instances of the rhyme-word *khālī*). What is remarkable here is the fact that the *tadjnīs* stretches over more than one line.

In another work (*K. al-Mutashābih*, see *Bibl.*), al-Tha'ālibī devotes a large part to the *tadjnīs muṣaḥḥaf*, for which he adduces numerous examples, this time not only from poetry but also from prose, mostly cola from ornate epistles of well-known people of eloquence. A poetic example is the following verse by Ibn al-Rūmī: *lā asriḳu 'l-shi'ra wa-ghayrī ḳālah—yakfīniya 'ntikhāluhū 'ntiḥālah* "I do not steal poetry, when another has said it;—sifting it prevents me from lifting it" (*Mutashābih*, 22), i.e. it is not good enough for me. The popularity, among the scribes, of this ingenious artifice is easy to understand. Al-Tha'ālibī does, however, express his dislike for texts that consist exclusively of pairs of *tadjnīs muṣaḥḥaf*, such as *gharraka 'izzuka fa-ṣāra ḳuṣāru dhālika dhullaka* . . . (*Mutashābih*, 24, and see below, II. Terminology, B, 1-2), where in every pair the words exhibit the same *rasm*. Nonetheless, even this odd self-imposed hardship found its adherents and reached its apogee in *al-Risāla al-taw'amiyya*, the "Twin Epistle," of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 749/1348 [*q.v.*]).

In post-classical poetry, the *tadjnīs*, together with its cousin, the *tawriya* [*q.v.*], becomes ever more central. Al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362 [*q.v.*]) wrote independent studies on both figures of speech and, in the *Djinān al-djinās*, included as its third part an anthology of his own *djinās* poetry. Studies are, however, still few. For Ayyūbid poetry, see the few remarks in J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyūbides et ses principaux représentants*, Paris 1949, 264-8; on Mamlūk poetry, see Muḥammad Zaghlūl Salām, *al-Adab fi 'l-'aṣr al-mamlūkī*, 2 vols., Cairo n.d. [1971], index of technical terms, s.vv. *tadjnīs* and *djinās*. Salām makes the point that the Syrians were more interested in *tadjnīs*, while the Egyptian poets concentrated their efforts on the *tawriya* (*op. cit.*, ii, 126).

It is interesting to note that the *tadjnīs*, which is often taken as a symbol of the late artificial, ossified state of pre-Modern Arabic poetry, also made it into many genres of folk poetry, particularly the *mawāliyā* [*q.v.*], where it often is a feature of the rhyme scheme. This is to some extent already attested in pre-Modern sources (cf. a *mawāliyā* by al-Shihāb al-Ḥidjāzī with a *tadjnīs murakkab* rhyme "*kallām*", *apud* al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], *Djanā*, 141). In modern Egyptian *mawwāls*, the rhyme paronomasia is generally achieved by wilfully distorting the words; this feature is called *zahr* "flowers" (see MAWĀLIYĀ, and P. Cachia, *Popular narrative ballads of modern Egypt*, Oxford 1989, see index s.vv. "paronomasia" and "*zahr*").

II. Terminology

Whether the early poets had terminological ways of talking about paronomasia is unclear. The earliest attestations from late Umayyad times onward show various terms, some of which do not find acceptance in the later terminology. Thus al-'Adjdjādj [*q.v.*], in an argument with his son Ru'ba [*q.v.*], emphatically tells him that he, al-'Adjdjādj, taught him *'aṭf al-radjaz*, and as an example he adduces a line with triple paronomasia (*apud* Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda*, i, 331, and cf. G. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣinā'atayn*, 64). It is not certain, but very likely, that the enigmatic *'aṭf* (in

the sense of "folding back" or "adding on"?) meant "paronomasia." Similarly, ʿUmāra b. ʿAḳīl, great-grandson of the Umayyad poet Djarīr [*q.v.*], compared Abū Tammām's paronomasias to those of his famous forebear and called them *raddāt* "echos" (?). The first term seems to be taken up again in the term *taʿaṭṭuf* of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [*q.v.*]) (*Sināʿatayn*, 438-40; see below), whereas *raddāt* may have metamorphosed into the later term *tardīd*, which however refers to a repetition of the same word with the same meaning in different syntactic contexts to create a contrast and is thus not a paronomasia.

The first theorists are less than homogeneous in their technical language. Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) uses the term *muṭābaḳ*, and although he defines it as the repetition of the same word with a different meaning, he includes a fair amount of *figura etymologica* cases (*Ḳawāʿid*, 64-7). Interestingly, his one-time disciple Ḳudāma (d. 337/948 [*q.v.*]) takes up this term but combines it with *mudjānas* and assigns the meaning of "pun" to the former and the meaning of "*figura etymologica*" to the latter. Thus, although he considers both as one phenomenon, he seems to feel uneasy in lumping the two subcategories together. At about the same time, Ibn al-Muʿtazz uses the term *tadjnīs*; whether he introduced the term (some say he "invented" it) is unclear. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, who as a compiler is, of course, very much dependent on his predecessors, nonetheless veers off by using *tadjnīs* for the *figura etymologica* and excluding the word-repetition, which he says is called *taʿaṭṭuf* (see above, on *ʿaṭf*). But the later theorists *grosso modo* understand *tadjnīs*, or the equally frequent *djinās*, as covering both phenomena. There are numerous subcategories with a plethora of synonymous technical terms. The most important subcategories are the following, taking al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 734/1338 [*q.v.*]) as the basis:

A. *Tāmm*, complete agreement in nature, number, and arrangement of consonants and vowels between two words of different meaning.

1. *Mufrad*, either term is one word.

(a) *mumāthil*, both words belong to the same word class, as in *zāʾiru ʾl-sulṭāni ʾl-djāʾiri ka-zāʾiri ʾl-laythi ʾl-zāʾiri* "who visits an unjust ruler is like someone visiting a roaring lion" (*zāʾir* "visiting" from root *z-w-r*, "roaring" from root *z-ʾ-r*).

(b) *mustawfā*, the two words belong to different word classes, as in *mā māta min karami ʾl-zamāni fa-innahū yaḥyā ladā Yaḥyā bni ʿAbdi llāhi* (Abū Tammām) "whatever dies of the nobility of Time, that lives on with Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh" (*yaḥyā* verb and *Yaḥyā* proper name).

2. *Murakkab*, one term is a composite.

(a) *malfūf*, the composite term consists of two independent words.

(b) *marfūw*, the composite term consists of one word and a fragment of another. An additional consideration is the question whether the two terms are spelled the same way (*mutashābih*) or differently (*mafrūḳ*).

Example of *malfūf mutashābih*:

Idhā malikᵘⁿ lam yakun dhā hibah—fa-daʿhu fa-dawlatuhū dhāhibah (al-Bustī)

"When a king is not generous (lit. one of gift), leave him, for his rule is transient".

Example of *malfūf mafrūḳ*:

kullukum ḳad akhadha ʾl-djāma wa-lā djāma lanā—mā lladhī ḍarra mudīra ʾl-djāmi law djāmalanā (al-Bustī)

"Each of you has received the goblet, but there is none for us—what harm would have been done to the one who makes the goblet go around, if he had been friendly to us?"

Example of *marfūw mafrūḳ*:

wa-lā talhu ʿan tadhkāri dhanbika wa-ʾbkihī—bi-damʿin yuḥākī ʾl-muzna ḥāla maṣābihī—wa-maththil li-ʿaynayka ʾl-ḥimāma wa-waḳʿahū—wa-rawʿata malḳāhu wa-maṭʿama ṣābihī (al-Ḥarīrī)

"Don't fail to be mindful of your sins and mourn them with tears that are like the rainclouds at the time of a downpour—and put before your eyes the fall of death, the terror of its encounter and its bitterroot taste".

3. *Mulaffaḳ*, both terms are composites, as in *Ilā ḥatfī saʿā ḳadamī—arā ḳadamī arāḳa damī* (al-Bustī) "Toward my ruin ran my foot: I see my foot having spilled my blood".

B. "Imperfect" paronomasia (there is no generally accepted cover term for this), which means lack of agreement (1) in the pronunciation of the consonants, (2) in their number, (3) in their arrangement, and (4) in individual consonants of the two terms.

1. *Muḥarraf*, difference in vocalisation, as in *al-daynu shaynu ʾl-dīn* "debt is a blemish on religion".

2. *Muṣaḥḥaf* (or *djinās al-khaṭṭ*), difference in diacritics, as in *idhā ẓahara ʾl-zinā wa-ʾl-ribā fī ḳaryatⁱⁿ adhina ʾllāhu fī halākihā* "when fornication and usury appear in a town, God will permit its ruin".

Often both types are mixed, systematically, e.g. in the following pairing of terms: *gharraka ʿizzuka fa-ṣāra ḳuṣāru dhālika dhullaka fa-khsha fāḥisha fiʿlika fa-ʿallaka tuhdā bi-hādhā wa ʾl-salām* (from an alleged letter of ʿAlī to Muʿāwiya). "Your might has deluded you, so the outcome of that became your humiliation. Fear therefore your abominable deeds, perhaps you will be guided by that. Peace".

3. *Nāḳiṣ*, one term incomplete by one or two letters, which may be at the beginning or end or in the middle of the term.

Example for incompleteness at the end of the word: *yamuddūna min aydⁱⁿ ʿawāṣⁱⁿ ʿawāṣimⁱⁿ—taṣūlu bi-asyāfⁱⁿ ḳawāḍⁱⁿ ḳawāḍibi* (Abū Tammām) "they stretch out hands that attack and defend, which wield cutting sharp swords".

If several letters are "appended" to one term, the *tadjnīs* is called *mudhayyal*, as in *inna ʾl-bukāʾa huwa ʾl-shifāʾu mina ʾl-djawā bayna ʾl-djawāniḥ* (al-Khansāʾ) "crying is the medicine against love passion between the ribs".

4. *Djinās al-ḳalb*, difference in the arrangement of the letters, as in *ḥusāmuka fīhi li ʾl-aḥbābi fatḥᵘⁿ—wa-rumḥuka fīhi li ʾl-aʿdāʾi ḥatfu* (al-Aḥnaf) "Your sword carries victory for your friends, your lance carries death for your enemies".

If the distribution of the two terms is the beginning and the end of a verse, it is called *mudjannaḥ*, as in *lāḥa anwāru ʾl-nadā min—kaffihī fī kulli ḥāli* "the rays of generosity shone from his hand in every situation".

5. One divergent consonant.

(a) *muḍāriʿ*, homorganic, i.e. similar articulation area, as in *baynī wa-bayna kinnī laylᵘⁿ dāmisᵘⁿ wa-ṭarīḳᵘⁿ ṭāmis*(ᵘⁿ) (*Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*) "Between me and my inn is a dark night and an effaced road".

(b) *lāḥiḳ*, non-homorganic, as in *waylᵘⁿ li-kulli humazatⁱⁿ lumazah* "woe unto every calumniator and libeller"

6. Terms are derivations of the same root (or seemingly the same root) (*figura etymologica*) [*tadjnīs al-ishtiḳāḳ*], as in *fa-aḳim wadjhaka li ʾl-dīni ʾl-ḳayyim* "so turn your face toward the straight religion".

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(W.P. Heinrichs)

TĀDJUH, the Tagus river, *wādī Tādjuh* (Port. Tejo, Span. Tajo), together with the Ebro [see IBRUH], the Douro and the Guadalquivir (*al-wādī al-kabīr*), one of the great rivers of the Iberian peninsula. Rising in the Serranía of Cuenca in Aragon, its course of over 1,000 km/600 miles, crosses the Castilian Meseta and Estremadura and then enters Portugal, to debouch into the Atlantic in the Bay of Lisbon.

It is mentioned by Arabic geographers essentially in passages dealing with the towns of Toledo (Ṭulayṭula), Talavera (Ṭalabīra), Santarem (Shantarīn) and Lisbon (Ushbūna [*q.vv.*]). Most of them mention a bridge dating from Antiquity, crossing it downstream from Toledo, probably that of Alcántara (al-Ḳanṭara). Al-Ḥimyarī alone, taking up al-Rāzī, devotes a complete notice, though brief, to the river in his *K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*. He compares the Tagus to the Nile for its floods and the alluvium which it deposits on the plain of Santarem. Al-Idrīsī mentions mills along its course as well as a piece of hydraulic machinery meant to draw water to an aqueduct.

With the Muslim conquest in the early 8th century, the Tagus came within the *dār al-Islām*. For two centuries, the neighbouring regions were characterised by the implantation of numerous Berber tribesmen in the mountainous regions along its upper and middle zones (Maṣmūda, Nafza, Hawwāra, Miknāsa, etc.). At the end of this period, the territory effectively occupied by the Muslims must have begun more or less with the line of sierras separating the Tagus from the Douro basin. But there was probably hardly any stable,

dense population before the Tagus valley itself, where the line of fortresses of the Middle and Lower Marches were established to defend the Muslim territory: Santarem, Alcántara, Nafza and above all Talavera and Toledo [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2]. Other places, recently revealed by archaeological excavations, reinforced this line: e.g. the town of Vascos (the Nafza of the Arabic texts?) not far from Talavera de la Reina, whose ruins stretch over more than 6 ha and are enclosed by an imposing wall of dressed stone, but there were also a certain number of fortifications in the rural districts along the Tagus (Castros, Alija, Espejel, etc.) whose architecture suggests a probable Berber occupation.

Further to the north, between the Tagus and the sierras, some advanced points like Coria must have controlled a land where there was no-one but a few, fairly widely-spaced Berber tribesmen, perhaps still semi-nomadic. Against the image sketched out by Lévi-Provençal in his *Hist. Esp. mus.* of marches strongly controlled from Cordova and having a well-defined administrative status, recent historians like Eduardo Manzano have opposed that of a mosaic of Berber or indigenous populations who were for most of the time outside the authority of the Asturian-Leonese kings and the *amīrs* of Cordova. These territories comparatively independent of the central power were in practice governed by local families, often Berber like the Dhu 'l-Nūnids and the Banū Razīn [*q.vv.*], whose authority Cordova simply recognised rather than formally entrusting it to them.

Toledo was the capital of the Middle March until the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir decided to transfer its functions nearer to the scene of operations at Medinaceli. But after Alfonso VI of Castile's capture of Toledo in 1085, it was along the approaches to the Tagus that the Christian and Muslim positions finally became stabilised. In the western part, the river remained within Islamic territory. In the modern Portugal and in Estremadura, Muslim Santarem faced Christian Leiria and Coria faced Salamanca, but each side had bridgeheads on the other bank. On the other hand, upstream from Toledo, after half-a-century of fierce fighting to control the course of the Tagus or to defend it, this last really did separate Muslims from Christians. The Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa (*al-ʿIḳāb* [*q.v.*]) in 1212 marks the definitive conquest of the river's course by the Christian kingdoms, the opening-up of the gates of Andalusia to their armies and the fixing of the frontier in the southern parts of the Peninsula.

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(P. Buresi)

TADJURRA, in English conventionally Tadjura; in French, Tadjoura; in Italian, Tagiura; etc., a small coastal port on the gulf of the same name in the Republic of Djibouti and residence of the *dardar* ("sultan") of Tadjura, one of the traditional ʿAfar chieftains.

The Arabic name Tadjurra is itself a corruption of the name given to the locality by its inhabitants in their own ʿAfar dialect, sc. Tagorri. This last name is derived from *tagor*, pl. of *tagra* (a leather bucket for drawing water). The town is thus "*tagor [le ʿeela]*", meaning "[the well] with buckets", "the place of abundant water". Tadjura is, in fact, primarily an oasis.

Flanked by a palm-grove to the west and overshadowed by the Goda mountains from which it is separated by a plain traversed by wadis, the settlement is located on an impressive site. It consists of solidly built, single-storey white houses, interspersed with shacks constructed from vegetal material.

Islam has a long history in Tadjura and is well entrenched, even if the practice of it is hardly conspicuous. A degree of revival is, however, perceptible and non-Islamic practices are in decline. The last sacrifice to the genies of the sea (*baddi maskin*), for example, is said to date back to 1973. Ḳurʾānic education depends on women and on men, some of whom have left an indelible mark, such as Ḥajji Kaamil who was active during the 1970s. Tadjura is traditionally known as "the town of the seven mosques", a substantial number by the standards of the region; in fact Tadjura had nine of them (almost all endowed with a short and square minaret), including the Khoroojib mosque and the Djaamiʿ mosque, but the ʿIdi mosque was replaced in 1987 by a landing strip. The town possesses a *ḳāḍī*. Ṣūfī brotherhoods seem to be non-existent.

The *walī*s or saints revered in the region are: *shaykh* Gonduruḥmaan, *shaykh* Abazeed, also known as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and *shaykh* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zarben. The first is reckoned to have arrived from Sudan around 1880. Having died once at Balo in Ethiopia, he came to Ambabbo, some 10 km to the west of Tadjura, where he was betrothed to a Ḥasooba girl, but finally died for the second time before marrying. His tomb is the object of a *siyyaara* on 27 Ramaḍān. The second, who allegedly lived from 188 to 261 A.H., is honoured on the peak of Barraʿbarré in the Goda mountains, where his tomb (or his cenotaph?) attracts pilgrims not only from the surrounding region but also from Yemen and Somalia. The third, doubtless of Arab origin, threw his spear from Zaylaʿ (Saylac) towards Tadjura. The place where it fell, at Marsaaki, is marked by a heap of dry stones. The inhabitants of Tadjura come to this place to appeal to the saint for prosperity and fertility.

The "sultanate" of Tadjura which is defined as "the area [subject to] the *dardar* of Tadjura" (*Tagorri dardarih ḍeddar*) is the only ʿAfar chiefdom, the territory of which is entirely enclosed within the frontiers of the Republic of Djibouti. It occupies part of the northern shore of the eponymous gulf and is bordered by the ʿAfar sultanates of Raḥayto (which has in the past grown at its expense) to the north and east, of the Awsa to the north and west, and of Goobaʿad to the south-west.

The ʿAfar clans occupying the territory are the Adʿali, the Ḥasooba, the ʿAble (the most numerous?), the Ayrolasso, the Songo Goda, the Maʿandiyta, the Seeka and the Mafa. ʿAfar society recognises transversal associations, the *fiʿma*, which counterbalance tribal divisions. In Tadjura there are four, the two male being Ḍiinekala and Farrada, the two female Amrisa and Maḥaysa.

It is very difficult to construct a continuous history of Tadjura and of the sultanate. The first mention of the town would seem to be in the writings of al-Idrīsī, and it is shown on the earliest Portuguese maps. Arab and European travellers mentioned it regularly.

The Adʿali, for their part, trace their origin from the miraculous appearance in the tree overshadowing the wells of ʿAdaylu, 30 km to the north of Tadjura, of Ḥadalmaaḥis, "he who was in contact with (i.e. "on", "under" "beside", etc.) the tree in the morning". This individual, traditionally regarded as being of Arab origin, established himself in this place and married there. The Adʿali are descended from his second son, Adaaʿal. Calculations based on the study of genealogies make it possible to locate the event towards the end of the 8th/14th century. In fact, it is known that at about this time there was an Adʿali chiefdom in the upper Weeʿima which soon extended its power to Tadjura, expelling *ca.* 1600 from the place another ʿAfar group, the Ankaala.

The Adʿali constitute the majority of the ʿAdohyammara (the "Whites"), a major grouping of families rivalling another assemblage, that of the ʿAsahyammara (the "Reds"), of whom numerous elements, the Moodayto of Awsa and the Dammohoyta of Bidu, for example, nevertheless also claim descent from Ḥadalmaaḥis.

The sultanate's connections with France date back to 1705, in which year Bretons on their way towards Mokha arrived, as a result of navigational error, in the gulf of "Tagora" and made contact with the sultan Muḥammad b. Dini. In the following century, after first contemplating competition on the Arabian shore of the Gulf with Great Britain, which had occupied Aden since 1839, France began to take an interest in the African shore. On 11 March 1862, the sultans of Tadjura, Raḥayto and Goobaʿad agreed to a convention acknowledging French possession of Obock (Oboki, in ʿAfar: Ḥayyu), an anchorage which was not effectively occupied until the summer of 1884. It was then that Léonce Lagarde, newly-appointed governor of Obock, signed protectorate treaties: on 9 August with the sultan of Goobaʿad, and on 21 September with the sultan of Tadjura, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. In 1896 these ʿAfar chiefdoms were joined to Somali territory to form a new colony, misleadingly called the French Coast of the Somalis. In March 1949, Tadjura became the provincial capital of an administrative division of 13,000 km², currently one of the five districts of the Republic of Djibouti. Since the 19th century and until independence (1977), the population—always difficult to estimate—has varied around the 3,000 mark. At present (1997), it may reach 10,000 (70,000 for the district). Tadjura is, in any case, the most important town of the northern shore of the gulf, ahead of Obock and of the ʿAfar region of Djibouti.

Tadjura has always benefited by its position as a transit centre. On the landward side, the town is a point of convergence and a bartering site for nomads. It is also the point of arrival and departure of caravans heading towards Shoa, and in this capacity it was for many years the regional bridgehead for the traffic in slaves. This trade was still active after the First World War, supplying in particular the market in Djedda. The sultan himself was implicated, as were his counterparts in Awsa and Goobaʿad. It was as a result of a press campaign launched in 1922, and of abolitionist edicts issued by the Täfäri *ras* with the aim of easing Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations (1923) that this resource of the inhabitants of Tadjura steadily dwindled before finally disappearing.

On the seaward side, Tadjura is a cabotage-port linked to Djibouti (by a ferry of often dubious reliability), as well as to ports on the Arabian and African shores of the Red Sea. There is also a small-scale boat-building operation, managed by expatriates from Yemen.

Today, the community subsists on coastal fishing, various trades (including the traffic in *ḳāt* [*q.v.*]) and supplies and posts for various local officials.

The *dardar*, whose title, mis-translated as "sultan", derives from the Arabo-Persian *sardār*, is assisted by a *banoyta* (or "vizier"). These two functions alternate within two clans, the Burhanto and the Diinite; when the *dardar* is a Burhanto, the *banoyta* is a Diinite and vice-versa. At one time, the *dardar* ruled over a vast domain. Today his power is much reduced and his control is confined to his personal property.

After the year of traditional mourning which followed the death of the Diinite *dardar* Habib Ahmed (enthroned in 1964), the *dardar* Abdoulkader Houmed and the *banoyta* Chehem Ahmed were enthroned on 8 April 1985 in the presence of 40,000 persons and the significant absence of the Somali President of the Republic, Hassan Gouled. When unrest erupted in 1991, Abdoulkader was asked by the government to intervene with the aim of obtaining the surrender of 3,000 mutinous soldiers. He refused vehemently, thus regaining some of the prestige which he had earlier forfeited as a result of his obsequious appeasement of the authorities.

Bibliography: In addition to the titles cited below, information regarding Tadjura and its population is to be found in works relating to the ʿAfar and to the territory of Djibouti, as well as in the accounts of travellers who made their way by caravan from the coast to the Ethiopian plateau or who navigated the southern reaches of the Red Sea. On these subjects, the existing bibliographies may be consulted, with the addition of useful and recently-published titles such as D. Morin, *Le Ginnili*, Paris 1991, and idem, *Des paroles douces comme la soie*, Paris 1995. But a monograph on Tadjura which would lead to progress in ʿAfar studies has yet to be written.

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(A. Rouaud)

TADJWĪD (a.), verbal noun from *djawwada*, literally means "to make better" in the sense of *taḥsīn* "to embellish, beautify", but has come to be understood generally as the art of reciting the Ḳurʾān, known as *ʿilm al-tadjwīd*. The term does not occur in the Ḳurʾān, but it was used early. For example, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, son-in-law of the Prophet and fourth caliph, is reported to have replied in answer to a question about the meaning of the Ḳurʾānic phrase in sūra LXXIII, 4, *wa-rattili ʾl-ḳurʾāna tartīl*[an] ("and recite the Ḳurʾān by means of *tartīl*") that it means *tadjwīd al-ḥurūf wa-maʿrifat al-wuḳūf* ("excellent rendering of the consonant sounds and knowledge of the pauses"). In this terse definition we see the importance of both the phonetics and the semantics of Ḳurʾānic recitation: giving each letter its due and knowing where to pause in the recitation, which also

entails knowing where to resume it. This latter aspect came to be known as *al-wakf* ("pause", pl. *wukūf*) *wa 'l-ibtidā'* ("and beginning, resumption"), and occupies an important place in *'ilm al-tadjwīd*. Modern copies of the Arabic text of the Ḳur'ān contain symbols indicating the pauses and their several kinds, as well as whether they are obligatory or optional.

Although *tadjwīd* is principally concerned with the rules and skills of the oral performance of recitation, it also extends to knowledge and practices that are not strictly phonetic in nature. For example, in addition to the semantically and syntactically-oriented pause and beginning (*al-wakf wa 'l-ibtidā'*) is the etiquette of recitation (*ādāb al-tilāwa*), covered in many *tadjwīd* manuals as an important part of the piety if not strictly the performance practices of recitation.

1. Other terms. Another term for Ḳur'ānic recitation is *ḳirā'a*, lit. "recitation, recital", in the general sense of reciting passages during the prayer or reciting the entire Ḳur'ān, as well as "reading", i.e. among variants. In this last sense, the discourse has to do not with the rules of recitation—its manner—but with the text itself—its matter—which from earliest times admitted of variation in a largely oral culture before the Arabic script had reached maturity. The "science of readings" (*'ilm al-ḳirā'āt* [see ḲIRĀ'A] became an important, complex discourse with first seven, then ten, and later fourteen canonical readings of the Ḳur'ānic text, although it is the seven which remain important. The multiplicity of readings does not mean that there are different versions of the Ḳur'ān, but that there are variant readings—most very minor—of the same basic text. The question of whether reciters should mix variant readings in recitation performance has been much discussed, with a general tendency toward not doing so in the presence of listeners unfamiliar with these matters, whose confidence in the revealed text might thereby be endangered through confusion.

The teacher of "readings and recitation" (*al-ḳirā'āt wa 'l-ḳirā'a*) is known as a *muḳri'* (pl. *muḳri'ūn*), and a reciter of the Ḳur'ān is called a *ḳāri'* (pl. *ḳurrā'*). The former is a member of a relatively small professional élite, whereas the latter is a much more common performer, albeit highly respected for mastery of *tadjwīd* and, often, full memorisation of the Ḳur'ān as a *ḥāfiẓ*. Every *muḳri'* must be a *ḳāri'*, but only rarely is a *ḳāri'* also a *muḳri'* in the strict sense of being a certified expert in the science of readings and recitation.

Probably the most generic term for recitation of the Ḳur'ān is *tilāwa* "to follow, to read/read out loud, to recite". The term, like *tartīl*, is Ḳur'ānic (II, 121, "those unto whom We have given the Scripture, who read it [*yatlūnahu*] with the right reading [*ḥaḳḳa tilāwatihi*], those believe in it"). But *tilāwa* does not specify anything concerning performance; that is the domain of *tadjwīd* and, to a lesser extent, *ḳirā'a*. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's gloss of *tilāwa* (from his *Iḥyā'*, as cited in 'Āmir b. al-Sayyid 'Uthmān, *Kayfa yutlā 'l-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1394/1974, 9), contextualises Ḳur'ānic recitation within scriptural piety rather than merely skilled technical oral performance: "[The Ḳur'ān's] true recitation (*tilāwa*) is that the tongue, the intellect and the heart share in it. The portion of the tongue is to render the consonants authentic by *tartīl*, the portion of the intellect is the explanation of the meaning, and the portion of the heart is admonishment". The lexical meanings of *tilāwa* convey the double senses of reading and being obedient to—"following"—the message.

2. Selected technical aspects of *tadjwīd*. The typical handbook quickly gets right into the technical matters of the phonetics of Ḳur'ānic recitation, most of which require demonstrations to comprehend fully. First the letters of the Arabic alphabet are discussed, along with their places of articulation (*makhāridj al-ḥurūf*) in the human vocal anatomy and their manners of articulation (*ṣifāt al-ḥurūf*). With respect to *makhāridj al-ḥurūf*, modern manuals sometimes contain illustrations of the mouth, throat, teeth and lips with indications of precisely where each letter's utterance originates. One influential Indonesian manual has lessons with thoughtfully arranged sequences of juxtaposed sounds—using nonsense patterns—so that the non-Arabic speaking student will be able to master the difficult muscular and auditory skills of Arabic pronunciation. The *ṣifāt al-ḥurūf* treat groups of the alphabet in pairs of opposites, according to their characteristics as pronounced (some examples follow): whether they are gently uttered (e.g. *thā', khā', sīn, ḳāf, hā'*) or fully voiced (e.g. *bā', dāl, rā', zā', 'ayn, ḳāf, lām, mīm, wāw, yā'*), whether the letters are pronounced with confidence in their place of origin (e.g. *djīm, dāl, ḳāf, tā'*) or with some lack of confidence in the exact point (e.g. *thā', fā', wāw, hā'*), whether they are pronounced with tongue elevated (*khā', ṣād, ḍād, ghayn, ṭā', ḳāf, ẓā'*) or lowered (the remainder) in the mouth, whether they are "covered" (*ṣād, ḍād, ṭā', ẓā'*) or "opened" (the remainder) with respect to the tongue being closely covered by contact with the hard palate, and whether the pronunciation is light—coming from the tip of the tongue and lips (*fā', rā', mīm, nūn, lām, bā'*) or hard (the remainder). Some fine points under *ṣifāt* include *ḳalḳala*, strong pronunciation of certain letters when they are quiet (*sākin*), e.g. *ḳāf, ṭā', dāl*); *takrīr*, trilling the *rā'* at certain times; and *istiṭāla* "stretching" the sound from one side of the tongue to the other when pronouncing *ḍād*.

The manuals then proceed to treat a number of additional matters pertaining to *tadjwīd*: *ghunna*, nasal sound of certain letters in excess of ordinary speech; assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*]) of certain letter sounds, for example, silent *nūn* and *tanwīn* when followed by *tanwīn* and *rā'*, as in II, 5, where *'alā huda^n min rabbihim* is rendered *'alā hudammirrabihim; madd* "extending" the duration of a syllable; *iḳlāb* "alteration" of a letter's sound, as in quiescent *nūn* followed by *bā'*, where the phrase *min ba'd* becomes *mim ba'd*; and others.

3. Styles of recitation. Recitation style is determined in some degree by the pace of performance, ranging from very slow to rapid. The ideal form, which has dominated the discourse since earliest times, is called *tartīl*, after the Ḳur'ānic passage quoted above. A contemporary manual defines *tartīl* as "recitation . . . done at a slow pace . . . and the *ḳāri'* observes with great care the clarity in pronunciation of each letter from its *makhradj*, place of origin, strictly follows all the rules of *al-tadjwīd*, uses a melodious voice, exercises pauses and enables the listeners to comprehend each letter and meaning of the words for their reflection . . . ." (Muh. I.H.I. Surty, *A course in the science of reciting the Qur'ān*, Leicester 1988, 197).

Another term for slow recitation is *taḥḳīḳ* "meticulousness". It is in the class of *tartīl* but slower than ordinary *tartīl*, and used principally in learning and practising *tadjwīd*. Medium-paced recitation is known as *tadwīr*, whereas rapid recitation is called *ḥadr*. The latter is generally reserved for private use, as when the reciter wishes to maintain the text in memory through frequent repetition. One reciter in East Java informed the present writer that he profitably and pleasantly passes the time on the slow train from

Surabaya to Yogyakarta by reciting the whole Ḳur'ān in *ḥadr* style. All the styles are strictly governed by the rules of *tadjwīd*.

Certain kinds of recitation are considered as detestable and others are unlawful. An example of the first is lengthening the short vowels and then stretching the elongated (*madd*) vowels even more, and one of the second is transforming the recitation into singing (other examples, together with a table of words whose mispronunciation will change the meaning of the text and lead the reciter into unbelief, are in Surty, *op. cit.*, 201-2).

4. Melodic recitation of the Ḳur'ān. There is an ancient, absorbing and continuing discourse concerning the place and propriety of musical performance in Ḳur'ānic and other types of pious recitation in Islam, such as the *dhikr* and *samā'* practices of Ṣūfī orders. We do not know what the earliest Ḳur'ānic recitation sounded like, so far as melodies and modes are concerned. A famous prophetic *ḥadīth* is: "He is not one of us who does not chant the Ḳur'ān" (al-Bukhārī). The word translated as "chant" is *yataghannā*, which can also mean "sing", although some commentators prefer "be content with" (*yastaghnī*). Muḥammad enjoyed listening to the Ḳur'ānic recitation of others and declared, according to another *ḥadīth*, that Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī's recitation was like "a flute of the people of David", where al-Nawawī glosses "flute" (*mizmār*) as "beautiful voice" (*al-ṣawt al-ḥasan*) (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*, Cairo 1964, vi, 80). Ibn Khaldūn's interpretation (tr. Rosenthal, ii, 401) is that it "does not refer to cadence and melodious music, but... to a beautiful voice, a clear pronunciation", that is, to strict *tadjwīd*. There are reports in early Muslim history of recitation of the Ḳur'ān using popular melodies (*alḥān*), but the influence of art song on the practice seems to have been relatively short-lived. It came under the severe censure of the *'ulamā'* quite early.

Although the musical dimension of Ḳur'ānic recitation is a diverse, complex discourse, sustained over many centuries, the practice of *tadjwīd* came universally to be independent of any kind of popular singing, with set melodies. In contemporary Egypt, which has great influence on recitation everywhere, the word *tadjwīd* may be understood to designate melodic and highly embellished Ḳur'ānic recitation as well its more generic meaning, discussed above. A more precise term for melodic recitation is *mudjawwad* style, as distinguished from *murattal* style (from *tartīl*). It employs musical modes/pitches (*maḳām*, pl. *maḳāmāt*) and largely improvised melodic chants (*naghamāt*). But even *mudjawwad* recitation should ideally be spontaneous, without set melodies, and obeying the rules of *tadjwīd* (see the detailed exposition by Kristina Nelson, *The art of reciting the Qur'ān*, Austin 1985, 32-51, 101-35 and *passim*).

Sound recordings of Ḳur'ānic recitation have become important means for learning the art, as well as for enjoying its many expressions. Two influential reciters of this century were the Egyptians Shaykh 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ 'Abd al-Ṣamad, renowned for his *mudjawwad* performances, and Shaykh Maḥmūd Khalīl al-Ḥuṣarī, whose recitation in *murattal* style was greatly admired. A respected contemporary woman reciter is the East Javanese reciter Mariya Ulfa, who is active in Ḳur'ān recitation educational affairs, including the famous biennial *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an* ("Contest in the Recitation of the Ḳur'ān") in Indonesia. Performance recordings of all three reciters, and many more besides, are widely available.

5. Other performance matters and examples of the etiquette of recitation. Recitation of any portion of the Ḳur'ān should be preceded by *ta'awwudh* [*q.v.*] "seeking protection" by saying the formula *a'ūdhu billāhi min al-shayṭān al-radjīm* "I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan". After seeking refuge, the reciter utters the *basmala* (regardless of whether the recitation begins at the beginning of or within a sūra), "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate". Then the portion to be recited is commenced. At the end of recitation is said *ṣadaḳa 'llāhu 'l-'aẓīm* "God the Mighty has spoken truthfully".

Another matter is weeping during recitation, which is recommended both by the Ḳur'ān (XVII, 109) and in *ḥadīth*. One should induce weeping if it does not come spontaneously, because thereby it brings more forcefully to mind, as al-Ghazālī wrote, the "threats, warnings, covenants and promises... in the Ḳur'ān", noting that the "greatest of all misfortunes" is a "lack of grief and tears" for which, if nothing else, a person should weep (M.A. Quasem, *The recitation and interpretation of the Qur'ān: al-Ghazālī's theory*, Kuala Lumpur 1979, 44).

The best context for recitation is generally agreed to be while standing at the *ṣalāt* worship service. In any event, one should recite facing the *ḳibla* in a clean location and, if handling a Ḳur'ān copy (*muṣḥaf*), be ritually pure. It is permissible to recite the Ḳur'ān from memory without first performing *wuḍū'*, whether sitting, standing, reclining or walking. At certain points in the text prostration (*sadjda*), as in the *ṣalāt*, is observed after reciting an *āya* such as VII, 206, "They celebrate His praises, and bow down before Him". The classical Sunnī *madhhabs* recognise 11 to 15 obligatory *sadjda* verses, and most printed copies contain a rubric designating each prostration verse. In addition to prostrations are various uttered words and phrases at certain points in the text, e.g. *Subḥān Allāh* "Praise God!" when a verse glorifying Him is recited.

Opinions vary as to the amount to be recited at one time. Some people recite the entire Ḳur'ān in one night, but it is more common for the text to be recited in its entirety over three days, a week, or a month. In an oft-quoted *ḥadīth*, the Prophet declared that one who completes a recitation of the Ḳur'ān in less than three days does not understand it (e.g. Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, al-Riyāḍ 1404/1984, i, 244-5, "Iḳāma", no. 1341). Ḳur'ān copies have marginal indications for divisions and subdivisions of the text into equal portions for weekly or monthly completions. It is common for a group of reciters to perform by taking turns, completing the entire Ḳur'ān according to differing time-frames, which depend in part on whether the style adopted is *tartīl* or the much slower-paced *mudjawwad*, and to what extent the session is also for training, with sufficient time for correction and commentary. In any recitation, both reciters and listeners have the duty to stop the proceedings for correction when an error is noticed.

A completion of the recitation of the entire text is called a *khatma*, whereupon it is recommended immediately to recite sūra I "*al-Fātiḥa*", and the first five verses of sūra II "al-Baḳara", ending with *ulā'ika humu 'l-mufliḥūn* "these are the successful". It is common at this point to recite appropriate litanies and supplications (*du'ā'* [*q.v.*]), for which there is an established literature.

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TĀDLĀ, a vast region of central Morocco. It is a landscape of plains, foothills and mountains. In the east it starts at the sources of the Umm al-Rabīʿ (Wansifane) and the Moulouya, and in the Middle-Atlas (Fazāz) it follows the upper course of the former river to its confluence with the Wād al-ʿAbīd. From there the plains of the Tādlā stretch on both sides of the two rivers until they reach the fields of phosphates in the north; then they skirt the sills of the Srāghna and the Shāwiya in the west. Southwards, Tādlā thrusts towards the slopes of the High Atlas (Drane). It has a Mediterranean type climate, semi-arid to dry with an average precipitation of 350 mm, except in the foothills where humidity is more noticeable. The geological evolution of the region has endowed Tādlā with an alluvial plain which is particularly rich in water resources and highly fertile.

There are still divided opinions about how this vocable should be written (Tādlā, Tādila, Tidle, etc.) and what it means. The Amazigh language of Morocco, Algeria, and the Touareg includes terms derived from the root *t-d-l* which indicate the colour "black" or "dark green". The morphological parallel which may exist between the vocables Tādilā and Dilāʾ, denoting the mountainous zone in the north-east with the famous Zāwiya of Dilāʾ, has already been emphasised elsewhere by the present writer, and can also be found in the writings of historians such as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Fishtālī (d. 1031/1622-1) in *Manāhil al-ṣafāʾ*, and Abū al-Ḳāsim al-Zayyānī (d. 1241/1883) in *al-Bustān al-ẓarīf*. The word Tādlā, as it is pronounced locally, means "a sheaf of corn", which fits in well with the preponderant agricultural realities of the region. In Classical Arabic the ethnic name is *tādilī*, and in dialect it is *tādlāwī*.

The ancient inhabitants of the Tādlā were Berbers, with the Zenāta agriculturalists in the plains, and the Haskūra-Ṣnāga shepherds in the mountains. The first contact the Tādlā had with the Arabs was when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ (d. 63/683 [*q.v.*]) passed through on his way back from Sūs. But when Idrīs I conquered Tādlā in 172/789 he found only a small number of Muslims; the majority of the population were either Jews or Christians. In 202/818 the Andalusian Arabs on their flight from Spain after the revolt of the Rabaḍ at Cordova settled in Tādlā. Some years later, other Arabs from Fās followed them when an Idrīsid amīrate was created in that region. However, the main Arab migration took place only at the end of the 6th/12th century, when the Almohads decided to make the Arab Bedouin of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, who had settled in Tunisia, move towards Morocco. The Arabs then spread out within the country. On this subject Ibn Khaldūn wrote that "the immigrant Arabs of the Djusham and Riyāḥ have made their home in the plains and Morocco is being submerged by countless clans".

After the assassination of the Almohad Yaḥyā b. Nāṣir in 633/1236, the Banū Djābir, another group of the Djusham, flocked to Tādlā and settled in the foothills neighbouring the Ṣnāga, who were established in the hilltops and the plains. Sometimes the Banū Djābir risked going to the plains but when they learned of danger coming from the central power or a ruthless leader they withdrew to the mountains to their Berber allies. The Saʿdians, in their turn, brought in the Maʿḳil Arabs who originally came from the Yemen to Tādlā.

In time, a heterogeneous Arabo-Berber population grew up. Because of its strategic situation between the north and the south, and its control of the road linking the two imperial cities, Fās and Marrākush, and its natural resources, Tādlā has been the object of constant interest on the part of all the dynasties of Morocco, and each has tried to strengthen its hold there by nominating representatives from it to high levels of power.

Nevertheless, conflicts affected the region badly; some towns were destroyed and rebuilt, but others just disappeared and new ones were built on their ruins. That is how, in the Middle Ages, the town of Tādlā was a metropolis which gave its name to the whole province; al-Ḥimyarī wrote in his *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* that "it is an ancient town where relics of ancient times can be found". Al-Idrīsī adds that "the city of Tādlā held a prime position for the production of cotton and exported large quantities of it in all directions; it was the principal raw material used in the production of cotton fabric in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā".

Only the town of Dāy at the foot of the mountain could be compared to it. Al-Bakrī, calling it *ḥiṣn*, a stronghold, describes a lively trade there, with traders from Fās, Baṣra and Sidjilmāsa. Al-Idrīsī noted that Dāy had an advantage over the town of Tādlā in its

rich mineral resources, above all, its mine of pure copper. This was probably the reason why the Idrīsids chose Dāy as the chief town of their amīrate and prince Yaḥyā (or Aḥmād), the son of Idrīs II, settled there when the sultan of Fās, Muḥammad b. Idrīs, shared out the provinces of Morocco among his brothers in 213/829. The Idrīsids had been very successful in penetrating into the mountains of Tādlā and setting up there several mints, at Wazeḳḳūr, Mrirt, Wawāhna and Tāgarāg.

When the Banū Yafran, the Zenāta Berber princes governing Salā and Shālla, had hounded the Idrīsids from power, they seized the province of Tādlā, which they held until it was wrested from them by the Almoravids. It would seem that Dāy suffered enormously from these events and that the Almoravids did so much restoration work that it looked like a newly-created town. They also built the fortress of Tāgrārt in the neighbourhood. Scarcely a century later, the Almohads ousted the Almoravids from Dāy and Tāgrārt, and completely razed the two cities to the ground. At the same time, the city of Tādlā perished, never to rise again; perhaps this was because of the opposition of the population to such tendencies of the Almohads as Mahdism and the impeccability of their Imām.

When he visited the province of Tādlā at the beginning of the 16th century Leo Africanus (who called it Tidle) spoke of new towns built at a high altitude. He mentions "Tafza, the chief town, built on the mountain side about five leagues away from the plains; the town of Afza, two leagues from the previous town; between them flows the Wādī Darna. The town of Ayt ʿItab, to the south-west of that place, was approximately forty leagues distant. Finally there is the town of Ayt ʿIyat, built on a small mountain in the Atlas range". These towns all disappeared in their turn as a consequence of the many military actions on the battlefields of Tādlā, in which the Waṭṭāsids were engaged against the Saʿdians.

When the Saʿdī prince Zaydān was named viceroy of Tādlā by his father Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī in 1584, he had a *ḳaṣba* built on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ, where he settled and which bore the name of Ḳaṣba Zaydāniyya. It was also destroyed, during the military operations which took place between the sons of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr after the death of their father. However, the remains of this *ḳaṣba* are still standing.

One of the objectives in the political strategy of the ʿAlawī sultan Mawlay Ismāʿīl was the establishment of law and order. He therefore had fortified *ḳaṣbas* built all across Morocco. He built one on the right bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ in 1688, and garrisoned it with about 1,000 cavalrymen conscripted from the *ʿAbīd*. Then in 1700 he named his heir-presumptive Aḥmad al-Dhahabī to act as his governor of Tādlā, gave him 3,000 soldiers and ordered him to undertake the extension of the precincts of the *ḳaṣba*. He built another *ḳaṣba*, in addition to the *ḳaṣba* of his father, within the precincts of which he built a palace for himself. The two fortifications together bore the name Ḳaṣba-Tādlā, and they played important political and military roles in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries; several times they changed masters and would pass from the hands of dissidents to the hands of refugees or conquerors, before being totally abandoned.

Charles de Foucauld visited Ḳaṣba-Tādlā on 17 September 1883 and gave a detailed description of it, but without mentioning the *ḳaṣba* of Mawlay Ismāʿīl, indicating that there was no trace of it at that time. As for the *ḳaṣba* of Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, de Foucauld only found the walls, the doors, the towers, the mosque and the palace of the *Makhzan*. Everything was deserted and devastated. In the suburbs people had set up homes in dwellings with mud walls, whilst others were living in tents and huts.

Early in its history, Tādlā witnessed much cultural and mystical activity, possibly because of its contacts with the great intellectual centres from Sabta/Ceuta and Fās to Aghmāt and Marrākush on the one hand, and on the other hand because of their constant confrontation with their heretical neighbours, the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], who dominated the plains of the Tamasna.

This cultural and mystical activity was reflected in the 6th/12th century by the work of Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Tādilī, *al-Tashawwuf*, which comprises more than twenty biographies of Ṣūfīs originating from Tādlā, ranking first among whom was Abū Yaʿzā Yalannūr al-Haskūrī (d. 573/1177). His qualities and his miracles gave rise to important literary works, and his mausoleum, otherwise known as Mawlāy Bū ʿAzza, still receives a constant stream of pilgrims and visitors.

There are some *zāwiyas* scattered across Tādlā, six of which are very important: the Zāwiya Aḥanṣāl, on the banks of Assif Aḥanṣāl, one of the tributaries of the Wādī al-ʿAbīd, was founded in the 7th/13th century by the *shaykh* Saʿīd Aḥanṣāl the Great; the Zāwiyat al-Ṣawmaʿa was erected on the ruins of the town of Dāy, near the minaret of the Almoravid mosque, which had been spared; this *zāwiya* remained until the beginning of the century as a centre of learning and mystical exercises; the Zāwiya of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was a religious and cultural influence on the whole of Morocco for about a hundred years, before it was devastated in 1668 by the young ʿAlawī sultan Mawlāy Rashīd; the Zāwiya of Bū Djaʿd, called the Zāwiya al-Sharḳāwiyya, still enjoys great esteem throughout the Tādlā; the Zāwiya of Tamadjdjūt, about 30 km to the east of the town of Bani-Mellāl, was founded by the *shaykh* ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Darʿī (d. 1091/1680); it was destroyed but was later reconstructed, and a *mawsim* is organised there every summer; finally, there is the Zāwiyat al-Shaykh, the foundation of which was encouraged by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl with the aim of counteracting the influence of the Zāwiya Bū Djaʿd, a branch from the Zāwiyya Nāṣiriyya of Tamgrūt, in the Darʿa.

Most of the scholars and Ṣūfīs bore the ethnic name of al-Tādilī, whilst some of them were known by an appellation like al-Ṣawmaʿī, al-Dilāʾī, al-Sharḳāwī, al-Djābirī, al-Bzīwī, al-ʿUtābī, al-ʿUmayrī, al-Maʿdānī, etc., according to which *zāwiya* or with which tribe of the region they were associated. Others belonged to part of a tribe or some forgotten corner of the region, so that their origin can only be discovered by reading biographical and genealogical works. Such is the case for Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Garrāwī (d. 609/1212), for example, the famous poet of the Almohad court, who at the request of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr composed *Ṣafwat al-adab wa-dīwān al-ʿArab*, an example of heroic Maghribī poetry distinct from the heroic poetry of the East.

In the 20th century, the plain of Tādlā has undergone an important agricultural revolution, principally due to the introduction of a modern irrigation system. As a result of the construction of the Ḳaṣba-Tādlā barrage in 1929, the Umm al-Rabīʿ was able to irrigate 34,500 ha of the territory of the Banī ʿĀmir on its right bank; and in 1953 the Bīn al-Wīdān barrage on the Wādī al-ʿAbīd irrigated 69,500

ha of the land of the Banī Mūsā on the left bank of the Umm al-Rabīʿ; in all a total of some 104,000 ha. After the independence of Morocco, interest in irrigation grew, so that the total surface area under irrigation increased to 120,000 ha. As a result there has been economic and social development, as well as a growth in the network of urban centres which have been created to absorb and organise the flow of emigrants from the different regions.

The decree of 19 December 1955 announcing the first administrative divisions of independent Morocco promised thirteen provinces, one of which was the province of Banī-Mellāl, to be made up of most of the territories in Tādlā, plains and mountains. But in 1974, this vast province was divided, and the province of Banī-Mellāl, which would encompass only the plains, was separated from the province of Āzilāl, which was to include the mountainous regions throughout Tādlā.

The province of Banī Mellāl actually includes ten urban centres, the majority of which bear the names of the tribes who live there. The chief town of the province is Banī-Mellāl with 130,000 inhabitants (in 1988); the others are Fḳīh ben Ṣālaḥ, Ḳaṣba-Tādlā, Sebt Ulād al-Namma, Ulād ʿIyyād, Ulād Mbārek, Dār Wald Zidūh, Ulād Yaʿis̲h̲, Ḥad al-Brādya and Sīdī D̲j̲āber.

The province of Āzilāl has six urban centres; Āzilāl is the chief town, and the others are Demnāt, Āfurār, Wāwizag̲h̲t, Fum al-D̲j̲umuʿa and Bzū.

There are other tribes or parts of tribes not mentioned above which also live in the two provinces. In the plains are the Banī S̲h̲āgdal, Ayt al-Rbaʿ, Banī Maʿdān, Gtāya, Semkat, Ulād Ḥamdān, Ulād Saʿīd, and the Ulād Gnāw; and in the mountains are the Berber Ayt ʿItāb, Ayt Mḥammad, Iḥanṣālane, Faṭwāka, Ayt ʿAṭṭā-u-Malu, Ayt Būzīd, Ayt Utfarkāl, Ayt Bugummāz, and the Ayt ʿAbbās.

Bibliography: See the geographers and travellers (Bakrī; Idrīsī; Ḥimyarī; Leo Africanus) and the historians (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*; anon, *K. al-Istibṣār*; Bayd̲h̲aḳ, *Ak̲h̲bār al-Mahdī*, Rabat 1971; *al-Muḳtabas min Kitāb al-ansāb*, Rabat 1971; Aḥmad al-Zayyānī al-Manṣūrī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ baldat K̲h̲unifra*, ed. Amahzūḥ, Casablanca 1986). Also Ch. de la Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1988; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du 16ème siècle*, Algiers 1900; R. Peyronnet, *Histoire du Tādlā des origines à 1910*, Algiers 1924; *Tādlā, Moyen-Atlas, pays Zaïan*, Algiers 1923; H. Terrasse, *Hist. du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950; J. Martin *et alii, Géographie du Maroc*, Paris 1964; Muḥammad Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī, *al-Zāwiya al-dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1964; Muṣṭafā ʿArbūs̲h̲, *Min taʾrīk̲h̲ minṭaḳat iḳlīm Tādlā wa-Banī Mallāl*, Casablanca 1989; Muḥammad Tamīm, art. *Azilal*, in *Encyclopédie du Maroc*, Salā 1989; Aḥmad ʿAmalāk, art. *Tādlā*, in *ibid.*; ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abu ʾl-ʿIzz, *al-D̲j̲ihāz al-ḥadarī bi-Tādlā*, diss. 1989-90; *Actes du colloque de la Faculté des Lettres de Béni-Mellal* on the theme *Tādlā, histoire, espace et culture*, Casablanca 1993. (Mohammad Hajji)

TADLĪS (a.), a term of Islamic law, verbal noun from Form II verb *dallasa* which means, according to *LʿA*, "to conceal a fault in a commodity", with a not obviously related noun form *dalas* "darkness".

1. In the law of sale and contract.

According to a generally-accepted view, found e.g. in Coulson, the term stems from the Byzantine Greek word *dolos* (< Latin *dolus*) with the idea of fraudulent concealment of defects in merchandise. Ryner points out that both *tadlīs* and *tag̲h̲rīr* [*q.v.*] appear to be almost synonymous and used interchangeably by classical authors. *Tadlīs* is the term adopted by the Mālikī school for the concept of *tag̲h̲rīr*, although this school represents only a part of the Medinan law, and the main term used for fraud, *tag̲h̲rīr*, is a native Arabic word. *Tadlīs* is quoted by Ryner as parallel to the English legal term of "misrepresentation", as used in Bahrain law (article 20). The difference between *tag̲h̲rīr* and *tadlīs* remains subtle, and perhaps one can trace it in the nature of the action contained in each word. Although both refer to fraudulent actions, *tadlīs* is more concerned with the object of the contract, *maḥall al-ʿaḳd*, whereas *tag̲h̲rīr* is a fraudulent action that takes place against a second person who buys or enters into the contract. *Tadlīs*, according to S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Dardīr, occurs "when the buyer does not explain a fault that he is aware of in his commodity". The distinction between the two might be less ambiguous when we observe their other usage in Arabic; *tadlīs* often seems to be used to describe abstract concepts like a weak *ḥadīt̲h̲* (see 2. below), while *tag̲h̲rīr* is used to describe a physical action like deception in marriage. Although *tadlīs* is not found in the primary Islamic sources (e.g. the Ḳurʾān) or frequently mentioned in early texts, the *LʿA* quotes Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab as having used a word of the same root to describe temporary marriage as a cause that leads to the evil of fornication, *d̲h̲arīʿat al-zinā*. Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab used the term *dawlasī* instead of *d̲h̲arīʿa*, the means of evil. This can be seen as one of the instances that views evil from a positive angle [see further sadd al-d̲h̲arāʾiʿ].

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(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

2. In the science of *ḥadīt̲h̲*.

Here, *tadlīs* is a generic term indicating a number of deceitful methods used by *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitters to make *isnāds* [*q.v.*], with which traditions had to be authenticated, acceptable.

The term used in a *ḥadīt̲h̲* context developed out of the original connotation of deceit, e.g. of a man who pretends that he is a free-born but is in reality a slave (al-Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, ed. G̲h̲ifārī, v, 405, l. 1, 410). Goldziher (*Muh. Stud.*, ii, 48) states that the word is connected etymologically with *dolus*. By general consensus, this tampering with *isnāds* was considered a kind of fraud but less objectionable than outright mendacity (= *kad̲h̲ib*). In mediaeval Muslim *ḥadīt̲h̲* sources, it is recorded that *tadlīs* was already resorted to among the second earliest generation of *ḥadīt̲h̲* transmitters, that of the Successors. Examples of such Successors mentioned are al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*]) and Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735 [*q.v.*]) among many others. In fact, all through the first two and a half centuries after the *Hid̲j̲ra*, during which time traditions were transmitted that eventually found a place in the canonical collections, *tadlīs* was practised on varying scales of deceitfulness by very many transmitters whose activities, however, hardly ever escaped detection, if the large number of cases recorded is anything to go by. Apparently the first *ḥadīt̲h̲* scholar to catalogue the diverse *tadlīs* methods used was al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014 [*q.v.*]), cf. his *Maʿrifat*

ʿulūm al-ḥadīth, ed. Muʿazzam Ḥusayn, Ḥaydarābād-Cairo 1937, 103-12. He distinguished six categories. Several of these showed up so much overlap in the eyes of the mediaeval *ḥadīth* expert Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) that he summarised those six under only two headings: (1) *tadlīs* in the *isnād* amounting to mentioning an informant but without adding that between that informant and oneself there were one, two or more other transmitters left unmentioned; and (2) *tadlīs* in the identification of one's informant in an *isnād* by deliberately using a name, patronymic or agnomen by which the person was generally not known in order that he might not be recognised. The first category became the more severely criticised of the two, even prompting Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] to label it "the brother of mendacity". It eventually gave rise to some casuistry on how to deal with such *tadlīs*-affected traditions. The second category was seen to be less infamous, and qualifying this form as *tadlīs* depended on the overall measure of (un)reliability of the transmitter once that man's identity was denuded of mystification. Possibly the earliest collection solely devoted to *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] accused or suspected of *tadlīs* is the *Kitāb al-Mudallisīn* of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862 [*q.v.*], cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 599-600), which is preserved in some fragments in later works, but the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm also mentions a similar collection ascribed to ʿAlī Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) of which there does not seem to be a trace. In all the later *ridjāl* lexicons, the term shows up frequently.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, Ḥaydarābād 1970, 77, lists some famous *thikāt* [*q.v.*] among the *mudallisūn*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 355-71; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Mukaddima* [*fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 165-72; Ibn Radjab, *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. al-Sayyid Ṣubḥī Djāsim al-Ḥumaydī, Baghdād 1396, 264-8; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ Takrīb al-Nawāwī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, [2]Cairo 1966, i, 223-31; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies in chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, index s.vv. Karābīsī and *tadlīs*.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

TĀDMAKKAT (also Tadmakkat, Tādmakka, Tādimakka, and Tādmāk, in Arabic transcription; Tadmăkkăt in modern Tămashăḳ), name of a mediaeval urban crossroads between Black Africa and North Africa and al-Andalus. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (i, 84, 105), the Tādmakkat area was ruled by Muslim Berbers of the Banū Tānmāk. Yāḳūt (ii, 938), probably borrowing from the lost work of al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990), mentions "Zakrām" (possibly a textual corruption of *Akrām, from the Berber *aghrem* "settlement") as the capital of the "kingdom of Tādmāk". Since al-Bakrī (460/1067-8), the name "Tādmakkat" has been glossed as "The likeness of Mecca", or "This is Mecca", on account of the town's topography and role as Islamic centre.

Tādmakkat's ruins and cemeteries, rich in Arabic inscriptions, are in the Adagh-n-Ifoghas, Mali, at lat. 18° 46' N., long. 1° 11' E., at the site called Ɛssuk in Tămashăḳ (possibly from the Arabic *al-sūḳ* "The Market") which also displays rock engravings and inscriptions in Tifīnagh [*q.v.*, and see BERBERS. vi]. The earliest Arabic inscription so far published dates from 404/1013-4. But trans-Saharan contacts started much earlier. Ɛssuk is on an ancient chariot route from the Fazzān. Later, from the late 2nd/8th century to the late 5th/11th century, Tādmakkat was frequented by Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] Maghribī traders coming from Tāhart (until its fall in 296/909), the Djabal Nafūsa, Sadrāta and Warglān. The military intervention by Ghāna and the Murābiṭūn [*q.vv.*] in 476/1083-4 or 503/1109-10 was a setback to Ibāḍī influence in Tādmakkat. But even before this, the town's Maghribī contacts had been not only with Ibāḍī centres but also with Ḳayrawān and Tripoli. Its principal sources of slaves, gold, and ivory were Găwgăw (Kawkaw or Djawdjaw), i.e. Gao on the Niger, and Ghāna.

By 737-8/1337-8 al-ʿUmarī mentions Tādmakkat no longer as a major trans-Saharan crossroads but in the context of a mainly pastoralist economy. However, this perhaps reflected a temporary situation. Two confused passages in Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar* vi, 202, vii, 51-2, dating from 754-76/1353-75, purportedly about Takadda (Təgədda, in the Ahīr/Ayər area), are likelier to refer in part to Tādmakkat. If so, they suggest a renewal of this town's long-distance contacts—with the Mali empire and Ibāḍī and other areas of the Maghrib. In any case, Ɛssuk/Tādmakkat remained on the caravan route transporting Saharan salt to Gao, and up to the mid-11th/17th century retained a degree of urban life though perhaps not without interruptions. The 19th-century writings of the Kăl-Ɛssuk Tuareg depict the town as a seminal centre of dispersion of Ṣūfī (Ḳādirī) mystics in the Sahel in the late 9th/15th and the 10th/16th centuries, following ruinous attacks by Songhay armies. It was finally abandoned after the Moroccan conquest of Songhay (999/1591) downgraded the route to Gao, and following the 11th/17th-century droughts and conflicts in the Adagh-n-Ifoghas.

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(P.F. DE MORAES FARIAS)

TAḌMĪN (A.), quotation, enjambment, implication.

This term ("inclusion") has a number of different senses in Arabic poetics and stylistics. It is used for the incorporation in a poem of a line, or part of a line, by another poet by way of quotation rather than plagiarism [see SARIḲA. In literature, in Suppl.]. Felicitous quotation was included by Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] in his seminal *K. al-Badīʿ* among the "beauties of speech" and was therefore adopted by many later authors, who often discuss it together with related phenomena such as the literary quotation of Ḳurʾān or Tradition [see IḲTIBĀS]. Related terms are *istiʿāna* ("seeking help") and *īdāʿ* ("depositing"), sometimes as synonyms of *taḍmīn* in order to avoid confusion with other senses of the term. It was par-

ticularly appreciated if a different twist was given to the quoted part in its new context. Witty quotations are found already in Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*]; extensive use of *taḍmīn* is found in parody. The *khardja* of the *muwashshaḥ* normally poses as a quotation, which it often is.

Taḍmīn meaning enjambment, the syntactical dependence of a line on a following line, is usually condemned by the prosodists, especially the more extreme forms (the standard example is al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī's *innī/shahidtu* "I/have witnessed", a phrase that straddles two consecutive lines). The same restrictions were sometimes made to apply to *sadj*ʿ [*q.v.*]. Some forms were, however, condoned and even appreciated, such as the structure exemplified by the same poet in *mā 'l-Furātu... bi-adjwada minhu* ("The Euphrates... is not more generous than he"), with several lines intervening, a structure often found. The short lines of some metres from ʿAbbāsid times and strophic forms such as *muwashshaḥ* and *zadjal* [*q.vv.*] brought about a relaxation of the strict rules of the prosodists. Ignoring the caesura between hemistichs (*idrādj* or *tadwīr*) is not condemned; in some metres (e.g. *khafīf*), words often straddle the two halves of a line.

Taḍmīn meaning "implication" is listed in *al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān* by al-Rummānī [*q.v.*] as one of the ten elements of Ḳur'ānic eloquence; it is explained as either a form of brevity (*īdjāz*, also separately listed among the ten elements) or the connotation of word or expression (e.g. *muḥdath* "created" implying a *muḥdith* "creator"). This sense was rarely taken over by writers on stylistics and rhetoric.

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TADMUR, Tadmor, the ancient name, and that of modern Arabic usage, for the city of Palmyra. It lies in the Syrian Desert some 145 km/90 miles east of Ḥimṣ and 240 km/150 miles west of the middle Euphrates (lat. 34° 36' N., long. 38° 15' E., altitude 407 m/1,336 feet).

From early times, Tadmur must have been a station on the caravan route connecting Mesopotamia with Syria, since the road on which it lay could pass through a gap in the southwest to northeastwards-running chain of hills: to the southwest of Tadmur, the Djabal al-Khanāzir, and to the north and north-east, the Djabal Abū Radjmayn running on to the Djabal al-Bishrī and the Euphrates. It was clearly of importance in the late second millennium B.C., when letters from Mari record that Tiglath-Pileser I (1116-1076) defeated men from Tadmur in the land of Amurru, and it was significant enough for the Old Testament author of II Chron. viii. 4 to attribute its building to King Solomon.

Under the Romans, the place was of international significance because of its position facing the lands of the Romans' enemies, the Parthians and the Sāsānid Persians. In the troubled 3rd century A.D., the city-state of Palmyra was able to develop a wide-ranging policy and become a military power of significance under its energetic prince Septimius Odenathus II (Udhayna b. Hayrān b. Wahb Allāt), who drove the Persian emperor Shāpūr I [*q.v.*] back as far as his capital Ctesiphon and who acquired from the Roman emperor the title *corrector totius orientis* "governor of all the East". After Odenathus's assassination in 267 or 268, his widow Zenobia (Zaynab) and her son Vaballathus (Wahb Allāt) continued Odenathus's activist policy, but in 272 Palmyra had to open its gates to the emperor Aurelian and Roman control. Zenobia, famed equally for her beauty and her intellect, entered later Arabic folklore under the name of al-Zabbā; *inter alia*, she was said to have enticed and then killed the king of al-Ḥīra, predecessor there of the Lakhmids, Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 757-61; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 189-99 = §§ 1046-57; cf. R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, London 1907, 35-7). Palmyra subsequently became a legionary station on the *strata Diocletiana* linking Damascus with the Euphrates. In 325 its bishop, Marinus (who could conceivably be, in the surmise of Irfan Shahîd, an Arab, since we know of a famous Arab clan in al-Ḥīra, the Banū Marīnā; see his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984, 345), attended the Council of Nicaea, and Justinian later built a church there.

Its great days ended with the Arab overrunning of Syria. In the 630s, it surrendered *ṣulḥ*ᵃⁿ to Khālid b. al-Walīd but later rebelled and had to be conquered *ʿanwat*ᵃⁿ (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 111-12; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 18-19). It now became a settlement of the Kalb, who dominated central Syria under the Umayyads. It was one of the towns which, under the claimant Sulaymān b. Hishām, rebelled against Marwān II al-Ḥimār in 127/744-5 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1896, 1912), and according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, 110, cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 17, Marwān had part of Tadmur's walls pulled down. Soon afterwards, its people were involved in the pro-Sufyānid, anti-ʿAbbāsid movement in Syria of Abu 'l-Ward al-Kilābī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 53).

The town suffered in later times from earthquakes, especially that of 552/1157, and Benjamin of Tudela's assertion, only sixteen years later, that there were 2,000 Jews at Tadmur seems unlikely. It now sank to the status of a miserable village amongst the extensive ruins of ancient Palmyra. It was rediscovered by the West when in 1678 two traders from the English Levant Company's factory at Aleppo visited the site, and this last was explored in detail by Robert Wood in 1751 and splendidly described and illustrated by him in his *The ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desert*, London 1753. The town has now revived in the 20th century through its position during the inter-War period and the post-Second World War years on the Iraq Petroleum Company's Kirkuk-Tripoli oil pipeline and through the growing tourist trade; it is now a town of over 30,000 inhabitants in the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Ḥimṣ.

Palmyra was of significance in the development of early Arabic culture. Although the inscriptions, numbering almost 2,000, found at Palmyra include many in what is a continuation of Imperial Aramaic and although Greek must also have been a language of cultural prestige, the everyday language of the townspeople in the early Christian centuries was probably Arabic and the people themselves ethnically Arab.

This is shown by the Arab names of its rulers during the period of its florescence in the 3rd century A.D. and the fact that over half the personal names occurring in the inscriptions (naturally, from the class of notables and leading merchants) can be explained etymologically as Arabic; they include, e.g. many theophoric names with the god Arṣu and the pan-Arab goddess Allāt [see AL-LĀT]. As well as Arṣu, whose name is an adaptation of Ar. Ruḍā "the Favourable, Benevolent One", and Allāt, other Arab deities are prominent, such as Maʿn, ʿAzīzu, Saʿr or Saʿd, Salmān and Raḥīm. The whole region of Palmyrene, passing under the control of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, must have become substantially Arabised; in 328, at al-Namāra [*q.v.*] some 220 km/140 miles to the south-southwest of Palmyra, the king Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAmr's funerary inscription was written not in Aramaic but in Arabic language with the Nabataean alphabet (see F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, ed. Ch. Robin = *RMMM*, no. 61 [1991-3], 40-3).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TADRĪS (A.), the *maṣdar* of the form II Arabic verb *darrasa* "to teach". One who teaches is known as a *mudarris*. In contemporary usage, the term is an unfocussed one, referring to instruction of different varieties. The term *mudarris* thus indicates a "teacher" in its most general sense, although it can also have a more specific meaning: in the hierarchy of modern Egyptian universities, for example, a *mudarris* is an instructor holding the Ph.D., but ranking below an *ustādh* and *ustādh musāʿid*—roughly analogous, therefore, to an assistant professor in an American university.

In the classical and mediaeval periods, the term *tadrīs*, as well as various other technical terms derived from the same root, had more precise connotations. *Tadrīs* usually referred specifically to the teaching of the religious law, that is, *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], and in this was distinct from other terms used to describe the transmission of knowledge: the relatively uncommon *taṣdīr*, for instance, when used to mean instruction, had a more general application, while *taʿlīm*, which also indicated teaching, usually referred to instruction at a more basic level (hence *muʿallim*, a primary school instructor or Ḳurʾān teacher). The term *tadrīs* could be used with regard to instruction in other subjects, especially when it was combined with a qualifying phrase; thus, for example, *tadrīs al-tafsīr* ("teaching Ḳurʾānic exegesis"), or even *tadrīs al-ṭibb* ("teaching medicine").

The methodology of instruction in the law has been thoroughly studied in a number of works by G. Makdisi, and discussed more fully in other entries of this Encyclopaedia [see esp. MADRASA]. After an invocation, a class (*dars*, pl. *durūs*) consisted of lecture and dictation, with the instructor providing an exegesis of the text or question under discussion. At more advanced levels, instruction focused on disputation (*munāẓara*), in which the *mudarris* explored fine points of legal doctrine with his students and probed their understanding of the issues and their ability to solve difficult legal problems. As in all the traditional Islamic sciences (as, indeed, in pre-modern education more generally), memorisation played an important role. As the purpose of instruction in the law was the training of qualified jurists and professors, legal education culminated in the issuing to the student of an *idjāza* [*q.v.*] (the term was borrowed from the conventions for the transmission of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]) acknowledging his qualifications to teach the law himself (*idjāza li 'l-tadrīs*) or to issue *fatwās* (*idjāza li 'l-iftāʾ*), or sometimes one encompassing both practices (*idjāzat al-iftāʾ wa 'l-tadrīs*) (examples in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiv, 322 ff.).

The establishment of institutions devoted principally or exclusively to higher education (both mosques with endowments supporting organised classes, and, from the 5th/11th century, *madrasas*) had little effect on the process of *tadrīs* itself. Methods of instruction remained the same, as did the measure of a pupil's success (the *idjāza*, usually awarded by his teacher or teachers): no system of institutional degrees took root before the modern period. But the spread of educational institutions, and of the endowments which supported them, did have a profound impact on the social context in which *tadrīs* took place. Most importantly, *tadrīs* came to signify not merely an activity but an office, in effect, a professorship, one to which a learned individual could be appointed, and from which he might derive valuable emoluments. The reification of *tadrīs* is reflected in the appearance in the sources of a plural form, *tadārīs*, which was used to indicate the separate "professorships" in different fields (*fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, Arabic grammar, etc.) which an institution might support, or the multiple teaching posts held by a single individual (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 39).

The social and even political consequences of this process of reification were enormous. Many of the new schools and endowed mosques were the creation of the ruling élite, and the founders might retain control of appointments to their institutions' professorships. So, for example, when Niẓām al-Mulk called Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī to Baghdād and appointed him to the *tadrīs* of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa*, bestowing on him the honorifics "Zayn al-Dīn" and "Sharaf al-Aʾimma" (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ix, 55), his action was as much a political statement as an expression of personal piety. Sultans in Mamlūk Cairo routinely interfered in the appointment process, naming scholars to professorships not only in *madrasas* which they themselves had founded but in older institutions as well.

From the standpoint of academic instruction, a more important issue concerned the way in which scholars themselves learned to control and manipulate professorial posts. On one level, of course, the academic élite benefited from the proliferation of endowed professorships. Not only were they guaranteed a stipend for their instructional efforts, but a respected scholar might acquire and hold multiple positions simultaneously. In the mid 8th/14th century, Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī held professorships in *fiḳh* in several institutions

in Cairo, which he then passed on to his son Bahā' al-Dīn (Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo 1966-7, i, 225-6; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1984, i, 409)—indicating that scholars, as well as sultans and viziers, had learned how to play the game of patronage. Another member of the Subkī family, Tādj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was critical of scholars holding professorships in two or more schools (*Muʿīd al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niḳam*, ed. D.N. Myhrman, London 1908, 164), but in fact the practice was common, and led to the frequent appointment of substitutes to fulfill the duties of an absent or over-burdened *mudarris*. Alternatively, a lucrative professorship might be divided among several different scholars; the sources frequently report that some individual "held half the professorship" (*lahu niṣf al-tadrīs*) in a given institution. Moreover, the financial lure of a well-paid *tadrīs* could be deleterious to the quality of instruction by attracting unqualified individuals. Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī worried about lazy professors who would simply memorise two or three lines of a text, deliver them to the assembled class, and leave; such individuals, he said, were "not fit for a professorship [of law]" (*ghayr ṣāliḥ li 'l-tadrīs*) and did not deserve a professor's stipend (*ibid.*, 153). Such problems did not necessarily pose a serious threat to the transmission of knowledge in mediaeval Islamic societies, but they did result from the transformation of *tadrīs* into an institutionalised and remunerative office.

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(J.P. Berkey)

TADWĪN (a.), the verbal noun from *dawwana* "to register", most probably a denominal verb from the Persian noun *dīwān* [*q.v.*]. For *tadwīn* in the connotation of "drawing up lists for military and administrative purposes", see dīwān. For its use as "gathering poetry of a certain poet or tribe", see shiʿr.

In the science of *ḥadīth*, the term indicates the collecting of traditions in writing in order to derive legal precepts from them and not as a mere memory aid, for which rather the terms *kitābat al-ʿilm* or *k. al-ḥadīth* were used. The period of *tadwīn al-ḥadīth* is generally assumed to have started at the end of the 1st/7th century with the order issued by the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) to repair to Medina and collect all the traditions he could lay his hands on. Another person receiving a similar order is Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm (d. sometime between 110/728 and 120/738), cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1327, xii, 39, Suyūṭī, *al-Wasā'il fī musāmarat al-awā'il*, ed. M.S.B. Zaghlūl, Beirut 1986, 100. This resulted in as yet unstructured collections which differed from those made during the *kitāba* stage in that they aimed at completeness. The Meccan traditionist ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767) is also mentioned as one of the first to collect *ʿilm* in this manner. Out of *tadwīn* there arose the *tabwīb*: there we see the first attempts at bringing the material together in chapters (Ar. *bāb*, pl. *abwāb*) under certain subject headings of gradually increasing detail and sophistication. Alongside this we find the first structural division of *ḥadīth*s into collections ascribed to certain ancient individuals, Companions or Successors, which resulted in the first *musnad* [*q.v.*] collections, while the *tabwīb* gave rise to the first *muṣannaf* [*q.v.*] works.

Bibliography: For a detailed account of the Muslim point of view, cf. Muḥammad ʿAdjdjādj al-Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna ḳabl al-tadwīn*, Cairo 1963, 293-382; G. Schoeler published on this subject four articles in *Isl.*, lxii (1985), 201-30; lxvi (1989), 38-67, 213-51; and lxix (1992), 1-43; G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim tradition. Studies on chronology, provenance and authorship of early* ḥadīth, Cambridge 1983, 21-2.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

TAFARNUDJ (a.), from Ifrandj [*q.v.*], lit. "adopting, imitating or aping the manners and customs of the Franks, i.e. the Europeans". The term was used by the pioneer journalist Khalīl al-Khūrī in his satirical novella *Way idhan lastu bi-Ifrandjī* ("Alas then, I am not a European"), published in the magazine *Ḥadīḳat al-Akhbār* in 1860, and may be older. The Turkish *alafranga*[*lik*], from Italian *alla franca*, and the Persian *gharbzada*[*gī*], literally "West-struck[ness]", convey the same meaning. The latter term has been variously rendered as "Westosis" and "Westoxication".

During the 19th century, Muslims in significant numbers became aware of the culture, as well as of the political, military and commercial power of Europe, and reacted to it in various ways. Some responded eagerly, learning a European language, reading and even translating European books, and sometimes even adopting European dress and some European social usages. Others responded negatively, and called for the rejection of these alien and infidel innovations. *Tafarnudj*, with its equivalents in other Islamic languages, was a term used by the latter to designate—and denigrate—the former. The first European language to be widely used in the Middle East was Italian, followed by French and finally English. The stages of cultural penetration can be traced in the sequence and distribution of loanwords. Senate and Parliament in Ottoman Turkish are *Senato* and *Parlamento*, because it was in Italian that the Ottomans first heard of these physically and culturally remote institutions. It was not until late that Turks met senators, and that reports of parliaments reached the Arab provinces—hence Turkish *senatör* and Arabic *barlamān*. By that time, French had replaced Italian as the European *lingua franca* of the Levant. In the late 20th century, both were being replaced by English, usually in its American form.

Like the Frenchified fop in English, German and other European literatures in the period of French cultural ascendancy, the imitator of European ways became a figure of fun in Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature. Sometimes the attack is directed against any and every form of Western influence or borrowing. More often, in modern literature, it is concerned with the mindless imitation of everything Western, good, bad and indifferent alike.

Bibliography: Rotraud Wielandt, *Das Bild der Europäer in der modernen arabischen Erzähl- und Theaterliteratur*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1980, esp. 131 ff., 146 ff., 151-2; Jalal Al-e Ahmad, *Plagued by the West* (*Gharbzadegi*). *Translated from the Persian by Paul Sprachman*, New York 1982; Ḥasan Muḳaddam, *Djaʿfar Khān az Farang āmada* (Fr. and Pers.), Oakland, Calif. 1984. On earlier Muslim perceptions of Europe and Europeans, see B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, New York 1982. On Ottoman reactions to the first inroads of French language and culture, see idem, *The impact of the French Revolution in Turkey*, in *Jnal. of World History*, i (1953), 105-25, revised version in G.S. Metraux and F. Crouzet (eds.), *The new Asia. Readings in the history of mankind*, New York and London 1965, 31-59.

(B. Lewis)

TAFḌĪL (a.), literally "superiority, the act of raising something to a higher level or degree". In grammar, it is the raising of a quality to a degree combining both the "comparative" and "superlative" functions of European adjectives, hence usually translated as "elative". Formally, the elative has the patterns *afʿal*^{u} (masc.) and *fuʿlā* (fem.) with sound plurals (also *afāʿil*^{u} and *fuʿal*^{u} respectively), in an obvious but still unexplained parallelism with the colour and defect adjective patterns *afʿal*^{u} and *faʿlāʾ*^{u}. The origins of the patterns remain obscure: Wehr, 598 ff. (summarised in Fleisch, 409 ff.) provides some circumstantial evidence to connect *afʿal*^{u} with exclamatory formulae; Bravmann, 34, speculates, with no evidence at all, that *aḥsan* is a variant of *ḥasan* produced by a different resolution of the initial consonant cluster in **ḥsan* which would underlie both forms. However, no theories can account for the feminine forms, still less for the syntax and possible links with the *fiʿl al-taʿad̲j̲d̲j̲ub* or "verb of surprise", which also has the form *afʿal* (in *mā afʿalahu*, or *afʿil* in *afʿil bihi*).

The comparative and superlative senses are distinguished only syntactically, broadly a distributive structure (*afʿal*^{u} *min*) for our comparative, and annexation (*afʿal*^{u} *s̲h̲ayʾ*^{in}, *afʿal*^{u} *ʾl-s̲h̲ayʾ*^{i}, *afʿal*^{u} *ʾl-as̲h̲yāʾ*^{i}) for the superlative (see Wehr, 572, and reference grammars for details), which is thus seen to have the same syntax as *kull* "all" and *ayy* "which". Wehr, 612, makes the important point that *afʿal*^{u} forms are derived not only from simple "positive" adjectives but from any kind of word, even a verb.

The semantic and rhetorical features of the elative, as in other languages, are most complex. An interesting case is the occurrence of *afʿal*^{u} in isolation, of which the best known example is *Allāh*^{u} *akbar*^{u}; Sībawayhi's [*q.v.*] "comparative" paraphrase *akbar*^{u} *min kull*^{i} *s̲h̲ayʾ*^{in} (*Kitāb*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 233, ed. Derenbourg, i, 199) clearly reflects the intuitive understanding of this expression, but is remarkable also for the way it delicately avoids the heresy implicit in a "superlative" paraphrase *akbar*^{u} *s̲h̲ayʾ*^{in}/*ʾl-as̲h̲yāʾ*^{i}, even though logically the two formulations might appear synonymous (*wa ʾllāh*^{u} *aʿlam*). Nor was Sībawayhi unaware of syntactical problems caused by comparing a thing with itself, as in *mā raʾayt*^{u} *rad̲j̲ul*^{an} *aḥsan*$^{u/a}$ *fī ʿaynihi ʾl-kuḥl*^{u} *minhu fī ʿayn*^{i} *zayd*^{in} (*ibid.*, i, 232/i, 199), a topic which detached itself as the "Kuḥl question" (*masʾalat al-kuḥl*) in later literature (see al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*], *al-Muḳtaḍab* iii, 248 ff., where there are also further references).

Bibliography: H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, index, s.v. *Elativ*, *Komparativ*, *Superlativ*; H. Wehr, *Der arabische Elativ*, Wiesbaden [1953]; W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, index, s.v. *Adjectives*; M.M. Bravmann, *The Arabic elative. A new approach*, Leiden 1968; al-Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, ed. M.ʿA.K̲h̲. ʿUḍayma, Cairo 1964-8; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961-79, i, 408-15; M. Ullmann, *Arabische Komparativsätze*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (1985), no. 7; V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic prose*, Bloomington-London 1974-5, ii, 467-86.

(M.G. Carter)

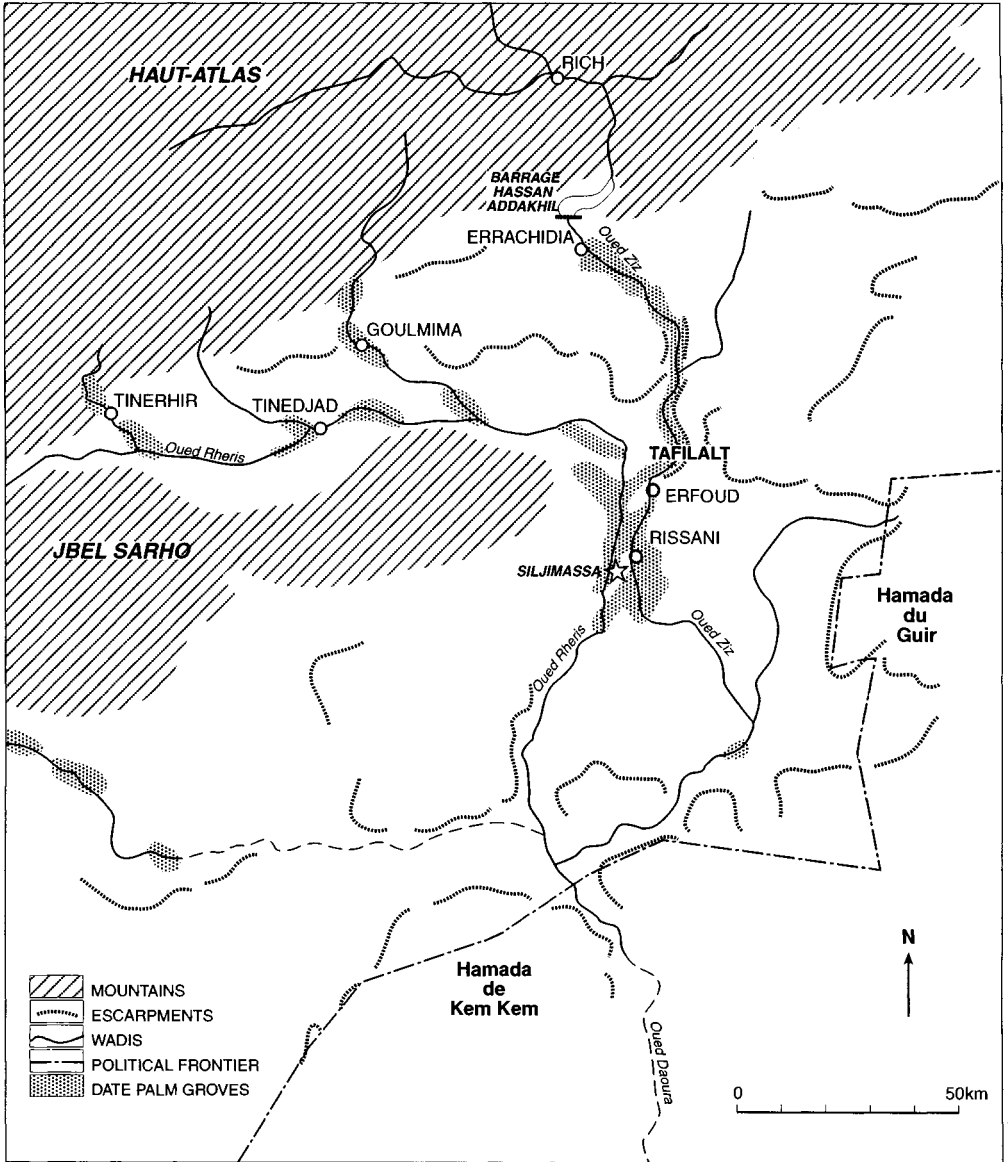
al-**ṬAFF**, the desert region that lies west of Kūfa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. According to the authorities quoted by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 359, *al-ṭaff* means an area raised above the surrounding country or fringe, edge, bank; the name is not found after the 13th century. The district contains a number of springs, the waters of which run southwest (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 187). The best known of these wells was al-ʿUd̲h̲ayr. From its geographical position al-Ṭaff was the scene of the first encounter between the Arabs and Persians (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2210, 2247; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iii, 345, 351). The Sāsānid kings had stationed there feudal guardians of the frontier which was defended by forts (*maṣlaḥa*) and a great ditch (*k̲h̲andaḳ*) which began at Hīt (Ibn Rosta, 107). On al-Ṭaff lay al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] and also Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*], famous as the scene of the death of al-Ḥusayn (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, and Bakrī, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ii, 456). The latter is accordingly referred to as *al-Maḳtūl bi ʾl-Ṭaff* (cf. al-Muk̲h̲tār, in Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv, 140; cf. also the poem quoted by Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, iv, 267). In later centuries, al-Ṭaff is rarely mentioned (e.g. in Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vii, 379 in connection with the Ḳarmaṭian troubles), and the majority of the Arab geographers make no mention of it.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1927, 48, 351. (J.H. Kramers)

TĀFĪLĀLT, with the *nisba* Filālī, pl. Filāla, the name of a district of southeastern Morocco, essentially comprising the broad basin of the Wādī Zīz, which runs into the fringes of the Sahara Desert (roughly between lats. 31° and 32° N. and longs. 3° 30' and 4° W.).

It consists of an alluvial plain 20 km/12 miles long and 16 km/10 miles broad, over which are scattered 200 *ḳṣūr* (or fortified dwellings of clay) surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields. Where irrigation from wells is possible, the soil is wonderfully fertile. The chief product of Tafīlālt is the palm-tree, of which there are several hundred thousand, and the most developed industry is the preparation of goat-skins by the use of the bark of the mimosa which yields a tanning gall. Filālī leather is famous and sought after throughout all North Africa. The population is dense, in the *ḳṣūr* of Tāfīlālt it was estimated in 1920 at 150-200,000. The historical capital of Tāfīlālt was Sid̲j̲ilmāsa ([*q.v.*] for the pre-modern political history of Tāfīlālt). Here one may simply state that the district was the cradle of the dynasty of the ʿAlawī or Filālī S̲h̲arīfs, who have ruled Morocco from 1041/1631 and the time of Mawlāy Maḥammad I al-S̲h̲arīf up to the present day [see ʿalawīs]. Many of these S̲h̲arīfs after the accession of their family to the throne remained in or returned to settle in Tāfīlālt, where they may be counted by thousands. A *k̲h̲alīfa* of the Moroccan sultan traditionally represented the authority of the *mak̲h̲zen* among them and in the valley of the Zīz.

After the establishment of the French Protectorate over Morocco, a French mission arrived at Tīg̲h̲mart, which has defences built at the end of the 19th century by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan; but its presence was immediately challenged by the local Ayt Atta confederation of Berbers under a claimant to power, al-Semlālī. The district was not re-occupied, by troops under Col. Giraud, till 1932.

The main urban centres of Tāfīlālt are the administrative chef-lieu, Er-Rachida (al-Rās̲h̲ida), formerly Ksar Es-Souk (Ḳṣar al-Sūḳ) and, to its south, Erfoud, both now linked by a road across the High Atlas and Middle Atlas to Azrou (Azrū) and then Fès (Fās) and Meknès (Miknās). At 15 km/10 miles south of Erzou is Rissani, a *ḳṣar* built in the 18th century by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and an ancient centre for the caravan trade between southern Morocco and the Sahara and Western Sudan. In its environs are a large market, Bū ʿĀmm; the *zāwiya* of Mawlāy ʿAlī al-S̲h̲arīf, ancestor of the

Filālī ruling house (*ca.* 1050/1640); and the ruinous site of Sidjilmāsa, whose *kaṣba* was finally destroyed by the Ayt Atta in 1818.

Bibliography: See those to ʿALAWĪS and SIDJILMĀSA, and also P. Ricard, revised Ch. Bacquet, *Guide Bleue. Maroc*, 8th ed. Paris 1954, 424-31 and map at p. 416.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

TAFKHĪM (A.), the verbal noun from *fakhkhama* meaning "to make thick, to emphasise or to make grand". In Arabic, it is a phonetic phenomenon involving the pronunciation of the emphatic consonants, *mufakhkhama* (sing. *mufakhkham*), /ṭ ط, ḍ ض, ṣ ص, ð̣ ظ/and also includes the marginal emphatics /ṛ, ḷ/. Ḳurʾānic orthoepists used the term *tafkhīm* to describe certain variants of /r/ when it occurs next to low and back vowels; however, they designated the term *taghlīẓ*, thickening, which they used synonymously with *tafkhīm*, for the description of certain variants of /l/. The /ḷ/, as an emphatic variant, has a limited environment and is primarily used with the word *Allāh* when not preceded by /i, ī/.

The earliest occurrence of the term *tafkhīm* was when Sībawayhi used it to describe what he called *alif al-tafkhīm* and he considered it as a variant, not a phoneme. According to him, *alif al-tafkhīm* is found in a limited number of words such as *ṣalāt*, prayers; *zakāt*, the giving of alms to the poor; and *ḥayāt*, life, especially in the dialect of Ḥidjāz (*al-Kitāb*, iv, 432). The four primary emphatic consonants /ṣ, ḍ, ṭ ð̣ / are not referred to by Sībawayhi as *mufakhkhama* but as *muṭbaḳa* (sing. *muṭbaḳ*), a tradition followed by Arab grammarians and Ḳurʾānic orthoepists. The verbal noun *iṭbāḳ* "act of covering or putting on a lid", is used to describe the position of the tongue in the pronunciation of the *muṭbaḳa*. The *muṭbaḳa*, along with the velar/uvular group /x خ, γ غ, q ق/, are referred to by the generic term *mustaʿliya*, high or raised. The *mustaʿliya* consonants are described as preventing the occurrence of *imāla* [*q.v.*], "inclination" of /a/ towards /i/.

Contemporary Arabists and linguists use the term *tafkhīm* to describe the emphatic consonants, *mufakhkhama*, /ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ð̣ / and the marginal emphatics /ṛ and ḷ/. *Tafkhīm* is often characterised by pharyngealisation or velarisation, but the *mufakhkhama* consonants are best characterised by the phonetic feature of retraction which involves moving the tongue up and further back toward the velum and upper pharynx. *Tafkhīm* is not restricted to the environment of the emphatics, but rather spreads to any adjacent vowel or consonant making it emphatic. It is this feature of retraction that makes this group of consonants opaque [see ṢAWTIYYA].

Bibliography: For related articles on *tafkhīm* in *EI²*, see IMĀLA, MAKHĀRIDJ AL-ḤURŪF and ṢAWTIYYA. Also Salman H. Al-Ani, and Mohamed S. El-Dalee, *Tafkhīm in Arabic. The acoustic and physiological parameter*, in M.P.R. Van den Broecke and A. Cohen (eds.), *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Utrecht 1984, 385-9; Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, Damascus 1985, i, 45-67; Ibn al-Djazarī, *al-Nashr fi 'l-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, Cairo n.d., i, 210-4, ii, 90-119. R. Jakobson, *Mufaxxama. The "emphatic" phonemes in Arabic*, in *Studies presented to Joshua Whatmough*, ed. E. Pulgram, The Hague 1957, 105-15; Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Beirut 1975, iv.

(SALMAN H. AL-ANI)

ṬAFRA (A.), lit., "leap or impulsive movement", from *ṭafara* "to jump, leap", a term of Islamic philosophy, which became an important part of anti-atomistic theories brought into play during the controversies of the Baṣra Muʿtazilī cosmology, and which is attributed in particular to Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām (and also to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam). Al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] is taken to have argued that it is possible to move over a distance without going through all the parts of the distance, by leaping over those parts. Although this theory came in for a lot of criticism by those sympathetic to atomism, al-Naẓẓām was successful in pointing to difficulties in the minimal parts discrete geometry of the atomists. This is a version of the paradoxes which Zeno first discussed in connection with the existence of indivisible magnitudes. The paradox of the flying arrow is that every thing which is moving is really resting at each stage of the movement. The movement itself is hidden in the substance and only appears when the substance itself is moving. Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (*fl.* early 3rd/9th century) is said to have abandoned the theory of leaps once he realised that, if it is valid, then a creature which had dipped its legs in ink would produce a discontinuous rather than a continuous track when it covered a particular distance (see Ibn Mattawayh, 169). This sort of example played a large part in contemporary disputes over the plausibility of atomism and its alternatives as a theory of the nature of physical reality.

Bibliography: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, Istanbul 1929-30, 61, 321; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 113; Shahrastānī, 38-39; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1899, 64, 92; Isfarāʾinī, *Tabṣīr*, Cairo 1955, 68; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 300-2; Ibn Mattawayh, *Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-djawāhir wa 'l-aʿrāḍ*, ed. S. Luṭf and F. ʿAwn, Cairo 1975; H. Wolfson, *The philosophy of the Kalam*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 514-7; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, iii, 310-24, and index s.v. *ṭ-f-r* at iv, 1001; A. Dhanani, *The physical theory of kalām. Atoms, space and void in Basrian Muʿtazilī cosmology*, Leiden 1994, 176-81.

(O.N.H. LEAMAN)

TAFSĪR (A.), pl. *tafāsīr* "interpretation" (as a process and a literary genre), generally, but not always, of the Ḳurʾān. The word is used for commentaries on Greek scientific and philosophical works, being equivalent to *sharḥ* [*q.v.*]; the term is applied to the Greek and Arabic commentaries on the works of Aristotle, for example. Jews and Christians writing in Arabic also use the word in the context of translations and commentaries on the Bible, as some of the works of Saadia Gaon demonstrate. The most significant usage of the word, however, and the focus of this article, is its reference to the branch of Islamic learning concerned with the Ḳurʾān. An essential part of *madrasa* training, the study of *tafāsīr* of the Ḳurʾān stands alongside the study of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* as elements of the traditional curriculum.

The emergence of the word *tafsīr* as a technical term is unclear. It is used once in the Ḳurʾān at XXV, 33, "They [the unbelievers] bring not to thee [Muḥammad] any similitude [*mathal*] but that We bring thee the truth and the best *tafsīr*". This follows on a verse which states, "The unbelievers say, 'Why has the Ḳurʾān not been sent down all at once?' Even so, that We may strengthen thy heart thereby, and We have chanted it very distinctly". The idea would appear to be that God has provided an explanation, *tafsīr*, of why the Ḳurʾān is being revealed piece-by-piece. Of course, other technical terms in Muslim religious thinking frequently have no special status within the Ḳurʾān, so the lack of a firm reference point for the

term *tafsīr* is not particularly surprising (see J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 154-8). For the first three Islamic centuries, there appears to be no consistent differentiation between *tafsīr, ta'wīl* [*q.v.*] and *ma'nā* [*q.v.*, section 1] when used in titles of books or as a technical term within works of *tafsīr* (and, indeed, this is the attitude of the lexicographers: see Lane, i, 2397; for the ambiguities of the differentiation between the terms in early times, see N. Kinberg, *A lexicon of al-Farrā''s terminology in his Qur'ān commentary*, Leiden 1996, 40-2, 503-27, 563-6). After some time, *tafsīr* was distinguished from *ta'wīl* by the latter being considered the product of research and investigation, the former dependent upon transmission from Muḥammad and his companions. In its developed sense, *ta'wīl* became limited to interpretation which leaves the "obvious" (*ẓāhir*) sense and delves into more speculative levels of language (*bāṭin*). *Ma'nā*, on the other hand, became more constrained and limited primarily to lexicographical aspects of interpretation.

A *tafsīr* of the Ḳur'ān is a work which provides an interpretation of the Arabic text of the scripture. There are formal characteristics of such works which help to define the literary genre further. In most cases, a work entitled *Tafsīr* will follow the text of the Ḳur'ān from the beginning to the end, and will provide an interpretation (*tafsīr*) of segments of the text (word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase, or verse-by-verse) as a running commentary. The major exceptions to this fundamental characteristic are to be found in the formative and the contemporary periods of Islam; in the formative period, one finds works of *tafsīr* which cover only isolated segments of the text, and in the contemporary period, thematic (*mawḍū'ī*) *tafāsīr* have become quite popular (see J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1974, 13-4). But the presence of scriptural text and commentary as two elements interplaying remains. A number of sub-disciplines are often included within the broad scholarly enterprise itself and these have resulted in books which concentrate on *asbāb al-nuzūl, gharīb al-Ḳur'ān, ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā', ḳirā'āt, marsūm al-khaṭṭ, al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh, al-waḳf wa 'l-ibtidā'* and *al-wudjūh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*. These works are best understood as a part of the overall *'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān* (to which books are devoted as summaries of the various sub-disciplines, e.g., al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392 [*q.v.*]), *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), *al-Itḳān fī 'ulūm al-Ḳur'ān*). However, the contents of these books have often been derived from the major works of *tafsīr* (and then subsequently have acted as a source for them in many instances), so, in that sense, such works are a part of the intellectual discipline while not formally being a part of the literary genre.

Within the genre attempts have been made to classify the various books. Attempts to describe the "method" of the books predominate in Muslim discussions, and such classifications have also found their way into scholarly works (e.g., I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920). The basic separation between *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* (or *riwāya*) and *tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y* (or *dirāya*), with the occasional addition of *tafsīr bi 'l-ishāra*, reflects a tension which runs throughout the Muslim community and its intellectual disciplines, that of the authority of the community (*ma'thūr*) versus that of the intellect (*ra'y*) (*ishāra* being the speculative "hint" or "allusion" generally connected to Ṣūfism and outside these two main classifications). This separation does not, however, provide a sufficient analytical tool by which one may characterise the wide variety of books and approaches which are contained within the broadly-defined genre of *tafsīr*, since it concentrates on a superficial understanding of the form of the works with little attention to their underlying substance.

Recent scholarly attempts to define the genre have concentrated on isolating the variety of elements which come together within a given text in varying proportions (see N. Calder, *Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr: problems in the description of a genre, illustrated with reference to the story of Abraham*, in G.R. Hawting and A.-K.A. Shareef (eds.), *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, London 1993, 101-40; P. Heath, *Creative hermeneutics: a comparative analysis of three Islamic approaches*, in *Arabica*, xxxvi [1989], 173-210). Different *mufassirūn* have different concerns and goals, and this is reflected in the relative weight they put upon elements such as history, grammar, semantics, law, theology, or folklore. All commentators are concerned with the process of analysing the text in light of the "external world", however that be defined for the individual author, with the aim of resolving any apparent conflict and making the text "clear". Each element that comes into play within a text of *tafsīr* acts both to prompt exegesis (in the sense that a conflict is perceived between the world and the text) and to characterise the emphasis of a given interpretative approach.

Pride of place in the tools used in the interpretative process has been given to grammar (including elements of lexicography and orthography). As an implement for asserting the scholar's status and authority, arguments over grammar have had no rival (see M.G. Carter, *Language control as people control in medieval Islam: the aims of the grammarians in their cultural context*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxxi [1983], 65-84). Grammar became a specialisation within *tafsīr*, producing works such as *Ma'ānī 'l-Ḳur'ān wa i'rābuhu* by al-Zadjdjādj (d. 311/923; see *GAS*, viii, 99-101), *I'rāb al-Ḳur'ān* by al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950; see *GAS*, ix, 207-9) and *Mushkil i'rāb al-Ḳur'ān* by Makkī al-Ḳaysī (d. 437/1045 [*q.v.*]). The historical origins of grammar and lexicographical comparison within the framework of *tafsīr* have become a matter of scholarly controversy in light of Wansbrough's arguments for the relatively late introduction of both aspects (see *Quranic studies*, 216-27); for example, C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic grammar and Qur'ānic exegesis in early Islam*, Leiden 1993, and M. Muranyi, *Neue Materialien zur tafsīr-Forschung in der Moscheebibliothek von Qairawān*, in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as text*, Leiden 1996, 225-55, both argue against Wansbrough's point, citing grammar and poetical references in texts understood to be early in date. Much of the dispute depends upon dating of texts (see A. Rippin, *Studying early tafsīr texts*, in *Isl.*, lxxii [1995], 310-23).

Rivalling grammar but yet itself often thought of as dependent upon it, the framework of legal analysis emerges quite clearly in some works, achieving a status reflected in titles such as the *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān* written by the Ḥanafī al-Djaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/981 [*q.v.*]), the Mālikī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148 [*q.v.*]) and the Mālikī al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1272 [*q.v.*]). Aiming to demonstrate that the body of Islamic law may be derived in the first instance from the Ḳur'ān, such works include, out of necessity, grammatical and historical elements within interpretation in order to argue their legal points.

Theology, on the other hand, frequently remained subsumed within the overall contents of *tafsīr*, although certain works attributed to prominent theologians (e.g. the *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl fī mutashābih al-tanzīl* by al-Sharīf

al-Raḍī, d. 406/1016 [*q.v*]) tend to provide a thorough-going emphasis on a certain theological perspective. The famous work of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]), renowned for its Muʿtazilī perspective, is distinctive primarily for its special outlook and not for the presence of an overall theological argument *per se*, nor for the quantity of such argumentation. Other works, especially those from Shīʿī writers such as al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153), provide more detailed and thorough-going examples of the Muʿtazilī tendency, as does the work only available in "reconstructed" form from al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915 [*q.v.*]) (see D. Gimaret, *Une lecture muʿtazilite du Coran. Le* tafsīr *d'Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī* [*m. 303/915*], Louvain-Paris 1994). All other major works of *tafsīr* have a theological perspective as well (see e.g. C. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam. L'exégèse coranique de Tabari* (*m. 311/923*), Paris 1990, 207-78) but are not so "distinctive" as to gain a reputation in that regard. The observation regarding al-Zamakhsharī's distinctiveness (but not uniqueness) is confirmed by the frequent use of that book within the *madrasa* context, regardless of its theological perspective.

The genius of Muslim *tafsīr* is perhaps best seen in its historicisation of the text through the general tools of narrative provided by prophetic history, both of the distant past as found in the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, and of the contemporary as found in the *sīra* of Muḥammad. Designed both to prove the fact of revelation and to embody an interpretation that would relate the text to a context (see Rippin, *The function of asbāb al-nuzūl in Qurʾānic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, li [1988], 1-20), historicisation grounded the text in the day-to-day life of the Muslim community. In that manner, the extraction of law was facilitated, the sense of moral guidance was emphasised and the "foreign" made Islamic. Whether this was a matter of filling in the details on the life of the former prophets with incidents to which Muslims could relate (see e.g. J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of gender and culture in post-biblical Judaism and medieval Islam*, Chicago 1993), a concern with identifying the unknown within the context of the life of Muḥammad (*taʿyīn al-mubham*) (see U. Rubin, *The eye of the beholder: the life of Muḥammad as viewed by the early Muslims: a textual analysis*, Princeton 1995), or a polemical impulse from the context of Sunnī-Shīʿī interaction (see e.g. U. Rubin, *Prophets and progenitors in the early Shīʿa tradition*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 41-65), historicisation of the text was comprehensive and compelling. Of course, this is not the history of contemporary historians, but a history which is both controlled by, and productive of, the meaning of the text of the Ḳurʾān.

It is in the flight from the constraints of sacred history, however, that symbol, allegory and inspiration gained their status, especially in *tafsīr* from within the context of Ṣūfism, but by no means limited to that area. The appreciation of the literary qualities of the text of the Ḳurʾān in terms of literary figures and general stylistic concerns may well have led, over the course of time, to more wide-ranging symbolic and allegorical readings of the text. In the hands of Ṣūfīs, such readings became supported by notions of insight derived from mystical experience; this is reflected in the text of their *tafāsīr* in the way in which a passage of the Ḳurʾān can be the jumping-off point (a "keynote") for a meditation on a topic seemingly unconnected to the text itself but derived from images contained within the personal experience of the individual Ṣūfī (on Ṣūfī interpretation, see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langue mystique*, Beirut 1970).

Within all these aspects and procedures, there are changing emphases over time. Variability in the matter of citation of authorities is one such factor, and the one which Muslims seized upon in their efforts at classification, as noted above. Expansion and contraction in the number of meanings provided is another, independent variable which appears to vary over time. It is perhaps one of the ironies (but also one of an author's celebrations) that the reliance on the citation of authorities tended, in some hands at least, to proliferate meanings. There was a continual building upon the past which was being accumulated for future generations within these works. Al-Ḳurṭubī, for example, exemplifies the tendency towards multiplicity of meanings with little indication of what is to be preferred. The Ḳurʾān, it is being suggested, incorporates all these potentialities. Named authorities are an important element within this proliferation of alternatives. But even then, it needs to be remembered that all this is done within a certain framework of the author, his concerns and allegiances (e.g. his concept of what "Sunnī" Islam encompasses). The citations are always subject to choice, the authorities subject to selection. Time, location, sectarian and popular beliefs will all have affected the selections and choices. The selection of material is precisely what defines the tradition within which an author is working (and thus for the purposes of this overview of *tafsīr* as a genre, distinctions such as Sunnī versus Shīʿī are irrelevant; on the specific characteristics of the latter, see G. Monnot, *Islam: exégèse coranique*, in *Annuaire EPHE, V^e^ section*, xci [1982-3], 309-17).

Another such variable may be seen in the expansion and contraction in the amount of supplementary material provided within a *tafsīr*. This is especially so in the contemporary context, but it is a tendency which has roots in the mature stage of Muslim *tafsīr* for a variety of reasons. Some authors clearly aimed their works at more popular (although not necessarily less learned) audiences with the result of producing concise works suitable for easy copying and detailed study. Such works (e.g. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*] and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*) end up being technical and presumptive of a great deal of knowledge in areas of grammar and the like. Other authors, however, reacted to the accumulation of exegetical material with a more negative attitude, feeling that much of it was "getting away" from the meaning of the Ḳurʾān. Categories of material emerged which were deemed to be extraneous and were to be censured: the movement against *Isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*], a technical term within *tafsīr* apparently first employed as such by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [*q.v.*]), serves as the prime example of this tendency. Rigorous *isnād* criticism and a prioritising of knowledge by its proximity in time to Muḥammad also provided criteria by which the treasure trove of material from the generations of past exegetes was whittled down to produce more limited ranges of meaning.

In tracing the historical developments of the genre, it is possible to separate out four periods of expression: formative, classical, mature and contemporary. The separation is artificial, particularly fuzzy at the edges and certainly in need of refinement. It does, however, provide a means by which to summarise the contents of the genre by its highlights.

A debate has raged for a century now in scholarly literature concerning the origins of *tafsīr* as a procedure and as written works. To some extent, this is a continuation of a debate within Islam itself concern-

ing authority in *tafsīr*: did Muḥammad authorise interpreting the Ḳur'ān? If so, then interpretations from him and his closest companions might be thought to be of the highest importance in establishing what the text means. It may be observed in passing that such an argument tends to be a restraining one, suggesting a limited range of legitimate meanings; these arguments become closely associated in mediaeval times with Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kat̲h̲īr (d. 774/1373 [*q.v.*]). On the other hand, an early reluctance to interpret the Ḳur'ān is to be noted, especially associated with statements attributed to the caliph ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb [*q.v.*]. An attempt to reconcile these two ideas is found in the notion that ʿUmar was only against interpretation of "unclear" verses. The lack of documentary evidence makes the debate a difficult one to adjudicate, and the debate among the views of Goldziher, *Richtungen*; H. Birkeland, *Old Muslim opposition against the interpretation of the Koran*, Oslo 1955; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri: Qur'ānic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967; and Wansbrough, *Quranic studies*, remains unresolved (see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, in *RMMM*, lviii. 4 [1990], 82-100).

One response to this uncertain historical situation has been the attempt on the part of a number of contemporary editors to reconstruct texts on the basis of attributions found in later texts. Such "books" are historically said to have existed (as Sezgin documents in *GAS*, i, 6-8, 25-35 esp.) but are no longer found in manuscript copies. Thus the only choice has been to reconstruct them. Such publications have recently proliferated and a number of examples can be cited: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [*q.v.*] and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, in *MIDEO*, xxii [1994], 295-6, no. 36); Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 120/737; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, in *MIDEO*, xxi [1993], 439-40, no. 78); al-Suddī (d. 128/745; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, 296, no. 37, and E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, 348, no. 574); and Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 196/811 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, 89-90). In some senses, these reconstructions may be no different from the supposedly early works found in late manuscript form ascribed to Mud̲j̲āhid b. D̲j̲abr (d. *ca.* 100-4/718-22 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, 440, no. 79) and Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Les débuts de l'exégèse coranique*, 89). A fundamental issue exists regarding the fragmentary nature of these books: should it be interpreted as evidence of the fragmentary nature of early *tafsīr per se*, or as evidence of a mediaeval attempt to extract these books from later works? On this, see Rippin, *Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qur'ān and the problem of early tafsīr texts*, in *BSOAS*, xlvii (1985), 22-43.

We are on somewhat firmer ground for discussion of the formative period of *tafsīr* with a series of books the character of which is more cohesive and thus more likely to be authentic, although certainly not free of later interpolation, reformulation and editorial intrusion. Works ascribed to Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]), al-Farrā' (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanʿānī (d. 211/827; see *GAS*, i, 99), and al-Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲ al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830; see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1990 à 1992*, 441-2, no. 81) may all be thought to fit into this category. However, the work ascribed to al-Kalbī (d. 146/763 [*q.v.*])—and at the same time ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. *ca.* 68/687 [*q.v.*]) and al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415 [*q.v.*])—indicates the difficulty in accepting an ascription without detailed examination and comparison; in this particular case, the work is more likely attributed to the 4th/10th century (see Rippin, *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās and criteria for dating early tafsīr texts*, in *JSAI*, xviii [1994], 38-83). It should be noted that the fragmentary nature of the works ascribed to Ibn Wahb (d. 197/812 [*q.v.*]) has been argued by Muranyi, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (125/743-197/812). al-Ǧāmiʿ. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (Die Koranexegese)*, Wiesbaden 1993-5, i, 2, to be evidence that this formative stage of *tafsīr* is not as uniform as the above summary may suggest, but the nagging question of assessing the date of all these early texts still remains.

The classical period of *tafsīr* is often considered to come into existence with the *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān ʿan ta'wīl āy al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ṭabarī's work, the focus of a series of studies by Gilliot (esp. *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*), is a vast compendium of traditions and analysis in which grammar plays its role as the major arbitrator between rival meanings. However, this period was clearly one of intense development of works of *tafsīr*, and several significant works from authors who lived roughly in the same period as al-Ṭabarī still exist and need to be viewed as a part of this expression of classical *tafsīr*. Notably, a number of other works that express differing theological viewpoints need close attention, especially when viewed in light of the polemical aspects of al-Ṭabarī: Hūd b. Muḥkim (d. towards the end of the 3rd/9th century; see *GAS*, i, 41), *Tafsīr*, an Ibāḍī work; Furāt b. Furāt al-Kūfī (d. *ca.* 310/922; see *GAS*, i, 539), *Tafsīr*, S̲h̲īʿī; al-ʿAyyās̲h̲ī (d. *ca.* 320/932 [*q.v.*]), *Tafsīr al-ʿAyyās̲h̲ī*, S̲h̲īʿī; al-Ḳummī (d. end 4th/10th century; see *GAS*, i 45-6), *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, a brief and markedly S̲h̲īʿī work; al-Tustarī (d. 283/896; see *GAS*, i, 647, and G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qur'ānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)*, Berlin 1980), *Tafsīr*. More subtle in its theological variance but significant none the less is al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944 [*q.v.*]), *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (only vol. i published).

Within the mature phase of *tafsīr* there is an abundant number of works, the full dimensions of which have not been fully catalogued. Among the most famous are al-T̲h̲aʿlabī (d. 427/1035 [*q.v.*]), *al-Kas̲h̲f wa 'l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān* (unpublished except for its bibliographic introduction, ed. I. Goldfeld, Acre 1984), a vast compendium of material whose interests are partially reflected in the author's work, *ʿArā'is al-mad̲j̲ālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*; al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021; see *GAS*, i, 671-4, and G. Böwering, *The Qur'ān commentary of al-Sulamī*, in W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little (eds.), *Islamic studies presented to Charles J. Adams*, Leiden 1991, 41-56), *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr*, a work characterised by Ṣūfī interpretations (al-Sulamī's *Ziyādāt ḥaḳā'iḳ al-tafsīr* has now been published, ed. Böwering, Beirut 1995); al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058 [*q.v.*], and see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens édités en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994*, 296-7, no. 38), *al-Nukat wa 'l-ʿuyūn*; al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067 [*q.v.*]), *al-Tibyan fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, a significant S̲h̲īʿī expression; al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, *al-Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf ʿan ḥaḳā'iḳ g̲h̲awāmiḍ al-tanzīl*; al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153 [*q.v.*], and also see M.O.A. Abdul, *The Qur'an: Shaykh Tabarsi's commentary*, Lahore 1977), *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-bayān li-ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, a moderate S̲h̲īʿī work; Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*], and see Jane McAuliffe, *Ibn al-Jawzī's exegetical propaedeutic: introduction and translation*, in *Alif. Journal of Comparative Poetics*, viii [1988], 101-13), Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209

[*q.v.*], *Kitāb zād al-masīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr,* and also see the studies by J. Jomier, *Les mafatih al-ghayb de l'imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi: quelques dates, lieux, manuscrits,* in *MIDEO*, xiii [1977], 253-90 and *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606 H./1210) et les commentaires du Coran plus anciens,* in *ibid.*, xv [1982], 145-72), *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, a work generally cited for its vast coverage and philosophical depth; al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 671/1273 [*q.v.*]), *al-Djāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, one of the most masterly compendia of interpretational material; al-Bayḍāwī (d. between 685-716/1286-1316; [*q.v.*]), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʾwīl*, a work usually understood as an epitomisation of that of al-Zamakhsharī, minus the Muʿtazilī theological slant; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Kāshānī (d. 731/1330 [*q.v.*], see also P. Lory, *Les commentaires ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, Paris 1980), usually known under the title *Tafsīr Ibn al-ʿArabī*, a Ṣūfī *tafsīr*, reflecting al-Kāshānī's mystical forebear Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 628/1240 [*q.v.*]); Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]), *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*; al-Maḥallī and al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*; al-Suyūṭī also wrote his own larger work, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī ʾl-tafsīr bi ʾl-maʾthūr*. This summary of titles only takes into account some of the major published works readily available; many more works exist, both published and unpublished, especially from the later centuries, of which only a small portion has been examined with scholarly eyes.

It is in this mature phase that substantial debates rage within the discipline and have their affect upon the works produced. Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Muḳaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr* is one of the most strident and polemical of all such presentations and the effect of these ideas on Ibn Kathīr and many contemporary *mufassirūn* is noticeable. Fundamentally antagonistic to intellectual speculation of all types, whether legal or exegetical, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kathīr stand in contrast to the general tendency in *tafsīr* to allow for diversity. The latter champions dogmatism in his attempt to juxtapose and reconcile the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*, both understood as revealed books (see Calder, *Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr*, 130; McAuliffe, *Quranic hermeneutics: the views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr*, in Rippin, *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʾān*, Oxford 1988, 46-62).

In a manner which may well be unique amongst the world's religions, Muslims continue down to the present day to produce *tafāsīr* of the classical form, while also taking the enterprise into new literary regions. The contemporary phase of *tafsīr*, then, is an important one. The impetus behind much of the writing of *tafāsīr* from the 19th century on has been an attempt to simplify the content of the texts, making them more accessible to an increasingly literate but not necessarily formally religiously-trained population. As well, there has been the desire to spread religious and social ideas associated with the various contemporary platforms of reform, and an effective vehicle for doing this has been *tafsīr* (overviews of the subject are provided by J.M.S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran interpretation (1880-1960)*, Leiden 1968, and J.J.G. Jansen, *The interpretation of the Koran in modern Egypt*).

One can, then, point to a series of *tafāsīr* written in the 19th and 20th centuries that, in basic form, follow the classical literary genre. It is in their authors' conceptions of the world around them that the texts differ so markedly from their classical counterparts. This has especially led to a displacement of the exegetical tools of grammar and to an emphasis on theology and law but with those two disciplines defined to a large extent outside of their classical modes. Thus the *Tafsīr al-Manār* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905 [*q.v.*]) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [*q.v.*]) places an emphasis on law but sees this in general terms of moral guidance on the practical and social planes. Perhaps the most famous and influential of all contemporary *tafāsīr*, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān* of Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966 [*q.v.*]), is an eloquent statement constructing an Islamic vision of the world that is, at times, brilliant in its ability to relate the Ḳurʾānic text to the contemporary situation often through the tools of allegory and symbolism (see e.g. A.H. Johns, *Let my people go! Sayyid Quṭb and the vocation of Moses*, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim relations*, i [1990], 143-70, and O. Carré, *Mystique et politique. Lecture revolutionnaire du Coran par Sayyid Quṭb, frère musulman radical*, Paris 1984). Likewise, works known as *tafsīr ʿilmī* (for example, Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (d. 1940 [see DJAWHARĪ, ṬANṬĀWĪ]), *al-Djawāhir fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*) are characterised by an emphasis upon the "scientific" elements of the Ḳurʾān and could be said to introduce a new tool for interpretation, that of the discipline of science.

As well, there has been a tendency among contemporary writers to leave the form of classical *tafsīr* and compose works more limited in scope but embracing particular methods of approach. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. 1913) has written (under the pseudonym Bint al-Shāṭiʾ) *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī li ʾl-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm*, a study of 14 short *sūras* which focusses on lexical matters and "original meanings" of individual words within a framework of attention to Ḳurʾānic stylistic usage. Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd, *Mafhūm al-naṣṣ. Dirāsa fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, is another recent example in quite a different vein, for it is a book which raises methodological issues (severely challenged by some) about the understanding of the Ḳurʾān within contemporary times, in a form structured along the lines of classical introductions to *tafsīr* (see R. Wielandt, *Wurzeln der Schwierigkeit innerislamischen Gesprächs über neue hermeneutische Zugänge zum Korantext*, in Wild (ed.), *The Qurʾan as text*, 257-82).

The other important approach in contemporary times has been thematic (*mawḍūʿī*), a form that has no direct classical counterpart and breaks significantly from the description of the literary genre since, in the main, it leaves the principle of following the order of the scriptural text. The *tafsīr* of Maḥmūd Shaltūt [*q.v.*], for example, does follow the Ḳurʾān *sūra*-by-*sūra*, but emphasises the themes which emerge from a given *sūra* and then brings that theme into conjunction with all other passages dealing with the same theme. The treatment of each *sūra* thus ends up being organised by theme rather than verse order (see K. Zebiri, *Maḥmūd Shaltūt and Islamic modernism*, Oxford 1993). As a technique of interpretation, this does not move far from Ibn Taymiyya's emphasis on the first source of interpretation being the Ḳurʾān itself. Nor, upon close analysis, is it significantly different methodologically from the classical exegetes' well-established willingness to adduce other passages from elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān which would help in the elucidation of a problematic verse (al-Ṭabarī, for example, provides many such instances of referring the reader back to earlier discussions of a given point of dispute). It is thus the form in which the commentary appears that gives the contemporary works their distinctiveness. The popularity of this method has also led to the publication of vast numbers of monographs dealing explicitly with single themes within the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *Min hudā ʾl-Ḳurʾān*, which contains a number of individual monographs).

It is important to observe as well that in contem-

porary times, the writing of *tafāsīr* in languages other than Arabic has become more significant. While classical examples of such books exist in languages from Persian to Malay, such works were frequently (although not always; cf. the Persian *tafsīr* of al-Maybudī, d. 6th/12th century [*q.v.*], *Kashf al-asrār wa-ʿuddat al-abrār*) based around translations from Arabic. In contemporary times there has been a recognition of the need to express an interpretation of the Ḳur'ān in local languages and to raise interpretational issues of local concern. The extent of the material, as reflected in the example of Indonesia (see H. Federspiel, *Popular Indonesian literature on the Qur'an*, Ithaca 1994), indicates that this will be a significant field of study in the future. *Tafsīr* has also been an important vehicle for new religious expressions, notably in the case of the Bābī and Bahā'ī faiths, once again indicating an increasing flexibility in the genre within the contemporary period.

Bibliography: Largely given in the text. C. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam*, contains a significant bibliography of the subject. For further bibliographies, see A. Rippin, *The present status of tafsīr studies*, in *MW*, lxxii [1982], 224-38; A. Neuwirth, *Koran*, in H. Gätje (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, Band II, *Literaturwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1987, 119-35 (sections 3.7 and 3.8) and Band III, *Supplement* (W. Fischer, ed.), Wiesbaden 1992, 262-4. Still valuable as an overview of the subject is T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, ii, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns*, Leipzig 1919, 163-92. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, ²Cairo 1967, surveys the major *tafāsīr* in a useful manner.

(A. RIPPIN)

TĀFTA (P.), a type and weave of fabric used mainly in dress in Persia and Turkey from the 16th century onwards. Since the verb *tāftan* has many meanings, e.g. to twist, turn, be woven, be shining, be sparkling, there has been much ambiguity and confusion of identification; the term has been used indiscriminately for both silk cloth and linen garments. The safest definition is based on technique, and here the meanings "twisted" and "shining" are important. *Tāfta* is a silk cloth of technically simple plain or tabby weave. Fine horizontal silk weft threads pass over and under single alternating vertical silk warp threads of equal weight and thickness to produce a firm textured, but supple and versatile, fabric. *Tāfta* was usually dyed in one colour only, and has a soft shimmering appearance, in contrast to the highly-polished surface of satin.

Tāfta was woven in large quantities in Persia during the Ṣafawid period as a light silk garment fabric. The best surviving examples are coats of 17th century date, with tight bodices, long sleeves and full bell-shaped skirts which were all probably woven in Iṣfahān, with Yazd and Kirmān as important secondary centres of manufacture. Background colours include light blue, orange and golden yellow. Variations in the basic *tāfta* weave depend on the twist of the silk, which produces a more or less pronounced ribbed effect. *Tāfta* can be decorated with stamped geometric motifs or with sprays of flowers woven in supplementary brocade weave in coloured silks and gold and silver wire. *Tāfta* production continued into the 18th and 19th centuries, brocaded with small repeated floral motifs. *Tāfta* was used in Turkey from the 16th century onwards, mainly as a plain fabric decorated with stamped designs. Here it was used as linings and facings in contrasting colours to the long, formal *kaftan* and *entari* robes made of velvet or heavy silk brocade.

Tāfta passed into Europe as Italian *taffeta*, German *Taft*, where, although possibly represented in 16th century paintings, it is best known as a light silk fabric in fresh colours—blue, green, pink—made into women's fashionable dresses of the late 17th to 18th centuries. The *tāfta* weave survives today but it is machine-woven in synthetic fibres.

Bibliography: Nancy A. Reath and Eleanor B. Sachs, *Persian textiles and their techniques from the sixth to the eighteenth centuries, including a system for general textile classification*, New Haven 1937; Carol Bier (ed.), *Woven from the soul, spun from the heart*, Textile Museum, Washington D.C. 1987; Hülya Tezcan, *Atlaslar atlası. A catalogue of the Vedat Nedim Tor fabric collection*, Istanbul 1993.

(JENNIFER M. SCARCE)

AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ, SAʿD AL-DĪN MASʿŪD B. ʿUMAR b. ʿAbd Allāh, renowned scholar and author on grammar, rhetoric, theology, logic, law and Ḳur'ān exegesis, born in Ṣafar 722/February-March 1322 in Taftāzān, a village near Nasā in Khurāsān, d. 793/1390 (on the form of this place-name, see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 61-2; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 35).

His family seems to have been distinguished in scholarship for several generations, and his grandfather Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUmar was a *ḳāḍī*. Nothing certain is known about his education. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī in his unreliable biographical notice in his *Inbā'* describes him as a pupil of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Īdjī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī without specifying a time or place for his alleged studies with them. It is, in fact, unlikely that al-Īdjī ever taught him. In his commentary on al-Īdjī's *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-uṣūl*, al-Taftāzānī praises him highly without referring to him as his teacher. A story reported by Ibn al-ʿImād about al-Taftāzānī's having at first been the most stupid among al-Īdjī's pupils is entirely fictitious. According to Ibn ʿArabshāh, al-Taftāzānī and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī were both among the scholars active at the court of the Khāns of the Golden Horde in Saray. If they were there at the same time, al-Taftāzānī may have benefited from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's learning in philosophy. He was, however, already an established scholar at that time. More reliable is perhaps a note in Ibn Ḥadjar's biography of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī al-Ḳirimī that al-Taftāzānī was among his pupils. Al-Taftāzānī's fields of learning, especially his expertise in both Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī law and *uṣūl*, closely matched those of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn. Al-Taftāzānī, in any case, completed his earliest book, a commentary on *al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī* by al-Zandjānī on Arabic morphology, in 738/1338 at the age of sixteen, according to Faṣīḥ al-Khʷāfī in Faryūmad.

His further peregrinations are better known from the dates and places of completion of his works. In 742/1342 he was in Djurdjāniyya in Khʷārazm. Then he became attached to the ruler of Harāt, Muʿizz al-Dīn Kart, to whom he dedicated his *Sharḥ al-Talkhīṣ al-muṭawwal* in 748/1347. In 752/1351 he was in Djām. Next, he joined Djānī Beg, Khān of the Golden Horde, to whom he dedicated his *Mukhtaṣar al-maʿānī*, completed at Ghudjduwān in 756/1355. Two years later he was in "Gülistān of Turkistān". Gülistān is known as a mint of the Golden Horde; its exact location is uncertain, but it has been thought to be near New Saray. Al-Taftāzānī departed, presumably because of the troubles following the death of Djānī Beg, and was back in Harāt in 759/1358. He completed books in Khʷārazm in 768/1367, 770/1369, and 778/1367-8 and was evidently attached during this period

to Ḥusayn Ṣūfī, independent ruler of Khwārazm. When Tīmūr seized Khwārazm in 781/1379, Mu'izz al-Dīn Kart's son Malik Muḥammad, ruler of Sarakhs, asked his nephew, Pīr Muḥammad b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who was in the suite of Tīmūr, to obtain the latter's permission for al-Taftāzānī to join him in Sarakhs. Al-Taftāzānī thus was in Sarakhs in 782/1380. Subsequently, learning of his eminence in scholarship, Tīmūr insisted that he come to Samarḳand. He was there in 784/1382 and, after returning to Sarakhs in 785-6/1383-4, stayed in Samarḳand permanently from 787/1385 until his death on 22 Muḥarram 793/30 December 1390. Tīmūr at first treated him with great honour. A scholarly rivalry, however, arose between him and the much younger al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī, whom Tīmūr brought to Samarḳand after his conquest of Shīrāz in 789/1387. (The assertion of some modern scholars that Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī had earlier introduced al-Djurdjānī to Shāh Shudjā', the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, is based on a confusion with another Sa'd al-Dīn.) A public debate about al-Zamakhsharī's exegesis of Ḳur'ān, II, 5, took place between them in the presence of Tīmūr. The Mu'tazilī scholar Nu'mān al-Dīn al-Khwārazmī judged in favour of al-Djurdjānī, and Tīmūr backed him. Al-Taftāzānī's severe grief about this defeat is said to have hastened his end. His body was carried to Sarakhs where he was buried.

Al-Taftāzānī's fame rests mainly on his commentaries on well-known works in various fields of learning, which came to be widely used in teaching at *madrasas* until modern times. Many of them received supercommentaries by later scholars. His own original works are few, such as *al-Maḳāṣid* on theology, *al-Miftāḥ* on Shāfi'ī law, a collection of Ḥanafī *fatwās*, and a Persian commentary on the Ḳur'ān entitled *Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār*. Noteworthy are also a Turkish versified translation of Sa'dī's *Būstān* composed in 755/1354 (Gibb, *HOP*, i, 202-3) and a polemical refutation of Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Al-Taftāzānī wrote on both Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī law, and is described in some of his biographies as a Shāfi'ī. From remarks in his *al-Talwīḥ* it seems evident, however, that he personally adhered to the Ḥanafī school. In theology he sometimes, especially in his commentary on the *'Aḳā'id* of the Māturīdī scholar Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, upheld Māturīdī positions against Ash'arī criticism, but he also often endorsed Ash'arī doctrine. Altogether, he backed a broad, though anti-Mu'tazilī Sunnism, which was in accord with later concepts of Sunnī orthodoxy. In later literature, he is often quoted simply as "al-'Allāma".

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, Ḥaydarābād 1350, iv, 350; idem, *Inbā' al-ghumr*, ed. Ḥ Ḥabashī, Cairo 1969, i, 183, 389-90; Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farrukh, Mashhad 1962, iii, 124; Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Adjā'ib al-maḳdūr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo 1979, 83; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 319-22; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran n.d. [1954], iii, 544-6; Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, ed. K.K. Bakrī and 'A. Abu 'l-Nūr, Cairo 1968, i, 205-8; Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324, 128-30, 134-7; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 353-4; Brockelmann, II, 278-80, S II, 301-4; Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-'aḳā'id al-Nasafiyya*, ed. Klūd Salāma, Damascus 1974, introd. 6-36; idem, *Sharḥ al-Maḳāṣid*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra, Cairo 1984-9, i, introd., 74-146.

(W. MADELUNG)

TAGHĀZA, a Saharan salt pan (*sabkha* [*q.v.*]), situated in lat. 23° 26' N., long. 4° 59' W. (hence now in southern Algeria), and a major source of rock salt for West Africa down to the mid-sixteenth century. It is possible that it is to be identified with the Tātantāl of al-Bakrī (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 171), which is described as a mine twenty days from Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], from which huge quantities of salt are sent to Sidjilmāsa and to *bilād al-sūdān*. Salt blocks also formed the local building material. Al-Ḳazwīnī (*'Adjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 16), the first author to mention Taghāza by name (for Taghāra *read* Taghāza) also notes this feature, and says the salt was mined by slaves of the Masūfa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 377-8, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 947), whose journey from Sidjilmāsa to Taghāza took twenty-five days, remarked on the large amounts of gold dust traded there for the salt. This salt was then carried to Walāta and on to Mali [*q.v.*] where it was sold at great profit. He also notes the use of this salt, cut in pieces, as currency, as it was also in Gao (al-Bakrī, 183).

At what point Taghāza came under the control of Songhay [*q.v.*] is not clear, but already by *ca.* 946/1539-40 the Sa'dian sultan Aḥmad al-A'radj was laying claim to it with Askiya Isḥāḳ I. Later, in 964/1556-7, Mawlāy Muḥammad al-Shaykh attempted to install his own representative there. The mine was abandoned in favour of another called Taghāza al-ghizlān. On his accession in 986/1578, Mawlāy al-Manṣūr demanded that Songhay hand over to him the tax revenue from this mine. Askiya Dāwūd responded with a generous gift, but in 994/1586 a small Sa'dian force occupied this Taghāza and exploitation was moved to a site probably to be identified with Taoudeni (at lat. 22° 40' N. long. 3° 59' W.). A new Sa'dian demand to be paid the salt tax revenue in Ṣafar 998/December 1589-January 1590 was met with defiance from Askiya Isḥāḳ II. This provided the pretext for the Sa'dian conquest of Songhay in 1000/1591.

Although the original mines of Taghāza were abandoned, the site was used as an occasional caravan station. As late as 1828 René Caillié found Tādjakant nomads there clearing out wells and saw the ruins of houses made of salt slabs (*Journal d'un voyage à Tombouctou et à Jenné*, Paris 1830, ii, 471-8). Several superficial archaeological excavations have been carried out there, revealing two villages, one to the south-east and one to the north-west of the salt pan. In each, the remains of a mosque was found and, in the north-westerly one, traces of a fort. Mauny estimates that their total population may have reached 1,200-1,800. Salt is still being mined at Taoudeni and carried to Timbuktu on camel-back (see J. Skolle, *The road to Timbuctoo*, London 1956).

Bibliography: R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'ouest africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961 (Méms. IFAN, no. 61), 116-17, 328-32, 474-5, 485-7; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī, *Ta'rīkh al-sūdān*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 99, 111, 121, 137-8; Th. Monod, *Teghaza, la ville en sel gemme*, in *La Nature*, no. 3025 (15 May 1938), 289-96.

(J.O. HUNWICK)

TAGHLIB B. WĀ'IL (also Taghlib Wā'il), an important, mostly nomadic, tribe of the Rabī'a b. Nizār group [see RABĪ'A and MUḌAR; NIZĀR B. MA'ADD]. A member of this tribe was called Taghlabī or Taghlibī (for the plural Taghāliba, see al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 130). The tribe's pedigree is Taghlib/Dithār b. Wā'il b. Ḳāsiṭ b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Djadīla b. Asad b. Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān.

Until the Basūs [*q.v.*] war which they fought against their brother-tribe, Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*], the Taghlib

lived in Nadjd [*q.v.*]. Following their defeat in the battle known as Yawm Taḥlāḳ al-Limam ("the day of the shaving off of the hair that descends below the lobe of the ear", also called Yawm al-Taḥāluḳ), which took place after the death of Kulayb b. Rabīʿa [*q.v.*; and see ḤIMĀ], the Taghlib dispersed (*fa-tafarraḳū*; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Ḳiḍa*) and settled, together with their "paternal uncles", the Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ and Ghufayla b. Ḳāsiṭ, on the lower Euphrates, where some of them may have settled earlier. After ʿAmr b. Kulthūm [*q.v.*] had in 569-70 assassinated the king of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], ʿAmr b. Hind [*q.v.*], they migrated further up the river to al-Djazīra [*q.v.*].

Before Islam the Taghlib were within the sphere of influence of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and their client-kings, the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥīra. Already in the 4th century A.D. Shāpūr [*q.v.*] II transferred Taghlibī captives to Baḥrayn, more precisely to Dārīn, "the name of which is Haydj"(!), and al-Khaṭṭ (al-Ṭabarī, i, 839, cf. 845; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, 56-7, cf. 67). But the place-name "Haydj" owes its existence to a scribal error: instead of *Dārīn wa-ʾsmuhā h.y.dj*, read: *Dārīn wa-Samāhīdj* (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*..., facs. ed. Frankfurt a. M. 1986 ff., ix, 290; for the later history of the Taghlib in Baḥrayn, see al-Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 395-6). The poet Djābir b. Ḥunayy al-Taghlibī complained about the practices of a tax-collector sent by the king of al-Ḥīra and the customs imposed on trade at the markets of ʿIrāḳ (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, no. xlii). The Taghlib were at some stage part of the *ridāfa* institution (M.J. Kister, *Al-Ḥīra: some notes on its relations with Arabia*, in *Arabica*, xv [1968], 143-69, at 149, 166, repr. in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, Variorum Reprints, London 1980, no. III).

For several decades in the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th, Taghlib's fortunes were connected to the rise of Kinda [*q.v.*] in central and northern Arabia. After a major Taghlibī defeat in the war against the Bakr and the retirement of their leader, Muhalhil, several tribes, including the Taghlib and Bakr, agreed to subject themselves to king al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥudjr/Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī. There followed a short interregnum of Kinda [*q.v.*] in al-Ḥīra in the twenties of the 6th century [see SĀSĀNIDS, vol. IX, at 77a]. After the king's death two of his sons, Shuraḥbīl and Salama, fought against each other at al-Kulāb (after 530; it was the First Day of al-Kulāb, or the Kulāb of the Rabīʿa; on Wādī ʾl-Kulāb (modern Wādī ʾl-Shaʿrā'), see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] xiii/1-2 [July-Aug. 1978], 14-29). The two brother-tribes returned to their feud; the Bakr fought on Shuraḥbīl's side while the Taghlib and Namir were with Salama. The latter's cavalry was led by the Taghlibī warrior al-Saffāḥ (Salama b. Khālid) (Abū ʿUbayda, *al-Dībādj*, ed. al-Djarbūʿ and al-ʿUthaymīn, Cairo 1411/1991, 100). Shuraḥbīl was killed by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm's cousin, Abū Ḥanash ʿUṣ(u)m b. al-Nuʿmān. The war between the Taghlib and Bakr came to an end [see BAKR B. WĀ'IL] around the middle of the 6th century with the signing of a peace treaty at the market of Dhu ʾl-Madjāz near Mecca.

When the Lakhmids regained control of al-Ḥīra, they could count on Taghlib's support. Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027; see AL-MAGHRIBĪ, vol. V, at 1211b; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 245-6; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, vi, 27 ff.) corrects a common error with regard to the famous visit of Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr [*q.v.*] to Byzantium. It was not against the Asad [*q.v.*], who had killed his father, that Imruʾ al-Ḳays wanted the Byzantines to support him, but against the king of al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir III (b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ, *ca.* 505-54). Upon his return to the throne in al-Ḥīra, al-Mundhir sent an army of the Taghlib and Bakr to hunt down Kinda's leading family, the Banū Ākil al-Murār (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, iv, 567, confirming the reading "Taghlib" in *Aghānī*[1], viii, 64, l. 17; cf. G. Olinder, *The kings of Kinda*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Nova Series xxiii/1 [1927], 1-118, at 66-7; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, ii, 85, n. 5).

In the Islamic period, there were Taghlibīs in the Farasān [*q.v.*] island(s) in the Red Sea near the Yemeni coast. The name Farasān originally belonged to a tribal group of the Taghlib which emigrated from Syria to the Mawzaʿ area (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Taʿrīf fī ʾl-ansāb*..., ed. Ẓalām, Cairo [1407/1986], 119-22; cf. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, in *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] xxvi/3-4 [March-April 1991], 258-67, xxxvi/5-6 [May-June 1991], 390).

The genealogical literature records the name of al-Akhzar b. Suhayma, an early Taghlibī genealogist (*nassāba*) who transmitted at least part of the information on his tribe available to later scholars (cf. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab*, i, 45-7). Between al-Akhzar's generation and that of the great philologists of the 2nd Islamic century there were intermediaries who in most cases remained anonymous. Yet we know that one of Abū ʿUbayda's [*q.v.*] informants on the Yawm Irāb was the Taghlibī Abū Khayra Affār b. Laḳīṭ (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa-l-Farazdak*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Cambridge 1905, i, 473, l. 11, ii, 703, l. 4; his *nisba*, al-ʿAdawī, shows that he belonged to the ʿAdī Taghlib, i.e. ʿAdī b. Usāma b. Mālik b. Bakr). But expertise in Taghlibī history and genealogy was not an exclusive Taghlibī domain. Ibn al-Kalbī's informant about the First Day of al-Kulāb, and about ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, was Khirāsh b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿIdjlī [cf. ʿIDJL] *al-rāwiya* (on Khirāsh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 551; cf. *op. cit.*, 544-5, 547; *GAS*, ii, 40). Khirāsh also gave information about the battle of Ṣiffīn (M. Hinds, *The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 A.D.)*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 3-42, at 6, 20), which indicates that his scholarly interests included both the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. Interestingly, a passage from Abū ʿUbayda's *K. al-Ayyām* (taken either from his *K. al-Ayyām al-ṣaghīr* or *K. al-Ayyām al-kabīr*), which deals with the killing of ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in the war between the Taghlib and the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*], demonstrates that Abū ʿUbayda's *K. al-Ayyām* (at least in its longer version) included not only pre-Islamic *Ayyām* but also battles of the early Islamic period (Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā ʾstaʿdjama*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945 ff., i, 216, iv, 1362).

Ibn al-Kalbī's interest in the Taghlib is reflected in the titles of two of his monographs, *K. Akhbār Rabīʿa wa ʾl-Basūs wa-ḥurūb Taghlib wa-Bakr* and *K. Akhbār banī Taghlib wa-ayyāmihim wa-ansābihim* (al-Nadjāshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. al-Nāʾīnī, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 400).

The 2nd/8th century scholar ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī compiled *K. Nasab Taghlib b. Wāʾil* and Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī compiled *Nasab banī Taghlib* (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, iv, 1631, 1709). Other early collections of reports about the Taghlib were entitled *Ashʿār [Banī] Taghlib* (see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, *passim*; I. Goldziher, *Some notes on the Dīwāns of the Arabic tribes*, in *JRAS* [1897], 325-34, at 331, repr. in idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv, 119-28). Beside poetry, these monographs also included reports about the historical background of the verses (cf., e.g., *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1387/1967 ff., ii, 173-4, viii, 557-60).

From Taghlib are descended three sons: Ghanm, al-Aws and ʿImrān. But the genealogical literature, keeping to the essentials, deals almost exclusively with the descendants of Ghanm b. Taghlib. The six sons of Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm formed a group called al-Arāḳim (pl. of al-Arḳam, a certain speckled serpent). All six were eponyms of tribes (*ḳabāʾil*), the most numerous and prestigious being the Djusham. Two of the Arāḳim tribes, the Djusham and the Mālik, were referred to as *al-rawḳānⁱ* ("the two horns" or "the two numerous and strong companies"). Bakr's other sons were ʿAmr, Thaʿlaba, al-Ḥārith and Muʿāwiya. The Arāḳim were the most important group among the Taghlib; nearly all the information about the Taghlib in the genealogy books relates to them.

Among the Djusham b. Bakr, the Zuhayr b. Djusham had a *nisba* of their own, al-Zuhayrī. The Zuhayr included several separate groups, the most important being the ʿAttāb b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr. One of the ʿAttāb was the *muʿallaḳāt* [*q.v.*] poet ʿAmr b. Kulthūm. Also, the poet and epistle writer Abū ʿAmr Kulthūm b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] al-Ḳinnasrīnī, who lived at the time of al-Maʾmūn and Hārūn al-Rashīd, belonged to the ʿAttāb (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*[2], v, 2243-6). The ʿAttāb kept their leading position in Islamic times. When the Taghlib-Ḳays war began, the Taghlib were led by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm's great-great-grandson (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 128, l. 4). The ʿAttāb and their brother-clans, ʿUtba and ʿItbān, formed a group called al-ʿUtab. The other descendants of Saʿd b. Zuhayr, namely the offspring of ʿAwf and Kaʿb, were called Banu 'l-Waḥad or al-Awḥād.

Still within the Zuhayr b. Djusham, but along the genealogical line of al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr, we find Kulayb b. Rabīʿa and his brother, the poet and leader Muhalhil. Kulayb was a *djarrār*, i.e. one who commanded 1,000 men, and the same was said of his father Rabīʿa.

The other component of the *rawḳānⁱ*, namely the Mālik b. Bakr, included the Djāhilī warrior al-Saffāḥ, whose descendants, like those of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, were prominent in the Islamic period.

There were among the Taghlib at least five more tribal groups (*aṣnāf*) known by a tribal appellation. Most of them belonged to the Mālik b. Bakr: al-Ḳamāḳim, al-Lahāzim (probably the ʿAwf b. Mālik b. Bakr), al-Abnāʾ (the Rabīʿa, ʿĀʾidh and Imruʾ al-Ḳays, sons of Taym b. Usāma; J. Barth, *Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, Leiden 1902, no. 31, 1), al-Ḳuʿūr (the Mālik b. Mālik b. Bakr and al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Bakr) and Rīsh al-Ḥubārā (the Ḳuʿayn b. Mālik b. Bakr). The ʿAmr b. Bakr were nicknamed al-Nakhābiḳa.

Rich evidence about Taghlib's tribal divisions in the Umayyad period is derived from the reports about the Taghlib-Ḳays war. Particularly detailed is the description of the battle of al-Ḥashshāk. Having been fatally wounded, their commander, Ḥanẓala b. Ḳays b. Hawbar al-Kinānī (of the Kināna b. Taym) was replaced by al-Marrār b. ʿAlḳama al-Zuhayrī, who organised the Taghlibī units under their tribal banners (*rāyāt*) and ordered each clan (*banū ab*) to place the women behind them. They were set in war disposition by a member of al-Abnāʾ. The Mālik b. Bakr had a banner of their own and one of their groups, the ʿAdī Taghlib, was at the centre of the army (*Shiʿr al-Akhṭal*, ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1390/1970, i, 75-6).

Before Islam, Taghlib was one of the strongest and most numerous nomadic tribes. The Taghlibīs were involved in some of the largest battles of pre-Islamic Arabia and often fought in large military formations. This indicates a high degree of solidarity among their subdivisions. Out of the eleven Rabīʿa leaders listed as *djarrārūn*, four belonged to the Taghlib (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 249-50; for a fifth *djarrār*, al-Saffāḥ, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 337). This is also true of Islamic times: in the category of those who held the command (*riʾāsa*) over whole tribes or groups of tribes, the following are mentioned in connection with the Taghlib-Ḳays war: Ḥanẓala [b. Ḳays] b. Hawbar, Shuʿayth b. Mulayl and Marrār b. ʿAlḳama al-Zuhayrī (*Muḥabbar*, 255-6).

However, after the advent of Islam, Taghlib's political importance declined. In the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*] around 605, the Taghlib and Namir (under al-Nuʿmān b. Zurʿa, a descendant of al-Saffāḥ) fought on the Sāsānid side. Since the Taghlib lived far from the birthplace of Islam, they could not have played a central role in Islamic history during the Prophet's life. Only four Taghlibīs were found in the biographical dictionaries dedicated to the Prophet's Companions: 1. ʿAṭiyya b. Ḥiṣn, said to have visited the Prophet; 2. The poet ʿUtba b. al-Waghl; 3. A member of al-Akhṭal's [*q.v.*] clan, the Banū Fadawkas, called Ḳabīṣa b. Wāliḳ, a Kūfan *sharīf* and one of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] generals; and 4. Khawla bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra, a niece of the Companion Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī and probably a Christian, was reportedly given in marriage to the Prophet but died on the way from Syria to Medina.

The Taghlib took part in the *ridda*. The false prophetess Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*], and her Tamīmī clan were clients of the Taghlib in the Djazīra, to whom her mother belonged. It was among the Taghlib that she began her career. One of her followers was al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān, a former Christian who led the Taghlibī unit in an army made of "mixed sorts of men from Rabīʿa" (*afnāʾ Rabīʿa*) which followed her into Arabia. Al-Hudhayl, who was one of the *djarrārūn*, was later involved in fighting against the conquering Muslims at ʿAyn al-Tamr and elsewhere.

Some wrongly assumed that al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was identical to Khawla's father, al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra of the Thaʿlaba b. Bakr (or rather, the Ḥurfa b. Thaʿlaba), who was also one of the *djarrārūn*. Now in order to differentiate between the two famous al-Hudhayls, al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was called *al-aṣghar* or "the younger" (Djarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. Ṭāhā, Cairo [1969-71], i, 253), while al-Hudhayl b. Hubayra was called *al-akbar* or "the older" (*Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, i, 473, l. 9). Indeed, whereas "the older" was connected to the pre-Islamic *ayyām*, "the younger" was linked to the conquests and was still alive at the time of ʿUthmān.

The Taghlib fought against the conquering Muslim armies in western ʿIrāḳ and the Djazīra. The ʿUtba b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr are specifically known to have taken part in the fighting. Al-Ṣahbāʾ Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of the Taghlibī leader, Rabīʿa b. Budjayr of the ʿUtba, was taken captive at al-Thanī and sent to Medina where she was bought by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*]. She bore ʿAlī twins, a boy and a girl, ʿUmar *al-akbar* (Ibn al-Taghlibiyya) and Ruḳayya.

Yet at some stage during the conquests, Taghlibī troops fought with the Muslims. The most prominent person among them was ʿUtba b. al-Waghl (mentioned above as a Companion) of the Saʿd b. Djusham b. Bakr. At the time of ʿUthmān he was a political activist in Kūfa, where the Taghlibī troops had settled. Taghlib's limited support in the conquests and

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's *Realpolitik* guaranteed for Taghlib a special status with regard to taxation.

In the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], the Rabīʿa (including the Taghlib) and Kinda fought under the same banner on ʿAlī's side (Abū ʿUbayda, *al-Dībādj*, 153-4). In connection with Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], we hear of the joint *riʾāsa* of Kinda and Rabīʿa. Among the Rabīʿa who fought with ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn there were also Taghlibīs who had their own banner (Hinds, *op. cit.*, 21), and the Arāḳim are specified in a verse (Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 486, l. 13). The Arāḳim were also involved in the Taghlib-Ḳays war (see e.g., Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Raḥūb*). At Ṣiffīn there were Taghlibīs on Muʿāwiya's side as well. One of them was "Muʿāwiya's poet", Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl (*Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 549). ʿAlī's reported hostile attitude towards the Taghlib (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183, l. 2; *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1384/1965, vi, 248, l. 15) may suggest that they were not an insignificant factor in the Umayyad force (cf. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 218).

A crucial reconciliation between the Taghlib and Bakr (who at Dhū Ḳār still fought on opposite sides) was affected by the pro-Umayyad Hammām b. Muṭarrif, described as the first leader (*awwal man sāda*) of the Taghlib in Islam. He guaranteed (*taḥammala*) the payment of the pending blood money (reportedly, for 1,000 men), giving 200 of his own camels, and paid the dowers of 500 women from each tribe who married men from the other tribe (al-Ḳurṭubī, *Taʿrīf*, 118; the figures are no doubt exaggerated). The reconciliation was presumably brought about by the Taghlib-Ḳays war (cf. Barth, *Dīwān . . . al-Quṭāmī*, no. 25, 34-5). With the backing of both the Taghlib and Bakr, the leader of the former, ʿAbd Yasūʿ, addressed the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik as a representative of both sons of Wāʾil (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, 567).

At the beginning of the rebellion of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], the Taghlib supported the Ḳays, who were led by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī and ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī (on the latter, cf. M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, Jerusalem 1989, index) in their fight against the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*]. Then a series of battles (*maghāzī*; *Aghānī*[1], xi, 59, l. 12) took place between the Taghlib, often together with the Namir, and the Ḳays which continued for some time after Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 308-9, 313-31). The Taghlibī forces in the battle known as Yawm al-Ḥashshāk, in which ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb was killed, are of particular interest. First, not only Taghlib's nomads (*bādiya*) took part in it but also their settled (*ḥāḍira*). Second, Taghlib's forces included 2,000 cavalrymen from their *muhādjirūn* [*q.v.*] (*sic*) equipped with heavy armour who had been called in from Ādharbaydjān (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 62, l. 3).

The settled members among the Taghlib of the Djazīra were few. Reportedly, the Taghlib were *badw* and included no *ḥāḍira* at all, but this statement must be qualified. In early Islam, the Taghlib, while owning no estates (*amwāl*), had fields (*ḥurūth*) as well as cattle (Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Amwāl*, ed. Harrās, Cairo 1396/1976, 37; note also the small villages (*ḳurayyāt*) along the Khābūr inhabited by the Taghlib in the Umayyad period; *Aghānī*[1], xx, 127, l. 9).

The Taghlib-Ḳays war was merely an episode in the struggle between ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. The Taghlib were pro-Umayyad. Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in al-Mawṣil [see AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ ṢUFRA] threatened to raid them if they did not pledge their allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr, but was dismissed before he could carry this out. ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb asked Ibn al-Zubayr's brother and governor of ʿIrāḳ, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], to appoint him as Taghlib's tax-collector (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 127, l. 23). Moreover, Muṣʿab killed the brother of a Bakr b. Wāʾil leader who headed from ʿIrāḳ to the Djazīra with reinforcements for the Taghlib. (The military aid must have followed the Taghlib-Bakr reconciliation.) The Taghlib are said to have complained to a leader of the Rabīʿa, whose support they sought, about the official support given to their enemies: "You know that there is Christianity among us and that the Muḍar are the Muḍar. They are the government (*sulṭān*) and we cannot combat the government's stable or treasury". ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb's head was reportedly sent in 70/689-90 to ʿAbd al-Malik, who welcomed the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr's ally.

The conversion of the Taghlib already began in the early days of Islam. "Muʿāwiya's poet", Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl, was a Muslim and the same was true of the small Taghlibī community in Kūfa. The Umayyad poet al-Ḳuṭāmī [*q.v.*] (ʿUmayr b. Shiyaym or Shuyaym) was a convert to Islam. Among the Taghlibīs living in Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] there were early converts to Islam (see entries on two *ḥadīth* transmitters, a father and a son, in al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Maʿrūf, Beirut 1405/1985 ff., iv, 141-4, xxiv, 5-6).

But the number of converts during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods was small. At that time the Taghlib, mostly Christian and living near the boundary of a hostile Christian empire, were not given high positions in the Muslim state. The Taghlib probably did not take part in expeditions against Byzantium, and the participation of the poet known as Aʿshā Banī Taghlib in one such expedition (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, viii, 114) does not indicate the contrary. Yet they did not lose their military prowess or they would not have kept so tenaciously to their faith and their vast territories, constantly threatened by massive military pressure from immigrating Arabian tribes.

Under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, Hishām b. ʿAmr b. Bisṭām al-Taghlibī (a descendant of al-Saffāḥ) was governor of al-Mawṣil and the Djazīra. (He had a partner who was in charge of the *kharādj* [*q.v.*].) At the time of al-Manṣūr, Hishām was governor of Sind. Under al-Mahdī, Bisṭām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī (perhaps Hishām b. ʿAmr's brother) was governor of Sind and later of Ādharbaydjān.

Both Hishām and Bisṭām were no doubt Muslims. The summer expedition against Byzantium of 177/793 was led by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Taghlibī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 629) whose forces must have included many Muslims from his own tribe.

Later in the ʿAbbāsid period, the Taghlib became increasingly Muslim as well as more and more prominent in the government of their own territory. In 197/813 al-Amīn appointed al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī (of the ʿAdī Taghlib) governor of al-Mawṣil. Al-Ḥasan took the old town of Adhrama from its owner, built in it a castle and fortified it.

In the 3rd/9th century there rose a powerful family in the Djazīra linked through marriage to that of the above-mentioned al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmar. Ṭawḳ b. Mālik (d. 216/831) of the ʿAttāb, who was a descendant of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm, officiated at the time of al-Maʾmūn as governor of Diyār Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] or the eastern Djazīra (in al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ, *al-Djalīs al-ṣāliḥ*, ed. al-Khūlī and I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1407/1987 ff., iv, 100, instead of *al-d.bār*, read *al-Diyār*).

The former's son, the above-mentioned Mālik b. Ṭawḳ b. Mālik (d. 260/874; sometimes the sources confuse the two), was governor of Damascus and al-Urdunn under al-Wāthiḳ and al-Mutawakkil (*Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh*

Dimashḳ li-Ibn ʿAsākir, ed. al-Naḥḥās *et alii*, Damascus 1404/1984 ff., xxiv, 50-4). More importantly, Mālik founded the town of al-Raḥba [*q.v.*] or Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (modern al-Mayādīn; cf. Th. Bianquis, *Raḥba et les tribus arabes avant les croisades*, in *BÉt. Or.*, xli-xlii [1989-90], 23-53, at 27-8). There is yet another case of building activity carried out by Taghlibīs in the same area. The offspring of Abū Rimtha al-Taghlibī (of the ʿAttāb, a descendant of ʿAbd Yasūʿ) settled in the ancient castle of Kafartūthā, fortified it and turned it into a *madīna* (*fa-maddanūhā*). In 261/874-5 Khiḍr b. Aḥmad al-Taghlibī was appointed by al-Muʿtamid governor of al-Mawṣil [see AL-MAWṢIL, vol. VI, at 900a].

The Ḥamdānids who in the 4th/10th century controlled both al-Mawṣil and Aleppo, were reportedly of the ʿAdī Taghlib. However, some claimed that they were *mawālī Taghlib* (cf. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 287-9). Further evidence on this matter goes back to al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, whose father and grandfather were secretaries of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī. Al-Wazīr remarks that one of those who were envious of the Ḥamdānids accused them of having made a false claim regarding their pedigree (*daʿwa*). This unspecified person said that they were in fact the *mawālī* of Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb al-Taghlibī (on whom, see al-Ṭabarī, index). Al-Wazīr refutes this, and his defence of the Ḥamdānids seems to provide us with valuable evidence concerning a presumed major conversion to Islam among the Taghlib in the latter half of the 3rd/9th century: simply, al-Wazīr says, many of them converted to Islam "at the hands of" [see MAWLĀ, vol. VI, at 876a] Isḥāḳ (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, vi, 527-9). Roughly in the same period, Mālik b. Ṭawḳ convinced al-Akhṭal's great-grandson, Sahl b. Bishr b. Mālik b. al-Akhṭal, to convert to Islam together with the rest of al-Akhṭal's offspring (*Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, xxiv, 52 (see AL-AKHṬAL, where it is wrongly stated that the famous poet left no offspring).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iv, Index, s.v. Taghlib; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 27-8, 541-2; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, 564-75; idem, *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 83-94; Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 303-7; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Nasab*, ed. Maryam Khayr al-Darʿ, Damascus 1410/1989, 355-6; Yāḳūt, *al-Muḳtaḍab min kitāb djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1987, 203-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1969, 95-6; *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, i, 266, 373; H. Lammens, *Le chantre des omiades*, in *JA* (1894), 94-176, 193-241, 381-459 (for the tribe's history after al-Akhṭal, see 438 ff.). About the Taghlibī poets, see the relevant entries in *GAS*, ii. For the dispute over the question whether or not the Dawāsir in contemporary Saudi Arabia are Taghlibīs, see *al-ʿArab* (Riyāḍ) xix/1-2 (April-May 1984), 111-20. For Taghlibī traditionists of various periods, see Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, ed. al-ʿAraḳsūsī, Beirut 1407-14/1986-93, ii, 45-9.

(M. Lecker)

TAGHRĪR (A.) a term of Islamic law normally meaning "deception". Its root is commonly used to refer to personal deceptive attributes of a person, while *maghrūr* is a person who is self-deceived and an inexperienced person is called *ghirr*. This perspective into the variety of the word's uses may help to distinguish it from *tadlīs* [*q.v.*], a word often used synonymously for deception in contracts.

The *Madjalla* [see MEDJELLE] encapsulates the Islamic legal definition of *taghrīr* (art. 164) to refer to deception (*ghishsh*). The example given is when the vendor offers the purchaser his commodity for a certain amount, telling him that he will be gaining, since it is worth more than that. The *Madjalla* permits a sale contract if it contains excessive undervaluing (*ghabn fāḥish*) providing it contains no deception (*taghrīr*). This clearly reflects a tendency towards a free market economy, which gives the vendor the right to sell at any price he sees fit. The exception to this rule is when the buyer is an orphan, or when the buying party is a religious endowment (*waḳf*), or the treasury which represents a public interest (art. 356). This provision has also been adopted by the Promulgated Civil Code of United Arab Emirates in article 191. By taking this view on *taghrīr*, the *Madjalla* follows the standard Ottoman Ḥanafī view which divides *taghrīr* into *ḳawlī*, verbal (see above), and *fiʿlī*, positive action of fraudulence, which takes place by deceiving the purchaser by misrepresenting the commodity's appearance or nature. The classical example of *taghrīr fiʿlī* is when a substandard part of the merchandise is placed below the good, giving the impression that the whole is good. *Taghrīr* can be seen as a prism that reflects the differences between the personal nature of *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] or sale in Muslim society and the formal nature of marriage [see SAWM]. *Taghrīr* in marriage is unlike *taghrīr* in *bayʿ* [*q.v.*] or sale because, once it has taken place, the contract may be terminated by either party, as it is not a matter of personal economic gain but rather involves a formal contract that is seen to affect society. Accordingly, if the man is led to believe that a woman is beautiful or a virgin when she is not, the contract can be nullified with *ghirra* compensation to be given by the person who caused such a deception, the *ghārr*. Similar rules apply to a woman deceived in marriage.

Bibliography: Nāṣir al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib fī tartīb al-muʿrab*, Beirut n.d., 337-8; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, iv, 527-8, vii, 123; *Sharḥ al-Madjalla*, Beirut repr. 1986, 199; S.E. Ryner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 194, 204.

(M.Y. Izzi Dien)

ṬĀGHŪT (A.).

1. In pre- and early Islamic usage.

The root *ṭ-gh-w* yields several forms with the general meaning of "to go beyond the measure, be very lofty, overflow, be tyrannical, rebellious, oppressive, proud, etc.", from which two may be noted here: *ṭaghw*, designating a height or mountain summit, and *ṭāghūt*, pl. *ṭawāghīt*, meaning the great pre-Islamic Arabian deities like al-Lāt at Ṭāʾif and al-ʿUzzā at Mecca. The term was then applied to Satan, sorcerer and rebel, and to any power opposed to that of Islam. One may also cite *ṭaghwa* "excess of injustice, impiety", as opposed to the *sharīʿa* and legitimate authority. This usage connects with usages and customs of various tribes in Yemen at variance with the *sharīʿa* (see further for this sense, below, 2.).

In the Ḳurʾān, *ṭāghūt* is considered as a plural when it denotes the idols (II, 256-7; V, 60; XVI, 36; XXXIX, 17) and as a singular when it is the equivalent of *shayṭān* [*q.v.*] (IV, 60, 67) or diviner and magician (IV, 51) with, however, a collective sense. The sing. ought to be *ṭaghw* which, according to al-Djawharī, ii, 620, means "mountain peak" and "any high place". Thus *ṭawāghīt* are the high places and sanctuaries taking their place there and the divinities worshipped there. But, by assimilation to the Aramaic root *ṭ-ʿ-w* (= Ar. *ṭ-gh-w*; *TʿA*, x, 225), found once in

the Bible (Ezek. xii. 10) and meaning essentially "to lead into error" (not to be confused with *ṭ-ʿ-y*, Ar. *ṭ-gh-y*; *TʿA*, x, 224), whose basic sense is "to be excessive in everything, be despotic", *ṭāghūt* designates, according to the exegetes and lexicographers, "everything which leads astray and turns aside from the cult of Allāh" (*ibid.*, x, 225). Cf. however, Eth. *ṭāʿōt* "idols", in Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 470, and see this also for *al-djibt* "idol, magician, impious person", named with *ṭāghūt* in Ḳurʾān, IV, 51, and *ʾamlak gebt*, θεὸς πρόσφατος. See on this W. Atallah, *Ǧibt et Ṭāġūt dans le Coran*, in *Arabica*, xvii (1970), 69-82.

In *Ḥadīth*, the epithet *ṭāghiya* is given to Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, *ṭāghiyat Daws* (al-Bukhārī, *fitan*, 23), to Manāt (*ibid.*, *hadjdj*, 79, and Muslim, *hadjdj*, 261) and al-Lāt (Abū Dāwūd, *ṣalāt*, 12; Ibn Mādja, *masādjid*, 3). One tradition distinguishes between a simple idol (*wathan*, see ṢANAM) and a leading deity (*ṭāghiya*) (Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 6, 366). Faith in Allāh presupposes the rejection of the cult of *ṭawāghīt* (al-Bukhārī, *adhān*, 129, *tawḥīd*, 24, *riḳāḳ*, 52; Muslim, *īmān*, 299; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 275, 293, 524; al-Dārimī, *waṣiyya*, 4) and refusal to resort to them for their arbitration (al-Bukhārī, *īmān*, 5; Muslim, *īmān*, 6; al-Nasāʾī, *īmān*, 10; Ibn Mādja, *kaffārāt*, 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, v, 62).

The cult of the *ṭawāghīt*, largely similar to that of the Kaʿba, was made up of worshipping stones, bloody sacrifices and ritual processions (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 54-5). In origin, it must have had in it various, complementary divine mythologies, given shape in different rituals, whose fusion into two rituals, that of the *hadjdj* on one hand and that of the *ʿumra* on the other, makes these last two incomprehensible through their composite and fragmentary character.

The hegemony of Mecca ended the ancient rivalry of the cults outside that of the Kaʿba. An example of resistance to that hegemony has been studied by Iḥsān ʿAbbās in his *Two unpublished texts on pre-Islamic religion*, in *Signification du bas moyen âge dans l'histoire et la culture du monde musulman*, Aix-en-Provence 1987, 7-16.

Bibliography: The core of this article is to be found in T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 240. See, especially, H. Lammens, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie Occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi (1926), 39-169; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet, l'homme et son message*, Paris 1957, 548 (he was hoping, in vain, that excavations carried out at Masdjid al-Khayf (see Yāḳūt, i, 507-8) and at Minā would reveal the foundations of ancient temples). (T. FAHD)

2. As a legal term in Yemen.

Here, the term was commonly used by the learned to refer to the customary law of the tribes, e.g. al-Shawkānī, 73-4 (18th century), Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, 209 (decree of the Imām Yaḥyā issued in 1910). This usage was apparently also known elsewhere in Arabia (Rossi, 11; Serjeant, *Studies*, no. III, 41). For the learned, the term was one of opprobrium; but it has been implied that some tribespeople in their ordinary speech employed the word *ṭāghūt* to refer to the customary law, presumably without opprobrium, and furthermore that the word was used to refer to the arbitrator in customary law not only in Yemen (Landberg, *Daṯînah*, 815n.; Serjeant, *Customary and shariʿah law*, no. III, 45) but also (opprobriously) in Saudi Arabia (al-ʿAzzāwī, i, 403). More certainly, colloquial terms that can be used to refer to tribal law include *ʿurf* or *aʿrāf al-ḳabāʾil*; *sunna*; *sharʿ*; *shurūʿ al-ḳabāʾil al-sābiḳa*; *silf (al-ḳabāʾil)*; *salaf* and *aḥkām al-aslāf*; and in the south, *sibl* "custom", *sawābil* "precedents", and perhaps *sāriḥa*.

The word *manʿ(a)* is used in literary sources to refer to the customary law, and *ḥukm al-manʿ* and *sharʿ al-manʿ* are also attested in the colloquial (Obermeyer, 367). The term probably came into use because much of the law is concerned with the protection (*manʿ*, cf. Landberg, *Glossaire*, s.v.; Adra, 164-5) of those to whom the tribesman has special obligations, e.g. the *djār* or *manīʿ* "one who seeks refuge" and the *rafīḳ* "travelling companion". Educated Yemenis are reported to have distinguished between *sharʿ al-manʿ*, customary tribal law that was compatible with the *sharīʿa* even though not part of it, and *ṭāghūt*, customary tribal law that was in contradiction to the *sharīʿa*.

The belief that the *al-manʿ* is consistent with the *sharīʿa* is expressed in more than one Yemenite treatise concerning the *manʿ* (Rossi, 33; Serjeant, *Materials*, 591). No doubt it was this belief that allowed learned men to write what were in effect brief codes of customary law. Several works of this kind—the oldest dating back several hundred years—are to be found among the mss. bequeathed by R.B. Serjeant to the library of the University of Edinburgh. Rossi, 18-29, offers an invaluable summary of two of these treatises. Another code of the *manʿ*, entitled *Ḳāʿidat al-sabʿīn*, has been published in the form of a photocopy of a damaged and incomplete manuscript (Abū Ghānim, 361-84).

Codes of customary law, which must often have included matter incompatible with the *sharīʿa*, were also sometimes produced at the behest of the tribesmen themselves. Those found in the possession of such codes were severely punished by the government of the Imām Yaḥyā (1904-48). Nevertheless, some have survived. One such, from an area not controlled by the Imām Yaḥyā, is the *sharʿ* agreed upon between the Sultan and the tribesmen of the ʿAwdhalī sultanate; it was published in a "free translation" by R.B. Serjeant (Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, 587-9; Serjeant, *Customary and shariʿah law*, no. IV, 91). Another is a code agreed on in the 18th century by the tribes of the Baraṭ area (text with commentary in ʿUlaymī, 118-41; a modern ms. of a fuller version is photographically reproduced in Abū Ghānim, 387-400; see also Dresch, 73 n. 23, 352).

The laws of the Yemeni tribes resemble in their main features the laws of the tribal Arabs of other parts of Arabia and the Fertile Crescent. See further ʿURF.

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alii, *L'Arabie du sud*, iii, Paris 1985; Faḍl ʿAlī Aḥmad Abū Ghānim, *al-Binya al-ḳabaliyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Damascus 1985 (repr. Ṣanʿāʾ 1991) (important); Rashād al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳabalī fi 'l-mudjtamaʿ al-yamanī*, Ṣanʿāʾ (?) 1986 (?) (important); F.H. Stewart, *Tribal law in the Arab world: a review of the literature*, in *IJMES*, xix (1987), 473-90 (lists publications 1948-84); P. Dresch, *Tribes, government, and history in Yemen*, Oxford 1989 (important); M. Piamenta, *Dictionary of post-classical Yemeni Arabic*, Leiden 1990-1; Serjeant, *Customary and sharīʿah law in Arabian society*, Aldershot 1991; P. Behnstedt, *Glossar der jemenitischen Dialektwörter*, Vienna 1993; M. Mundy, *Domestic government*, London 1995. (F.H. Stewart)

ṬĀHĀ, ʿALĪ MAḤMŪD (1902-49), Egyptian poet, very popular in the 1930s and 1940s. He was born into a well-to-do family in al-Manṣūra and educated there at a technical school, the *Madrasat al-Funūn wa 'l-Ṣanāʾiʿ*. After he graduated in 1924, he became a government employee as an architect. He began writing poetry in 1918 and made the acquaintance of the town's poets, later to earn fame like him, such as Ibrāhīm Nādjī [*q.v.*], Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Hamsharī and Ṣāliḥ Djawdat. He published his poems in Egyptian periodicals, including *al-Risāla* and *Apollo* of Cairo. In the 1930s, he moved to Cairo, where he held posts at the Ministry of Commerce and in the Secretariat of the Egyptian parliament, and joined the Apollo Group of poets. His first collection of poetry, *al-Mallāḥ al-tāʾih*, appeared in Cairo in 1934 and received immediate acclaim. Following a first summer visit to Europe in 1938 and a second in 1939, he published *Layālī 'l-mallāḥ al-tāʾih* in 1940, mostly reflecting his frolicking and amatory exploits in Europe, including a gondola tour in Venice during a carnival described in his poem "Ughniyat al-Djundūl", which was set to music and sung by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, adding to his popularity.

Ṭāhā published five other books of poetry and a book of essays and of translated English and French verse. His wide popularity rested on his first two books and a few poems from the others, and was basically engendered by his Romantic view of life and hedonistic love relations, his strong nationalist feeling, and his alluring musical use of polished Arabic in his poems. His popularity faded after mid-century with the rise of the free verse movement and changes in Arab poetic sensibility.

Bibliography: al-Sayyid Taḳī al-Dīn al-Sayyid, *ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā: ḥayātuh wa-shiʿruh*, Cairo, 1964; Nāzik al-Malāʾika, *Muḥāḍarāt fī shiʿr ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā*, Cairo 1965; ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1972 (contains six poetic collections); M.M. Badawi, *A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1975, 137-45; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 397-410; Anwar al-Maʿaddāwī, *ʿAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā: al-shāʿir... wa 'l-insān*, Cairo-Baghdād 1986.

(I.J. Boullata)

ṬĀHĀ ḤUSAYN (1889-1973): Egyptian critic, essayist, novelist, short story writer, historian, literary and political journalist, translator, editor, publisher and educator.

(1) *His formation*.

He was born in ʿIzbat al-Kīlū near Maghāgha in the governorate of Minyā, the seventh of thirteen children in a family of modest condition. At the age of two, he lost his eyesight. Local educational resources equipped him with little more than the memorisation of the Ḳurʾān. In 1902 he was sent to al-Azhar University under the care of an elder brother who was a disciple of its rector, Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*]. Ṭāhā heard the reformer's last two lectures and attended the literature courses of one of his protégés, al-Sayyid al-Marṣafī (d. 1931); but he antagonised the conservative professors, and in 1912 he was denied a degree. He had, however, already transferred his loyalty to the modern Egyptian University (later renamed Fuʾād I, then Cairo University) from its inception, greatly admiring its Orientalist professors, especially Carlo Alfonso Nallino; and on presenting a doctoral dissertation on al-Maʿarrī [*q.v.*] in 1914, he became its first graduate.

A scholarship to the University of Paris at the Sorbonne brought him under the influence of such scholars as Gustave Lanson, but his doctoral work was on Ibn Khaldūn [*q.v.*]. He graduated in 1918 and obtained the *Doctorat d'État* in 1919. He also married the French lady who had been his reader.

Since early in his student-days, he had made his mark as a sharp contributor to the press on literary and social issues, and was particularly associated with the circle of Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid [*q.v.*]. Now, enamoured both with classical Arabic literature and with all aspects of French culture, he was soon to emerge as a leading modernist who held that the application of Western standards to the Arab-Islamic heritage was a process not of innovation but of renovation, sometimes even arguing—perhaps reflecting Duhamel—that Egypt had always been not an Oriental but a Mediterranean country. A bold and hard-hitting polemicist, he was often to be at odds with both the political and the religious establishments, as well as with some of his fellow-writers.

(2) *His public career*.

On his return from France, his *alma mater* appointed him first Professor of Ancient History in 1919, then of Arabic Literature in 1925. The following year, however, his *Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī* "On pre-Islamic poetry", which argued that the bulk of this highly-prized corpus had been forged, roused fierce controversy, especially as it adduced religious considerations among the motives for the fraud. He was accused—but not convicted—of heresy, and the book was banned, only to reappear in superficially emended form and under a slightly altered title.

The University, headed by Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid stood by him, and in 1930 he was the first Egyptian to become Dean of its Faculty of Arts; but it was now a State institution, and in 1932 his political writings led to a revival of the controversy and his dismissal from all government service. He did later hold a variety of educational posts, but he lived largely by his pen. Between 1945 and 1948 he was a very active director of a publishing house and of its journal, both called *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* "The Egyptian Scribe". He was at the time viewed as vaguely "leftist" because of the stress he laid on the plight of the poor, but his creed was a paternalistic one, relying on the good will of a liberal élite for the realisation of social justice, as was confirmed in his later polemic against the doctrinnaire socialists of the middle 1950s.

He reached the peak of his career as Minister of Education in the last Wafdist Cabinet, which lasted two years from January 1950. In this capacity, he not only gave effect to the policy he had long advocated of abolishing fees in State schools but also did much to extend higher education and cultural representation abroad.

He remained active in journalism until the middle 1960s; and despite ill-health, he was faithful to the end to the concerns of the Academy of the Arabic

Language, to the presidency of which he had succeeded Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid in 1963.

(3) *His writings.*

In common with many intellectuals of his generation, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn wrote profusely and on a wide variety of subjects. He is credited with 1,481 articles and 61 volumes of original writings (not a few of which are collected articles). In addition, he edited eight texts, translated eleven books and thirty articles, contributed substantially to twenty-one other books, and wrote introductions to another thirty-six.

In his youth, he wrote some poetry which he later discounted. On the other hand, not a small contributor to his popularity was his prose style, for he was a master of the classical language and a defender of its purity, while adapting it to new purposes with a deceptive suppleness and fluency.

It was as a critic that he was most celebrated, for he produced some major studies and a multitude of articles covering virtually every period and most major aspects of classical and modern Arabic literature, excluding only folk compositions, for he considered the colloquial forms of the language as corruptions unworthy of artistic recognition. His aesthetic creed was never systematically expounded, but the progress of his thinking can be traced from the early studies, which claimed scientific rigour and ascribed to social and psychological factors considerable deterministic power, leading to an eventual recognition of the critics's complete subjectivity. And in this respect, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was decidedly romantic, prizing the evocation of emotion as the supreme touchstone of literary worth.

He broke into the narrative field by retelling tales from early Islamic sources, but not without planting into them some modernistic seeds, and later wrote short stories and sketches mainly bearing on contemporary social ills. A more signal achievement was the first volume of his fictionalised autobiography, *al-Ayyām* "The Days", serialised in *al-Hilāl* "The Crescent" in 1926-7. This was the first modern Arabic literary work to receive international recognition, being translated into a number of foreign languages. He followed this up between 1935 and 1944, with six novels, and started another in 1946, *Mā warā' al-nahr* "Beyond the river", which was published posthumously in its incomplete form. Although he was not at his best in sustaining a well-integrated plot, he was characteristically bold in his choice of themes, *Du'ā' al-karawān* "The call of the [mythical bird] Karawān", being a rare attempt at dealing with the code of honour that requires the slaughtering of a woman who offends against sexual mores, and *Aḥlām S̲h̲ahrazād* "The dreams of Scheherezade", being an early exploitation of the *Arabian Nights* to convey a political message.

His output includes substantial historical studies of the first four caliphs and a slighter but revealing early work, *Ḳādat al-fikr* "Leaders of thought", which celebrates the ascendancy of the Western over the Oriental mind.

Finally, in his lesser writings and his translations— which give a good deal of attention to the theatre— one may detect an effort to fill gaps in the Arab literary experience and in his own creative work.

(4) *His standing.*

He was a charismatic figure in his own time, his bold initiatives at the cutting edge of intellectual progress earning him the unofficial title of Dean of Arabic Letters. The next generation—more self-assertive towards the West, more rigorous in its critical perceptions and imbued with socialist doctrines— has been somewhat less appreciative of his attainments, though they had opened the way to further development.

Under the Egyptian monarchy, he was awarded the title of Bey, then that of Pas̲h̲a. The Republic, having abolished titles, awarded him the Order of the Nile in 1965. Internationally, he received countless honorary doctorates and the French Légion d'Honneur. In 1949, mainly on the initiative of André Gide, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize. Finally, the United Nations' Rights of Man prize was delivered to him on his deathbed.

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ṬĀHĀ, MAḤMŪD MUḤAMMAD, free-thinking Islamic reform theorist, founder and spiritual leader of the religio-political lay movement al-Ik̲h̲wān al-D̲j̲umhūriyyūn in Sudan. Born about 1909 in Rufā'a on the Blue Nile, he grew up in a traditionally mystic-religious environment. Following graduation as a hydraulics engineer in 1936 from the Gordon Memorial College in al-K̲h̲urṭūm (Khartoum) [*q.v.*], Ṭāhā worked until 1941 for the Sudan Railway Company in 'Aṭbara.

Ṭāhā's thinking was clearly formed by both the religious nature of his home background and the intellectual confrontation with European thinking at the British colonial college and in 'Aṭbara. In addition to the traditional literature of his Islamic heritage, particularly al-G̲h̲azālī, Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Ḥallād̲j̲, he also read sociological texts by Benjamin Kid, Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, as well as works by European philosophers of the schools of enlightenment, logic and dialectic, from Hegel to Marx and his successors.

Since the beginning of the Sudanese nationalist movement in the 1930s, Ṭāhā played an active part in fighting for Sudanese independence. However, his objective was neither Sudan under British rule, as advocated by the Umma Party, nor administrative and political unity with Egypt, as advocated by the As̲h̲ikkā' Party, so that together with a few other intellectuals, he founded his own party in 1945, al-Ḥizb al-D̲j̲umhūrī, and became party chairman. The objective of this party was an independent, federal republic of Sudan, where "democratic socialism" would guarantee individual freedom and perfect social justice.

In 1946, an anti-British leaflet brought Ṭāhā into prison for the first time, accused of anti-government propaganda. Released prematurely after 50 days, he was arrested again during the same year and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for public incitement and sedition, after preaching a sermon to the population of Rufā'a in which he incited them to use violence to free a woman from prison who had had her daughter circumcised. His followers, the D̲j̲umhūriyyūn, see this event as the turning point in their history.

During his imprisonment and subsequent two-year period of voluntary isolation, *k̲h̲alwa*, Ṭāhā subjected

himself to stringent Ṣūfī practices of fasting, prayer and meditation, re-appearing in public in 1951 with a new understanding of Islam instead of a political programme. Since recommencing their activities in 1951, the Djumhūriyyūn considered themselves to be more an instructive movement spreading an anti-legalistic, humanitarian understanding of Islam, rather than a political party. After the ban on parties following the bloodless coup of Djaʿfar al-Numayrī in 1968, they changed their name to al-Ikhwān al-Djumhūriyyūn. They nevertheless retained their political objectives, integrating them in their purely Islamic ideological approach. They propagated their views in lectures, public discussions, newspaper articles and publications of their own.

The core of Ṭāhā's teaching—the result of divine inspiration received during personal worship, according to Ṭāhā—is the opinion that the Ḳur'ān contains two main messages. The first, reversing the revelation chronology, consists of the laws of Medina (*furūʿ*), which is the foundation among others for the traditional *sharīʿa*. By contrast, the second message, proclaimed in Mecca, contains the basic spiritual principles (*uṣūl*) of the Islamic religion: individual liberty and religious freedom, equality regardless of sex, race or religion, and equal rights to property (i.e. socialism). Ṭāhā taught that the first message had only limited validity for the Islamic society in its status during the 1st/7th century, and should be replaced today by abrogation, *naskh* [*q.v.*], by the second, eternally valid message, in order to create forms of Islamic living and society which are in line with the changed realities of the 20th century. In this context, the focal demands of the Djumhūriyyūn were for an individual, spiritualised religion, together with further development of the *sharīʿa* to assume ethical dimensions.

Since the 1960s, Ṭāhā's reforms have repeatedly met with protest and resistance from the institutional orthodox Islamic religion in Sudan and on an international dimension, and from the Sudanese Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, who are based on implementing the *sharīʿa* as focal aspect of their ideology and as legitimation of their claims to political power. Ṭāhā was twice accused of committing apostasy: in 1968 without legal consequences, then in 1985 the proceedings were followed by his execution on 18 January, 1985, with posthumous annulment of the sentence because of numerous discrepancies. On the death of their leader, the Djumhūriyyūn ceased all public involvement.

Bibliography: The main titles of Ṭāhā's extensive works, most of which have disappeared from the market through being banned and destroyed, include: *al-Risāla al-thāniya min al-Islām*, Umm Durman 1967, Eng. tr. with introd. by Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, *The Second Message of Islam*, Syracuse-New York 1987; *Ṭarīḳ Muḥammad*, Umm Durman 1966; and *Risālat al-Ṣalāt*, Umm Durman 1966. For Ṭāhā's reception, see al-Mukāshifī Ṭāhā al-Kabbāshī, *al-Ridda wa-muḥākamāt Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā fi 'l-Sūdān*, Riyāḍ 1987; *al-Ustādh Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā, rā'id al-tadjdīd al-dīnī fi 'l-Sūdān*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sūdāniyya, Casablanca 1992; J. Rogalski, *Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā. Zur Erinnerung an das Schicksal eines Mystikers und Intellektuellen im Sudan*, in *Asien Afrika Lateinamerika* (1996) no. 1; G. Lichtenthäler, *Muslih mystic and martyr: the vision of Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭaha and the Republican Brothers in the Sudan. Towards an Islamic Reformation?*, in *Islam et Sociétés au sud du Sahara*, no. 9 (Paris, Nov. 1995), 57-82. For other biographical information, see Annette Oevermann, *Die "Republikanischen Brüder" im Sudan. Eine islamische Reformbewegung im Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, etc. 1993. (Annette Oevermann)

TAHADJDJUD (a.), verbal noun of form V from the root *h-dj-d*, which is one of the roots with opposed meanings (*aḍdād* [*q.v.*]), as it signifies "sleep" and also "to be awake", "to keep a vigil", "to perform the night *ṣalāt* or the nightly recitation of the Ḳur'ān". The latter two meanings have become the usual ones in Islam. The word occurs only once in the Ḳur'ān, sūra XVII, 81: "And in a part of the night, perform a *ṣalāt* as a voluntary effort", etc., but the thing itself is often referred to. We are told of the pious (LI, 17) that they sleep little by night and pray to God for forgiveness at dawn. In XXV, 65, there is a reference to those who spend the night prostrating themselves and standing before their Lord.

From the Ḳur'ān it may be deduced that the old practice in Mecca was to observe two *ṣalāts*, one by day and one by night (XVII, 80-1); LXXVI, 25: "And mention the name of thy Lord in the morning and in the evening [26] and in the night prostrate thyself before Him and praise Him the livelong night"; XI, 116: "And perform the *ṣalāt* at both ends of the day and in the last part of the night". Tradition is able to tell us that for a shorter or longer period (mention is actually made of a "period of ten years", al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 68), vigils were so ardently observed that Muḥammad and his companions began to suffer from swollen feet. The old practice is said to be based on LXXIII, 1. "O thou enfolded one, 2. stand up during the night, except a small portion of it, 3. the half or rather less, 4. or rather more and recite the Ḳur'ān with accuracy"; but its origin cannot be dissociated from the example of Christian ascetics. In the end, however, this form of asceticism became too much for Muḥammad's companions. The revelation of LXXIII, 20 ff., brought an alleviation: "See, thy Lord knoweth that thou standest praying about two-thirds, or the half or a third of the night, thou and a part of thy companions. But God measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye are not able for this; therefore he turneth mercifully to you with permission to recite as much of the Ḳur'ān as is convenient for you". By the institution of the five daily *ṣalāts*, the obligatory character of the *tahadjdjud* was then abolished (cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, *bāb* 17, and al-Bayḍāwī on LXXIII, 20).

Nevertheless, Muḥammad is said not to have abandoned the vigils (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, *bāb* 18b); in *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* this is considered blameworthy for those who were wont to perform these *ṣalāts* (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 185; al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-layl*, *bāb* 59; al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya*, i, 165). The performance is in general regarded as *sunna*. David is said to have spent a third of the night in these exercises (Muslim, *Ṣiyām*, trad. 189; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 67); another reason given in justification of it is that the *tahadjdjud* loosens one of the knots which Satan ties in the hair of a sleeper (Abū Dāwūd, *Taṭawwuʿ*, *bāb* 18). The *tahadjdjud* is particularly meritorious in Ramaḍān and in the night before each of the two feasts (Ibn Mādja, *Ṣiyām*, *bāb* 68: al-Nasā'ī, *Ḳiyām al-layl*, *bāb* 17, where the term *iḥyā' al-layl* is used [see also TARĀWĪḤ]).

Even at the present day, the *mu'adhdhin* in some lands summons to a night *ṣalāt* (consisting of an even number of *rakʿa*s and therefore called *shafʿ*; see WITR) shortly after midnight by an *adhān* to which special formulae are added (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. iii "Religion and Laws"; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 74).

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For the views of the different law schools, see also I. Guidi, *Il "Muḫtaṣar" di Ḫalīl ibn Isḥāq*, Milan 1919, i, 97; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 27; Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādj*, i, 488 ff.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haythamī, *Tuḥfa*, i, 201 ff.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Kitāb Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, i, 27; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i, 52-3; Niẓām, *al-Fatāwa al-ʿālamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1243/1827-8, i, 157. (A.J. Wensinck)

al-TAHĀNAWĪ, Muḥammad Aʿlā ('Alā' or 'Alī are not correct) b. *shaykh* 'Alī b. *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Mawlānā *atkā 'l-ʿulamā'* Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Fārūḳī al-Sunnī al-Ḥanafī al-Tahānawī, originating from Tohāna, a place at about 170 km/105 miles to the northwest of Dihlī, philologist, especially lexicologist, and *ḳāḍī*. The years of his birth and death are unknown; we only know that he finished the draft of his main work, *Kashshāf*, in the year 1158/1745. His tomb in his native town is visited until today, including with the purpose to spend in his presence days and even weeks in studying scholarly works, in the expectation to be enlightened by the *shaykh*.

Among the three works which have come down to us, is the well-known and often quoted large *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, a thesaurus of technical terms compiled from good sources. Because of the numerous interpolations and parts in Persian, this extensive work has proved its value for the study of Islamic scholasticism, especially in India. Under the superintendence of Aloys Sprenger and William Nassau Lees, and by order of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, the work was published in altogether 17 fascicules from 1848 onwards) by the Mawlawīs Moḥammad Wajíh, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and Gholám K/Qádir, Calcutta 1862, 2 vols., the English title being *A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musalmans* (Bibliotheca Indica). In an Appendix, which had already been issued in 1854, Sprenger published the compendium of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *Logic*, called *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya fi 'l-ḳawāʿid al-manṭiḳiyya*, popular in India and repeatedly published [see al-kātibī, nadjm al-dīn], together with an English translation, *The logic of the Arabians* (cf. C. Ralfs, in *ZDMG*, ix [1855], 868 f.). The edition of the *Kashshāf* (*Kashf* is incorrect) is based on two manuscripts, which were both copied from one and the same of the three autographs of the author which are available. A first, substantial, part was printed anew in Istanbul 1317-18/1899-1900. There is a new edition in four small volumes: i-iv ed. Luṭfī 'Abd al-Badīʿ, the Persian sections having been translated into Arabic by Amīn al-Naʿīm Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, and i-ii revised by Amīn al-Khūlī, Cairo 1382/1963, 1969, 1972 and 1977. The editor starts from the author's draft, with its corrections and additions, always taking the two prints into consideration. Most recently, a new edition by Rafīḳ al-ʿAdjam has appeared, 2 vols. Beirut 1996.

Of the second work, *Aḥkām al-arāḍī*, a treatise on the principles of the *sharʿ* regarding the ownership and taxation of the land, with special reference to India (some parts are explained in Persian), there is a manuscript in the Library of the India Office, London (R. Levy, *Catalogue*, ii, 3 [Fiqh], London 1937, no. 1730).—What exactly is hidden behind the title of the third work, *Sabḳ al-ghāyāt fī nasḳ al-āyāt*, which could not be traced, remains uncertain. According to Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, i, 645, it was printed in 1316/1898 in India (Hind).

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(R. Sellheim)

TAḤANNUTH (a.), verbal noun, and *taḥannatha*, verb, are words found in some of the accounts of Muḥammad's first prophetic experience. Already in the earliest texts which are available to us, they are accompanied by variant interpretative glosses and explanations, and their significance has been debated in both traditional and modern scholarship.

In Ibn Hishām's *Sīra* (151-2), Ibn Isḥāḳ reports that Muḥammad used to spend one month each year making *djiwār* [*q.v.*] at Ḥirā'—"that was a part of the *taḥannuth* of Ḳuraysh (*mimmā taḥannatha bihi Ḳuraysh*) in the *Djāhiliyya*". *Taḥannuth* is immediately glossed as *tabarrur* ("abstaining from sin"?): *wa 'l-taḥannuth al-tabarrur*. Ibn Hishām then intervenes in the text to explain that "the Arabs" customarily pronounced *f* as *th* and that *taḥannuth*, therefore, is the same as *taḥannuf*. Thus he links the expression with the pristine monotheism of the Ḥanīfs [*q.v.*] and the religion of Abraham. Another report in the *Sīra* (151), which does not use either the verb or the noun, tells us that as part of his preparation for prophethood Muḥammad had been caused by God to love solitude. In Ibn Saʿd's version (i/1, 129) the report goes on to say that he would go alone to the cave of Ḥirā' where he would make *taḥannuth* (*yataḥannathu fīhi*) on certain nights (*al-layālī dhawāt al-ʿadad*) and then would go back to Khadīdja to obtain provisions for a similar period (*li-mithlihā*). It was while he was in the cave doing this that the revelation came to him. In some of al-Bukhārī's versions of the tradition (see A.J. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v. *taḥannatha* for references), *taḥannuth* is glossed by *taʿabbud* ("devoting oneself to the worship of God").

Other and later traditionists and commentators provide further interpretative additions. The most extensive survey of the material was made by M.J. Kister ("*Al-taḥannuth*: an enquiry into the meaning of a term", in *BSOAS*, xxxi [1968], 223-36). As well as with *tabarrur* and *taʿabbud*, *taḥannuth* was equated with such things as *tafakkur* (meditation), *taḥawwub* (abstaining from sin), and *taʾalluh* (devotion to God). Solitude, (religious) retreat and withdrawal, devotional practices, gazing towards the Kaʿba, and feeding the poor are also mentioned. Since this was before the revelation made to the Prophet, speculation involved the question which body of law (*sharīʿa*) he followed at the time. *Taḥannuth* is said to have been practised also by other individuals: Khālid b. al-Ḥārith of Kināna, the Ḥanīf Zayd b. 'Amr, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and others. The traditions about these individuals supply further material for speculation regarding the content of *taḥannuth*.

After his survey of traditional and modern scholarship, Kister concluded that *taḥannuth* was indeed an ancient custom of Ḳuraysh and that essentially it consisted of veneration of the Kaʿba and works of charity while being withdrawn on Mount Ḥirā'. Others, such as Caetani (*Annali*, i, 222, "Introduzione", section 208, n. 2), have suspected that the word was not used in Mecca in the time of the Prophet. N. Calder has argued that the word reflects the ideas and practices of the 2nd century A.H. ("*Ḥinth, birr, tabarrur, taḥannuth*: an inquiry into the Arabic vocabulary of vows", in

BSOAS, li [1988], 214-39). He has suggested that *taḥannuth* refers to the condition which, in *fiḳh*, one assumes by making a binding vow—one becomes "liable" (*ḥānith*) to fulfil the vow. (*Ḥanīth* also means "breaking a vow" and *ḥinth* means "perjury".) In the traditions about the Prophet, the word would reflect the idea that he had made a vow to enter a period of retreat (*iʿtikāf* [*q.v.*]), a practice of early Muslim times which was becoming less widespread as a result of juristic disapproval of asceticism. It was because the practice was in decline that the word was such a puzzle for later generations.

H. Hirschfeld (*New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, London 1902, 19, n. 94), saw *taḥannuth*, not as a genuine Arabic noun form, but as an arabisation of Hebrew *tʿḥinnōth* "prayers or voluntary devotions apart from the official liturgy". His suggestion was rejected by S.D. Goitein (*Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 93, n. 2) on the grounds that that plural form is known in Hebrew with that technical sense only at a significantly later time (Goitein did not adduce his evidence). It may be noted, however, that the hithpael form of the Hebrew verb *ḥānan* with the meaning "to seek favour" (frequently, but not exclusively, from God), and the noun form *tʿḥinnā* with the meaning "supplication" or "cry for favour" is relatively well attested in the Hebrew Bible and at Qumran (G.J. Botterwick and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological dictionary of the Old Testament*, Eng. tr., Grand Rapids, Michigan 1986, v, 22 ff.).

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(G.R. Hawting)

ṬAHĀRA (A.), a *maṣdar* signifying cleanliness or freedom from disgusting matter. Some dictionaries suggest as a fundamental meaning the notion of cleanliness (e.g. Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, *al-Kulliyyāt*, iii, 154) but the existence of the word in Syriac and Hebrew with a ritual meaning suggests that from its first usage in the Ḳurʾān it is a technical term (perhaps for the cleansing of menstrual blood flow; *LʿA*, iv, 505, s.v. *ṭ-h-r*, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās). The root may perhaps have to do with distinction, setting aside through cleansing (e.g. Ḳurʾān, III, 42).

Ṭahāra is the rubric under which ritual order and purity are discussed in manuals of *fiḳh*. The word itself seems to have two aspects: material and formal. The material one would encompass foods and other substances to be avoided or removed—e.g. pork, faeces, blood, carcasses—and the means of their removal—the number of washings, the characteristics of the water used in washing, and the like.

In general, substances connected with death, most—but not all—substances from within the body—blood, urine, semen, etc.—items associated with carrion or inedible animals—dogs, or pigs, for instances—must be avoided, and if they cannot be avoided, they must be removed in an appropriate manner [see NADJAS]. To reinstate *ṭahāra*, the test of whether something has been successfully removed is its imperceptibility in taste, smell or colour.

Formal aspects of *ṭahāra* concern the fitness of persons to carry out ritual practices and duties. Menstruation (*ḥayḍ*) and childbirth (*nifās*), sexual excitement and consummation, defecation and urination, and various sorts of loss of control—sleep while reclining, according to some, quarrelling, violent laughter, etc.—require appropriate ritual cleansings—ablution (*wuḍūʾ* [*q.v.*]) for "minor or transient events" (*ḥadath* [*q.v.*])—urination, defecation, breaking wind—the more total lustration (*ghusl* [*q.v.*]) for events that preclude one from religious community (*djanāba* [*q.v.*]), such as sexual activity or menstruation. Despite the claims of certain apologists, the issue here is not cleanliness in the hygienic sense but in the formal and ritual sense.

Madhhab differences are too various to be detailed here. In general, however, Imāmī and Zaydī purity rules are more rigorous and they are more likely to see the *nadjas* thing or *djunub* person as contiguously impure. The Shīʿīs likewise refuse to accept *kitābīs* as butchers and food providers.

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(A.K. Reinhart)

TĀHART (or Tīhart, Tāhert) known as al-Ḥadītha (the New), as opposed to al-Ḳadīma (the Old), situated 9 km/5 miles to the north-east, becoming Tagdemt in Berber, the ancient Tingartia, a town of Algeria, founded by the Rustamids [*q.v.*]—according to a custom frequent in the mediaeval Muslim world—and capital of their kingdom. In Berber, Tāhart is said to signify "lioness" or "tambourine" (*daff*), taking the word in its first signification a reference to its location: a wooded plateau formerly inhabited by wild beasts which had, mysteriously, abandoned the place, a miracle borrowed from the foundation of Kairouan or Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*].

The beginnings of Tāhart were modest. The anecdote which tells of the founding Imām busily engaged in building his house with the aid of a slave, even if false—which is not necessarily the case—reveals the initial puritanism and principled egalitarianism of the Ibāḍīs [see IBĀḌIYYA]. In their choice of site, the Rustamids were guided by several considerations: the region was populated by tribes—Lamāya, Lawāta, Hawwāra, Maghīla, Zuwāgha, Maṭmāṭa and Miknāsa Zanāta—committed to Ibāḍism; the site benefited by the proximity of an existing ancient urban centre, with fortifications which often provided refuge during the disorders which affected New Tāhart; water was abundant there, channelled towards homes and orchards, and the soil fertile; finally, and perhaps

decisively, the land "belonged to the defenceless people (*li-ḳawm mustaḍʿafīn*) of the Marāsa" (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. A. Leuven and A. Ferré, Tunis 1992, ii, 736). Construction of the town was, however, a laborious business: everything built by the founders during the daytime was destroyed at night. A compromise was eventually found when the ancient proprietors, the Lamāya, were offered a share of the *kharādj*.

According to the anonymous author of the *K. al-Istibṣār* (ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 178) the town was initially a rectangle of approximately 1,100 m by 800 m, traversed from east to west by a long thoroughfare—*cardo maximus*?—and enclosed within a perimeter wall of stone, breached by four gates at the four cardinal points, creating a chequered layout irresistibly reminiscent of Roman urban planning, the "islands" (*insulae*) thus constituted being distributed according to ethnic groups. In fact, all the contemporary geographers stress the segregation of the population of Tāhart by tribal or regional origin.

The town, which was financially supported at the outset by the Ibāḍī community of Baṣra, grew very rapidly, to such an extent that within a short space of time it became literally unrecognisable. The Baṣran benefactors failed to recognise the place on their second visit and were obliged, allegedly, to return home with their donations intact. Tāhart soon became a powerful magnet for people and an important commercial centre. For the indigenous population, it played an important role in terms of sedentarisation, and its magnetic appeal extended as far as the Orient; so much so that it was dubbed "the ʿIrāḳ of the Maghrib" (al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. *ca.* 284/897), *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 217).

Towards the end of the Rustamid dynasty, the town had completely changed its appearance, exchanging its initial puritanism and simplicity for hedonism and opulence. Although still dominant, Ibāḍism ceased to be the faith of the majority. The town became affluent and elegant: twelve *ḥammāms*, numerous *sūḳs*, parks and gardens, sumptuous residences etc. "Highways connected it to the Sūdān and to all the lands of East and West for the purposes of trade and the exchange of all kinds of commodities" (Ibn al-Ṣaghīr, *Akhbār al-aʾimma al-rustamiyyīn*, in *CT*, xci-xcii [1975], 325). The road from the Sūdān was the source of gold and of slaves, which accounts for the particular interest taken in it: the Imām Aflaḥ (208-58/824-72) had sent an ambassador to the king of Sūdān with lavish gifts (*ibid.*, 340). Jews, subsequently established in Kairouan, were actively engaged in commerce (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley, etc., i, 1967, iii, 1978; idem, *Letters of medieval Jewish traders*, Princeton 1974, index, s.v. Taherti). Wealthy merchants flaunted their riches ostentatiously and were accompanied in their travels by considerable entourages, composed principally of slaves. Predictably, cosmopolitanism and affluence encouraged moral laxity. "The town was corrupted (*fasadat*), as were its inhabitants", notes Ibn al-Ṣaghīr (*op. cit.*, 363), citing as evidence the consumption of intoxicating liquor (*al-muskir*), and pederasty (*ghilmān*). Abū Ḥātim (281-2/894-5) reacted vigorously, but not for long; it was in fact his rigorous moral stance which led to his deposition. As to whether he was equally intransigent during his second reign (286-94/897-907), the sources are eloquently silent. The end of the dynasty was approaching, and it was soon to be swept away by the Fāṭimid tide (296/909). The more fervent Ibāḍīs emigrated towards the south and established themselves in the oasis of Sadrāta [*q.v.*] some 8 km to the south-west of Wārdjilān [*q.v.*], currently Ouargla, and finally at Mzāb [*q.v.*], where their community still upholds the ancient traditions.

The prosperity of Tāhart was maintained for some time. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, writing at the time of the foundation of al-Mahdiyya (308/920), noted that Tāhart was "a large town, surrounded by an extensive fertile plain with abundant supplies of water", and that Ibāḍīs were still "the dominant force there" (Cairo 1961, 34). Ibn Ḥawḳal, who visited Sidjilmāsa in 340/951, also depicted it as a prosperous town deriving its wealth from agriculture, arboriculture, apiculture and stock-breeding (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 84, 93). Al-Muḳaddasī noted that the "district (*kūra*) of Tāhart" comprised no less than thirty-three towns (*madīna*) including Oran. The town, we are told, "disappears amid gardens ... a great and very rich city ... of wondrous appearance ... It is reckoned superior to Damascus", and also to Cordova, although he does not personally share this opinion (*Description de l'Occident musulman* ... Arabic text and tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1959, 5, 7, 23). A century and a half later, al-Idrīsī says of the place: "the city of Tāhart was, in times past (*kānat fī-mā salafa min al-zamān*), composed of two large towns ..." (*Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, Naples-Rome 1972, as *Opus geographicum*, iii, 255-6). Al-ʿAbdarī, who crossed the whole width of the Maghrib on the Pilgrimage route, does not mention it in his *Riḥla* (ed. M. al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968). *Ca.* 1526, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (i.e. Leo Africanus, d. after 1550) had only vague impressions of it. He could only have discovered ruins there, "those of the town founded by the Romans, according to some" he says. Furthermore, he does not refer to Tāhart, but to Tagdemt "which was a very civilised town", formerly ruled by the Idrīsids (*al-Adārisa, sic*). He adds that wars have taken their toll, "so much so that the visitor can see there only the remnants of the foundations, as I have myself observed" (*Waṣf Ifrīḳiya*, tr. Muḥammad Ḥādjdjī and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar, Beirut 1983, ii, 40-1). The mediocre vestiges revealed by excavations (G. Marçais and A. Dessus-Lamare, *Tihert-Tagdemt*, in *R. Afr.*, xc [1946], 24-54), which have not been pursued further, definitely do not reflect the state of the city at the height of its prosperity.

Tāhart suffered greatly as a result of the wars which raged throughout the central Maghrib following the accession of the Fāṭimids. The ability to move rapidly with tents and livestock was essential; nomadism became the sole means of survival. In 297/910, 312/924, 320/932, 358-60/968-71, the town was constantly subjected to successive assaults. In 360/971, in the process of avenging his father Zīrī, Būluggīn carried out a massacre there of the Zanāta, on whose bodies "the muezzins climbed to proclaim the call to prayer" (Idrīs, *Zīrides*, Paris 1962, i, 37). In Ramaḍān 362/June 973, he took Tāhart by storm. "He massacred the men, reduced women and children to slavery, pillaged and burned the city" (*ibid.*, i, 48). In 374/984 the Zīrid al-Manṣūr quelled a rebellion there "with slaughter and pillage" (*ibid.*, i, 79). In 390/998 the city was again the scene of carnage. From 408/1017 onwards it was part of the Ḥammādid kingdom. The *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] established his capital at Tagdemt (1835-43). It was there that in 1863, General La Moricière founded the modern Tihert, currently provincial capital of the *wilāya*, i.e. on the site of Roman Tingartia. The Tāhart of the Rustamids does not survive.

Bibliography: See IBĀḌIYYA and RUSTAMIDS. Supplementary references, besides works cited in the body of the text and the two afore-mentioned entries, include:

1. Sources. Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, Beirut 1983, index; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Beirut 1965, ii, 7-9; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan, Tunis 1995, index.

2. Studies. Brahim Zerouki, *L'imamat de Tahart*, Paris 1987; F. Dachraoui, *Fatimides*, Tunis 1981, 134, 150-4, 206-8, 237-8; L. Golvin, *Le Maghrib central à l'époque des Zirides*, Paris 1957, index; J. Lethielleux, *Ouargla, cité saharienne, des origines au début du XX^e^ siècle*, Paris 1983; Ch.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Paris 1964, index; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, index; M. Talbi, *Effondrement démographique au Maghreb du XI^e^ au XV^e^ siècle*, in *CT*, xcvii-xcviii (1977), 51-60. (Mohamed Talbi)

AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Salāma b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Azdī al-Ḥadjrī Abū Djaʿfar, a Ḥanafī jurist (d. 321/933). He spent most of his life in Egypt, with only one brief trip to Syria. His fame depends on his writings which include works of *fiḳh*, works on technical legal and judicial matters, *ḥadīth* criticism, and a famous and enduring statement of the Muslim creed.

Life. Basic biographical details are provided in the Ḥanafī biographical tradition represented by Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, al-Ḳurashī and al-Laknawī. The last of these works incorporates most of the detail of the earlier ones, as well as extensive reference to the broader biographical tradition. Four different years of birth are given: 229/844, 230/845, 238/852 and 239/853. The last of these dates is given in a report attributed to al-Ṭaḥāwī himself, the genealogist al-Samʿānī prefers 229, and Ibn Khallikān prefers 238. His early training was with his maternal uncle al-Muzanī (Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā d. 264/878 [*q.v.*]), a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*], but he subsequently transferred to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and trained with Aḥmad b. Abī ʿImrān Mūsā b. ʿĪsā. He went to Syria in 268/882, where he worked for the *ḳāḍī* Abū Khāzim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Djaʿfar (d. 292/905). He returned to Egypt after a brief stay and worked again with a *ḳāḍī*, namely Abū Bakra Bakkār b. Ḳutayba (d. 270/883 [*q.v.*]). He continued to advance his training in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, gradually acquiring prominence as an administrator in the judicial sphere and as a teacher. The lists of his pupils include a number of names, none of them very famous, but, perhaps significantly, including two or three figures identified as judges (*ḳāḍīs*) and one who was both a *ḳāḍī* and leader of the Ẓāhirīs in his time. He produced many books. The most important of these relate to three broad areas of study: 1. the propagation of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*; 2. a specialist interest in practical judicial activity; 3. *ḥadīth* criticism. He also produced his enduring statement of the Muslim creed, and a history, now lost (*al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, possibly a biographical work). Further details of his role in the administrative and judicial spheres of Egyptian society can be gleaned from scattered reports in al-Kindī's *Wulāt Miṣr*. Secular biographies show a number of characteristic expansions, al-Samʿānī focusing on genealogy, Ibn Khallikān on the narrative of the split between al-Ṭaḥāwī and al-Muzanī (most of it incorporated into al-Laknawī). Specialists in the science of *ḥadīth* tend to criticise him: Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn al-Djawzī described him as deficient (*naḳaṣa*) (cit. in Ibn Ḳutlūbughā), and Ibn Taymiyya said that his knowledge of *isnāds* was not like that of specialists in the field (cit. in al-Laknawī, who comments that Ibn Taymiyya was exaggerating as usual). Most of the material of the biographical tradition is gathered into the modern biography by al-Kawtharī, *al-Ḥāwī fī sīrat al-imām Abī Djaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī*.

Works.

1. The *madhhab*. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's work on the propagation and continuation of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* is represented by his commentaries on al-Shaybānī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-kabīr* and *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* (both lost). Still extant are his *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-fiḳh* and his *Ikhtilāf al-fuḳahāʾ*. Both have been published. The *Mukhtaṣar* follows the usual pattern of such works and attracted a number of commentaries, notably those of al-Djaṣṣāṣ (Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī, d. 370/980 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sarakhsī (d. *ca.* 490/1097 [*q.v.*]). The *Ikhtilāf* has been preserved only partially, and possibly only in a redaction by al-Djaṣṣāṣ (see Sezgin; also Maʿṣūmī, in al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Maʿṣūmī).

2. Practical judicial works. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's most enduring contribution in this area is represented by his works on formularies, of which three are mentioned, *al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, *al-Shurūṭ al-awsaṭ* and *al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr*. A number of treatises are mentioned in the biographical tradition on topics like *maḥāḍir, sidjillāt, waṣāyā* and *farāʾiḍ*, but these are in fact sections within the *shurūṭ* works. Much of the material from these works was incorporated into later works of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, notably the *Hidāya* of al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] and the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīriyya*. The *K. al-Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr* is preserved in full, the *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr* only in part, the *Awsaṭ* not at all. Some fragments of the *K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr* were published by Joseph Schacht in the 1920s and a major section, the *Kitāb al-buyūʿ*, in 1972, by Jeanette A. Wakin in a work which incorporates a bibliography and introduction. The whole of the *Shurūṭ al-ṣaghīr* together with all extant fragments of the *Shurūṭ al-kabīr* were published in 1974 in ʿIrāḳ (ed. Rūḥī Ūzdjān), independently of the Western editions.

3. *Ḥadīth* criticism. Al-Ṭaḥāwī produced two important works in this area, one of which, the *Bayān mushkil al-ḥadīth* (or *Mushkil al-āthār*, or *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*) was influential and widely admired; the other, the *K. Maʿānī 'l-āthār*, also admired in the Ḥanafī tradition, was more problematic. The *Mushkil al-āthār* corresponds in aims and structure to the *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], which was clearly an influence. It is a catalogue of problem cases arising out of apparent discord between two or more *ḥadīth* and/or between *ḥadīth* and the Ḳurʾān. It is not well-structured, but individual problems are dealt with by appeal to a variety of hermeneutical arguments, some of which are notably elegant or skilful. An abridged version was produced by Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (grandfather of the philosopher) called a *mukhtaṣar*, incorporating criticisms. This in turn was edited by Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī (d. 803/1401) in his *al-Muʿtaṣar min al-Mukhtaṣar*. (The printed version of this work identifies the intermediate author as Abu 'l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bādjī, whose *nisba* is in fact mentioned in the author's introduction, but this is certainly an error.) The *Maʿānī 'l-āthār* is organised under the normal topics of a work of *fiḳh*. It presents Prophetic *ḥadīth* which are problematic in so far as they conflict with each other or with the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's commentary and analysis tend to offer arguments that promote harmony between *ḥadīth* and *madhhab*. It is this work that provoked the negative appreciation of al-Ṭaḥāwī amongst *ḥadīth* experts of a later date, though it also generated defensive commentaries within the Ḥanafī tradition, notably that of al-ʿAynī (Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī, d. 855/1451 [*q.v.*]). (*The Mushkil al-āthār* and the *Maʿānī 'l-āthār* are discussed in Calder, *Studies*, ch. 9.)

4. Creed. Al-Ṭaḥāwī's presentation of the Muslim

creed has always been and still is popular; and has generated important commentaries.

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2. Other sources and studies: Sezgin, i, 439-42; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 207; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 24, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, i, 61-2, tr. de Slane, i, 51-3; Ibn Ḳutlūbughā, *Tādj al-tarādjim*, no. 15; 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā' Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī, *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, i, 102-5; Abu 'l-Ḥasanāt Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, 31-4; Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *al-Ḥāwī fī sīrat al-Imām Abī Djaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī*, Cairo 1368/1948; N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993 (chs. 9-10); F. Krenkow, in *EI*[1], s.v.

(N. CALDER)

ṬAḤḤĀN (A.), miller; owner and operator of mills to grind wheat, and other grains to produce flour.

There were no millers (*ṭaḥḥān*) and bread-makers or sellers (*khabbāz*) in the Islamic society of Medina during the era of the Prophet. Instead, every family used to buy grain, grind and make bread for daily meals (Kattānī, *Tarātīb*, ii, 108-9). Some wives of the Prophet used to grind grains in hand-mills. A favourite illustration of this practice was the example of the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, who used to grind grain for her own family.

In early Islam, some seasonal farm labourers of Baṣra were employed to grind grain, as did some slave-women of Indian origin. A popular anecdote from the Umayyad period, repeated by many Arab writers and historians, speaks of a Damascene miller who hung a bell (*djuldjul*) on the neck of a donkey working in the mill so that he could know from a distance whether the animal was at work or whether it had stopped and was resting.

During the 'Abbāsid period, there were a variety of mills; for these, see ṬĀḤŪN.

Some millers were wealthy. During the attack of the Zandj slaves on Baṣra in 257/871, a wealthy miller, al-'Abbās b. al-Faradj al-Riyāshī, was killed for his wealth. Millers' income depended on good or bad seasonal harvests, which also affected price of grains and flour. In Fāṭimid Egypt, when the price of flour rose high, the government imposed price control measures, including lashing grain-merchants and millers, to bring down the price.

A strong influence of Shī'ism was detected among some millers of Baghdād's Karkh district (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 267). On the other hand, there were millers who were strongly Sunnī and who became well-known as reliable transmitters of traditions (*aḥādīth*). Many of them were known by their *laḳab* of al-Ṭaḥḥān, although it was not uncommon for some friends of millers to share the same surname, as was the case with Khālid al-Wāsiṭī al-Ṭaḥḥān.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

ṬĀHIR B. AḤMAD B. BĀBASHĀDH, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, al-Naḥwī al-Miṣrī, the most important Egyptian grammarian of his time, usually referred to as IBN BĀBASHĀDH, d. 469/1077. Of Daylamī origins, his father or grandfather set up in Cairo, where, after an interlude in 'Irāḳ trading in precious stones, Ibn Bābashādh found well-paid employment as a *kātib* in the *Dīwān al-inshā'*, as well as presiding over Ḳur'ān recitation at the mosque of 'Amr. He died in a fall from the minaret of this mosque, in which he had secluded himself for some time in a pious abandonment of his secular livelihood (he may have been a Ṣūfī as well as a Shī'ī: Haarmann, 167).

Only two of his works survive. Among those lost are a commentary on the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*] and a large treatise of some fifteen volumes known as *Ta'līḳ al-ghurfa*, after the room in the mosque where it was composed. It passed through the hands of several of his pupils and subsequently attracted the admiration of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], but it proved impossible to edit after his death and has disappeared. An unpublished and highly regarded commentary on the *Djumal* of al-Zadjdjādjī [*q.v.*] survives in several copies, though the foreshadowed edition (Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 90) has not appeared.

His best known work is the *Muḳaddima*, on which he also wrote his own commentary. The *Muḳaddima* (see Haarmann, 166, 168, for editions) is conspicuous for its arbitrary and rigid arrangement of topics into four sections over ten chapters, in which the principle of classification is not so much the natural features of language as the urge for complete logical systematisation, probably to serve as a text book in the *madrasa* [*q.v.*]. It seems to have enjoyed considerable favour in the Yemen, being memorised by the Rasūlid ruler al-Mu'ayyad (Carter, 179). The arrangement also attracted imitators: we read of a certain al-Fā'ishī (d. 697/1296) that he composed a grammar "in the Bābashādhī style" (*ibid*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I², 365, S I, 171, 529; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 84, 89-90, 239; N. Moussa, *Les études grammaticales en Egypte des origines à la fin*

des Fatimides. Étude bio-bibliographique des grammairiens. Analyse de leurs œuvres et édition critique d'un traité grammaticale, le Kitab al-Muqaddima fī l-naḥw d'Ibn Bābišād, diss. Paris 1974; U. Haarmann, *An eleventh century précis of Arabic orthography*, in W. al-Qāḍī (ed.), *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift for Iḥsān ʿAbbās*, Beirut 1981, 165-82; M.G. Carter, *The grammatical riddles of ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿīš*, in A.K. Irvine *et alii* (eds.), *A miscellany of Middle Eastern articles. In memoriam Thomas Muir Johnstone 1924-1983*, London 1989, 178-88. (M.G. CARTER)

ṬĀHIR B. AL-**ḤUSAYN** b. Muṣʿab b. Ruzayḳ, called Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn (? "the ambidextrous"), b. 159/776, d. 207/822, the founder of a short line of governors in Khurāsān during the high ʿAbbāsid period, the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*]. His forebears had the aristocratic Arabic *nisba* of "al-Khuzāʿī", but were almost certainly of eastern Persian *mawlā* stock, Muṣʿab having played a part in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution as secretary to the *dāʿī* Sulaymān b. Kathīr [*q.v.*]. He and his son al-Ḥusayn were rewarded with the governorship of Pūshang [see BŪSHANDJ], and Muṣʿab at least apparently governed Harāt also.

Ṭāhir likewise entered the ʿAbbāsids' service, and took part under Harthama b. Aʿyan in operations against the rebel in Transoxania Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] (194/810). In the civil warfare between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn [*q.vv.*], Ṭāhir led an army of the latter's and defeated al-Amīn's general ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān at Hamadhān in 195/811, pressing on to Baghdād, where his soldiers killed the captive al-Amīn (198/813). He then became governor of the western provinces, with his base at Hārūn's old capital of al-Raḳḳa [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates, and also became *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* [see SHURṬA] in Baghdād, the basis of the extensive wealth and power which the Ṭāhirid family was to acquire in ʿIrāḳ. In 205/821 he became governor of Khurāsān and the East. Soon after his arrival there, he began omitting the caliph's name from the *khuṭba*, and certain coins minted by him in 206/821-2 omit al-Ma'mūn's name; both these actions were virtually declarations of independence from Baghdād, but at this point, in 207/822, Ṭāhir died at Marw. Because of this abrupt end, we do not know what Ṭāhir's motives were or how events might have turned out; but the ʿAbbāsids did not hesitate to appoint Ṭāhir's sons and later descendants to high office in Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ.

Ṭāhir is said to have been well educated in Arabic as well as his native Persian, and his epistle to his son ʿAbd Allāh on the latter's appointment to his own old office at al-Raḳḳa in 206/821-2 (text preserved in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and thence in al-Ṭabarī) became famed as a model of Arabic eloquence.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The standard Arabic chronicles, esp. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb Baghdād* and Ṭabarī; also Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 517-23, tr. de Slane, i, 649-55. For the famous epistle, see the Eng. trs. by F. Rosenthal in his tr. of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ii, 139-56, and C.E. Bosworth, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 25-41.

2. Studies. D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir I au Ḫurāsān en 207/822*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 66-9; Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 91-5; Mongi Kaabi, *Les Ṭāhirides au Ḫurāsān et en Iraq*, Paris 1983, i, 69 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬĀHIR B. **MUḤAMMAD** b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, AL-MUHANNAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, poet and letter-writer (one biographer mentions interesting ones, *rasā'il ʿadjība*), born in Baghdād in Ramaḍān 315/November 927. In 340/951, in his mid-twenties, al-Muhannad left Baghdād for Cordova in search of fame and patronage, both of which he found as panegyrist and companion to the ʿĀmirid ruler al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. His biographers are consequently Andalusian. The earliest notice occurs in Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1013 [*q.v.*]), *Ta'rīkh ʿUlamā' al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut 1983, i, 361, in a section devoted to foreign scholars (*ʿulamā'*) in Spain.

Ibn al-Faraḍī provides details such as al-Muhannad's full name, his date and place of birth, the date of his departure for Cordova, and the date of his death in his adoptive city in Muḥarram 390/December 999. However, he makes no mention of the assertion made by al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095 [*q.v.*]), *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis fī ta'rīkh ʿulamā' al-Andalus*, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut n.d., i, 383, no. 516, that al-Muhannad was a descendant of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr [*q.v.*], "the author of *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* [sic]". Ibn al-Faraḍī either simply does not record the connection or is unaware of it, though he is otherwise very informed about al-Muhannad. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and his *K. Baghdād* would no doubt have reached Ibn al-Faraḍī's attention, if through nothing else but the history of Cordova by al-Rāzī (d. 340/955 [*q.v.*]), said to be modelled on that work. The genealogy in Ibn al-Faraḍī does argue against descent but the fact that al-Ḥumaydī claims to have composed his work entirely from memory in Baghdād lends some credence to the assertion. Al-Ḥumaydī's contemporary, Ibn Ḥayyān al-Ḳurṭubī (388-469/987-1076 [*q.v.*]), records al-Muhannad in *al-Muḳtabis*, ed. al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1983, 31, 120, 156 ff., but, like Ibn al-Faraḍī, does not tie him to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. The al-Ḥumaydī notice is quoted verbatim by the much later al-Ḍabbī (d. 599/1202-3 [*q.v.*]), *Bughyat al-multamis fī ta'rīkh ridjāl ahl al-Andalus*, Cairo 1968, 326, no. 859.

The biographers remark that reports (*akhbār*) are told about al-Muhannad's spiritual contemplations and how his espousal of the ways of the "heretic" mystic al-Ḥallādj led people to have a low opinion of him. As these stories are uncorroborated (*ḥukiyat ʿanhu*), al-Ḥumaydī adds that "God knows best!"

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 690. (SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA)

ṬĀHIR SAYF AL-**DĪN**, Abū Muḥammad, 51st *dāʿī al-muṭlak*, or absolute *dāʿī* (addressed as *Bāwa Ṣāḥib* and *Sayyidnā*), vicegerent of the 21st Imām's (al-Ṭayyib) descendants, and leader of the small, predominantly Gudjarātī, Ismāʿīlī merchant community of Dāwūdī Bohorās [*q.v.*]. He was born in Bombay in 1304/1886, assumed headship of the *dawat* (= *daʿwa*) from ʿAbd Allāh Badr al-Dīn in 1330/1912, and ruled till his death in Matheran in 1384/1965, when he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn (b. 1334/1915). He is buried in the "Rawḍat Ṭāhira" mausoleum built by his son, now a *ziyāra* site for Bohorās.

Though he is not a descendant, recent Bohorā literature identifies Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn's ancestors as "the Fāṭimī Imāms" and describes the Bohorās as "Fāṭimī". This re-establishment of links with the Fāṭimids was important to Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn and was underscored by his successful negotiation with the Egyptian government for stewardship of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh [*q.v.*] in Cairo. Indeed, his active cultivation of diplomatic contacts with heads of state brought to the office of *dāʿī* the bearing of a princeship it had not hitherto enjoyed.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn came under much criticism from Bohorā reformist elements about management of *dawat* funds, but Privy Council decisions guaranteed him the

right to manage "as sole trustee with wide discretionary powers". The reformers are right that the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* (chief *dāʿī*), his Fāṭimid analogue, did not have similar sweeping powers—but that was before the Occultation of the Imām. The *dāʿī*'s right to excommunicate, frequently and prominently exercised in India as elsewhere (e.g. in Tanzania), also provoked outcry and judicial intervention.

Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn was responsible for the expansion of the *al-Djāmiʿa al-Sayfiyya* in Sūrat [*q.v.*] into a large-scale Academy for the training of *ʿāmils* (the modern successors to the Fāṭimid regional *dāʿīs*) in Arabic and religious matters. It is said to be inspired by the Dār al-Ḥikma [*q.v.*] of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim and by al-Azhar [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlis*, Cambridge 1992; Dawat-e-Hadiyah, *The Fatimi tradition*, Bombay 1988; idem, *The Dawoodi Bohras*, Bombay n.d.; idem, *Believers and yet unbelievers*; A.A. Engineer, *The Bohoras*, Bombay 1980, esp. 156-9, 167-75, 209-13; S.C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, London 1964; S. Stern, *The succession of the Fāṭimid Imām al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fāṭimids to the Imāmate, and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 193-255; Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, *Nūrul Hakkul Mubīn*, Bombay 1335/1917; idem, *Ṣaḥīfat al-ṣalāt*, Bombay n.d.; H. Halm, *Shiism*, Edinburgh 1991, 193-200, 204-5.

(SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA)

ṬĀHIR WAḤĪD, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD, Persian poet, court historian, epistle writer and state dignitary, born during the beginning of the 11th/17th century, and died most probably in 1110/1698-9.

He was born at Ḳazwīn into a family whose members had served in the state chancery. His father, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, was a prominent citizen of Ḳazwīn. Ṭāhir Waḥīd learned the traditional subjects taught during his time, and acquired a good training in accountancy and secretarial work. He served as secretary to two successive prime ministers, Mīrzā Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Iʿtimād al-Dawla, and Sayyid ʿAlī al-Dīn Khalīfa Sulṭān. Through the intervention of the latter he was appointed official chronicler in the administration of Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052-77/1642-66), and in 1055/1645-6 he became the court historian of that ruler. In 1101/1689-90, after a temporary lay-off, he was recalled to fill the post of prime minister under Shāh Sulaymān I (r. 1077-1105/1666-96), and received the title of ʿImād al-Dawla. He held that position till the early years of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign (1105-35/1694-1722), when he resigned because of old age or, according to some writers, as a result of official censure. He died soon afterwards at the advanced age of nearly one hundred years.

Ṭāhir Waḥīd's intellectual activity covered poetry, letter-writing and historiography. His verse production is estimated at some 50,000 couplets (see Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, v/2, Tehran 1372/1993-4, 1348). It includes, besides *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals* and *rubāʿīs*, a number of long and short *mathnawīs* such as *Khalwat-i rāz* "The secret solitude"; *Nāz u niyāz* "Pride and humility"; *Sāḳī-nāma* "Book of the cup-bearer"; *ʿĀshiḳ u maʿshūḳ* "Lover and beloved"; *Fatḥ-i Ḳandahār* "Conquest of Ḳandahār"; and *Gulzār-i ʿAbbāsī* "The garden of ʿAbbās". The poet has been judged favourably by most literary historians, with the significant exceptions of Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat and Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, who expressed their disapproval in no uncertain terms.

Ṭāhir Waḥīd's prose output is represented by his collection of letters, written in the name of Shāh ʿAbbās II, and his history of the same ruler, published in 1329/1951, under the title *ʿAbbās-nāma*. The letters were collected by the author himself and have been published from Calcutta in 1243/1826 and again from Lakhnaw in 1260/1844. The historical work was composed in response to the command of Shāh ʿAbbās II, and the published version covers the first twenty-two years of the monarch's reign ending with the year 1073/1662-3.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma*, ed. Ibrāhīm Dahgān, Arāk 1329/1951; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī, Tehran 1361/1982; Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tadhkira-yi Ḥazīn* (introd. by Muḥammad Bāḳir Ulfat), Iṣfahān 1334/1955; Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Maẓāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339/1960-1, ii/1; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, Tehran 1338/1959, iii; Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, *Kalimāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Lahore 1942; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lakhnaw 1292/1875-6; Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾidj al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1958; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tabrīzī (Mudarris), *Rayḥānat al-adab*, Tabrīz (?) 1371/1952-3, iv; Browne, *LHP*, iv; Aḥmad Gulčīn Maʿānī, *Tadhkira-yi paymāna*, Mashhad 1359/1980; Sayyid Maḥmūd Khayrī, *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā-yi Ḳazwīn*, Tehran 1370-1991; Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, Add. 11,632; *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, Calcutta 1912, iii; Storey, i/1; *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi ʿĀlī-yi Sipahsālār*, Tehran 1316-18/1937-9, ii; *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Madjlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, Tehran 1318-21/1939-42, iii; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. *Waḥīd Ḳazwīnī*; Muḥammad Muʿīn, *Farhang-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1371/1992, vi; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Yak ṣafḥa az risāla-yi hādī ʿashar*, in *Armaghān*, xiii/5 (1311/1932).

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

ṬĀHIRIDS, the name of three dynasties of mediaeval Islam.

1. A line of governors for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in Khurāsān and the holders of high offices in ʿIrāḳ, who flourished in the 3rd/9th century (205-78/821-91).

The founder of the line was the Persian commander, of *mawlā* origin, Ṭāhir (I) b. al-Ḥusayn Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*], who became governor of Khurāsān in 205/821 but who died almost immediately afterwards, after showing signs of asserting his independence of Baghdād. Nevertheless, the caliph—possibly being unable to find anyone else with the requisite prestige and military capability to govern these distant and potentially difficult regions—appointed first his son Ṭalḥa (207-13/822-8), who is a somewhat shadowy figure in the sources, and then another son ʿAbd Allāh, who left a strong imprint on the history and culture of his age and who was probably the greatest of the Ṭāhirids (213-30/828-45 [*q.v.*]). ʿAbd Allāh had achieved great military successes for the caliphate whilst governor of the western provinces, securing the surrender of the rebel in al-Djazīra Naṣr b. Shabath [*q.v.*] and suppressing a longstanding rebellion in Egypt. With his local capital at Nīshāpūr, ʿAbd Allāh managed to retain the caliphs' favour, although he prudently stayed in Khurāsān and never visited the caliphal courts in Baghdād and Sāmarrāʾ. His territories extended as far as Transoxania, where his deputy governors included members of the rising Sāmānid family [see SĀMĀNIDS]. For details of his governorship, see the article on him.

ʿAbd Allāh's son Ṭāhir (II) was eventually appointed governor after his father's death (230-48/845-59), and like his father, received glowing praises from the historians for his benevolent and just rule in Khurāsān, although they have little specific to say about the events of his time. But we know that it was during his governorship that direct Ṭāhirid control over Sīstān, hitherto an administrative dependency of Khurāsān, was lost to local *ʿayyār* leaders, paving the way for the ultimate triumph in 247/861 of Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth and the indigenous Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*] there.

Ṭāhir (II)'s successor at Nīshāpūr was his son Muḥammad [see MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR]. Perhaps because of his ultimate failure, the sources view him as weak and pleasure-loving, inferior to his predecessors. He was unfortunate in that Ṭāhirid rule in the East was challenged by the Zaydī Shīʿī rebellion in the Caspian provinces under al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, called *al-Dāʿī al-Kabīr*, an outbreak provoked by Ṭāhirid financial oppression in the region. The downfall of Ṭāhirid authority came, however, from the opposite quarter of Sīstān, where Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] speedily made himself strong enough to challenge the Ṭāhirids. In 259/873 he entered Nīshāpūr without a blow being struck, imprisoned Muḥammad and effectively ended Ṭāhirid authority in the East, although various local military adventurers in Khurāsān subsequently claimed to be acting in the name of Muḥammad (who, after escaping from Ṣaffārid captivity, was once more appointed governor of Khurāsān but who never dared to take up the office).

The fortunes of the Ṭāhirids in ʿIrāḳ were more enduring, based as they were on the immense property and wealth built up by them in Baghdād, epitomised in the *Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhir* in Baghdād, where the Ṭāhirid commanders of the police guard (*shurṭa* [*q.v.*]) and governors of ʿIrāḳ resided, and which enjoyed quasi-regal administrative and legal status (whence *Ḥarīm* = "Sanctuary"). The offices in ʿIrāḳ were held by members of both the line of Ṭāhir (I) and of his cousin Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab. Such governors as Isḥāḳ (207-35/822-49) and then the sons of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (I), Muḥammad, Sulaymān and ʿUbayd Allāh, gained great reputations not only as effective military commanders at a time when there was intense civic and ethnic violence enveloping the caliphate but also as patrons of literature and such arts as music, and as creative artists themselves; ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] was himself the author of a work on music and singing. Some Ṭāhirids held intermittent power in ʿIrāḳ at the end of the 3rd/opening of the 10th century, but the family then lapsed into obscurity; only al-Thaʿālibī mentions a scion of Ṭāhir II who resided at the Sāmānid court in Bukhārā on estates granted to him by the Amīrs and who was a littérateur.

Earlier orientalists often regarded the Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān as the first provincial dynasty to arise out of the enfeebled condition of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the mid-3rd/9th century, but it is doubtful whether we should think of them thus. With the single exception, an apparent aberration, of Ṭāhir (I)'s action at the end of his life, the Ṭāhirid governors faithfully acknowledged and fulfilled the constitutional rights of their overlords the caliphs. Their coins were little different from those of other provincial governors, and some coins were minted in places definitely under Ṭāhirid control without mentioning them at all. The Ṭāhirids seem to have been retained in Khurāsān by the ʿAbbāsids because they were able to provide firm government for an important sector of the empire at a time when the caliphs themselves were increasingly constricted in their own power.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See the Arabic and Persian chronicles (Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr; Yaʿḳūbī; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Gardīzī; Ibn al-Athīr) and *adab* and biographical works (Shābushtī; Ibn Khallikān).

2. Studies. Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 207-18; G. Rothstein, *Zu aš-Šābuštī's Bericht über die Ṭāhiriden*, in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 155-70; Spuler, *Iran*, 59 ff.; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 90-106; Mongi Kaabi, *Les origines ṭāhirides dans la* daʿwa *ʿabbāside*, in Arabica, xix (1972), 145-64; idem, *Les Ṭāhirides au Ḫurāsān et en Iraq*, 2 vols., Paris 1983 (i = historical study, ii = texts). On literary and cultural aspects, see Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 45-79; idem, *The Ṭāhirids and Persian literature*, in *Iran, JBIPS*, vii (1969), 103-6. For a list of the governors, see idem, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 82. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. A minor dynasty of Al-Andalus.

The Banū Ṭāhir belonged to one of the most influential families of Mursiya (currently Murcia), in the *Sharḳ al-Andalus*, of Arab origin (Ḳays ʿAylān) and celebrated by Arab authors for its wealth and social status. They were major landowners; the name of the *ḳaryat Banī Ṭāhir*, near Murcia, is attested in the second half of the 4th/10th century, and they added to their possessions in the course of the following century. Some of the Banū Ṭāhir distinguished themselves in literature and the sciences, while simultaneously playing a major role in the administration of the city. Also, during the periods of disintegration of the central power (first and second *ṭāʾifas*), members of this family were the heads of regional government.

The first of the Banū Ṭāhir to take power was Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysī (d. 455/1063), chosen by the ruler of Almeria, the slave Zuhayr, who wanted to rid himself of the representative of another eminent family, the Banū Khaṭṭāb. After the death of Zuhayr, Ibn Ṭāhir recognised the nominal authority of the prince of Valencia, the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, grandson of al-Manṣūr. Until his death, which occurred at a very advanced age, Ibn Ṭāhir proved capable of maintaining peace in his domains, taking responsibility for payment of the *djund* applied to the region and keeping fiscal control of the territory. His son Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad, who had held the post of *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*, continued the policies of Abū Bakr, and his reign is unanimously commended by Arab historians. However, he was unable to resist attacks on the part of the *wazīr* of Seville Ibn ʿAmmār, who succeeded in making alliances among the nobility of Murcia and ultimately conquered the city. Imprisoned in the castle of Monteagudo, near Murcia, Muḥammad subsequently managed to make his way to Valencia, where he participated in the events which led to the conquest of the city by the Cid. Imprisoned again in 488/1095, he died in Valencia in 507/1113-14 and was buried in Murcia. In addition to his political activities, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad was a respected man of letters. He was the author of numerous *rasāʾil* collected by Ibn Bassām in a book entitled *Silk al-djawāhir min tarsīl Ibn Ṭāhir*, and reproduced partially in his *Dhakhīra*. Arabic sources liken the literary output of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad to that of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād and convey anecdotes illustrating his wit and his encyclopedic knowledge.

In Rabīʿ I 540/September 1145, during the period of the second *ṭāʾifas* which followed the Almoravid collapse, the people of Murcia united in offering power to Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭāhir. Once installed in the *ḳaṣr*, this Ibn Ṭāhir at first accepted the sovereignty of Ibn Hūd [see HŪDIDS], but he was soon to declare himself independent ruler of Murcia, entrusting command of the cavalry to his brother Abū Bakr. However, a *coup* mounted by the *ḳāʾid* Ibn ʿIyāḍ put an end to the reign of Ibn Ṭāhir fifty days after his seizure of power. Subsequently, he became increasingly estranged from the new master of the *S̲h̲arḳ*, Ibn Mardanīs̲h̲ [*q.v.*], who was presenting active resistance to the Almohads. In fact, Ibn Ṭāhir became an ardent supporter of the Almohad doctrine, and died in Marrākus̲h̲ in 574/1178-9, having travelled to the Moroccan capital to present to the caliph his *risāla* entitled *Al-Kāfiya fī barāhīn al-imām al-Mahdī raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu ʿaḳlan wa-naḳlan* (reproduced by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *Naẓm*, 101-22). Ibn Ṭāhir's personal interests were far removed from the political activity in which he was a reluctant participant. After studying *fiḳh* in Murcia and in Cordova, he devoted himself to the "sciences of the ancients" (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*), in which he became an authority acknowledged by the specialists in these branches of knowledge; he also lectured in philosophy. Married to Amat al-Raḥmān, daughter of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. G̲h̲ālib b. ʿAṭiyya (himself a member of an important Granadan family), he had a son (d. 598/1201) who took the name and *kunya* of his maternal grandfather and was a poet and an expert in the judicial sciences.

As for those members of the Banū Ṭāhir who had no involvement in public affairs, the biographical dictionaries cite several names, among which the most important is undoubtedly that of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Abi 'l-Ḥusām b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysī al-S̲h̲ahīd (d. 378/988-9), a scholar of ascetic inclination who spent eight years in Mecca perfecting his spiritual development. After his return to al-Andalus in 366 or 367/976-8, he led a life dedicated to piety and to the practice of residence in a *ribāṭ*, initially in the vicinity of Murcia and then in the frontier zone. He also involved himself actively in the practice of *d̲j̲ihād* and participated in al-Manṣūr's expeditions against Zamora and Coimbra; he was only 42 years old when he died in the course of the Astorga campaign (377/988). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir is described by the sources as a Ṣūfī, and as a performer of miracles during the time of his residence in the Mas̲h̲riḳ; a book entitled *K. al-Id̲j̲ābāt wa 'l-karāmāt* is attributed to him.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ḍabbī, *Bug̲h̲yat al-multamis*, nos. 154, 381; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, ii, 116-27 and 227-35; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Cairo 1955, nos. 924, 1418; idem, Madrid 1887, no. 1807; Ibn Bassām, *al-D̲h̲ak̲h̲īra*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 24-40; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus*, no. 1349; Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *Naẓm al-d̲j̲umān*, ed. M.ʿA. Makkī, Beirut 1990, 101-22; Ibn K̲h̲āḳān, *Ḳalāʾid al-ʿiḳyān*, ed. M. Ibn ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Tunis 1990, 145-71, 443; Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, 232-3, cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Islamische Geschichte Spaniens. Übersetzung der Aʿmāl al-Aʿlām und ergänzender Texte*, Zürich and Stuttgart 1970, 382-4; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mug̲h̲rib*, ii, 247-8; Marrākus̲h̲ī, *al-D̲h̲ayl wa 'l-takmila*, v, no. 1165, vi, no. 896.

2. Studies. ʿI. Dandas̲h̲, *al-Andalus fī nihāyat al-Murābiṭīn wa-mustahall al-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Beirut 1988; M. Fierro, *The Qāḍī as ruler*, in *Saber religioso y poder político en el Islam*, Madrid 1994, 71-116; M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de la Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905, repr. Murcia 1980; P. Guichard, *Murcia musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*, in *Historia de la región murciana*, iii, Murcia 1980, 132-85; M.J. Viguera, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes*, Madrid 1992; eadem, *Historia política*, in *Los reinos de Taifas: al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, Madrid 1994, 31-129.

(MANUELA MARÍN)

3. A Sunnī dynasty of South Arabia.

They ruled, as direct successors of the Rasūlids [*q.v.*], over the southern highlands of the Yemen and Tihāma [*q.v.*] between the years 858-923/1454-1517. They take their name from one Ṭāhir b. Maʿūḍa, the father of the first Ṭāhirid ruler, who found favour with the Rasūlids in the early 9th/15th century (see Schuman, pull-out family tree after p. 142). They were *mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲*, originating from the area of D̲j̲uban and al-Miḳrāna, some 80 km/50 miles south of Radāʿ.

1. *History*. The Ṭāhirids had taken Laḥd̲j̲, just north of Aden, in 847/1443, as the Rasūlids declined in the midst of internecine squabbles. Their capture of the chief port in 858/1454 marks the beginning of their period of rule. There were four sultans: al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] and al-Mud̲j̲āhid ʿAlī, a dual sovereignty until 864/1460, when the former relinquished his power; al-Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 883-94/1478-89 and finally al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir II, 894-923/1517.

The Ṭāhirids were certainly less interested in expanding their territory in Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*] and into the north of the Yemen than their predecessors had been (see Smith, *Some observations, passim*). After initial consolidation of territory in the southern highlands and Tihāma, the Ṭāhirids settled down to a regular pattern of government: their summers were spent in D̲j̲uban and al-Miḳrāna, with their easy access to the southern highlands, and their winters in Zabīd [*q.v.*] in Tihāma. The latter in part returned to its previous role as intellectual and educational capital of the Yemen and a major seat of learning in the Islamic world. The primary sources indicate much more political and military activity in Tihāma than in the southern highlands. The history of the period, in fact, is largely taken up with Ṭāhirid efforts to quell the uprising of recalcitrant Tihāma tribes and the punishment often dealt out to them.

The destruction of the Ṭāhirids was due indirectly to the activities of the Mamlūks of Egypt, whose fleet in 921/1515 arrived off Kamarān, an island in the Red Sea off the Yemeni coast. The despatch of the fleet into the Red Sea was part of the Mamlūk strategy to combat the increasing Portuguese threat to the eastern trade route. The Ṭāhirid sultan, al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir, refused to provision the ships, but was defeated in battle near Zabīd by a combined force of Mamlūks and Zaydīs from the north. The Mamlūks were able to capture the Ṭāhirid treasure house at al-Miḳrāna and killed al-Ẓāfir ʿĀmir near Ṣanʿāʾ in 923/1517, thus in effect putting an end to Ṭāhirid rule.

2. *Monuments*. Although their architectural legacy is undoubtedly less imposing than the Rasūlids', Ṭāhirid monuments are impressive, and some of them can still be seen and appreciated to this day. Perhaps the most famous is the ʿĀmiriyya *madrasa* in Radāʿ built in 910/1504. Other outstanding architectural examples can be found in both D̲j̲uban and al-Miḳrāna, in Zabīd and elsewhere.

Bibliography: 1. History. The history of the Ṭāhirids can be approached in the primary sources from three sides: (1) the pro-Ṭāhirid Sunnī sources,

mainly those of their historian, Ibn al-Daybaʿ; (2) the Zaydī ones; and (3) at least one Ismāʿīlī source. Most are listed and discussed in G. Rex Smith, *The Ṭāhirid sultans of the Yemen (858-923/1454-1517) and their historian Ibn al-Daybaʿ*, in *JSS*, xxix/1 (1984), 141-54, but add Ibn al-Daybaʿ, *Bughyat al-mustafīd fī tārīkh madīnat Zabīd*, and idem, *al-Faḍl al-mazīd ʿalā Bughyat al-mustafīd*, both ed. J. Chelhod, Ṣanʿāʾ 1983. See also L.O. Schuman, *Political history of the Yemen at the beginning of the 16th century*, Groningen 1960; G.R. Smith, *Some observations on the Ṭāhirids and their activities in and around Ṣanʿāʾ (858-923/1454-1517)*, in Ihsan Abbas *et alii* (eds.), *Studies in history and literature in honour of Nicola Ziadeh*..., London 1992, 29-37; Venetia Porter, *The history and monuments of the Ṭāhirid dynasty of the Yemen—858-923/1454-1517*, unpublished Ph.D. diss. University of Durham 1992, 2 vols. (an excellent work); C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 50.

2. Monuments. See Porter, *History and monuments*, in particular chs. 7 and 8 of i, and ii, *passim*.

(G.R. Smith)

TAḤKĪM (a.), arbitration (the *maṣdar* of the form II verb *ḥakkama*. It denotes the action of making an appeal to arbitration by someone involved with another in a conflict or in some affair of a conflicting nature by mutual agreement. It also designates someone fulfilling the role of an agent with the power of attorney, or an authorised agent (with full powers to act) in a different or clear matter. This person should be qualified as a *muḥakkam*, a person who is solicited for arbitration. The ancient Arabs preferred to use the word *ḥakam*, arbitrator, from the verb *ḥakama*, to judge (form I), from which the noun of action is *ḥukm* or *ḥukūma*, a decision, verdict or judgement, and in modern Arabic is also used to mean power, government (cf. Ḳurʾān, IV, 35; *LʿA*, xii, 142, s.v. *ḥakama*; *TʿA*, Cairo 1888, viii, 252 ff.; Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1960, i, 470; ʿA. Hārūn *et alii*, *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ*, Cairo 1960, i, 189).

Historically, the term *taḥkīm* designated the arbitration which took place between the fourth caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Umayyad Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.vv.*] with the intention of effecting a solution to the grave conflict which had broken out between the two men.

The advent of ʿAlī in the year 35/656, following the assassination of ʿUthmān, certainly took place under conditions which were, to say the very least, difficult and complex. The new caliph had immediately to confront two opposition movements, contesting his legitimacy and accusing him of being involved, directly or indirectly, in the murder of the deceased caliph, and also of protecting the assassins. The first group was led by ʿĀʾisha, widow of the Prophet, who nevertheless had been an adversary of ʿUthmān during his lifetime, with the support of Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, two illustrious companions of the Prophet. The second group was led by the redoubtable Muʿāwiya, with the support of his ally ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who was rightly and suitably nicknamed *Dāhiyat al-ʿArab*, "the supremely shrewd one of the Arabs", by reason of his intelligence and skill in political matters.

For the events which followed, involving the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffīn, see ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; al-Djamal; Ṣiffīn. This last series of skirmishes on the banks of the Euphrates in what is now north-eastern Syria in 36-7/656-7 ended with a final and most bloody confrontation on the *laylat al-harīr* "night of clamour", Thursday-Friday Ṣafar 37/27-8 July 658. After many exchanges of emissaries and mediators, the two opponents came to an agreement to cease fighting and designated an arbitrator in each camp, hoping thus to bring the conflict to a reasonable solution, following the principles of the Ḳurʾān. ʿAlī in no way wanted this agreement. He wished to continue in combat and to defeat once and for all the forces of his adversary. However, the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*], the readers of the Ḳurʾān, who allegedly numbered some 20,000 men of his army although the number sounds vastly inflated, made him accept the cease-fire.

The Syrians easily made their choice; they designated ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Then ʿAlī, once more under pressure from the *ḳurrāʾ*, was constrained to accept as his representative Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, whom the Arab authors all depict as an honest though naïve man. It seems ʿAlī would have preferred his cousin ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās or failing that, al-Ashtar.

Other voices were again raised in protest among the supporters of ʿAlī, chanting the famous formula *lā ḥakam^a illā llāh, wa-lā ḥukm^a illā li-llāh*, meaning literally "there is no judge but God and there is no acceptable judgement but His". They assembled around ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāsibī and were designated as the *muḥakkima al-ūlā*, the first group to have proclaimed the spoken formula *lā ḥukm^a illā li-llāh*. It was they who initiated one of the first schismatic movements in Islam, known a little later by the name of *Khawāridj* [see Khāridjites], the dissidents, or those coming from the ranks of the camp of ʿAlī. While awaiting arbitration, the antagonists left Ṣiffīn and returned to their bases, the Umayyads to Damascus and the followers of ʿAlī to Kūfa.

The Arbitration (*al-taḥkīm*). There is near total confusion surrounding the role of the two arbitrators (*ḥakam*), as well as the location for the arbitration. Concerning the place, Arab authors sometimes cite Dūmat al-Djandal (present-day al-Djawf), an intermediate town between Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and sometimes Adhruḥ, situated between Maʿān and Petra. H. Lammens, referring to a poem by al-Akhṭal (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1309/1891, i, 79) maintained that the meeting took place in the latter town (*EI*[1], vol. I, 135-6, art. Adhroḥ). But many other poets mention Dūmat al-Djandal on different occasions as the place of arbitration (see below). L. Veccia Vaglieri thought that the arbitrators held two meetings, one at Dūmat al-Djandal and the other at Adhruḥ (*EI*[2] vol. I, 384, art. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). In all probability there were indeed two meetings for arbitration, but one would have taken place at the end of the combat, on the spot, at Ṣiffīn; the other would have been held during the following year in a place half-way between Syria and ʿIrāḳ. Finally, the choice was fixed on Dūmat al-Djandal.

Ibn Muzāḥim al-Minḳarī (d. 212/827), a specialist in ʿAlid affairs and one of the oldest to have devoted a work to the battle of Ṣiffīn (*Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*), asserted authoritatively that several poems support this. For him the place in question was well and truly Dūmat al-Djandal (see *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, esp. 616-17 and *passim*; cf. Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, iv, 248-9, 253, 256 and *passim*; see also al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1379/1960 ii, 190; al-Ṭabarī, Cairo 1384/1964, iv, 56-8, 66-7; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, 145; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 282, etc.).

Accompanied by eminent men from each camp, the two arbitrators held their first talks. This was a sort of preliminary meeting which led, after numerous attempts, to a treaty drawn up and signed, very

probably on Wednesday, 13 Ṣafar 37 in the same year/31 July 657 (cf. al-Ṭabarī iv, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, iii, 321. While guaranteeing the safety of the arbitrators, the text invited the belligerents to observe a truce for one year to comply with the verdict of the arbitration which was based strictly on Ḳur'ānic precepts.

In Ramaḍān 38/February 658, the two arbitrators met again, each escorted by 400 cavalrymen from their camp. The two adversaries had to be present. But only Mu'āwiya responded to the appeal. 'Alī had his cousin 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās represent him. It was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who according to the accepted version of pro-'Abbāsid and pro-Shī'ī historians, manipulated the negotiations. He began by rejecting all the propositions of the other speaker. Then methodically and with great skill, he managed to draw him into undermining the caliph and accepting the removal from power of both adversaries, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, in order to give a free hand to the Muslim community to designate the leader of their choice.

At the end of their work, both arbitrators had each in turn to appear in public and announce their decision, agreed by common assent. 'Amr feigned a great respect for Abū Mūsā on the pretext that he had been a Companion of the Prophet and was the older man, and he let him speak first. He hastened to pronounce the verdict. 'Amr followed him to the rostrum, and to the great surprise of all, declared: "As far as I am concerned, I confirm the decision of Abū Mūsā about the demotion of his friend ['Alī] but I am supporting mine [Mu'āwiya]". Thus silenced, al-Ash'arī set off for Mecca and remained there for the rest of his days. When this news was announced at Kūfa, 'Alī contested the outcome of the arbitration, considering it contrary to the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*. He took the decision to fight Mu'āwiya again, mobilised his forces and left immediately to conquer Syria.

The ensuing events, the secession of the Khāridjites and 'Alī's crushing of the dissidents on the banks of the Nahr al-Nahrawān on 9 Safar 38/17 July 658, the continued intransigence of the schismatics and the final assassination of 'Alī by the Khāridjite 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam in the great mosque at Kūfa on 17 Ramaḍān 40/24 January 661, may be followed in the articles 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB; IBN MULDJAM; KHĀRIDJITES.

Bibliography: See the extensive bibls. in the articles named above and in ṢIFFĪN, to which should be added G.R. Hawting, *The significance of the slogan* lā ḥukma illā li'llāh *and the references to the* ḥudūd *in the traditions about the Fitna and the murder of 'Uthmān*, in *BSOAS*, xli (1978), 453-63; idem, *The first dynasty of Islam. The Umayyad caliphate A.D. 661-750*, London and Sydney 1986, 24-33; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, London and New York 1986. (MOKTAR DJEBLI)

TAHLĪL (A.), the verbal noun from *hallala*, form II verb, with two differing etymologies and meanings.

(1) From *hilāl*, the new moon, meaning "jubilation or excitement at seeing the new moon" [see HILĀL. i; TALBIYA].

(2) From the formula *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, the first and main element of the Islamic profession of faith or *shahāda* [*q.v.*]. The verbal form is here obtained by the so-called procedure of *naḥt* "cutting out, carving out". The *tahlīl* then denotes the pronouncing, in a high and intelligible voice, of the formula in question, which implies formal and basic recognition of the divine unity.

Bibliography: See *L'A*, ed. Beirut 1375/1956, 705; also the *Bibls.* to ALLĀH; HILĀL; TAWḤĪD. (ED.)

ṬAHMĀN B. 'AMR AL-KILĀBĪ, minor Arab poet of the middle Umayyad period, whose exact dates are unknown. As the *akhbār* on Ṭahmān's biography in his *dīwān* (ed. al-Mu'aybid, 39, 42, 50, 52-5, related at length in *EI*[1], IV, 665-6) cannot be corroborated from his poems, but on the contrary are possibly read into them, his poetry remains the only reliable source for his life. A laudatory poem on the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd (no. 5) probably refers to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (cf. no. 8, l. 7); hence Ṭahmān was alive at some time between the years 86 and 96/705 and 715. Other lines are indicative of difficult living conditions: in no. 1, ll. 15 and 19, prison and shackles are mentioned (cf. no. 15, l. 4, only in ed. al-Mu'aybid), in no. 14 he complains of an enforced stay in the deserted al-Yamāma, in no. 15, l. 10, only in ed. al-Mu'aybid, he calls himself a stranger in the lands of the Southern Arabian tribe of Madhḥidj. Comparatively well known is poem no. 8, addressed to an Umayyad caliph from the Marwānid line and containing a complaint about an amputated right hand; on details such as the identity of the addressee, the reason for the punishment and the question as to whether he was punished at all, the *akhbār* contradict each other. His *dīwān*, preserved only in a Leiden manuscript and containing 14 poems, seems to be a fragment of al-Sukkarī's (d. 275/888 [*q.v.*]) otherwise lost *Ash'ār* (or *Akhbār*) *al-luṣūṣ* (Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 63). Besides the poems nos. 5 and 8 (see above), three *ḳaṣīdas* (nos. 1, 3 and 12), an elegy on a deceased comrade (no. 7), a poem about the killing of an enemy (no. 13) and two *hidjā'* pieces (nos. 9 and 10) are worth mentioning.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. W. Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, Leiden 1859, 76-95; ed. M. Dj. al-Mu'aybid, Baghdād 1968 (same sequence of poems, with an additional poem from other sources); for four additional lines, cf. *RIMA* (Kuwayt), xxxi/2 (1987), 445; German tr. of Wright's edn. by O. Rescher, in *Orientalistische Miszellen*, Istanbul 1925, 180-93. (T. SEIDENSTICKER)

ṬAHMĀSP (Ṭahmāsb), the name of two Shāhs of the Ṣafawid dynasty [*q.v.*] in Persia.

1. ṬAHMĀSP I, Abu 'l-Fatḥ, eldest son of Shāh Ismā'īl [see ISMĀ'ĪL I], born at Shāhābād in the district of Iṣfahān on Wednesday, 26 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 919/22 February 1514 (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* (ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 142), died Monday, 15 Ṣafar 984/14 May 1576 (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 464), second ruler of the Ṣafawid dynasty [see ṢAFAWIDS. I].

Following the early Ṣafawid practice of appointing princes of the blood royal to be nominal governors of provinces, in the care of a *Ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] *amīr* who was their *atabeg*/*lala* (tutor/guardian), in 921/1515 the infant Ṭahmāsp was appointed governor of Khurāsān in the care of Amīr Khān Turkmān (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 154).

1. *The Ḳizilbāsh interregnum (930-40/1524-33).*

On the death of Shāh Ismā'īl I, Ṭahmāsp acceded to the throne on Monday, 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524 at the age of ten. His extreme youth enabled the *Ḳizilbāsh amīrs*, led by Dīw Sulṭān Rūmlū who, by virtue of the testamentary disposition of the late *shāh* had become the *atabeg* of Ṭahmāsp and *amīr al-umarā'* [see *EIr*, art., *Amīr al-Omarā'*. ii. Ṣafavid usage], to seize power and make themselves *de facto* rulers of the state. Civil war ensued as rival *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes fought for power, and Ṭahmāsp did not succeed in

asserting his authority over the rebellious *amīrs* until 940/1533 (for details, see R.M. Savory, *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. V, 65-71).

The Özbegs, led by the powerful chief ʿUbayd (Allāh) Khān [*q.v.*], took advantage of this Ṣafawid military weakness to lay siege to Harāt (three times) and to capture it (twice) between 931/1524 and 940/1533. The signal victory won by Ṭahmāsp over the Özbegs at the battle of Djām on 11 Muḥarram 935/25 September 1528 gave the Ṣafawids a brief respite, but did not remove the Özbeg threat to the north-east frontier of the Ṣafawid state (for full details, see M.B. Dickson, *Shah Ṭahmāsp and the Uzbegs: the duel for Khurāsān with ʿUbayd Khān*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan 1958).

2. *Shāh Ṭahmāsp in command (940-982/1533-1574).*

For over forty years, Ṭahmāsp reigned without further challenge to his authority from the *Ḳizilbāsh amīrs*. External forces, however, continued to threaten the very existence of the Ṣafawid state. The death of ʿUbayd Khān in 946/1539 for a while reduced the threat in the north-east, but the threat from the Ottomans in the west and north-west increased after the accession of Sultan Süleymān Ḳānūnī [*q.v.*], who launched four full-scale invasions of Persia between 940/1533 and 961/1553-4. In these campaigns, the Ottomans were aided by *Ḳizilbāsh* renegades [see ṬAKKALŪS] and also by the Shāh's perfidious brother Alḳāṣ [see ALḲĀṢ MĪRZĀ].

As a military commander, Ṭahmāsp was at a constant disadvantage, in that the armies at his disposal were numerically inferior to those of his principal enemies, the Ottomans and the Özbegs. He was therefore rarely able to take the offensive or risk a pitched battle, but was forced to adopt scorched-earth tactics to blunt the impact of the Ottoman invasions. For example, on the occasion of Süleymān's third invasion in 955/1548, and again in 960/1553, Ṭahmāsp laid waste the entire region between Tabrīz and the Ottoman frontier, and the inhabitants of Tabrīz blocked the underground irrigation channels [see ḲANĀT]. As a result, the Ottoman armies, denied supplies of food and water, were unable to effect a permanent occupation of the area, and Ṣafawid forces moved back into it when the Ottomans withdrew to winter quarters in Anatolia. However, in recognition of the vulnerability of Tabrīz to Ottoman attack, in 955/1548 Ṭahmāsp transferred the capital to Ḳazwīn [*q.v.*].

The Treaty of Amasya (962/1555) gave Persia a twenty-year respite from the hostilities with the Ottomans which had gone on intermittently for forty years. Under the terms of the Treaty, Georgia was divided into "spheres of influence" between the two parties, and the Ottoman-Ṣafawid frontier in the north-west was demarcated without the cession by the Ṣafawids of large areas of territory. These terms, in the circumstances favourable to the Ṣafawids, are clear evidence of the frustration felt by the Ottoman sultan at his inability to inflict a decisive defeat on the Ṣafawids. The success of Ṭahmāsp in preserving the Ṣafawid state, beset as he was by powerful enemies on two fronts and plagued by treachery both among the *Ḳizilbāsh amīrs* and in his own family, must be seen as a remarkable achievement. D'Alessandri's accusation that Ṭahmāsp "never had inclination for war" and was "a man of very little courage" (*Narrative of the Most Noble Vincentio d'Alessandri, ambassador to the King of Persia for the Most Illustrious Republic of Venice*, in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873, 216) should be disregarded. When only fourteen years of age, Ṭahmāsp commanded the Ṣafawid centre at the battle of Djām, and it was his heroism that turned defeat into victory after most of his men had fled the field (Dickson, *op. cit.*, 134 ff.).

The reassertion of royal authority in 940/1533 had its effect on the principal offices of state. The office of *amīr al-umarāʾ*, denoting the commander-in-chief of the *Ḳizilbāsh* troops, virtually disappeared from the scene, and the office is not recorded in the list of appointments made by ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*; see also *EIr*, art. *ʿAbbās I*] on his accession (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Iradj Afshār, 2 vols., Iṣfahān 1334-5 A.H.S/1955-6, text i, 384, tr. Savory, ii, 554). Instead, the title *ḳūrčībāshī* [see ḲŪRČĪ] was increasingly used. The title *wakīl*, in the sense of the *alter ego* of the Shāh with both temporal and spiritual authority, also fell into disuse. As a direct result of the lessening of *Ḳizilbāsh* influence in government, the head of the bureaucracy, the *wazīr*, gained greatly in power, as is demonstrated by the career of Ḳāḍī Djahān Ḳazwīnī, who was appointed by Ṭahmāsp in 942/1535-6 and held office until about 957/1550-1 (see Savory, *Studies*, no. V, 73 ff.; on allegations that Ḳāḍī Djahān was a crypto-Sunnī, see Dickson, *op. cit.*, 191 ff.). Until about midway through the 10th/16th century, the Ṣafawid state constituted essentially a Turco-Persian condominium. Between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, however, Ṭahmāsp conducted a series of campaigns in Georgia, from each of which he brought back to Persia large numbers of prisoners, mainly women and children. From the 961/1553-4 campaign alone he brought back more than 30,000 prisoners, including a number of Georgian nobles (*aznāwurān*) (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 382). In addition, Armenians and Circassians were brought back to Persia from Ṣafawid campaigns in the southern Caucasus. These prisoners, and their offspring, introduced new ethnic elements into Persia which collectively constituted a "third force" in the Ṣafawid bureaucracy and army which in time altered the whole balance of power in the Ṣafawid state (see Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 67 ff.). The influence of this "third force" was amply demonstrated in 982/1574, when Ṭahmāsp fell seriously ill of a fever (*tab-i muḥriḳ*; possibly typhoid) for two months, and discord and strife once again broke out among the *amīrs* (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 458). With the imminence of Ṭahmāsp's death, ambitious Georgian and Circassian mothers of princes of the blood royal intrigued with the aim of securing the succession of their respective sons. Their scheming increased in intensity after the death of Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576.

3. *Character of Ṭahmāsp.*

No comprehensive biography of Shāh Ṭahmāsp exists, and what evidence we have as to his character is often of a disparaging nature and to some extent contradictory. Neither Persian nor Western sources seem willing to credit him with any significant skills in either the arts of peace or of war. He is portrayed as miserly and avaricious; as a religious bigot; as puritanical or alternatively as a voluptuary; and as a man capable of great cruelty. The charge of avarice seems to be well attested (see Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Véliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 251-2; *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, 2 vols., London 1939, i, 47-8). The evidence also indicates that Ṭahmāsp was an Ithnā ʿAsharī zealot. The story of his reception of the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson, who had made his way to the Ṣafawid court in

970/1562 by the extremely hazardous route north of Scandinavia to Archangel, and thence via Astrakhan, the Caspian Sea and Shīrwān, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth I to Ṭahmāsp which sought to promote trade between England and Persia, clearly indicates the Shāh's attitude toward infidels (*Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1st Series, nos. LXXII and LXXIII, London 1886, vol. I, 147). In 951/1544, when the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn came to Persia as a fugitive, Ṭahmāsp forced him to embrace Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism as the price of sanctuary in Persia and of Ṣafawid military aid (see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations. A study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughul Empire and Iran*, Tehran 1970, 28 ff., and Appendix C, *Humayun's conversion to Shīʿism*, 196-7; see also HUMĀYŪN). In 939/1532-3 Ṭahmāsp performed his celebrated act of repentance (*tawba*) from all "forbidden acts" (*manāhī*). In 963/1555-6 the great *amīr*s and courtiers were obliged to follow suit, and their example was said to have been followed by the populace at large (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 246, 396; *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 122, tr. i, 203). This puritanical posture in later life influenced his attitude toward poets in two ways: he regarded them as wine-bibbers, and no longer considered them to be God-fearing persons. Consequently, they fell from royal favour. Secondly, if they wrote occasional poems (*kiṭʿa*) or odes (*kaṣīda*) eulogising the Shāh or other members of the royal family, Ṭahmāsp told them they should devote their time to writing eulogies of the Imāms (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 178, tr. i, 274-5; for an excellent account of Ṣafawid literature as a whole, see ṢAFAWIDS. III. Literature).

When Ṭahmāsp died in 984/1576, his reign was just nine days short of fifty-two (solar) years; no other Persian king had reigned for longer, with the exception of the Sāsānid ruler Shāpur II (A.D. 309-79). H.R. Roemer, in *CHIran*, vi, 248, says that Ṭahmāsp died "as a result of poison"... "whether this was by accident or design has never been established". The *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 464, says that because one of the attending physicians, Abū Naṣr (Gīlānī), had been guilty of treachery (*khiyānat*) in the course of the treatment, he was put to death. The *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, i, 168, tr. I, 264, says that Abū Naṣr Gīlānī had a good reputation at court as a physician whose prescriptions were mostly successful. When Ṭahmāsp fell ill, he attended him night and day, but "he unwisely sought recognition of his superior status vis-à-vis the other physicians; as a result, when Ṭahmāsp died, Abū Naṣr was accused of treachery (*khiyānat*) in the treatment he had prescribed, and he was put to death within the palace by members of the royal bodyguard".

Ṭahmāsp had thirteen sons: Muḥammad (later Sultan Muḥammad Shāh: 985-96/1578-88); Ismāʿīl [see ISMĀʿĪL II]; Ḥaydar; Sulaymān; Muṣṭafā; Djunayd; Maḥmūd; Imām Ḳulī; ʿAlī; Aḥmad; Murād; Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; and Mūsā, and probably thirteen daughters (the eight named in the sources are: Gawhar Sulṭān Begum; Parī Khān Khānum; Khadīdja Sulṭān Begum; Zaynab Begum; Maryam Sulṭān Begum; Fāṭima Sulṭān Begum; Shuhra Bānū Begum; and Khānish Begum.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see *CHIran*, vi, 233-50; *Tadhkira-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsp*, ed. Phillott, Calcutta 1912 (for mss. of the work, see Storey, i, 305, 1279). For an annotated bibliography of the sources for the period of Ṭahmāsp, see Dickson, *op. cit.*, Appendix II.

(R.M. SAVORY)

2. ṬAHMĀSP II, one of the last rulers of the dynasty, ruled 1135-45/1722-32.

Born in 1116/1704, the third son of Shāh Ḥusayn I, he was appointed by his father as crown prince and heir to the throne during the siege of Iṣfahān in 1134/1722 by the Afghāns. He broke out of Iṣfahān, and with Ḥusayn's relinquishment of the throne of Persia to the Ghilzay leader Maḥmūd, had himself proclaimed Shāh at Ḳazwīn (Muḥarram 1135/November 1722), issuing his own coins and decrees. He was to reign, more or less nominally, for some ten years, until 1145/1732, when the infant ʿAbbās III was placed on the throne by Nādir Khān, whose son Riḍā Ḳulī had Ṭahmāsp executed in 1151/1739.

The events of Ṭahmāsp's reign are bound up with the career of Nādir Khān, who became Ṭahmāsp's *wakīl al-dawla* and in 1139/1726 received from him the title of Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī "slave of Ṭahmāsp". For the course of these events, see NĀDIR SHĀH AFSHĀR.

Bibliography: See that to the above-mentioned article, to whose *Bibl.* should be added H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vii, 326-8, and C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, no. 148. Cf. also *EI*[1] art. *Ṭahmāsp* (Cl. Huart).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬAHMŪRATH, generally accounted the second king of the Pīshdādid dynasty [*q.v.*] in legendary Iranian epic history, coming after the first world-king Kayūmarth or Gayōmard and the founder of the Pīshdādids, Hūshang [*q.v.*]. Certain Islamic sources make him the first king of his line, and the length of the reign attributed to him—such figures as an entire millennium or 600 years are given—shows the importance attached to him. His name appears in the Avesta as *Takhmō urupa azinavča*, with the first element *takhma*, meaning "strong, courageous" (cf. the name Rustam/Rustahm) and *urupi.azinavant*, meaning (as recognised by K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indo-iranistik*, Wiesbaden 1976, 487-9) "equipped with a fox-skin" (originally a goat-skin), so that the whole name should be rendered as "the strong/brave one in the fox-skin". The Pahlavi spelling, in the *Bundahishn* and elsewhere, is *thmulp* or *tʾhmwrp*, usually read as *Tahmōrup*. There is no plausible phonetic reason why the final sound became rendered in the Arabic script as *th* except through the erroneous pointing of manuscripts, but this form was popularised in the *Shāh-nāma* and became universal. A. Christensen put forward the suggestion that Hūshang and Ṭahmūrath were adopted into Iranian national lore from the Scythians of the Eurasian steppes.

Various features of the ancient Iranian Ṭahmūrath are taken up in the Islamic sources. Thus his epithet in the *Shāh-nāma* of *dīwband* comes from his subduing of the demons, from whom he extorted knowledge of the various kinds of writing (Firdawsī mentions six by name: the *rūmī*, the *tāzī*, the *pārsī*, the *soghdī*, the *čīnī* and the *pahlawī* (*Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 20-2, ed. Khāliḳī-Muṭlaḳ, i, 35-7; cf. Ph. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 593); this may preserve the memory of the Iranian tribes entering the land from Inner Asia and acquiring a knowledge of writing from the original inhabitants there. It is further said that it was Ṭahmūrath who initiated the domestication of wild animals, the use of horses for riding, the weaving of woollen and hair cloth for clothing and for carpets, the use of birds of prey for hunting, etc. (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 175-61; Balʿamī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M.S. Bahār, Tehran 1341/1962, 129; al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 8-10; *Shāh-nāma*, *loc. cit.*). There was also an attempt to insert

Ṭahmūrath, with his predecessors Kayūmarth and Hūshang, into the genealogy of the Biblical prophets, with e.g. Adam as the first man, and Ṭahmūrath being equated with Noah, and to locate his residence at Sābūr in Fārs (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 111, iii, 252 = §§ 535, 1116).

Unlike other royal names from the Iranian national epic, such as Rustam, Shahriyār, Hūshang, etc., Ṭahmūrath did not become popular within Muslim Persian and Persian-influenced onomastic. However, it does appear amongst the later line of Shīrwān Shāhs [*q.v.*] as the name of the brother of the Shāh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Kay Kubādh (780-821/1378-1418) (see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, no. 62). Also, it was probably these Shāhs' fondness for Iranian epic names that made the Christian kings of Georgia (not infrequently allied with the Shāhs by marriage) adopt thc name under the form Tʿeimuraz.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 320-1; A. Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, Stockholm 1917, i, 182-216 (interpretations largely speculative and now untenable); E. Yarshater, *Iranian national history*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii, 422; V. Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. s.v. (C.E. Bosworth)

TAḤNĪṬ (A.), the verbal noun of *ḥannaṭa* "to prepare a corpse for burial with embalming substances" (see Lane, i, 657a). For this process, and the substances used, see ḤINĀṬA.

TAḤRĪF (A.), change, alteration, forgery; used with regard to words, and more specifically with regard to what Jews and Christians are supposed to have done to their respective Scriptures (*yuḥarrifūna 'l-kalima ʿan mawāḍiʿhi*, sūra IV, 46, V, 13; see also II, 75), in the sense of perverting the language through altering words from their proper meaning, changing words in form or substituting words or letters for others. Such substitution is also termed *tabdīl*, a wider term, used also in other contexts, but in the Ḳurʾān and later literature practically synonymous with *taḥrīf* (see II, 59, VII, 162, and the commentary of Mudjāhid b. Djabr [*q.v.*] to IV, 46, where he explains *ḥarrafa* by *baddala*).

The Ḳurʾān accepts the *Tawrāt* and *Indjīl* [*q.vv.*] as genuine divine revelations taken from the same Guarded Tablets as the Ḳurʾān itself and brought by true messengers to both Jews and Christians respectively. Those, however, did not adhere to their Law, but tampered with their own Scriptures (III, 78, with the verb *lawā*; V, 15, 45). The Ḳurʾān does not state explicitly how this was done and when, but later commentaries give various explanations. Some relate it to the times of Moses (see commentaries to II, 58-9, wherein the Banū Isrāʾīl are accused of having changed (orally?) the word *ḥiṭṭa*). Later authors accuse Israelite Kings or Priests, especially Ezra the Scribe (see below) or Byzantine rulers, etc. The accusation that Jewish contemporaries of Muḥammad concealed (*kitmān*) Biblical material, e.g. the punishment (stoning) for adultery or the Biblical prediction of Muḥammad's prophecy (see the commentaries on V, 42-9, and Ibn Hishām, ii, 382 ff., 393-5) is also considered to be *taḥrīf*.

The accusation of forgery was a widespread polemical motif, already in pre-Islamic times used by pagan, Samaritan and Christian authors to discredit their opponents and Scriptures. In the Medinan sūras it is a central theme, apparently used to explain away the contradictions between the Bible and the Ḳurʾān and to establish that the coming of the Prophet and the rise of Islam had indeed been predicted in the "true" Bible.

In the first centuries of Islam, *taḥrīf* was not a central theme, though well-known. *Ḥadīth* and early commentaries filled out the gaps left by the relevant Ḳurʾānic verses. Mudjāhid explained that those who hide and distort Biblical verses are the Jewish *ʿulamāʾ* (see al-Ṭabarī on the above verses). Others stated explicitly that the Jews do so in order to hide the fact that Muḥammad was predicted in their Torah (Muḳātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1979, i, 118, to II, 76, see also 461). Some explained that *taḥrīf* means that the Jews "made the lawful forbidden and the forbidden lawful, and took the truth as falsehood and the falsehood as truth" (al-Ṭabarī, on II, 59).

Muslim authors understood the falsification as either *taḥrīf al-maʿnā*, distortion of the meaning of the text, or *taḥrīf al-naṣṣ*, falsification of the text itself (see the *Risāla* of the 3rd/9th century writer Ibn al-Layth, in A.Z. Ṣafwat, *Djamharat rasāʾil al-ʿArab*, iii, Cairo 1356/1937, 296 ff., who seems to know both meanings and defends the Ḳurʾān against the counter-argument of having also been altered). Early Christian authors already defend themselves and their Scriptures against both accusations (S.H. Griffith, *ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's Kitāb al-Burhān. Christian kalām in the first Abbasid century*, in *Le Muséon*, xlvi [1983], 165-8). Some Muslim authors take *taḥrīf* to mean only the distortion of meaning of the text, notably al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860; see I. Di Matteo, *Confutazione contro i Christiani dello Zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, in *RSO*, ix [1922], 319) and Ibn Khaldūn, who rejects the idea of actual falsification of Jewish or Christian Scriptures "since custom prevents people who have a (revealed) religion from dealing with their divine Scripture in such a manner" (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatrèmere, i, 12-13, tr. F. Rosenthal i, 20-1; most printed editions omit this remark).

The more common understanding, however, of *taḥrīf* among Muslim authors, especially from the 5th/11th century up to modern times, has been the one which accused Jews and Christians of having deliberately falsified the text of their own respective Scriptures. Jewish oral tradition, seen as an unauthorised addition to Scripture, is also considered to be part of this falsification. So is Christian canon and other law. In this context, Muslim authors stressed the differences between the "three Bibles": the Hebrew Bible of the Jews; the Samaritan Bible; and the "Greek Bible" (i.e. the Septuagint) of the Christians (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 118-19 = § 115; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 20-1, tr. Sachau, 24; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-milal*, i, 117, 198, ii, 7-10) as proof of the falsification.

The argument of *taḥrīf* is refuted already in an early polemical text attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Leo III (A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's text of the correspondence between ʿUmar II and Leo III*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxxvii [1944], 269-321) with the statement that Jews and Christians share the same, widely-known divine text, and that Ezra, who redacted the Bible, was a pious, reliable person. The same arguments appear in later Jewish writings (see Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*], *Tanḳīḥ al-abḥāth li 'l-milal al-thalāth*, ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, Berkeley 1971, 1967, ch. 2). The personality of Ezra-ʿUzayr [*q.v.*] becomes very involved in this discussion in the 4th/10th century, and especially with Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who in his *Faṣl* explicitly accused "ʿAzrā" of having falsified and added interpolations into the Biblical text. He also arranged systematically and in scholarly detail the arguments against the authenticity of the Biblical text in the first (Hebrew Bible) and second part (New Testa-

ment) of his book: chronological and geographical inaccuracies and contradictions; theological impossibilities (anthropomorphic expressions, stories of fornication and whoredom, and the attributing of sins to prophets), as well as lack of reliable transmission (*tawātur*) of the text. He explains how the falsification of the Pentateuch could have taken place while there existed only one copy of the Pentateuch kept by the Aaronid priests in the Temple in Jerusalem. Ibn Ḥazm's impact on later Muslim polemics was great, and the themes which he raised with regard to *taḥrīf* and other polemical ideas—updated only slightly by some later authors, such as the Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 570/1175) in his *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* (ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, PAAJR, 32, 1964)—became the standard themes of later Muslim polemical literature against both Jews and Christians (see, e.g., al-Ḳarāfī's (d. 684/1285) *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira ʿan al-asʾila al-fādjira*; Ibn Taymiyya; and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya).

Modern European Bible criticism is taken by some Muslim authors as a vindication of the theory of *taḥrīf* (see Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī's (1818-91) *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ*; cf. C. Schirrmacher, *Mit den Waffen des Gegners, Christlich-muslimische Kontroversen im 19 u. 20 Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1992, and M. Khalīfa Ḥasan Aḥmad, *ʿAlāḳāt al-Islām bi 'l-Yahūdiyya. Ruʾya Islāmiyya fī maṣādir al-Tawrāt al-ḥāliyya*, Cairo 1986).

In Sunnī-Shīʿī polemics, the problem of *taḥrīf* arose with regard to the text of the Ḳur'ān. Sunnī authors accused the Shīʿa of believing that the Ḳur'ān had been falsified. Early Shīʿī material on this topic seems to be lost; apparently only some Shīʿī authors held this view mainly with regard to omissions (of Ḳur'ānic references to ʿAlī and his family) and some minor changes in Ḳur'ānic verses. Although the Shīʿīs practically accepted the existing Ḳur'ānic text, these accusations have been raised sporadically up to modern times (E. Kohlberg, *Some notes on the Imāmite attitude to the Qur'ān*, in *Islamic philosophy and the Classical tradition. For R. Walzer*, Oxford 1972, 209-24).

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(Hava Lazarus-Yafeh)

TAḤRĪR (a.), a technical term of Ottoman administration.

Derived from an Arabic verb which denotes "writing", this word is at times used in the same sense in Ottoman Turkish as well. But as a technical term, *taḥrīr* has come to denote the Ottoman tax registers for the most part compiled during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 186-228, records them under this term, a synonym being *tapu taḥrīr defterleri*). This is one of the best-known series of the Ottoman archives, which in turn can be subdivided into *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, *defter-i idjmāl* and *defter-i ewkāf*. In principle, these registers were to be compiled about once every thirty years; but in reality, distances in time between different *taḥrīrs* covering a given region varied widely.

The *taḥrīrs* were mainly designed to keep track of that part of Ottoman state revenue which did not reach the central treasury, but was assigned locally, to *tīmār* [*q.v.*] holders, garrison soldiers, *waḳf* administrators, or even owners of private property (*mülk*); the latter might be required to furnish soldiers (*eshkindji*) in return for the privilege of official recognition. The *taḥrīrs* also recorded the revenues accruing to the central treasury (*khāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]) and assigned to the sultan himself, members of his family or provincial governors. From the late 10th/16th century, a tax of variable level, known as the *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*], came to occupy a central place in Ottoman finance. As a result, the expense of preparing a *taḥrīr* must have no longer seemed justified, particularly since an increasing number of revenues was now farmed out to the highest bidder. Tax registers were no longer compiled in coherent series after the reign of Murād III. However, individual registers were occasionally prepared both in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, and a whole group of Anatolian *taḥrīrs* survives from the 1040s/1630s.

The most extensive form of *taḥrīr* is the *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, which contains an enumeration of taxpayers, listed by settlement. Muslims precede non-Muslims. At the end of each settlement, the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* records certain taxes due from the inhabitants, such as the tithes (*ʿöshür*), farm taxes (*resm-i čift*, *resm-i bennāk*, *ispendje*), and, where applicable, the *djizye*. Individual settlements were grouped by *nāḥiye* and *ḳaḍā*, and *ḳaḍās* by *sandjaḳ*. The largest unit, namely the *wilāyet*, on account of its size does not often occur in the *mufaṣṣal*; but we possess *idjmāls* covering one or even several *wilāyets*. However, this terminology was subject to considerable variation. Some *mufaṣṣals* do not distinguish between *ḳaḍā* and *nāḥiye*, while, especially in 9th/15th century registers, the term *wilāyet* was used for small units consisting of no more than a few villages. After mentioning the name of the settlement to be described, but before enumerating the taxpayers, the scribes often provided some information on the tax history of the town or village in question. Sometimes this consisted of a simple note to the effect

that a given village was the *tīmār* of a certain personage, or that this or that town formed part of the *khāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*. In other instances, the *defter* might record that a given village had been *wakf*, that it had been converted into a *tīmār* by Meḥemmed II, and that it recently had reverted to its previous status. On the first pages of the *defter-i mufaṣṣal* we often find a *ḳānūnnāme*, which contained mainly the rules for taxation to be applied in the area, but in some instances also specified the punishments to be administered in the case of crimes and misdemeanours.

To facilitate the distribution of tax revenues to *tīmār*-holders and other recipients, the data contained in the *mufaṣṣal* were summarised in the *idjmāl*. Here taxpayers were not enumerated individually, but merely the total taxpaying population was recorded for each settlement. However, many *idjmāls* contain information on the taxpayers resident in a given *ḳaḍā* who possessed a special tax status, such as unmarried men (*müdjerred*), garrison soldiers, people enjoying tax exemptions in return for services to the Ottoman administration (*ṭuzdju, derbenddji, yuwadjī*, etc.). For a published version, see *438 numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530)*, i-ii, Ankara 1993-4.

As the amount of land recognised as *wakf* in most rural areas was fairly limited, *wakf* registers are often short, and may simply form an appendix to the *idjmāls*. But some of the oldest surviving registers happen to concern *wakf*. Particularly notable is the document describing the province of Ḳaramān shortly after this principality had finally been incorporated into the Ottoman domain (881/1476; published by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyâleti vakıfları fihristi, Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü arşivindeki deftere göre*, Ankara 1958). Moreover, in and around major cities, such as Bursa or Istanbul, the number of *wakfs* was considerable, resulting in voluminous documents (Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *953 (1546) tarihli İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970).

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(Suraiya Faroqhi)

TAḤṢĪL (a.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *ḥaṣṣala* "to collect together, acquire". In Indo-Muslim usage, this term—taken over from previous régimes—denoted in the British Indian provinces of Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces the collection of revenue and, thence, the administrative area from which this taxation was collected. Thus in the above-mentioned provinces, the *taḥṣīl* was a subdivision of a District (*taʿalluḳa*, corruptly, *tālūk*) with an area of up to 600 square miles. Hence in size, a *taḥṣīl* came between the *pargana* [*q.v.*] and the *sarkār* of the Mughal empire [see mughals. 3.]. The official in charge of it was called the *taḥṣīldār*, and was responsible to such superior officials as the District Magistrate and the Collector.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 888-9; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², iii, 53-4.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TAḤSĪN, Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʿAṭā Khān, pioneer in Urdu prose-writing, who lived somewhere in the middle of the 18th century. He was a native of Etawah (Iṭāwa) in present-day Uttar Pradesh, and came from a middle-class family of *sayyids*. His ancestors reportedly migrated from Gardīz in what is now eastern Afghānistān, and settled in Kaŕa Mānikpūr. His father, Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir, moved to Dihlī at an early age and was employed as commander of 3,000 (*sih hazārī*) in Awrangzīb's administration; he is said to have been a poet writing under the pen-name Shawḳ. During the turbulent times that followed the death of Awrangzīb, Taḥsīn left Dihlī and served for many years under the Mughal viceroys of Bengal. Later, he was one of the first Indians to be employed in the service of the East India Company at Calcutta. He also served as secretary for a British army officer who is mentioned by him only as General Smith. When the latter returned to England around 1769, Taḥsīn took up employment in Patna. After some time he proceeded to Fayḍābād where he gained access to the court of Shudjāʿ al-Dawla, Nawāb of Awadh, being still employed there in 1775 when the latter died and was succeeded by his son Āṣaf al-Dawla (d. 1797).

Taḥsīn is known chiefly for his *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ*: "A new gold-embroidered style", which has been characterised as the first book of Urdu prose literature produced in northern India (see Nūr al-Ḥasan Hāshimī's introd. to it, 23). It was completed around 1775, and contains the stories of four dervishes; it is believed to be a translation of a Persian book, *Čahār darwīsh*, wrongly attributed to Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]. It is written in an ornate style, with an artificial diction. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, one cannot overlook its importance, if only because it was used by other writers to pen their own versions of the narrative, most notable among them being Mīr Amān's [see amān, mīr] *Bāgh o bahār* which, completed in 1217/1802, became the first classic of Urdu prose.

Apart from *Naw ṭarz-i muraṣṣaʿ*, Taḥsīn claims to have written other works as well, some of which were in Persian, and are now known only by name. He is also mentioned as a poet writing in both Persian and Urdu and as a master calligrapher, whose skill in fine writing had earned him the title of *muraṣṣaʿ raḳam* "golden penmanship".

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

TAḤSĪN WA-**TAḲBĪḤ** (A.), "determining something to be good or repellent", a phrase referring in shorthand fashion to the controversy over the sources of the moral assessment of acts. Some argued for an assessment of things according to the dictates of common sense (*ʿaḳl*) or utility (*nafʿ*), and this led some to hold that the *ḥusn* or *ḳubḥ* of an act was part of its ontology as an accident of essence or as an aspect (*wadjh*) of the thing itself. Others argued that it is only the deontic divine command (*sharʿ*) that gives moral value to acts.

The "sources" of this discussion are impossible to establish; certainly, the rudiments of the problem are already found in Plato's *Euthyphro* but the problem is common to all of the Revelational religions, whose Scripture does not reach in literal form to all possible acts. For Muslims, who had come by the 4th/10th century to believe that the Ḳurʾān contained an assessment (*ḥukm*) for every act, the problem took a particularly acute form. The Muʿtazila, in particular, for whom God's goodness required that He require only what was best (*al-aṣlaḥ*) for His bondsmen, the immediate pointlessness of ritual also constituted an incentive toward the consideration of this problem. There were consequently two Muʿtazilī positions on the question. The Baghdādīs, especially al-Kaʿbī [*q.v.*], took the position that the *ʿaḳl* could assess acts, but they were in fact proscribed (*maḥẓūr*) before Revelation came to give mankind permission to perform them. The Baṣrans urged that acts could be assessed, and that they were, in default of some *ʿaḳlī* indication to the contrary, permitted (*mubāḥ*). Of course, at issue was the category of acts which were not mentioned in revelation.

Despite the attempts of later biographical and heresiographical sources to conceal early diversity, it is clear that Sunnī school positions for theological/legal schools did not begin to form until the 5th/11th century, with Ḥanbalīs, for example, defending "Muʿtazilī" positions into the 6th/12th century (e.g. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Maḥfūẓ al-Kalwadhānī, d. 510/1117). By the 7th/13th century, the matter had sorted itself out so that Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs generally took the Ashʿarī position that the intellect could not assess the moral value of acts, and Ḥanafīs/Māturīdīs took an intermediate position that gave common sense the ability to assess acts, with-out that assessment having soteriological significance. Imāmī and Zaydī Shīʿīs embraced the Baṣran Muʿtazilī position that the performance of useful acts, in default of revelation, was permitted.

Bibliography: R. Brunschvig. *Muʿtazilisme et optimum* (al-aṣlaḥ), in *St. Isl.*, xxxix (1974), 5-23; R.M. Frank, *The metaphysics of created being according to Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, a philosophical study of the earliest kalām*, Leuven 1966; G.F. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism. The ethics of ʿAbdaljabbār*, Oxford 1971; idem, *Reason and tradition in Islamic ethics*. Cambridge etc. 1985; idem, *The rationalist ethics of ʿAbd al-Jabbār*, in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition*, in *Essays presented by his friends and pupils to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday*, ed. Hourani, Stern and Brown, Columbia, S.C. 1973, 105-15; A.K. Reinhart, *Before revelation*, Albany 1995 (and sources cited therein); idem, "*Thanking the benefactor*", in *Spoken and unspoken thanks. Some comparative soundings*, ed. J.B. Carman and F.J. Streng, Cambridge and Dallas 1989, 115-33; Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Maḥfūẓ b. Aḥmad al-Kalwadhānī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 510/1117), *al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, 4 vols., Djudda 1406/1985.

(A.K. REINHART)

ṬĀḤŪN (A.), mill. Lane (s.v. *ṭ-ḥ-n*) also offers the readings *ṭāḥūna* as the general word for mill, as well as watermill, and *ṭaḥḥāna* meaning an animal-powered mill. Contemporary Egyptian usage for the noun *ṭaḥūna* is given variously as grist mill, windmill and, in the expression *ṭaḥūnit bunn*, coffee grinder; *ṭaḥḥāna* is also the word for grinder and, as in the expression *ṭaḥḥāna filfil*, a pepper mill (Hinds and Badawi, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic*, Beirut 1986). The root of the word, meaning crushing or grinding, had instrumental use both in large scale commercial enterprises and in the preparation of food in the domestic kitchen. In the latter case, for example, the term *ṭāḥūn* is found, albeit but once, in a culinary manual. This occurs in a recipe called *zuhriyya* containing sandal, anbar and dried flower petals which are ground or milled (*ṭaḥana*) together in a *ṭāḥūn* with cardamon, cloves and sugar (*Kanz*, 235). The employment of a small, domestic mill or hand rotary quern appears in contrast to the far more commonly used (in the urban household at least) mortar (*hāwūn*), where the ingredients were pounded (*daḳḳa*) with a pestle. It may be assumed, however, that in instances where the verb *ṭaḥana* is used in recipes without mention of the specific instrument being employed, a domestic grinding mill is intended.

Mediaeval commercial enterprises, whether private or government controlled, powered their mills by exploiting the natural forces of water and wind (in addition to animals), depending upon which was more easily or consistently available and cheaper to harness in any given area; there also existed many different types of mill. Water-powered mills using either the undershot, overshot or horizontal type of wheel existed in pre-Islamic times and were employed throughout the mediaeval period, while wind-powered mills appear to have been first used in Islamic Persia in regions where water was scarcer (see H.E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia. Their development, technology, and influence on Eastern and Western civilizations*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 277-89; M. Harverson, *Watermills in Iran*, in *Iran JBIPS*, xxxi [1993], 149-77). Ship-mills of the undershot wheel type, were found moored in mid-stream of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, while tidal mills are noted in use at Baṣra (A. Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Patna 1937, 466-7). Mills of the water-driven trip-hammer type were used in the manufacture of paper and for husking rice, while others processed sugar cane, in addition to their primary purpose of providing adequate supplies of cereal flour for the major urban centres and even villages of the Middle East; a milling stage was also involved in the dressing of metal ore. Regardless of the mill type, the principles of operation were the same, the grinding being accomplished by means of a stone rotating on top of a fixed one. Traditional techniques have continued down to modern times where other sources of energy, such as fossil fuels, have not replaced those of water and wind.

Bibliography: See also A.Y. al-Hasan and D.R. Hill, *Islamic technology, an illustrated history*, Cambridge 1988; D.R. Hill, *Islamic science and engineering*, Edinburgh 1993; *Kanz al fawāʾid fī tanwīʿ al-mawāʾid*,

(eds.) M. Marín and D. Waines, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993. (D. WAINES)

AL-ṬĀʾIʿ LI-AMR ALLĀH (or LI ʾLLĀH), ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Faḍl, fainéant ʿAbbāsid caliph (363-81/974-91).

His father was the caliph al-Muṭīʿ [*q.v.*], after whose deposition on 13 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 363/5 August 974 he was proclaimed Commander of the Faithful. His mother, who survived him, was called ʿUtb. As Ibn al-Athīr justly observes (ix, 56), al-Ṭāʾiʿ during his reign had not sufficient authority to be able to associate himself with any enterprises worthy of mention. He is only mentioned in history, one may safely say, in connection with certificates of appointment to office, letters of condolence and such-like formalities, and his most remarkable feature seems to have been his extraordinary physical strength. The real rulers were at first the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS] but after the most important of them, ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] who was the caliph's father-in-law, had died in Shawwāl 372/March 983, his sons began to quarrel among themselves. In Shaʿbān 381/Oct.-Nov. 991 Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was in financial difficulties and could not pay his troops, was persuaded by his influential adviser Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muʿallim to overthrow the caliph and seize his treasury. At an audience at which the Būyid appeared with a large retinue, the unsuspecting al-Ṭāʾiʿ was torn from his throne by Bahāʾ al-Dawla's orders and taken to the latter's house, where he was kept a prisoner. He was succeeded as caliph by his cousin Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, who took the name al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. In Radjab 382/September 992 the ex-caliph was allowed to come to al-Ḳādir's palace, where he was well treated. He died on 1 Shawwāl 393/3 August 1003.

The eastern Islamic dynasty of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], and their vassals in Khurāsān, Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazna, refused to acknowledge the accession of al-Ḳādir, regarding him as the tool of the Būyids; on their coins the Sāmānids continued to their end to recognise al-Ṭāʾiʿ as caliph, and he likewise appears on the coins of Maḥmūd till 389/999.

Bibliography: Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 375-6 no. 296; Ibn al-Athīr, viii-ix, see index; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 428, 436; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 391; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 21-44; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*[3], 582; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, 162, 270, 271; C.E. Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the early Ghaznawids*, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), i/3 (1962), 60, repr. in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, Variorum, London 1977, no. XI; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, index.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṬĀʾIF, a town in Arabia to the south-east of Mecca which in the early days of Islam belonged to the Thaḳīf [*q.v.*] tribe. Today it is the fourth largest town in Saudi Arabia, located at a road junction on the way from Mecca to al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]. In former times it took two or three days to go from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif, depending on the route. Al-Ṭāʾif is in the Sarāt [*q.v.*] mountains, 1,680 m/5,500 feet above sea level. Some locate it in Nadjd [*q.v.*], while others argue that it is in Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. Its pleasant climate during the summer has made it the summer capital of western Arabia.

Al-Ṭāʾif is surrounded by valleys, the most important being the one in which it is situated, Wadjdj, which gave it its pre-Islamic name (see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ] ix/7-8 [Feb.-March 1975], 514-31; for up-to-date information see *ibid.*, xxiv/9-10 [Oct.-Nov. 1989], 604-16). A clause in the agreement between the Prophet and the Thaḳīf declared the valley a *ḥaram* or sacred territory.

On the eve of Islam, a brick wall was built around al-Ṭāʾif. The initiative and financing reportedly came from a merchant who had immigrated to al-Ṭāʾif from Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*]. Pre-Islamic al-Ṭāʾif also had fortresses, the origin of which is disputed. Following a joint Thaḳafī-Ḳurashī trade expedition to Persia in which Ghaylān b. Salama al-Thaḳafī and Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] took part, Khusraw sent, with the former, someone (i.e. a skilled constructor) who built for him the first fortress of al-Ṭāʾif. This construction is variously referred to as an *uṭum* and *ḥiṣn*. This is supposed to have taken place on the eve of Islam, since both Ghaylān and Abū Sufyān became Companions of the Prophet. Another claim for "firstness" points to an earlier generation by linking the first fortress to Masʿūd b. Muʿattib, who was the father of the Prophet's Companion ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd. Both Ghaylān and Masʿūd were members of the Thaḳīf branch called al-Aḥlāf (moreover, they belonged to the same clan, the Muʿattib). There was fighting between the Aḥlāf and the Mālik, who were a rival branch of Thaḳīf. At some stage, Masʿūd sought military aid from a friend in Yathrib, Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ. Instead, Uḥayḥa sent with him a slave, a skilled builder of *uṭums*, who built for him the first *uṭum* of al-Ṭāʾif (cf. G.R.D. King, *Creswell's appreciation of Arabian architecture*, in *Muqarnas* viii [1991], 94-102, at 98b-99a).

The combination of fertile land and abundant water supply turned the valleys around al-Ṭāʾif into a prosperous agricultural area which grew wheat and various fruits and vegetables. One *ḥadīth* has it that al-Ṭāʾif was originally a tract of land in Filasṭīn transferred by God to Arabia following Abraham's prayer (Ḳurʾān, XIV, 37). Many dams were constructed around al-Ṭāʾif, among them one placed some 32 km/20 miles north-east of al-Ṭāʾif which was built by Muʿāwiya I. A Kūfic inscription dates its construction to 58/677-8 (G.C. Miles, *Early Islamic inscriptions near Tāʾif in the Ḥijāz*, in *JNES*, vii [1948], 236-42; A. Grohmann, *Arabic inscriptions*, Louvain 1962, 56-8; M. Khan and A. Al-Mughannam, *Ancient dams in the Tāʾif area 1981 (1401)*, in *Atlal*, vi [1982], 125-35, at 129-31). The dam, in the construction of which no mortar or mud were used, is still in good condition.

The Ṭāʾif area produced excellent honey, and the Liyya valley was famous for its pomegranates. But grapes were probably the most important product of the local economy. These figure prominently in the myth about the eponym of the Thaḳīf. He was adopted by an old Jewess in Wādī al-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], who gave him vine twigs which he later planted in the Wadjdj valley. Naturally, there developed in al-Ṭāʾif a wine industry. A list of tavern-keepers in Ibn al-Kalbī's *K. al-Mathālib* includes two Ṭāʾifīs who had partners from the Ḳurashī Banū Umayya. One of them was Abū Maryam al-Salūlī [see SALŪL, at vol. VIII, 1004b]. Being a tavern-keeper, Abū Maryam had links with women of ill-repute [cf. BIGHĀʾ, in Suppl.] and at the time of Muʿāwiya he testified that Abū Sufyān fornicated with Sumayya. The testimony was given in support of the claim that Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] (as he was pejoratively called after the Umayyad period) was Abū Sufyān's son (cf. U. Rubin, *al-Walad li-l-firāsh: on the Islamic campaign against "zinā"*, in *SI*, lxxviii [1993], 5-26, at 13-15).

Al-Ṭāʾif supplied, and still supplies, most of Mecca's

demand in fruit, hence it was called "the orchard of the *ḥaram*" (i.e. of Mecca). Rich Ḳurashīs developed, already before Islam, large estates in the valleys surrounding al-Ṭā'if. Their water supply was possibly based on underground irrigation canals [see ḲANĀT]. Among the Ḳurashī properties in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if, the best known is al-Waht, which is located in the Wadjdj valley. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's [*q.v.*] father already owned this estate before Islam. ʿAmr himself further developed it and it remained a source of fabulous revenues for his offspring. At the time of Muʿāwiya, the governor of al-Ṭā'if, who was the caliph's brother, tried to seize this estate from ʿAmr's son, ʿAbd Allāh (M. Lecker, *The estates of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Palestine: notes on a new Negev Arabic inscription*, in *BSOAS*, lii [1989], 24-37, at 25-6).

Al-Ṭā'if used to have a famous tanning industry and the Ṭā'ifī shoes, for example, were known for their quality.

Beside the Thaḳīf, al-Ṭā'if was also inhabited by members of other tribes, mainly tribes of the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*] (for an up-to-date report on the tribes in al-Ṭā'if and its vicinity, see *al-ʿArab* [Riyāḍ], xiv/1-2 [June-July 1979], 42-73).

Most of al-Ṭā'if's inhabitants before Islam were idol worshippers and one of the major deities of pre-Islamic Arabia, al-Lāt [*q.v.*], was situated there. Some of al-Ṭā'if's inhabitants were Christians. Those who considered the famous physician, al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a Dhimmī (cf. G. Hawting, *The development of the biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada...*, in *The Islamic World... essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C.E. Bosworth *et alii*, Princeton 1989, 127-40, at 128), probably had in mind Christianity. In the first decades of the Islamic era, the Ṭā'if district (*mikhlāf*) was inhabited by Jews who had been expelled from the Yemen and Yathrib. Muʿāwiya bought his estates in al-Ṭā'if from one of them.

The high standard of living enjoyed by the Ṭā'ifīs before Islam and during its early period was accompanied by a level of literacy which was no lower than that found in Mecca. Consequently, many literate Ṭā'ifīs could easily be recruited by the administration. The self-evident link between literacy (including arithmetic skills) and administration can be demonstrated by details from the biographies of the two most famous ex-Ṭā'ifīs, Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. The former, whose mother was a slavegirl, was nevertheless educated in the *kuttāb* [*q.v.*] of Djubayr b. Ḥayya. Djubayr became a *dīwān* secretary in ʿIrāḳ and then his ex-pupil, Ziyād, made him governor of Iṣfahān. As to al-Ḥadjdjādj, he was a former teacher, a shortcoming which his enemies did not fail to mention.

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ṬĀ'IFA (A.), pl. *ṭawā'if*, means in general "a group, party, company of men", as in Ḳur'ān, XXIV, 2; in later usage, often "a professional or trade group, corporation", the equivalent of *ṣinf* [*q.v.*]; and in later mediaeval and modern usage, "a religious or sectarian group", whence *ṭā'ifiyya* [*q.v.*] "sectarianism, confessionalism". Here, the extended usage from "group" to its sense in Ṣūfī mysticism will be considered, since Ṣūfīs used the term in contexts conformable to the words basic meaning of "group", *djamāʿa*, or "part of a whole", *djuz'* (see *LʿA*, Beirut 1988, viii, 223).

From the 3rd/9th century, Muslim religious spirits affirmed their specificity by calling themselves by the all-encompassing term *al-ṭā'ifa*, abbreviated from *ṭā'ifat al-ḳawm* "the group of the men of God" or "community of spiritual persons". The term *ṭā'ifa* is in this context often preceded by the demonstrative *hādhihi* (see e.g. al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Damascus 1988, 36; al-Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, Ar. tr. Beirut 1980, *passim*). Sometimes, *al-ḳawm* is found *tout court*. These expressions certainly reflect an allusive style favoured by Ṣūfīs, but their usage can also be explained by the fact that these persons were not yet differentiated into separate ways. Moreover, in certain regions, they were only to designate themselves as *Ṣūfīs* quite late. The Baghdād master al-Djunayd (d. 298/911) thus received a nickname which was never to leave him, sc. *sayyid al-ṭā'ifa* "master of the Muslim religious spirits" (see e.g. al-Ḳushayrī, 430; al-Hudjwīrī, 419). It was with this generic sense in view that Ibn al-ʿArabī used the term *ṭā'ifa* preceded by the definite article *al-* (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. O. Yahia, e.g. iv, 55, 85, 190, 319). On the other hand, the use of the indefinite form goes back, in his usage, to the most common meaning of the word, that of religious community or group (*op. cit.*, iv, 191-2, 276, etc.). Ṣūfīs continued to view themselves as and to be called *al-ṭā'ifa* in later times (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Shifā' al-sā'il li-tahdhīb al-masā'il*, Tunis 1991, 183; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, d. 974/1566, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Beirut n.d., 53).

In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, the emergence of spiritual lines claiming spiritual descent from the eponymous masters brought into being a second usage of the term, which eventually supplanted the first one, sc. that of a particular Ṣūfī order, distinct from the others, or also, in a similar fashion, one of the professional guilds of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. This partitive sense appears in the expression *al-ṭā'ifa min al-fuḳarā'* "groups of those poor for God's sake" used by Ibn Khallikān in regard to the Rifāʿī dervishes (ed. ʿAbbās, i, 171). Already, al-Hudjwīrī (d. 465/1072) had used the term to distinguish several groups of mystics by their attitude over agreement to the divine will (*al-riḍā*), but here it is a question merely of spiritual modalities (*Kashf*, 405). In future, *ṭā'ifa* was to incarnate the organic dimension of Ṣūfism. In the sources, it is used concurrently with *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], with the two terms often being used indifferently; but the second one had nevertheless a wider signification.

In later Ṣūfism—in general, from the beginning of the 8th/14th century—the term was used in a concrete sense for every branch issuing through ramification from a mother-*ṭarīḳa*. This branch would assume its own autonomy, or this was accorded by the *shaykh* of the original *ṭarīḳa*; it likewise acquired a specific name from its initiator. In general, the *ṭā'ifa*s formed small-sized orders with a local or regional basis, this being notably true for the Arab East (L. Pouzet, *Damas au VII^e/XIII^e siècle*, Beirut 1988, 209, 229; E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, 276-7) and for the Ṣūfī communities of the Moroccan South (M. Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen-Age*, Paris 1986) or al-Andalus (see the introd. by R. Pérez to Ibn Khaldūn, *La voie et la loi*, Paris 1991, 26). A *ṭā'ifa* which prospered could in turn give birth to a "sub-branch" and so on. In order to establish their legitimacy, these branches sometimes placed the name of the original order in their form of identity.

For J.S. Trimingham, the *ṭā'ifa* is characteristic of the third and last stage of Ṣūfism, during which the mystical orders provided themselves with a fairly elaborate organisation; he dates this phase from the 9th/15th century, when the Ottoman empire was constituted (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 67, 103). But this idea of things, adopted by researchers working on the brotherhoods at the present time (see e.g. *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam*, ed. G. Veinstein and A. Popovic, Paris 1986, 8, 167, 300), corresponds only partially to reality. In practice, the material structure of Ṣūfism in many cases only comes about from the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

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(E. GEOFFROY)

ṬĀ'IFIYYA (A.) "confessionalism" (also translated "sectarianism" by opponents), the system of proportional political power-sharing between different religious groups (*ṭawā'if*, sing. *ṭā'ifa*) practiced in the Republic of Lebanon since the French mandate (1922-43). According to Art. 95 of the Lebanese constitution of 1926, it was designed as "a temporary measure to assure a just representation of all Lebanese sects [the most important being Sunnī, Twelver Shī'ī and Druze Muslims and Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic Christians] in public offices and in the formation of cabinets". Its precursors in Ottoman *Djabal Lubnān* have been councils representing the six major sects during the régime of the double *ḳā'im-maḳāmas* (1843-60) and the *mutaṣarrifiyya* (1861-1915) [see LUBNĀN].

Proportional representation of the sects in parliament was not mentioned in the constitution prior to 1990. From independence (1943) to the last pre-civil-war elections (1972), a ratio of six to five in favour of the Christian sects was maintained in different electoral laws. The reservation of key-offices for members of specific sects (Maronite head of state, Sunnī prime minister, Shī'ī president of parliament and other stipulations) has been based on unwritten agreements since the 1930s and confirmed in the unwritten National Pact of 1943. Their validity has been increasingly challenged by both Muslim and leftist or Arab nationalist Christian political groups since the late 1960s, many of them demanding the complete abolishment of political confessionalism. The refusal of Maronite political leaders to consider a reform of the confessionalist system was one of the causes for the outbreak of the Lebanese civil war (1975-90).

Following the Ṭā'if Accord adopted by the remaining members of the 1972 Lebanese parliament on 22 October 1989, Art. 95 of the constitution was amended with validity from 21 September 1990. It henceforth stipulates a gradual abolishment of political confessionalism, starting with the lower echelon of the civil service and the armed forces, while representation of Muslims and Christians in the parliament and in cabinets must remain equal during an unspecified interim period. New electoral laws in 1992 and 1996 have both maintained the principle of confessional proportionality (64 Christians, i.e. 34 Maronites, 15 Greek Orthodox, 7 Greek Catholic, 6 Armenians, 2 members of other Christian minorities; 64 Muslims, i.e. 27 Sunnīs, 27 Shī'īs, 8 Druzes, 2 'Alawīs).

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(A. RIECK)

AL-**ṬĀ'IR**, AL-**ṬAYR** (A.), any being or thing which is able to live or to fly above the ground level, either as a matter of function or for finding sustenance. Hence immense numbers of insects and birds are covered by the doublet *ṭā'ir/ṭayr* (pls. *ṭuyūr*, *aṭyār*). Moreover, with the advent of modern inventions, the root is also used for any machine or contrivance for flying (*ṭayarān*), and the flight of such contrivances as aeroplanes and airships (*ṭayyāra*, *ṭā'ira*), space ships and rockets and planetary satellites launched from an airfield (*maṭār*). By analogy, *ṭayyāra* can also denote a swiftly-running ship.

Amongst the birds, certain ones are formed by *ṭayr* plus an annexed complement. Thus amongst the most current, one finds *ṭ. al-mā'* for waterfowl; *ṭ. al-timsāḥ* "crocodile bird" for the Egyptian plover (*Plavianus aegyptius*) which finds its food between the teeth of the saurian; *ṭ. al-'arāḳib* for all birds of bad omen, such as the green woodpecker, *sharaḳraḳ* (*Picus viridis*); *ṭ. al-djamal* "camel bird", for the ostrich; *ṭ. al-layl* "night bird" for the screech-owl; and *ṭ. al-ḥarrāth* "tiller's bird" for the lapwing and seagull. As for the *ṭ. al-abābīl* mentioned in Ḳur'ān, CV, 3, as having pelted the army of Abraha when it was attacking Mecca [see MAKKA. 1], there are various views: some take them to be swifts (*Apus apus*) or swallows (*Hirundo rustica*), and others, bats. One might finally mention the *ṭ. Sulaymān* "Solomon's bird", which is considered to be the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*).

Amongst Arabic writers on natural history, it is really only al-Djāḥiẓ who treated at length of birds and everything connected with ornithology and hunting with birds, in his *K. al-Ḥayawān* (see *Bibl.*). Amongst the winged tribe, he distinguishes three categories: (a) the *bahā'im al-ṭayr*, plant and seed eaters; (b) the *sibā' al-ṭayr*, carnivorous raptors, including the *ṭayr ḥurr* "noble birds" (falcon, goshawk, sparrow hawk), trained for hunting by flight [see BAYZARA]; and (c) the *murakkab* and *mushtarak*, omnivorous birds like sparrows (*Ḥayawān*, i, 28-9, v, 205-7).

Based on Ḳur'ānic prescriptions, only game which is winged (the pheasant, partridge, quail) and farmyard birds are lawful for human consumption.

In ichthyology, the *ṭayra* or *murdjān* is the *Myripristis*, a small fish of the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

The diminutive *ṭuwayr* "small bird" can also be applied to butterflies, and the *ṭuyūrī* "bird seller" deals in small cage birds (canaries, etc.).

Finally, in astronomy, *al-Ṭā'ir* denotes (a) the Swan, the 20th northern constellation, and (b) the star Altaïr (from *al-Nasr al-ṭā'ir* "the flying vulture", sc. α *Aquilae*, mg. 0.9, of the 17th northern constellation of Aquila.

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in die arabische Zoographie, Berlin 1990, index s.v. *Vogel, ṭair*. (F. VIRÉ)

TA'IZZ, now the main town in the southern highlands of the Yemen, some 195 km/120 miles south, slightly west, of Ṣan'ā' [*q.v.*] and about 140 km/88 miles north-west of Aden [see 'ADAN]. It is situated at the foot of Djabal Ṣabir which rises to a height of about 3,000 m/9,600 feet. Although the town is mentioned during the Ayyūbid period of Yemeni history (569-626/1173-1228) [see AYYŪBIDS], its main development came under the Rasūlids (628-845/1230-1441 [*q.v.*]), who made the town their capital. It seems that Ta'izz was originally a settlement in the region of al-Djanad, the seat of the early Islamic governors in the area, possibly until its rise and growth in the Rasūlid era, and that thereafter right down to the present day al-Djanad was a settlement in the region of Ta'izz.

Our knowledge of Ayyūbid Ta'izz comes in the main from Ibn al-Mudjāwir, a traveller from the east who wrote in the early years of the 7th/13th century (*Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4). He comments (144-5) that the coffers (*khizāna*) of the port of Aden were taken up each year to the fortress of Ta'izz, four of them in all, containing the income of the ships arriving in Aden from India, that from the entry of madder (*fuwwa*) into the port, that of the export of horses to India and that of the ships travelling to India. Each one contained approximately 150,000 dīnārs. This practice came to an end in 625/1227. The fortress itself is described by Ibn al-Mudjāwir on p. 156. It was strong, built of gypsum and stones and with firm gates and walls. It was a stronghold placed between two towns, al-Maghriba and 'Udayna, the latter at the foot of Ṣabir. A plan of Ta'izz follows the description on p. 157 of Löfgren's edition. Ibn al-Mudjāwir also mentions the water supply of Ta'izz (159) which came down from Djabal Ṣabir.

The first Rasūlid ruler to enlarge and develop Ta'izz was al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, the second sultan of the dynasty, who in 653/1255 made the town the Rasūlid capital. With the expansion of the town, the Rasūlid rulers over the years built in particular fine mosques and *madrasas*, many of which can still be seen to this day. In particular, the Djāmi' al-Muẓaffar (the founder dying in 694/1295) and the Ashrafiyya dating from al-Ashraf, regn. 778-803/1377-1401, are the most imposing and dominate the view over the town. Ismā'īl al-Akwa' (*al-Madāris al-Islāmiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Ṣan'ā' 1980) provides some good descriptions of a number of such Rasūlid monuments in Ta'izz and traces also their historical background.

Ta'izz was visited during the Rasūlid period in 779/1377 by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Travels*, ii, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1962, 369 ff.) and described in some detail. He found the inhabitants "... overbearing, insolent and rude", though perhaps no more so than is usual in capital cities! He further mentions three quarters: [al-Maghriba], where was the residence of the sultan, and where his courtiers and civil servants live; 'Udayna, where the sultan's *amīrs* and troops live; and al-Maḥālib, where the common people live and where the market is situated. He says much about the ceremonial of the Rasūlid court. Other later visitors to Ta'izz included Niebuhr in 1763, Glaser in the late 19th century and Hugh Scott in 1937.

In the Rasūlid context, it should perhaps be mentioned that the small village of Tha'bāt on the slopes of Ṣabir provided a peaceful retreat for a number of the sultans (see G.R. Smith, *The Yemenite settlement of Tha'bāt: historical, numismatic and epigraphic notes*, in *Arabian Studies*, i [1974], 119-35).

In 1948, Imām Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn left the previous capital, Ṣan'ā', and moved to Ta'izz. All foreign missions and consulates were also established in the town. It was not until 1962, the time of the revolution in northern Yemen, that Ṣan'ā' regained her old position as capital of the Yemen Arab Republic which replaced the Mutawakkilī kingdom under the Ḥamīd al-Dīns. The importance of Ta'izz, however, as the chief town of the southern highlands of the Yemen (perhaps because of its geographical position in relation to the ports of Mocha and Aden and to the capital of the country, Ṣan'ā') and the capital of Shāfi'ī north Yemen, has continued to this day.

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AL-**TĀKA** [see KASALA].

TAḲBAYLIT, a dialect of Tamazight or Berber. It is spoken in Kabylia, one of the four Berberophone areas of Algeria, and a mountainous region at about 30 km from Algiers and comprehending roughly the area between Thénia and Collo along the Mediterranean sea to the Jurjura Mountains in the south. The numerical percentage of Berber-speaking people in Algeria has not been properly established, but there is a general agreement to estimate the Tamazight-speaking people to be about 20% of the population (see Chaker 1989). The Taḳbaylit speakers should number in the region of three million, a moderate figure taking into account the high rate of emigrants from Kabylia in Algiers and France.

The denomination Taḳbaylit probably derives from the Arabic *ḳabā'il* "tribes" [see ḲABĪLA], but it is difficult to trace whether, and if so when, the people in the area now called Kabylia adopted a common name for the whole region. Today, the terms *Leḳbayel* ("Kabyles") and *Taḳbaylit, Imazighen* ("Free men") and *Tamazight* are used by the people to define themselves and their language. This is linked to the development of a sense of community which, previously based on a village or a confederation of villages, now comes to include all the Kabyle region with an extension to the other Tamazight-speaking areas.

The general description of the Berber language [see BERBERS] applies to Taḳbaylit notwithstanding some specific traits of this dialect. Phonetically, Taḳbaylit is characterised by the presence of affricatives and by the spirantisation of the short occlusives. The long-term contiguity with Arabic-speaking areas has affected the Taḳbaylit lexicon, which has about 35% of borrowings from Arabic (see Chaker 1984, 82, 216-29). Until the last century, Taḳbaylit was a spoken language while Arabic script was used by a limited number of religious literates. A system for writing Taḳbaylit was developed in Latin script during the French colonisation of Algeria. The colonial school, however, did not stimulate the acquisition of literacy in Kabyle.

Similarly, Berber did not find a place in the compulsory education system of independent Algeria, where Arabic and French were taught. The present diffusion of literacy in Taḳbaylit has resulted from academic and associated activities that have found logistic and cultural support in the lands of Kabyle emigration, i.e. France, Canada, Belgium and the United States. The recent creation of the High Commission for "Amazigh-ness" (1995), after years of demonstrations and demands of recognition for Taḳbaylit in particular and Tamazight in general, has marked a change in the Algerian language policy.

The literary production in Taḳbaylit comprises oral, written and "audio-visual" genres. Historical changes have modified the social and cultural functions of the oral production, but the oral genres are still appreciated in Kabylia and in Kabyle emigrant circles. A prestigious genre is the *asefru*, a sonnet of nine verses grouped in three strophes rhyming according to the scheme AAB. Beautiful examples of this genre are the *isefra* (pl. form) of the famous poet Si Mohand ou Mhand (see Boulifa 1904). Another poetic genre is the so-called *izli*, a song of two or three couplets in rhyme. The production of this genre is anonymous (see Yacine 1988). The lyric genres usually give voice to individual desires and hopes, while a normative discourse is expressed in the narrative genres. For example, the *tiqsiḍin* are long narratives in verse recounting the adventures of Muslim heroes and saints, the *tidyanin* are aetiological legends about animals, while the *timucuha* narrate the adventures of heroes and heroines who assert the moral and symbolic organisation of the conventional Kabyle society (see Lacoste-Dujardin 1970).

Turning to the written production, texts in Taḳbaylit were written by Si Amar ou Saïd Boulifa already at the begin of the century, while in the 1940s some nationalist Kabyle songs had a written origin. *Les cahiers de Belaïd* by Belaïd Ait Ali (1963) is, however, considered to be the first literary work written in Kabyle. This work includes the author's personal versions of *timucuha* and narratives spanning the folk story, the novel and the autobiography. Since the 1970s, many collections of poems written in Kabyle have been published, and six novels in Kabyle have appeared, the first being *Asfel* or "Ritual sacrifice" by Rachid Aliche (Lyon, Fédérop, 1981).

Genres produced in the "audio-visual" mode, i.e. supported by technical means of recording, are also newcomers on the scene. The so-called "modern song" is the most important genre as to the amount of production and public acclaim. The continuity between "modern songs" and oral poetry is indubitable, but modifications in music and themes are also remarkable. The assertion of Kabyle identity is a pivotal element of the "modern songs", but singers such as Aït Manguellet, Idir and Djura are also radical in their criticism of social norms and values.

The language used in the recent production is characterised by lexical borrowings from French and by neologisms derived from other Berber dialects. Syntactic interactions between Kabyle and French occur in the written genres (see Abrous 1991). Conversely, the Kabyle mother tongue punctuates novels and poems written in French by authors such as Taos and Jean Amrouche, Tahar Djaoud, Nabile Farès, Mouloud Mammeri and many others. Taking into consideration the process of literacy acquisition in Kabylia, the works produced in Kabyle and those written in French by Kabyle authors should be seen in the framework of an encompassing Kabyle literary space (see Merolla 1995).

Bibliography: D. Abrous, *Quelques remarques à propos du passage à l'écrit*, in *Actes du Colloque International "Unité et Diversité de Tamazight", Ghardaïa 20-21 Avril*, Algiers 1991, 1-14; Belaïd Ait Ali, *Les cahiers de Belaïd*, ed. J.M. Dallet and J.L. Degezelle, Fort National (Algeria) 1963; Si Amar ou Boulifa, *Recueil de poésies kabyles*, Algiers 1904; S. Chaker, *Textes en linguistique berbère*, CNRS Paris, 1984; S. Chaker, *Berbères aujourd'hui*, Paris 1989; C. Lacoste-Dujardin, *Le conte kabyle. Etude ethnologique*, Paris 1970; D. Merolla, *Peut-on parler d'un espace littéraire kabyle?*, in *Etudes et Documentation Berbères*, xiii, (1995), 5-25; T. Yacine Titouh, *L'izli ou l'amour chanté en kabyle*, Paris 1988.

(Daniela Merolla)

TAKBĪR (a.), verbal noun of form II from the root *k-b-r* in the denominative sense, to pronounce the formula *Allāhu akbar*. It is already used in this sense in the Ḳurʾān (e.g. LXXIV, 3; XVII, 111 with God as the object). On the different explanations of the elative *akbar* in this formula, see *LʿA*, s.v., and the Ḳurʾānic elative *akram* also applied to God (XCVI, 3) and *aʿlā* (XCII, 20; LXXXVII, 1).

The formula, as the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God, is used in Muslim life in different circumstances, in which the idea of God, His greatness and goodness is suggested. When Muḥammad had learned by supernatural means of the death of the Nadjāshī in Abyssinia, he proclaimed the news to those around him, arranged them in rows on the Muṣallā and had a *takbīr* pronounced four times (al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, *bāb*s 4, 55, 61). On other occasions also, Muḥammad is said to have called the *takbīr* four or five times over a funeral bier (Muslim, *Djanāʾiz*, trad. 72). The fourfold *takbīr* remained or became usual at the *ṣalāt* for the dead (al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, 47). The *adhān* [*q.v.*] is also opened with a fourfold *takbīr*.

The Prophet is said to have uttered very frequently the *takbīr* during the Ḥadjdj, at the beginning (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 144), during (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb*s 132, 133; but not too loudly, *bāb* 131) and at the end of the journey (Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 5), at the sight of the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, iii, 320), at the Black Stone (*ibid.*, i, 264), between Minā and ʿArafa (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb*, 86), on Ṣafā and Marwa (Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 320), etc.

The *takbīr* is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the *ṣalāt* (the so-called *takbīrat al-iḥrām*); during the *ṣalāt* it is five times repeated.

Bibliography: the dictionaries, s.v. *k-b-r*; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islām*, 629; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 61, 65; A.J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v.; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions*, repr. Oxford 1996, 29-36; see also ṢALĀT. III. 8.

(A.J. Wensinck)

TAḲDĪR (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *ḳaddara*, used variously as a technical term.

1. Grammatical usages.

(a) The predominant meaning of *taḳdīr* is "the imaginary utterance which the speaker intends as if he were saying it, when expressing a given literal utterance". This definition needs some elucidation.

In this meaning, *taḳdīr* is a grammatical technical term belonging to the terminology of one of the main theories of Arabic grammar, which we may call here "the theory of *taḳdīr*". Since Arabic texts on grammar do not include any systematic discussion of this theory, its principles and notions, as well as the sense of its terminology, must be inferred from the data found in these texts.

The theory of *taḳdīr* is based on the notion of al-

Khalīl, Sībawayhi's teacher, that, when pronouncing given utterances, the speaker simultaneously intends that it is as if he were expressing another utterance, differing in construction, but not in its intended meaning from his literal utterance (see Sībawayhi, ii, 137, ll. 8-15). Thus, when the speaker expresses a given literal utterance, a corresponding imaginary utterance exists in his mind. If we mark the literal utterance by X and its corresponding imaginary utterance by Y, we can say that the main notion of the theory of *taḳdīr* is that the speaker intends, or imagines, that when he says X it is as if he were saying Y. For example, the grammarians hold that when saying *Zayd*^{un} *fi 'l-dāri* (= X) "Zayd is in the house", the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying *Zayd*^{un} *istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri* (= Y) lit. "Zayd has made his abode in the house". The imaginary utterance *Zayd*^{un} *istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri* is given the name *taḳdīr*.

The notion of *taḳdīr* was created by the grammarians in order to solve a theoretical difficulty, and they apply it when they find that the literal construction of a given utterance does not accord with one of their theories. E.g. the later grammarians, from the 10th century onwards, believe that the prepositions called *ḥurūf al-djarr* are connective particles which can only connect a verb or a participle with a noun, as in the example *inṣaraftu ʿan Zayd*^{in} "I went away from Zayd" (see Levin, in *JSAI*, x, 359-60). Since the literal construction of the utterance *Zayd*^{un} *fi 'l-dāri* does not include a verb, the particle *fī* apparently connects a noun with another noun. Hence the grammarians assume that when the speaker says *Zayd*^{un} *fi 'l-dāri*, he intends to say *Zayd*^{un} *istaḳarra fi 'l-dāri*. In this imaginary utterance, the particle *fī* connects the unexpressed verb *istaḳarra* with the noun *al-dār*, thus bringing the construction of the imaginary utterance called *taḳdīr* into line with the theory that *ḥurūf al-djarr* can only connect a verb or a participle with a noun.

It can be inferred from the sources that, in the grammarians' view, the relevant construction as far as grammatical analysis is concerned is that of the imaginary utterance (= *al-taḳdīr*) and not that of the literal one (= *al-lafẓ*), since it is the construction of the former which exists in the speaker's mind. This notion led the grammarians to believe that an imaginary construction, which accords with their theories, enables the occurrence of a non-according literal utterance.

(b) It can be inferred that the grammarians assume *taḳdīr* to exist in the speaker's mind in the following four cases:

(i) When they hold that a given part of the sentence is unexpressed by the speaker since it is "concealed" in his mind. In the grammarians' terminology, the unexpressed part of the sentence is usually called *muḍmar* "concealed in the mind" (see e.g. Sībawayhi, i, 32, l. 2; 42, l. 9), but sometimes it is denoted by the full form of the term, which is *muḍmar fi 'l-niyya* "concealed in the mind [of the speaker]" (see e.g. *ibid.*, i, 106, ll. 12-14), *muḍmar fī niyyatika* (i, 131, ll. 12-14), and *muḍmar fī nafsika* "concealed in your mind" (Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, i, 103, ll. 11-12). It is also called *muḳaddar* "intended [in the mind of the speaker]" (see e.g. Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 820, l. 8), and rarely also *muḳaddar fi 'l-niyya* "intended in the mind" (al-Djurdjānī, i, 275, l. 3), and *muḳaddar fī ḳalbika*, lit. "intended in your heart" (al-Sīrāfī, according to Jahn, i, 2, 74, n. 7).

The considerations leading the grammarians to hold that a given part of the sentence is concealed in the speaker's mind are usually grammatical, but sometimes they are both grammatical and semantic. Frequently, they say that a given part of the sentence is unexpressed in the literal construction since the latter does not include a word which can serve as an *ʿāmil*, i.e. as a factor producing the case-ending of a given noun, or a mood-ending of an imperfect verb. Thus, e.g., Ibn Yaʿīsh says concerning the sentence *Zayd*^{an} *ḍarabtuhu* "Zayd (acc.) I hit him": *wa-taḳdīruhu ḍarabtu Zayd*^{an} *ḍarabtuhu* "That which the speaker intends [when saying *Zayd*^{an} *ḍarabtuhu*] is *ḍarabtu Zayd*^{an} *ḍarabtuhu* (lit. "I hit Zayd, I hit him)" (Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 199, 6). The form *ḍarabtu*, occurring at the beginning of the *taḳdīr* construction, is unnecessary for understanding the literal utterance *Zayd*^{an} *ḍarabtuhu*, but grammatically it is indispensable, since it is considered as the *ʿāmil* producing the accusative in *Zayd*^{an}.

(ii) The grammarians believe that there are given utterances that include a "superfluous" part. In this case they assume that a corresponding imaginary utterance (= *taḳdīr*) which does not include this "superfluous" part, exists in the speaker's mind. E.g. some grammarians hold the view that in a sentence containing a *badal*, the noun which is "replaced" by the *badal* (= *al-mubdal minhu*) does not occur in the *taḳdīr* construction. E.g. in the sentence *mā djā'anī aḥad*^{un} *illā Zayd*^{un} "Nobody came to me except Zayd", *Zayd*^{un} is the *badal* of *aḥad*^{un}. In referring to this example, al-Mubarrad says: *fa-yaṣīru 'l-taḳdīru mā djā'anī illā Zayd*^{un} "the *taḳdīr* [construction] [of the above utterance] is *mā djā'anī illā Zayd*^{un} (al-Mubarrad, iv, 394, ll. 5-6). Al-Mubarrad's illustration of this *taḳdīr* derives from the notion that each verb can produce the nominative in one subject only. Since in the literal construction of *mā djā'anī aḥad*^{un} *illā Zayd*^{un}, the verb *djā'a* is supposed to produce the nominative both in *aḥad*^{un} and in *Zayd*^{un}, al-Mubarrad assumes that, when expressing this utterance, the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying *mā djā'anī illā Zayd*^{un}. Thus the *taḳdīr* construction contains only one nominative (*Zayd*^{un}) which is affected by the verb *djā'a*. Note that in this case the *taḳdīr* construction is shorter than the literal one.

(iii) The grammarians further believe that, in certain syntactic constructions, the literal word-order of the utterance differs from that intended by the speaker. This view is usually expressed when the literal word-order does not accord with one of the principles of the theory of the 3rd person pronoun. E.g. in referring to the Bedouin proverb *fī baytihi yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu* "The arbitrator must be met in his home", Ibn al-Sarrādj says that this utterance is grammatically permissible *li-anna 'l-taḳdīr yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi* "because what the speaker intends [when saying *fī baytihi yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu*] is *yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi* (Ibn al-Sarrādj, ii, 238, l. 17-239, l. 1). He expresses this view since the word-order of the literal utterance contradicts one of the main principles of the theory of the 3rd person pronoun, namely, that this pronoun cannot precede its antecedent (see Levin, in *JSAI*, xii, 40-3). However, in *fī baytihi yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu* the pronoun *-hi* precedes its antecedent *al-ḥakamu*. This theoretical difficulty is solved by contending that the *taḳdīr* of this utterance is *yu'tā 'l-ḥakamu fī baytihi*. Since in the *taḳdīr* construction existing in the speaker's mind, the pronoun *-hi* does not precede its antecedent, its word-order accords with the grammarians' theory of the 3rd person pronoun.

(iv) The grammarians also believe that, when uttering given utterances, the speaker intends to express another utterance, corresponding in sense to his literal utterance. This view is held when the literal construction does not accord with one of the grammarians' theories, or when it needs some theoretical elucida-

tion. E.g. in his discussion of the syntactic construction of utterances expressing wonder, known as *taʿadjdjub*, al-Mubarrad says about the example *mā aḥsana Zaydan* "How good is Zayd!": *fa-taḳdīruhu shayʾun aḥsana Zaydan* "The utterance the speaker intends [when saying *mā aḥsana Zaydan*] is *shayʾun aḥsana Zaydan* (lit. "something made Zayd [to be] good") (al-Mubarrad, iv, 173, ll. 5-9). In al-Mubarrad's view, this *taḳdīr* construction provides evidence that *aḥsana* is a past tense verb form according to the pattern *afʿala*, and not an accusative elative form on this pattern, as was held by the grammarians of al-Kūfa. The significance of al-Mubarrad's assumption, that *mā* in the literal construction is regarded by the speaker as equivalent to *shayʾ*, is that *mā*, like *shayʾ*, is here a complete noun which does not need any complement (= *ṣila*), as opposed to *mā* occurring in certain syntactic constructions as a relative pronoun which needs a complement. Since in al-Mubarrad's view *mā* is a complete noun, he determines in his syntactic analysis of *mā aḥsana Zaydan* that *mā* is virtually a nominative, occurring as a subject (= *mubtadaʾ*), *aḥsana* a verb, predicate of *mā*, and *Zaydan* the direct object of *aḥsana* (see iv, 173, ll. 7-8).

The grammarians also apply the theory of *taḳdīr* in the domains of phonetics and morphology. They assume that certain vowels which do not occur in the literal form of given words are intended in the speaker's mind. The most salient example illustrating this notion is that of nouns which cannot take the case-ending vowels because of their phonetic construction. Here the grammarians hold that the final sound of the pausal form of the noun, which is an *alif* (= *ā*) includes an implicit vowel which the speaker intends that it is as if he were saying it. Thus the final *alif* of the form *fatā* "a youngster" includes an implicit case-ending vowel, which is either a *ḍamma*, a *fatḥa* or a *kasra*, according to the effect of its *ʿāmil* (see Ibn Djinnī, *Sirr*, ii, 607, ll. 3-7; cf. al-Djurdjānī, i, 106, ll. 2-15; Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 66, ll. 7-15).

2. The sense of the term *taḳdīr*.

The following aspects confirm the definition of the term *taḳdīr* given at the beginning of this article: (a) The literal sense of *taḳdīr* is "that which somebody intends". In this meaning, *taḳdīr* is a verbal noun in the sense of a passive participle of the verb *ḳaddara* in the sense of "he intended" (for *ḳaddara* in this sense, see *Tahdhīb*, ix, 24A, ll. 8-10; *LʿA*, v, 76B, ll. 10-12. For verbal nouns denoting the meaning of an active or a passive participle, see Sībawayhi, ii, 242, ll. 3-6; Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 810, ll. 7-9). This literal sense of the term *taḳdīr* is attested by the grammatical sources. Thus the great scholar Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1344) notes that in grammatical terminology the sense of *taḳdīr* is the same as that of *al-niyya* (Abū Ḥayyān, 147, ll. 5-6). This remark is confirmed by many texts where the forms *taḳdīr* and *niyya* correspond to each other. Similarly, a correspondence is frequently found between other technical terms and phrases derived from the roots *ḳ-d-r* and *n-w-y*.

(b) It can also be inferred that the technical phrase *ka-annahu ḳāla* "it is as if he [i.e. the speaker] were saying" corresponds to *taḳdīr* (compare Ibn Yaʿīsh, i, 199, l. 6, and Sībawayhi, i, 32, l. 1).

(c) A combination of the expressions *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* sometimes occurs in the texts, as in the example *taḳdīruhu ka-annahu ḳāla li 'l-sāmiʿ* "That which he [i.e. the poet] intended is as if he were saying to the hearer..." (al-Djurdjānī, *Dalāʾil*, 190, l. 6, which is a source dealing with rhetoric). It seems safe to assume that the expressions *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* are in fact elliptical ways of expressing the rare combination *al-taḳdīr... ka-annahu ḳāla*. Hence, in grammatical terminology, *taḳdīr* and *ka-annahu ḳāla* have the same meaning.

The data in the grammatical texts show Wansbrough's conclusion that the term *taḳdīr* "signifies reconstruction or restoration..., namely, of a scriptual context or passage" to be incorrect (see Wansbrough, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii [1970], 247, ll. 17-21; see also 248, ll. 3-5, 259, ll. 21-5).

3. The process of inferring the *taḳdīr* construction.

The *taḳdīr* construction intended by the speaker is inferred by the grammarians from the literal construction expressed by him. The *taḳdīr* of certain elliptical sentences can be inferred from the circumstances under which these sentences are expressed (see Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 284, l. 12-285, l. 6).

The process of inferring the *taḳdīr* is based on the following principles: (a) the sense of the *taḳdīr* construction must accord with that of the literal one; (b) the *taḳdīr* construction must agree with the principles of Arabic grammatical theory; and (c) the *taḳdīr* construction can be an imaginary one, which never occurs in speech (see *ibid.*, ii, 408, l. 16-409, l. 8).

This survey of the term *taḳdīr* is based on data gathered from grammatical texts. The study of the term in texts from other domains such as rhetoric, Ḳurʾān exegesis and commentaries on poetry needs further investigation.

4. The terminology of the theory of *taḳdīr*.

The terminology of the theory of *taḳdīr* consists of technical terms and phrases mainly derived from the roots *ḳ-d-r* and *n-w-y*. However, it also includes terms and phrases derived from the roots *r-w-d*, *m-th-l*, *ʿ-n-y*, *ḍ-m-r*, and *ʾ-w-l*. Phrases derived from the roots *w-h-m*, *kh-y-l* and *ṣ-w-r* also appear, if rarely. The technical terms and phrases derived from the above roots are discussed in detail in Levin, al-Taḳdīr. *Studies in Arabic grammatical thought and terminology*.

5. Finally, it should be noted that Arabic grammatical terminology includes some technical terms and phrases derived from the root *ḳ-d-r* which do not refer to the theory of *taḳdīr* (some of these are denoted by the form *taḳdīr* itself). The sense of these is completely different from that of their homonyms used in association with this theory. For details see the above-mentioned forthcoming book.

Bibliography: Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, Cairo 1964-7; Abū Ḥayyān, *Manhadj al-sālik. Abū Ḥayyān's commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Mālik*, ed. S. Glazer, New Haven, Conn. 1947; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, *K. al-Muḳtaṣad fī sharḥ al-Īḍāḥ*, Baghdād 1982; idem, *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz*, Damascus 1407/1987; Ibn Djinnī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, Beirut n.d.; idem, *Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, Damascus 1405/1985; Ibn al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Uṣūl fi 'l-naḥw*, i, al-Nadjaf 1973, ii, Baghdād 1973; Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Ibn Jaʿîšʾ* [sic] *Commentar zu Zamachšarī's Mufaṣṣal*, ed. G. Jahn, Leipzig 1882-6; Jahn, *Sîbawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. G. Jahn*, 2 vols., second pagination, Berlin 1985; A. Levin, *The views of the Arab grammarians on the classification and syntactic function of prepositions*, in *JSAI*, x (1987), 342-67; idem, *What is meant by* ʾakalūnī l-barāghīthu?, in *JSAI*, xii (1989), 140-65; idem, al-Taḳdīr. *Studies in Arabic grammatical thought and terminology* (forthcoming); *LʿA*; al-Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, Cairo 1385-8; Sībawayhi, *Le Livre de Sîbawaihi*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9; J. Wansbrough, *Majāz al-Qurʾān. Periphrastic exegesis*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 247-66.

(A. Levin)

2. As a term in land management and taxation.

Here it is used for the process of estimating the amount or value of a crop for taxation purposes, hence the equivalent of *takhmīn*; in the Arabic-Spanish *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcala, *apodar, apreciar.* See Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 312-13, and MISĀḤA. 1. (ED.)

TAKFĪR (A.), the verbal noun from the form II verb *kaffara* "to declare someone a *kāfir* or unbeliever".

1. General definition.

From earliest Islamic times onwards, this was an accusation hurled at opponents by sectarians and zealots, such as the Khāridjites [*q.v.*]; but a theologian like al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] held that, since the adoption of *kufr* was the equivalent here of apostasy, entailing the death penalty [see MURTADD], it should not be lightly made (*Fayṣal al-tafrika bayn al-Islam wa 'l-zandaka*, quoted in B. Lewis, *The political language of Islam*, Chicago-London 1988, 85-6). It has nevertheless continued to be used into modern times, and forms part of the vocabulary of abuse of modern Islamic fundamentalist groups, such as the Egyptian *al-Takfīr wa 'l-hidjra* group [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See that to KĀFIR. (ED.)

2. In West Africa.

The doctrine of *takfīr* was first enunciated in the West African context by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*] of Tlemcen, who answered questions for Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] of Songhay *ca.* 1498. Called on to make a judgment on the previous ruler Sunni ʿAlī Bēr, he gave a three-part definition of *kufr*: holding a belief which is itself *kufr*, such as disavowal of the Creator or an attribute of His without which He would not be Creator, or the denial of prophecy; doing that which is only done by an unbeliever even though the act itself is not itself *kufr*, such as declaring wine-drinking and adultery to be lawful; or uttering something which it is known would only emanate from one who does not know God. On this latter point he admits there has been difference of opinion, notably about the status of the Muʿtazila and other innovators (*ahl al-bidʿa*). These positions are evidently based on the views of the *kāḍī* ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā of Ceuta [*q.v.*] (d. 1149), as stated in his *K. al-Shifāʾ*. In his treatise on the status of the Jews of Tuwāt and their synagogue (see *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ fī uṣūl al-falāḥ*, ed. Rābiḥ Būnār, Algiers, 1968, 103), he also pronounces *takfīr* against those who befriend the Jews and encourage or condone their "rebellion against the laws", based on a restrictive interpretation of Ḳurʾān, V, 51.

Around the same time, another treatise was written for Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad by al-ʿĀḳib al-Anuṣammanī of Takidda [*q.v.*] which, to judge by the surviving fragment, also dealt extensively with *takfīr*. He classifies Muslims into several groups based on the quality of their belief, of which the first four probably correspond to perpetrators of the types of *kufr* which he cites from the commentary of al-Kirmānī on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī: the *kufr* of unawareness (*al-inkār*), of denial (*al-djuḥūd*), of obduracy (*al-muʿānada*), and of hypocrisy (*al-nifāk*) [see KĀFIR].

In the 19th century, the Fulani *mudjaddid* ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (Fūdī) (d. 1232/1817 [*q.v.*]) accused the Hausa sultans of *kufr*, using the arguments of al-Maghīlī to show that they ruled in such a way as to give proof that they were unbelievers, and that a *djihād* to overthrow them was incumbent. These views are expounded in several of his works, most notably *Taʿlīm al-ikhwān bi 'l-umūr allatī kaffarnā bihā mulūk al-sūdān* (tr. B.G. Martin, in *MES*, iv/1 [1967], 50-97). He and his son Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] also accused Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī, Shehu [Shaykh] of Bornū [*q.v.*] similarly, in a lengthy correspondence included in Bello's *Infāḳ al-maysūr* (ed. C.J. Whitting, London 1951, 124-74). All of these arguments were known to *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (d. 1280/1864), who used them against Aḥmad Lobbo, ruler of Māsina, his most damaging criticism being that the latter had come to the aid of the unbelieving ruler of Segu [*q.v.*] against *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar.

In the 1970s in Nigeria, a general *takfīr* was pronounced against Ṣūfīs, and especially adherents of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīka*, by the former Grand *Ḳāḍī* of Northern Nigeria Abū Bakr b. Maḥmūd Gumi (d. 1992), on the grounds that Ṣūfī beliefs and practices as a whole are innovations tantamount to *kufr*. This evoked many scholarly responses, the most detailed of which is *al-Takfīr akhṭar bidʿa tuhaddid al-Islām wa 'l-waḥda bayn al-muslimīn* by Shaykh Sharīf Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ of Maiduguri (publ. Cairo 1986).

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AL-**TAKFĪR** WA 'L-**HIDJRA** (A.), the name of one of several militant Islamic groups which appeared in Egypt from the early 1970s onwards, against the background of a material and spiritual crisis. The name, literally meaning "charging [Muslims] with unbelief, and emigration [from an un-Islamically ruled state]" (reflecting two pillars of the group's ideology), was given to it by the media, while its own members called it *djamāʿat al-muslimīn* "The Society of Muslims".

Al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra was founded in 1971 by Shukrī Muṣṭafā, a former Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN] activist disenchanted with the Brotherhood's "moderation". Muṣṭafā recruited mostly young men and (a unique feature of this group) women, of rural or urban lower middle-class background, managing to attract as many as 2,000 to 3,000 adherents by 1977. They were organised in a network throughout the country's major cities and the countryside, with a hierarchy of command and rigid rules of loyalty and discipline. Regarding Egyptian society as corrupt and even atheist, the group sought to detach itself from it, its members secluding themselves from family, friends and society's institutions and moving to reside in communes. The authorities at first considered them harmless, but arrested some of them in 1976 and early 1977. In July 1977 the group abducted the former Minister of *Awkāf* Muḥammad al-Dhahabī in order to gain the release of detained members, then killed him when their demands were not met. This led to a clampdown on the group, including the arrest and subsequent execution of Shukrī Muṣṭafā and four other leaders, which devastated the organisation.

The ideology of *al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hidjra* comprised elements drawn from the teachings of Sayyid Ḳuṭb [*q.v.*] and, through them, the Khawāridj [*q.v.*]. Central to it was the idea of *takfīr*, namely, the idea that Islamic

society as a whole had reverted to a state of unbelief or djāhiliyya (other groups professing takfīr applied it to the government only). Since society was beyond redemption, the group advocated hidjra, to wit, distancing itself from society as much as possible—from its mosques, its gathering places, its habits and customs. Ultimately, the group would emigrate to another country, establish a purified community there, then return and conquer the unbelieving society through djihād (this modern concept of hidjra seems, again, to have been unique to this organisation). The group also professed idjtihād, that is, independent judgement in matters of religious law, permitted its members to pray only behind its own imāms and released them from some of the conventional religious duties.

After the death of Muṣṭafā, the organisation disintegrated. Some of its former members may have joined successor groups advocating similar ideas in the 1980s and 1990s.

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TAKHALLUṢ (A.), literally, "freeing oneself, escaping from (something)", a technical term of literary usage.

1. In literary form.

Here, it is the transition from the introduction [see NASĪB] of the polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] to subsequent themes, esp. the panegyric section. Often called *khurūdj* "exit", it may be abrupt, without any attempt at preparing what follows, or effected brusquely with formulas such as *daʿ dhā* "leave this (and speak on something else)". From ʿAbbāsid times onwards, poets and critics favoured transitions by means of one or a few lines serving as a hinge between the two sections. In a quasi-narrative *takhalluṣ*, the poet may turn away from barren desert or hopeless love to kind and generous patron. Very often the *takhalluṣ* is effected by means of a simile or metaphor involving a comparison of the patron with a phenomenon described in the preceding, e.g. ["He kissed me all night . . . until] Morning appeared with a blaze as bright as the caliph's face when he is praised", a line by Muḥammad b. Wuhayb often given as an example of *ḥusn al-takhalluṣ*. Critics from the time of Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] onwards have studied the *takhalluṣ*; numerous works on *badīʿ* discuss *ḥusn al-takhallus* or *ḥusn al-khurūdj*. The school of al-Sakkākī and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*] considers it, with the beginning and the end of the poem [see IBTIDĀʾ and INTIHĀʾ], as one of three places meriting particular attention.

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2. In the sense of pen-name.

In Persian literature a different meaning became attached to *takhalluṣ* and the synonymous *makhlaṣ*, viz. that of a pen-name as it was adopted in particular by poets and used as a rhetorical device in poetry. Pen-names were an element of the poetical tradition from the very beginning, but the semantic change in the term *takhalluṣ* must have taken place at a comparatively late date. The Persian rhetoricians only knew it in the sense of a "transition" in a poem, commonly found in Arabic textbooks. In the anthology *Lubāb al-albāb*, compiled in 1220, ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] uses phrases like *al-mulaḳḳab bi-* whenever he refers to a pen-name. This indicates that they were regarded as no more than a special case of the *laḳab* [*q.v.*], which still lacked a proper appellation of its own. Only in the Tīmūrid period does the semantic change appear to be fully completed, as it is attested, for instance, by the use of *takhalluṣ* in Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*.

One of the rare reports on the actual adoption of a pen-name is an anecdote telling how the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] showed his appreciation for a clever improvisation by permitting the poet Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] to choose a pen-name based on one of his *laḳab*s (Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Tehran 1957, 65-9). Such a derivation from the name of a patron must have been quite common, even if it has only seldom been recorded. However, other references can also be detected in pen-names. Very often they relate to abstract concepts, images or motifs which were considered to be particularly poetic. On the other hand, there are also names indicating geographical origin, trades or religious affiliations. Sometimes poets changed their names in the course of their careers or used different names in poems written in different languages.

The application of pen-names to poetry is best known from its use in the concluding passages of the classical Persian *ghazal* [*q.v.*]. In the early 6th/12th century, however, this convention was not yet fully established. In the poetry of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], for instance, it only occurs in less than one-third of the *ghazals*, whereas pen-names are used with much greater frequency in the *ḳaṣīdas*. At that time, apparently, references to the poet's own name were still a free rhetorical device which could be applied to any form of poetry, either to mark a transition in a poem or to add a personal touch to the poetical statement. An instance of each of these functions can be found in the poem *Mādar-i may* by Rūdakī [*q.v.*], the oldest complete *ḳaṣīda* in Persian which has survived. As this example shows, the device was already well known to early court poets. This refutes the attempts (e.g. by E.E. Bertel's and A. Ateş) to seek its origin in the rise of Ṣūfī poetry. Pen-names were also used as structural elements in didactical *mathnawīs*, of which the convention introduced by Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] to conclude each *maḳāla* of his poem *Makhzan al-asrār* with a *takhalluṣ* provides a clear example.

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

TAKHMĪS (A., pl. *takhāmīs*), a special kind of amplification of poetry which flourished as a genre from the 7/13th century until the modern era. In the literary canon before this period, the term normally referred to the process of composing *mukhammasāt* (pentastichic, stanzaic poems by a *single author* of which the earliest surviving example is attributed to Abū Nuwās [see MUSAMMAṬ]). It is essential to understand a distinction between *takhmīs*, when referring to an amplified poem, and *mukhammas* (though the terms are sometimes used interchangeably without rigour).

Takhmīs involves the addition of three hemistichs

to each *bayt* of a given poem; the rhyme letter of the added hemistichs is determined by the first hemistich of each successive *bayt*. This extra material usually precedes the original *bayt*; however, less commonly the *bayt* may be split and filled (see Cairo, *Fihris*, iii, 49)—a process normally referred to as *tash̲ṭīr*. (The number of added hemistichs may in fact be more or less than three, in which case the term for the poem is variously *tarbīʿ* [2 added hemistichs], *tasbīʿ* [5 added hemistichs], etc.)

The stanzas of a *tak̲h̲mīs* can be arranged on the page in one of two ways (upper case letters represent the rhyme words of the original hemistich; schemata are to be read from left to right):

(i)
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa
xxxxxxA xxxxxxA

xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb
xxxxxxB xxxxxxA

(ii)
xxxxxxa xxxxxxa
xxxxxxa xxxxxxA
xxxxxxA

xxxxxxb xxxxxxb
xxxxxxb xxxxxxB
xxxxxxA

(Also to be found in some mss. is the following patterning:
xxxxxxa xxxxxxa xxxxxxa
xxxxxxA
xxxxxxA etc.)

Mediaeval scribes tended to favour (i); modern printed texts prefer (ii). The essential point is that the genre is given to visual manipulation, an aspect of the poetry especially important in the calligraphic celebration of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda* ode (see below) and other religious poems.

Literary value. *Tak̲h̲mīs* may be viewed, in some measure, as a logical and natural development in the post-classical period of the poetic phenomena of *taḍmīn* (quotation) and *muʿāraḍa/naẓīra* (imitation), and of the pre-existent *muk̲h̲ammas* form. *Tak̲h̲mīs* also feeds off a tendency towards explication (*s̲h̲arḥ*) in the reception and diffusion of the poetic tradition (this fact is illustrated by the titles often given to these amplifications, e.g. al-Āt̲h̲ārī's (d. 828/1425) *Nayl al-murād fī tak̲h̲mīs Bānat Suʿād* evokes the title of a straightforward exegesis of Kaʿb's original poem, viz. D̲j̲alāl ad-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Kunh al-murād fī s̲h̲arḥ Bānat Suʿād* (Sezgin, ii, 232-4); some *tak̲h̲āmīs* themselves spawn a *s̲h̲arḥ*—thus several layers of literature cloak the original (e.g. Mach 4094). With regard to the Mamlūk era, in which period religious *tak̲h̲āmīs* flourished, we must understand that genre in the same light as other poetic developments fomented largely by the culture which celebrated the Prophet (broadly the same religio-literary culture which gave rise to *tad̲h̲yīl*, *naʿtiyya*, and *badīʿiyya* poetry, see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His messenger*). A recent aesthetic judgment—one which explains the dearth of scholarly attention paid to this literary genre—is as follows: "The procedure is interesting from a technical point of view, but it has the drawback that it compels the amplifier to expound in five (or seven or however many) lines what the original poet has said quite satisfactorily in two. It is thus no surprise that these poetic expansions have, as a rule, slight literary merit and that they are quite frequently copied without indication of their author..." (de Blois). It is, however, worth drawing a distinction here between secular and religious poems, two categories which explain differing levels (or functions) of creativity.

There are seven non-religious amplifications in the *dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *ca.* 752/1351 [*q.v.*]), which include glosses on the work of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fud̲j̲āʾa and Ibn Zaydūn (Vajda further notes the ascription to him of a *tak̲h̲mīs* of a poem by Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman). It is, in particular, al-Ḥillī's treatment of Ibn Zaydūn's *Nūniyya* which illustrates well the possibilities of poetic creativity; for he develops quite artfully the antitheses built into the original poem.

In the religious sphere, one must mention Ibn al-ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]) *tak̲h̲mīs* upon a 22-line Ṣūfī poem (*ḳaṣīda*) by Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197). His amplification (which is a *s̲h̲arḥ* of sorts) enhances the meaning and function of the original which sets out the etiquette of self-effacement and obedience within the Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*. Certain stanzas are especially sensitive, and in some cases constitute clever syntactic insertions. Noteworthy is the way Ibn al-ʿArabī refers to the very process of *tak̲h̲mīs* in the last verse, suggesting thereby the established nature and function of the genre (*wa ʾdʿu li-man k̲h̲ammasa ʾl-aṣla ʾllad̲h̲ī ḥasunā*). In subsequent periods, examples of the genre reflect Ṣūfī practice, belief and sensitivity more generally, notably in the feature of devotional repetition (i.e. there is a striking reminiscence of the *d̲h̲ikr* in Mingana 473: "Every stanza begins with the word *Allāh*...").

An earlier *tak̲h̲mīs* is one of several that survive of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's *Bānat Suʿād* or "Burda" (see Sezgin, ii, 234-5), ascribed to S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]). However, it is the later "Burda" (also known as *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ k̲h̲ayr al-bariyya*) of al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1296 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) which has been the most amplified in this way (Brockelmann, S I, 467-70); over 80 *tak̲h̲āmīs* of this poem survive, 69 of them in a single collection containing some of the most recent examples (see Cairo, *Fihris*, iii, 49-57).

Many *tak̲h̲āmīs* of the "Burda" are prefaced in mss. by a version of the anecdote contained in al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1951, ii, 418-19) which describes the first realisation of the poem's healing powers. The point to note is that the ms. makes no reference to the *tak̲h̲mīs* itself, as illustrated symptomatically by the *explicit* to a copy of al-Fayyūmī's *tak̲h̲mīs* (Khalili 563): *tammat al-burda al-muʿazzama al-mubad̲j̲d̲j̲ala bi-ḥamdi ʾllāh taʿālā wa-mannihi.* Thus in the web of individuals which form the culture of this poem's celebration only the poet (al-Būṣīrī) and the text of the "Burda" itself are constant; even the dedicatee of a given ms. has been known to change with time. The motive is always pious and self-effacing: the preface in ms. Loth 1044 to Abū Bakr b. Ramaḍān b. Mūk's *tak̲h̲mīs* explains the deliverance he experienced through the writing of his "gloss" (*fa-raʾaytu ʾl-farad̲j̲a fī at̲h̲nāʾihi*). The same sentiments underpin a whole tradition in the subjection of Ibn al-Naḥwī's (d. 513/1119) invocational *al-Ḳaṣīda al-munfarid̲j̲a* to numerous *tak̲h̲āmīs* (see Mach 4078-80).

Examination of the Cairo inventory and other samples of the *Burda* shows that amplifications tend to rework the lexicon of the individual *bayt*; hence collectively *tak̲h̲āmīs* constitute, as one would expect,

variations on a theme. The *Djamʿ al-takhāmīs* by Aytmish al-Khiḍarī al-Ẓāhirī (d. 846/1442) (which in the Chester Beatty ms. (4215) of the 10th/16th century provides a good example of the potential of calligraphic creativity and variety) offers an excellent sample: a vocabulary seems to be established for each stanza (or section of the *Burda*); sometimes shared lexical formulae and conventions appear to have been established that are in fact independent of the language of the *bayt* (and illustrate the exegetical tradition for the particular section or *bayt*). For example, the *bayt* beginning *wa'nsub ilā dhātihī mā shi'ta min sharaf*[in] (in the section of the poem describing the *Isrā'* has inspired a number of *takhāmīs* (dating back to the 14th century), all of which articulate the role of the Prophet in the *ṣuḥuf* (or text of the Ḳur'ān).

The same collection—in the very manner of its calligraphic arrangement—further illustrates the essential subordination of the amplification to the *Burda* (and the virtual anonymity of the glossator in such collective presentations); and, conversely, that certain *takhāmīs* (from various periods) were favourites and had a wide diffusion: for in the Aytmish collection we find the three *takhāmīs* contained in the Khalili collection (mss. 563, 223 and 79), notably those of one Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Fayyūmī (mid-14th century) and the better-known Abū Bakr b. Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434; see Brockelmann, II[2], 16-20, S II, 8-9).

The great reverence which the poem enjoyed in the pre-modern period led to the composition of *takhāmīs* with Turkish and Persian intralineation, and to "variations in the non-Arabic countries like India" (Schimmel, *As through a veil*, 187).

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TAKHT-I DJAMSHĪD [see iṣṭakhr].

TAKHT-I ṬĀWŪS (p.), the Peacock Throne, a name given to various highly-decorated and much bejewelled royal thrones in the eastern Islamic world, in particular, to that constructed for the Mughal Emperor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57 [*q.v.*]).

There are relevant accounts in the contemporary Indo-Muslim sources, e.g. in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī's *Bādshāh-nāma* and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, and in the accounts of European travellers who claimed to have seen the throne, such as Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci. These last authorities, however, contain serious discrepancies in their accounts of the throne, which are hard to reconcile with the facts, leading one to wonder if they really did see it properly.

The first *darbār* at which the Peacock Throne was used seems to have been when Shāh Djahān celebrated the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr and Nawrūz together at Āgra in Shawwāl 1044/March 1635, and thereafter, the sources make frequent mention of its use by the Mughals. A contemporary painting from a royal album of Shāh Djahān's shows the Emperor on a gold-enamelled and jewel-encrusted throne which has four legs and four columns supporting a rectangular domed canopy with a projecting cornice and two peacocks perched above. According to Bernier, the peacocks were made by a French craftsman, possibly Austin of Bordeaux (see Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Indian heritage. Court life and arts under Mughal rule*, London 1982, no. 57; there are other, similar paintings in existence). Later Mughal emperors, including the penultimate one, Muʿīn al-Dīn Akbar II b. Shāh ʿĀlam II (1221-53/1806-37), are said to have had less costly replicas made of the Peacock Throne.

Shāh Djahān's throne was carried off when Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] sacked Dihlī in 1151-2/1739. One eyewitness account of the event, Ṭihrānī's *Nādir-nāma*, records that the Persian conqueror had 17 thrones amongst his spoils. Much of the throne, including its columns and bevelled roof, could have been dismantled at Ḳandahār, during Nādir's return journey, when many of the plundered Indian jewels were sewn on to the Shāh's tents as symbols of royal authority.

Since then, there has been considerable confusion regarding thrones to be found in the Persian capital Tehran. Displayed in the Gulistān Palace of the Ḳādjārs, and seen in the 19th century by various European travellers such as Curzon, were the so-called "Marble Throne", Takht-i Marmar, of Karīm Khān Zand, and the "Peacock Throne", actually made for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] by the Ṣadr of Iṣfahān Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān when the Shāh married an Iṣfahānī wife known as Ṭāwūs Khānum. Both of these are platform thrones of typical Indo-Persian style. Now in the Bank Melli vaults, with the Persian crown jewels, is the "Nādir Throne", which is of the chair type and has no connection with the great conqueror (the name to be interpreted as *nādir* "remarkable"?) and cannot be older than Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's time, probably younger in its present form. See G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 317-22, with illustration; V.B. Meen and A.D. Tushingham, *Crown jewels of Iran*, Toronto 1968, 54-7 (for the "Nadir Throne").

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TAKHTADJĪ (t.), literally "one who works in woods and forests, woodcutter, sawyer" (< *takhta* "wood"), the name of one of the Turkish nomadic groups of Anatolia which had a special legal status in Ottoman times, defined by their nomadic

way of life, their specialisation within that group and their confessional religious connections.

Thus we have Türkmen [*q.v.*], less an ethnonym denoting tribes of Og̲h̲uz [see G̲H̲UZZ] origin than a legal status within the Ottoman empire, paying the *Türkmen muḳāṭaʿasî* to the Ottoman ruling house (*k̲h̲āṣṣ*). The Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲îs enjoyed this *k̲h̲āṣṣ* status also in return for specialised services to the state of work in woods and forests, just as the Čepni were concerned with the transport for the troops and the Yayd̲j̲î Bedir for bow-making. Yörük, for its part, denoted, and still denotes, a nomad in general (> *yürümek* "to travel about, journey"). Many tribal groups were and are of ʿAlewī/Bektās̲h̲ī/Ḳîzîlbās̲h̲ religious confession, for historical reasons (Ottoman-Persian rivalry) or for structural ones (the systems of lineage and of internal organisation of the religious community merging and supporting each other mutually). The Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲îs illustrate this principle of the complexity of multiple designations, being Türkmen, though not of the 14 component clans of the Og̲h̲uz and of the above religious affiliation, though this may be—in principle—held in secret, through *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*].

A relatively sure criterion of distinctiveness, however, allows one to bring some system into this, sc. choice of spouse and marriage relations. Amongst the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲îs, ʿAlewī belief is the prime condition for any marriage. However, some ʿAlewī nomadic groups and some non-nomad ones (e.g. the Kurds of Dersim) refuse to exchange daughters with them; whilst the Čepni, ʿAlewī Türkmens of Og̲h̲uz origin and pastoral nomads, will accept Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲î wives but not give to the latter their own daughters, whilst admitting the possibility. It is probably for this reason that there exists a certain opposition of the two complementary groups, each for instance accusing the other of being "cattle thieves".

In the early 20th century, Hasluck considered the "Ḳîzîlbās̲h̲ Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲î" to be numerous in Lycia. Von Luschan now locates their centre at Elmalı. Each tribal group is divided into *obas* (the basic segment in the Turco-Mongol tribal scheme denoting, according to historical context, a clan, lineage or local segment of a clan) of some ten to thirty families, led by a *keye* (< *kâhya*). However reduced in size, the tribal group has its own *baba* or *dede* for religious matters. According to Ülkütaşır (1968), the group is said to be made up of 20,000 hearths representing *ca.* 100,000 persons. Two main sections (*ʿas̲h̲īret/aşiret*) are distinguished: the Čaylaklar or "kites" and the Aydınlılar in the province of Aydın.

The former occupy essentially the western zone, the Karaman plain, Mut, Finike and Fethiye, with three sub-groups (the Üstürgeli, Samaslı and Cingözler). However, because of the dynamics of the system of *obas*, with new names appearing with each new division, so that the mother-*oba* often co-exists with the daughter-*oba*, one may add other important sub-groups such as the Gökçeli, Danabaş, Eşeli, Kabakçı, Çavlak, Kardeşli and Enseli for the western group (Roux, 1970). The Aydınlılar also have sub-groups such as the Agăčeri (an old name for the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲îs meaning "tree men") and Karakaya. They live in the east in the Adana-Mersin region, at Antalya and around Izmir in the west.

Thus the Tak̲h̲tad̲j̲îs occupy the forest zones of the Taurus chain in the south as well as the Aegean zone in the west. Their ancient connection with service to the state persists to some extent through their connections with the National Dept. for Forests which looks after the state forestry resources.

Certain communities have become definitely sedentarised like those of the districts of Çanakkale and Balıkesir, where their arrival coincided with the Crimean War of the mid-19th century and the vastly-increased investment in forestry required for shipbuilding purposes during that war.

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(ALTAN GOKALP)

TAK̲H̲ṬĪṬ AL-ḤUDŪD (A.), lit. "delimiting boundaries or frontiers", in modern Arabic usage.

International boundaries reflect the historical moments in the life of a state, when its limits were made according to its force and ability at that time. Thus today's boundaries are relics from the past and might be changed in the future. States have acquired their boundaries in a variety of ways: in some cases they marked the territorial limit of a phase of political expansion and conquest; in other cases, they have been imposed by external powers, either through acts of conquest or through negotiation. They function as barriers to the social and economic process, which would otherwise transgress the lines without interference, as well as holding economic significance through their association with tariff and quota restrictions. The latter convert an otherwise open world economic network into series of partially closed economic systems.

Boundaries appear on maps as thin lines between adjacent state territories, marking the limits of state sovereignties. The lines can be effective with regard to underground resources, marking the limits of ore, water and oil deposits, as well as above the ground, guarding the individual states' air space. In the past, they were drawn for defensive purposes; as cultural divisions; according to economic factors; for legal and administrative purposes; or on ideological bases. Sometimes they were drawn through essentially unoccupied territories, although they were usually superimposed on existing cultural patterns, disturbing the lives of the people living in the border areas.

Of the many criteria for establishing a boundary line the ethnic criteria are those applied most often in modern times. Accordingly, boundaries have been drawn to separate culturally uniform peoples so that a minimum of stress is placed upon them. The heterogeneous world population, however, cannot define

boundaries that completely and exactly separate peoples of different character, and as a result, there are ethnic minorities in almost every state. The definition of peoples, according to race, language or religion, has been used in several cases to delimit a state boundary. Other political boundaries lie along prominent physical features in the landscape. Such physiographic political boundaries, following rivers, mountain ranges or escarpments, sometimes termed "natural boundaries", seem to be especially acceptable criteria as such pronounced physical features often also separate culturally distinct areas. In the early days of boundary establishment, physiographic features were useful as they were generally known and could be visually recognised. However, many of the boundary lines that were based on such physiographic features have subsequently created major difficulties between states. Rivers tend to shift their course, leading to countless disputes over whether the boundary should be along one of the river banks, along the *thalweg* (main navigation channel), through the median line of the water's surface or somewhere else [see e.g. SHAṬṬ AL-ʿARAB]. Any mountain range has recognised crest lines; but they rarely coincide with the region's watershed. The placing of boundaries along crest lines in mountainous areas has therefore led to water disputes concerning the use of rivers near their sources.

Most of today's political boundaries, even those in Islamic regions, have been created by European nations. In fact, it is difficult to identify any international boundary that has not directly involved a European state at some stage of its evolution. The allocation of territory was usually determined by straight lines connecting known points or by features of the physical landscape, generally solving immediate territorial conflicts. The need for delimitation of the boundaries emerged when the allocated borderland proved to have economic value or when disputes arose in the area. The delimitation of a boundary, which has usually been decided by agreement between two states or at a post-war conference, has generally been a full definition and has served as a guide-line for the demarcation team. Today, when many states are energetically seeking to fix and demarcate their boundaries, which were not accurately defined in the past, there are still a great many (over 100) boundary and territorial disputes around the world.

In contrast to modern Western ideas of boundaries, Islamic constitutional theory is concerned only with community and not with territory. It is for this reason that, traditionally, the Islamic world has not been overly concerned with precise boundary delimitation or with territorial sovereignty. As far as territorial control has been concerned, this tends to be a local or administrative matter. The issue of boundaries has only acquired importance in the context of delegated authority within larger political entities; yet they were only relevant for administrative convenience and were subject to frequent relocation. Spheres of different political authority were usually separated by border areas, rather than by precise boundary lines. It was only with the explicit introduction of the concept of the nation-state that concepts of territorial sovereignty and boundaries began to emerge in the Islamic areas. The boundaries between most of the Islamic states and between them and the outside world were mainly established, not by local rulers, but rather by external forces which shaped the world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As most lines were demarcated for the needs of colonial and imperial powers, they often cut through peoples, tribes, etc. and have left legacies of boundary conflicts for successor and newly-established states. Some examples of these are given here.

The present boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Durand Line, represents such an example. Its establishment in the late 19th century was the climax of a lengthy process of negotiations over the extent of British influence in India and Central Asia. Two Afghan-British wars, and the threat of negotiations between the Imperial Russian government and the Afghan rulers, prompted Britain to dispatch Sir Mortimer Durand to Kābul to negotiate a permanent boundary line. A treaty signed on 12 November 1893 was re-affirmed in 1905; a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the Government of India and Afghanistan, after the Third Afghan War, on 8 August 1919, and a final treaty was signed on 22 November 1921. In 1947 Pakistan inherited the Durand Line as its western boundary with Afghanistan. Successive Afghan governments questioned the line's legitimacy, claiming that its sanctions had lapsed with the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan; for the history of these Afghan-Pakistan disputes, see PASHTŪNISTĀN. In 1950 and again in 1956 the United Kingdom declared that it regarded the Durand Line as the international boundary, while Pakistan has repeatedly stated that it has no dispute with Afghanistan over the exact location of the line; at present the Line remains under quiet dispute.

The division of the Arab lands of the Ottoman empire after the First World War, eventually creating the Middle Eastern countries of ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, had its origin in the secret Sykes-Picot-Sazanov Agreement of 1916 to create belts of British and French territory with two nominally independent Arab states while in 1917 Britain issued the Balfour Declaration concerning a Jewish national home in Palestine. By the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), the British and French effectively enacted the Sykes-Picot Agreement in that France established a Mandate over Syria and Lebanon while the British established the Mandates of Palestine and Mesopotamia (which later became ʿIrāḳ) [see MANDATES]. In 1922 Britain created the Emirate of Trans-Jordan in order to fulfil an obligation to their Arab ally. The boundaries of the newly-created territories were drawn by British and French officials, and they served as the basic boundaries of the subsequently independent Middle Eastern countries, although there have been and still are numerous disputes concerning those lines, especially where there are mixed populations. Such has been the case over the former Ottoman *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, between Turkey and newly-mandated ʿIrāḳ, only settled in 1926 after a League of Nations enquiry awarded it to ʿIrāḳ [see AL-MAWṢIL. 2]; over the so-called Sanjak of Alexandretta, the later Turkish Hatay, which Turkey, in a calculated move when the Mandatary power France's priorities were elsewhere, managed to acquire in 1939 [see ISKANDARŪN]; and above all, over the boundaries and very existence of the newly-created state of Israel and its Arab neighbours since 1948.

The modern Iran-ʿIrāḳ boundary line has a history of some three centuries. Here the local Muslim powers, Ottoman Turkey, the predecessor of ʿIrāḳ and Ṣafawid Persia, were involved in the early stages of delimitation, but the final line was demarcated by a British-Russian delegation in 1914. The boundary line is 1,458 km long and reaches from the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at the head of the Persian Gulf to the boundary tripoint with Turkey on the Kūh-i-Dalanpar. It is one

of the oldest established boundaries of the world, but its exact course is still unsettled. In the 1639 Zohāb peace treaty, the Ottomans and Ṣafawids delimited a boundary in the territory between the Zagros mountains and the Tigris River. Although this was disputed during the Turkish invasion of Persia in 1724, a peace treaty of 1746 reaffirmed the 1639 boundary. The Treaty of Erzerum of 1847, following the Persian-Turkish War of 1821-22, stipulated that the 1746 boundary was valid. However, it also delimited a boundary in the Sh̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab for the first time, determining the boundary on the eastern bank of the Gulf, leaving the waterway under Turkish sovereignty, but allowing freedom of navigation. Work on the boundary went forward during 1848-52, and by 1860 a collaborative map (*Carte identique*) was produced to illustrate the boundary. By the turn of the century, in an effort at stabilisation, Britain and Russia urged Persia and Turkey to agree to a detailed delimitation, which was completed in 1911. The so-called Constantinople Protocol of 1913 then provided for a further detailed delimitation of the entire boundary by a commission, which demarcated it in 1914. The protocol specifically stated that the Sh̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab, with the exception of certain islands, was to come under Turkish sovereignty; the demarcated boundary was to follow the low watermark on the Persian bank of the Sh̲aṭṭ, except for the area around K̲h̲urramsh̲ahr, where the line was to follow the *thalweg*. For the subsequent course of the Perso-ʿIrāḳī dispute, see SH̲AṬṬ AL-ʿARAB. The outstanding issues of the alignment of the international boundary between Iran and ʿIrāḳ, the control of lands adjacent to the border, and the status of the Sh̲aṭṭ al-ʿArab remain unsettled today, so that the border question persists.

The boundaries of the states and amirates of the Arabian peninsula (most of these political units having emerged only in the last century or so) have been fruitful causes of dispute, given the facts that the peninsula has no perennial rivers or other natural boundaries and that much of the sparse population was in the past nomadic, hence with little or no regard for political frontiers. The ʿIrāḳī invasion of Kuwayt [*q.v.*] in 1990 has been the most violent outbreak, in this case a legacy of uncertainty over the extent of Ottoman sovereignty in the Upper Gulf coastal region; but there have also been, and in some cases remain, frontier disputes between the former North and South Yemens, between Yemen and Saudi Arabia over the Nad̲j̲rān [*q.v.*] region, between the Sultanate of Oman and the former PDRSY over Dhofar (Ẓufār [*q.v.*]), and between Saudi Arabia on the one side, and Britain on behalf of the Sultanate of Oman and Abu Dhabi on the other, over the oasis of al-Buraymī [*q.v.*], not resolved till the late 1950s.

The boundaries between Afghanistan and the newly-emerged Muslim Republics of Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) are also a European creation. The history of those boundaries dates back to the second half of the 19th century. At that time, the British and Russian empires contended for control in Central Asia, especially as Russia in 1865 extended her frontier in Central Asia towards British India. In 1869 Britain and Russia decided to create a buffer zone between their Asian territories. Britain, which wanted an Afg̲h̲ānistān within the British sphere of influence, wished Russia to remain at a distance, while the Russians wished to secure a safe route from the Caspian Sea to Central Asia along the Oxus or Āmū Daryā River. The British proposed that the middle and upper Oxus, south of Buk̲h̲ārā, should serve as the boundary between the Russian Empire and Afg̲h̲ānistān. The proposal was accepted, but the western terminus of the line was not clear and the K̲h̲ānate of Buk̲h̲ārā, which was under Russian control, owned territory south of the river. In 1872, after lengthy debate between the two countries, it was agreed that Afg̲h̲ānistān be regarded as neutral territory between the empires, and in 1873 the Oxus was established as the northern boundary of Afg̲h̲ānistān, south of the Russian region of Samarḳand and of Buk̲h̲ārā. The boundary line left the river at the town of K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Sālār, and this enabled Buk̲h̲ārā to maintain its control over its area south of the river. Between 1882 and 1884 there were further negotiations between Britain and Russia concerning the western section of the boundary up to the Harī Rūd River which forms the eastern boundary with Persia. A demarcation commission tried to place the boundary in the ground but found it difficult to establish the exact line, as it was agreed to leave some local Turkmen tribes within Russia although their land was irrigated by canals originating in Afg̲h̲ān territory. Not until 1888 was the boundary line finally demarcated and from then onwards, despite all the political changes, the boundary line has remained where it was established.

Africa also has boundaries created by the Europeans between Islamic countries. The boundary between Egypt and Libya extends southward from the Gulf of Salum on the Mediterranean to the Sudan-Egypt-Libya tripoint at Jebel Uweinat, about 1,100 km/690 miles south of the Sea. The current line dates from 1841, when the Ottomans confirmed Muḥammed ʿAlī [*q.v.*] as hereditary governer of Egypt. On a map accompanying the London Treaty of 1841, a line along the 29th meridian marked the boundary between Egypt and the Ottoman province of Libya. Britain established itself in Egypt in 1882, while Libya was occupied by Italy in 1912; in that same year Egyptian forces captured the coastal town of Salum. Attempts to formalise the boundary between British Egypt and Italian Libya first reached fruition in 1919, when the two countries signed an agreement placing the oasis of al-D̲j̲ag̲h̲būb in Libya. An agreement concerning the remainder of the line was signed on 6 December 1925. A chain of permanent beacons was erected in the northern sector of the boundary in 1938. From then onwards, despite some objections by both Egypt and Libya, the boundary line has not changed.

Most other boundaries in Muslim Africa were also established by colonial régimes, mainly those of the French, which established the boundaries of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Chad, Niger, Mauritania, etc. In most cases, local needs and history were not involved in the delimitation process, but the results of this still dominate the boundaries of the African continent with disputes at times reaching a state of warfare, as with Morocco and the so-called Polisario Front over the Spanish Sahara, and between Libya and Chad.

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TAKHYĪL (A.), lit. "creating an image, or an illusion (*khayāl*)", a technical term with various meanings but all broadly in the field of hermeneutics. It occurs in (a) theory of imagery, (b) philosophical poetics, (c) Ḳur'ānic exegesis, and (d) among rhetorical figures. Whether any or all of these usages have a common root remains to be seen. It should be noted that, like any *maṣdar, takhyīl* can also act as a verbal noun of the passive. Since in everyday language the verb was predominantly used in the passive (*khuyyila ilayhi* "an illusion was created for him [that such-and-such was the case]", often in the context of magic), some dictionaries use *wahm* as a synonym of *takhyīl* (cf. *LʿA*, xi, 231a, bottom). However, as shown by the syntax of the verb *khayyala*, the term *takhyīl* in its technical use mostly (always?) implies the active meaning and as such is sometimes equated with the causative verbal noun *īhām* (see below).

1. In the discussions of poetic imagery the term *takhyīl* was first employed by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who was also the first to identify the literary phenomenon designated by this term. Briefly put, it consists in a kind of make-believe in the form of giving, to a fact stated in the poem, a fantastic interpretive twist which on the surface explains and supports that fact, but on closer inspection turns out to be an illusion. Thus in the line by Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī (d. 243/857): "The wind is jealous of me because of you—I had not presumed it among my enemies—; when I intended a kiss, it blew the wrap back over [your] face" (*Asrār*, § 16/13), the simple fact of the wind blowing the garment over the beloved's face is "explained" by attributing a motivation to the wind and in the process personifying it. Al-Djurdjānī mentions (*Asrār*, § 16/10) that the procedures producing *takhyīl* are so varied and manifold that an enumeration and classification of all its subtypes would be impossible. Instead, he proceeds to a series of case studies. The most common techniques are mock etiologies (i.e. ascribing a fantastic cause to a natural phenomenon, as in the example quoted) and mock analogies (i.e. proving a point with the help of a non-pertinent analogy, as in al-Buḥturī's (d. 284/897 [*q.v.*]) line: "and the whiteness of the falcon is of a truer beauty, if you consider it, than the raven's blackness", said to "prove" that the white hair of old age is preferable to the black hair of youth [*Asrār*, § 16/3]). Most of these conceits, though by no means all (see first example), presuppose a literary history of the motif at hand, including its figurative expression; of central importance here is the phenomenon of the metaphor understood literally, or as al-Djurdjānī calls it, the *tanāsī* of the metaphor, i.e. pretending to be oblivious of its metaphoricalness. This may result in the specific conceits known as *taʿadjdjub* "wonderment" and *tadjāhul al-ʿārif* "feigned ignorance", as when the metaphorisation of the beloved as a "sun" is used by the poet to allege not one but two real suns and, consequently, "wondering" how this might be possible or "protesting ignorance" as to which of the two suns is the real thing.

Al-Djurdjānī contrasts these phantasmagorical poetic notions (*maʿānī takhyīliyya*) with the realistic commonsensical ones (*maʿānī ʿaḳliyya*), which, he insists, can also be poetically expressive (e.g. gnomic verse). Given that *takhyīl* is a kind of irreality—al-Djurdjānī applies to it the traditional maxim *khayr al-shiʿri akdhabuh* "the best poetry is that which 'lies' the most"—it cannot possibly occur in the Ḳur'ān, a fact that forces our author to assign greater value to the *maʿānī ʿaḳliyya*. But his enthusiastic characterisation of *takhyīlī* poetry as verbal alchemy leaves no doubt where his aesthetic preferences lay.

It should be noted that *takhyīl* is not the only type of the "fantastic" in ʿAbbāsid poetry. Another kind, pointed out by G.E. von Grunebaum (*Kritik und Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1955, 47-50), is the composite simile that results in an artificial construct, as in al-Ṣanawbarī's (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]) line: "The red anemones, when they bend down and up again, are like banners of ruby unfurled on lances of chrysolith" (*Asrār*, § 10/1).

Considering that al-Djurdjānī identified an all-important trend in ʿAbbāsid poetry, which he proceeded to name, to describe in generative and in classificatory terms, and to characterise in its overall meaning, it is surprising to see that those who used his work as the basis for their own elaborations of *ʿilm al-bayān* [see BAYĀN] had no use for the notion of *takhyīl*. The probable reason for this failure is the fact that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]) and al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [*q.v.*]) wrote their works (*Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* and *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, respectively) as systematic contributions to the discussion of *iʿdjāz al-Ḳur'ān* [*q.v.*], in which poetry *per se* did not play a role.

The term *takhyīl* in its *nisba* form is, indeed, used in al-Rāzī and al-Sakkākī to denote a specific type of metaphor [see ISTIʿĀRA]. The *istiʿāra takhyīliyya* is characterised by the lack of a substratum, as in "the claws of Death", where the metaphor "claws" is not tied, as other metaphors often are, by an underlying simile to a part of death, because death does not have any part that could be likened to claws. But the metaphor creates an illusion that there is such a part. The technical term *takhyīlī* is thus apt, but it has little to do with al-Djurdjānī's notion.

Bibliography: The basic text is chs. 16-18 in Djurdjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954, tr. H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst*, Wiesbaden 1959.—Studies. W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 61-5; I. ʿAbbās, *Ta'rīkh al-naḳd al-adabī ʿind al-ʿarab*, Beirut 1391/1971, 435-7; K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, Warminster, Wilts 1979, 157-64 and see "subject index", s.v. *takhyīl*; M. Ajami, *The alchemy of glory. The dialectic of truthfulness and untruthfulness in medieval Arabic literary criticism*, Washington, D.C. 1988, 87-100 (where rendering *takhyīl* as "imagination" is potentially misleading); Margaret Larkin, *The theology of meaning. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's theory of discourse*, New Haven, Conn. 1995, 132-63.

2. In philosophical parlance, *takhyīl* is, first and foremost, a logical term, the meaning of which may be circumscribed as the "evocation of images of things in the minds of listeners by means of figurative language". As such it is the central notion of poetics as a branch of logic, denoting, as it does, the differentiating quality of poetic utterances (*aḳāwīl shiʿriyya*) as logical constructs. The whole idea of poetics as part of logic resulted from the late Alexandrian inclusion of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* among Aristotle's logical writings, the result of which was an Organon of nine books including Porphyry's *Eisagoge* (see Walzer, in *Bibl.*). While among the Neo-Platonic Alexandrian commentators on Aristotle the inclusion is still a matter of debate as to whether it was legitimate and, if so, on what grounds, in the Arabic tradition it is a *fait accompli*. Among the various justificatory schemes establishing the systematic structure of the "new" Organon the two predominant ones were (a) one pairing the logical arts with truth-values (ὕλαι, *mawādd*), where

"poetry" equals "entirely false premises", and (b) another pairing them with man's internal faculties (τὰ γνωστικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μόρια, *al-ḥawāss al-bāṭina*), in which "poetry" is somehow connected with the Aristotelian "imagination." For details see Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*, 150-2, and especially Deborah L. Black, *Logic*, 37-41, 43-4. While the truth-value idea lingered on for a while (esp. in al-Fārābī, *Taʿallum al-falsafa*, ed. F. Dieterici, *Abhandlungen*, [text] 52; [tr.] 87, and *Ḳawānīn*, 267, ll. 10-15), it was soon replaced by the more satisfactory correlation of the logical arts with the internal faculties, and it is here that "poetry" was paired with *takhyīl*, the "creation of mental images (*khayālāt*) by the poet for the 'imagination' (φαντασία, *al-ḳuwwa al-mutakhayyila*) of the listener." As there is no exact forerunner to this coupling in the Greek texts, though similar attempts can be pointed out, it may possibly have been an Arabic innovation (see Black, *Logic*, 44).

While the term *takhyīl* thus originated in the discussions of the "logical" character of Aristotle's *Poetics*, rather than in the book itself, the other key term, *muḥākāt*, is clearly a descendent of Aristotle's μίμησις "imitation". But the meaning has drastically changed: *muḥākāt* refers to imitative, i.e. figurative, language which presents one thing by means of another in the way of similes and metaphors (this semantic change may have occurred in the context of the "inclusion" debate, see G. Schoeler, *Syllogismus*, 87 and n. 207). It should be noted that, in al-Fārābī (d. 339/950 [*q.v.*]), the term *muḥākāt* is also used in a wider sense to cover "imitation" in the other arts: he mentions sculpture and painting as parallels in his writings on poetics, and he uses both this term and *takhyīl* to characterise aspects of music (see his *K. al-Mūsīḳā 'l-kabīr*, ed. Gh.ʿA. Khashaba, Cairo n.d., 62-3, 66 [*al-alḥān al-mukhayyila*], 67-9, 71, 73).

The three terms "poetry", "evocation of mental representations", and "imitation" occur together for the first time in al-Fārābī's *Shiʿr*; his *Ḳawānīn* does not (yet?) contain the term *takhyīl* and may thus be an early work. The poetic theory based on these terms states the following: The poetic text uses imitation toward its topic and evocation of mental images toward its recipient. I.e. it "imitates" its topic, whether thing or fact, by using a similar thing or fact to serve as simile, metaphor, and/or analogy, this similitude being either attractive or repulsive; it thus produces, in the mind of the recipient, images that prompt the recipient to aspire to, or recoil from, what is being described, without first forming an assent (*taṣdīḳ*) to the proposition offered (the truth or falseness of the poetic statement being irrelevant). The *takhyīl* mechanism in poetic utterances thus takes the place of *taṣdīḳ* in all other utterances; both produce action in the addressee. It is important to stress that poetic utterances, like all non-demonstrative propositions formed according to the various logical arts, are directed to a listener who is meant to be influenced by them. Consequently, al-Fārābī calls the various branches of logic altogether *al-ṣanāʾiʿ al-ḳiyāsiyya wa-aṣnāf al-mukhāṭabāt* "the syllogistic arts and the kinds of addresses" (*Iḥṣāʾ*, 45, ll. 4-5). This should be kept in mind when translating expressions like *al-aḳāwīl al-mukhayyila* "the image-evoking utterances"; misreading this term as *mukhayyala* and mistranslating it as "imaginative" has been all too common in works where these matters are only mentioned in passing by non-specialists.

Although poetics as a logical discipline is said to be a syllogistic art, none of the philosophers elaborates on this aspects, except Ibn Sīnā, who does exemplify the poetic syllogism (see Schoeler, *Syllogismus*; and Black, *Logic*, 209-41). With him it seems to be a metaphor-generating syllogism as in *So-and-so is handsome* (minor); *Everyone handsome is a moon* (major); *So-and-so is a moon* (conclusion). However, only the conclusion appears in the finished poem; the syllogism is thus an internal process of the poet, which in a way defeats the purpose of a syllogism of influencing the addressee. What is more, as appears from various passages in al-Fārābī, the *takhyīl* operation applies not only to propositions, arrived at as conclusions of syllogisms, but also to single concepts, arrived at as results of definitions. In other words, the *takhyīl* operates on the level of both *taṣawwur* "conception" and *taṣdīḳ* "assent", although it brings about no real *taṣawwur* but only a conception of the image of the thing intended, a *takhayyul*, nor does it produce real *taṣdīḳ*, but only the action that would flow from real assent.

Al-Fārābī's most audacious deed was to use a combination of logical poetics and rhetoric as a model to express his theory of religious language. In brief, he establishes a parallelism between philosophical *taṣawwur* and religious *takhayyul*, i.e. between concepts and images, thus making use of logical poetics, and another parallelism between the certain proof of philosophy and the persuasion (*iḳnāʿ*) of religion, thus drawing on logical rhetoric. Revelation is thus a language of images used in rhetorical, persuasive, proofs. Moving away from poetics on the level of proof was necessary because, as we have seen, the poetic utterances did not entail *taṣdīḳ*, which is, of course, a *sine qua non* of religion. The net result was that religion was an image of philosophy, as true and as untrue as the notion of "image" allowed. For details see Heinrichs, *Verknüpfung*; Black, *Logic*, index, s.v. "Religion"; and Lameer, 259-89.

While in al-Fārābī *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl* were strictly complementary, Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*]) tried to get out of the awkward consequence this theory entailed, to wit, the exclusive figurativeness of poetry, by considering "imitation" only one of the methods for "image-evocation". "Wonderment and pleasure" (*taʿadjdjub wa 'ltidhādh*), derived from the form of the poetic text, are equally capable of *takhyīl*. Various verbal and mental figures of speech, but also the sheer power of aptly expressed truth, have this emotive effect (see Schoeler, *Grundprobleme*, 57-73; idem, *Syllogismus*, 67-73). But thus making his theory more in tune with the existing poetry, he loses the clarity and neatness of al-Fārābī's system.

Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. after 560/1164-5 [*q.v.*]) very reasonably distinguishes between the poetry of his own time and place and the one that "Aristotle" (i.e. the Greek tradition, including the commentators) had in mind. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198 [*q.v.*]) returns to the Farabian model; he uses *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl* more or less as synonyms. Although he understands that many of the things described in Aristotle's *Poetics* are peculiarly Greek, he is convinced that the First Teacher wrote something of general validity for all poetry. He therefore tries to adduce examples from Arabic literature to clarify what he finds in the text.

In brief accounts of logic it is usually the term *takhyīl* (or *mukhayyil*) that survives as the key term of logical poetics, while *muḥākāt* seldom appears.

Whether logical poetics was also used to generate "poetic" texts rather than characterise existing ones needs further investigation. P. Heath has suggested that Ibn Sīnā, in writing his allegorical works (such as *Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān* and *Risālat al-Ṭayr*), put to use the

method developed in logical poetics (see his *Allegory and philosophy in Avicenna*, Philadelphia 1992, 163). Since the allegorisation consists in one-to-one transmutations of abstract concepts into living beings, *takhyīl* on the level of *taṣawwur* (see above) seems to be at work here. Unfortunately, Ibn Sīnā himself, when discussing the symbolic mode of presentation, speaks of *rumūz* "symbols", and *amthāl/amthila* "images", rather than of *takhyīl* and *muḥākāt* (see D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian tradition*, Leiden 1988, 299-307).

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2. Studies. R. Walzer, *Zur Traditionsgeschichte der aristotelischen Poetik*, in idem, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford [2]1963, 129-36; W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*, 105-62; idem, *Die antike Verknüpfung von phantasia und Dichtung bei den Arabern*, in *ZDMG*, cxxviii (1978), 252-98; G. Schoeler, *Einige Grundprobleme der autochthonen und der aristotelischen arabischen Literaturtheorie*, Wiesbaden 1975; idem, *Der poetische Syllogismus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der "logischen" Poetik der Araber*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiii (1983), 43-93; Deborah L. Black, *Logic and Aristotle's* Rhetoric *and* Poetics *in medieval Arabic philosophy*, Leiden 1990 (fundamental); S. Kemal, *The poetics of Alfarabi and Avicenna*, Leiden 1991; Ulfat K. al-Rūbī, *Naẓariyyat al-shiʿr ʿind al-falāsifa al-muslimīn*, Beirut 1983; J. Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian syllogistics. Greek theory and Islamic practice*, Leiden 1994, 259-89; S. Pines, *Studies in Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī's poetics and metaphysics*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, iv, *Studies in philosophy*, ed. S.H. Bergman, Jerusalem 1960, 120-98.

Logical poetics (and rhetoric) did not have much of an impact on indigenous poetics and literary theory. Most authors ignored it and Ibn al-Athīr, who became acquainted with Ibn Sīnā's theories, scorned it (*al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, ed. A. al-Ḥūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 3 vols., Cairo 1379-81/1959-62, ii, 5-6). This is certainly due *inter alia* to the sharp dividing line between indigenous and foreign disciplines. It also meant that, in most books on the division of the sciences, "poetry" appeared twice, once in the section on logic (of Greek origin) and again among the linguistic-literary disciplines (of Arab origin).

An exception to this rule is formed by a number of Maghribī authors from the 13th century and later, who all show an influence of logical poetics. Being very different in their respective approaches, they can hardly be called a school. It is only their common interest in philosophy that binds them together. The most articulate among them is Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī (d. 684/1285 [*q.v.*]), who quotes al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. He appropriates the notions *muḥākāt* and *takhyīl*, but in order to make them more easily applicable to Arabic poetry, he changes the meaning of *muḥākāt* from "figurative language" to "individually descriptive language". In other words, to "imitate" an object in poetry means to depict it through an artful enumeration of its properties and qualities. Within this general process, figurative language has its place as one particularly effective way of depicting the object. Ḥāzim also introduces "secondary imitations", by which he means the stylistic ornamentations which, he says, imitate the ornaments of other crafts, such as weaving, the goldsmith's art, etc. (as a matter of fact, most terms denoting figures of speech are taken from the vocabulary of such crafts).

Al-Sidjilmāsī (d. after 704/1304 [*q.v.*]) uses *takhyīl* as a general term for "imagery", thus differing greatly from Ḥāzim. Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321 [*q.v.*]) both seem to cling closely to the philosophers in considering *takhyīl* the distinctive feature of poetry, but they make their remarks more in passing, so that not much can be deduced from them.

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2. Studies. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung*; Schoeler, *Grundprobleme* (see previous bibl.); S. Maṣlūḥ, *Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī wa-naẓariyyat al-muḥākāt wa 'l-takhyīl fi 'l-shiʿr*, Cairo 1980; ʿA. Djabr, *Naẓariyyat al-shiʿr ʿinda Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī*, Nazareth 1982.

3. In Ḳurʾānic exegesis, the term *takhyīl* was introduced by al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144 [*q.v.*]) in his Ḳurʾānic commentary *al-Kashshāf*. The most explicit presentation of this notion occurs in his explanation of *Sūrat al-Zumar*, XXXIX, 67: "The earth altogether shall be His handful on the Day of Resurrection, and the heavens shall be rolled up in His right hand" (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. M. al-Ṣādiḳ Ḳamḥāwī, 4 vols., Cairo 1392/1972, iii, 408-9). This, he says, is a "depiction (*taṣwīr*) of His majesty and putting before our eyes the essence of His majesty and nothing else, without taking the 'handful' or the 'right hand' into the realm of the literal or that of the figurative". As a Muʿtazilī, al-Zamakhsharī could not let the stark anthropomorphism of this passage stand. So the literal understanding was out of the question, but to consider the "handful" and the "hand" metaphors would not solve the problem, either, because then the unanswerable question would arise: what do they stand for? Therefore, al-Zamakhsharī considers the image presented by the Ḳurʾānic verse holistically: *takhyīl* is a visualisation of an abstract notion such as God's majesty and omnipotence in a comprehensive picture, the parts of which cannot be individually connected back to the notion expressed.

The history of this hermeneutic tool after al-Zamakhsharī still needs to be studied; for some leads and references see Heinrichs, *"Takhyīl" and its traditions*, in Alma Giese and J. Chr. Bürgel (eds.), *Gott ist schön und Er liebt die Schönheit. Festschrift für Annemarie Schimmel*, Berne 1994, 227-47.

4. As a rhetorical figure, *takhyīl* is not very prominent nor very uniform. It occurs in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, with the meaning of "giving the impression of praising while one is lampooning, and *vice versa*" (see G. Kanazi, *Studies in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣināʿatayn of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī*, Leiden 1989, 186-88; the passage is missing in the printed editions); in Ibn al-Zamlakānī, *al-Tibyān fī ʿilm al-bayān*, ed. A. Maṭlūb and Khadīdja al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1383/1964, 178, with the meaning it has in al-Zamakhsharī (*taṣwīr ḥaḳīḳat al-shayʾ ḥattā yutawahham annahū dhū ṣūrat[in] tushāhad*). Finally, in Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182-3 [*q.v.*]), *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1339/1960, 39-42, it occurs alongside *īhām* to denote what is otherwise known as *tawriya* [*q.v.*] or "double entendre." Likewise, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Cairo n.d., vii, 131-2, lists all three terms as synonymous. The discussions of *tawriya* are sometimes strangely permeated by al-Zamakhsharī's *takhyīl* explanations (on this see S.A. Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 24-8). It seems that scholars with a more Ẓāhirī bent of mind explained the *takhyīl* passages as *tawriyas*, i.e. by the assumption of homonyms, as this would avoid splitting the meaning of the passages into an outer and an inner sense (see Heinrichs, in *Oriens*, xx [1968-9], 404-5). (W.P. HEINRICHS)

TAḲĪ AWḤADĪ, or Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Awḥadī, Persian anthologist, lexicographer and poet. He was born at Iṣfahān on 3 Muḥarram 973/31 January 1565, into a family with a Ṣūfī tradition from Balyān in Fārs. One of his paternal ancestors was the 5th/11th-century Shaykh Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. During his adolescence he studied in Shīrāz, where he presented his early poems to a circle of poets and was encouraged by ʿUrfī [*q.v.*]. Returning to Iṣfahān, he attracted the attention of the young Shāh ʿAbbās I and joined his entourage. In 1003/1594-5, Taḳī retired for six years to the *ʿatabāt*, the holy cities of the Shīʿīs in ʿIrāḳ. Like many Persian literati of his times, he left Persia, in Radjab 1015/November 1606, to seek a career at the Indian courts. After a short stay in Lahore, he went to the court of Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] at Āgra, but he also lived for many years at Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt. The date of his death is not on record. He must have survived at least till 1042/1632-3, the latest year which he mentions in additions to his *tadhkira*.

During his journey to India, Taḳī Awḥadī compiled for his fellow-travellers an anthology of Persian poetry, entitled *Firdaws-i khayāl* ("The paradise of fantasy"). At Āgra he extended this into a full *tadhkira*, the *ʿArafāt al-ʿāshiḳīn wa-ʿaraṣāt al-ʿārifīn* ("The places of assembly for the lovers and the open spaces for the mystics"), completed between 1022/1613 and 1024/1615. This voluminous work contains more than 3,000 biographical entries, alphabetically arranged in 28 *ʿarṣas* (one for every letter of the alphabet), and surveys the entire range of Persian poetry. It is a valuable source, especially for the contemporary history of Persian letters in India. After its completion, Taḳī Awḥadī continued to add dates and other pieces of information to manuscripts of his work, many of which are based on personal knowledge. At the request of the Emperor Djahāngīr, he prepared in 1036/1626 an abridged version, under the title *Kaʿba-yi ʿirfān*, ("The Kaʿba of mysticism").

Taḳī Awḥadi was a prolific writer. His learned prose includes *Surma-yi Sulaymānī* ("Solomon's collyrium"), a dictionary of rare Persian words, and treatises on the theory of rhyme and Ṣūfism. Of his poetry, which comprised seven *mathnawīs* and several *dīwāns* with *ḳaṣīdas* on the Imāms, satires and *ghazals*, little has remained.

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TAḲĪ AL-DĪN [see AL-MUẒAFFAR].

TAḲĪ AL-DĪN b. Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf, sometimes given the *nisbas* al-Dimashḳī, al-Ṣahyūnī or al-Miṣrī, the most important astronomer of Ottoman Turkey, b. Cairo or Damascus in 927/1520-1 or 932/1525 (the sources are not consistent), d. Istanbul, 993/1585. He studied theology in Cairo, served as *ḳāḍī* in Nābulus, and in 979/1571 was appointed *münedjdjim bāshî* in Istanbul. He was largely responsible for persuading the Ottoman Sultan Murād III to build an observatory in Istanbul. This was achieved in 987/1579. However, the building was pulled down a few months later in 987/1580 as a result of Taḳī al-Dīn's incorrect prediction of an Ottoman victory over the Ṣafawids following the appearance of the famous comet of 1577.

Taḳī al-Dīn wrote two astronomical handbooks with tables and explanatory text [see ZĪDJ] entitled *Kharīdat al-durar wa-djarīdat al-fikar*, completed 1893 Alexander (A.D. 1581-2), and *Sidrat muntahā 'l-afkār fī malakūt al-falak al-dawwār*; an extensive treatise on sundial theory [see MIZWALA] entitled *Rayḥānat al-rūḥ fī rasm al-sāʿāt ʿalā mustawī 'l-suṭūḥ*; a treatise on astrolabe construction [see ASṬURLĀB] entitled *Tasṭīḥ al-ukar* and full of tables; and various treatises on arithmetic and algebra. None of these has received the attention they deserve. His imposing treatise on optics [see MANĀẒIR] *Nūr ḥadaḳat al-ibṣār wa-nūr ḥadīḳat al-abṣār* is in the tradition of Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*]. His treatises on mechanical clocks entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī waḍʿ al-binkāmāt al-dawriyya* (compiled 966/1552) and *al-Ṭuruḳ al-saniyya fi 'l-ālāt al-rūḥāniyya* have been published and well illustrate the Ottoman reception of European notions and techniques in his time. He also compiled a set of tables for astronomical timekeeping serving the latitude of Istanbul, fully in the Islamic tradition [see MĪḲĀT]. The anonymous treatise on astronomical observational instruments entitled *Ālāt-i raṣadiyya li-Zīdj-i Shāhanshāhiyya* has been compared by S. Tekeli with the treatise of Tycho Brahe compiled in Denmark towards the end of the 16th century, and he has underlined the remarkable similarities.

The famous miniature of the Istanbul Observatory from the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* (Pl. 1) shows Taḳī al-Dīn with an assistant holding an astrolabe in front of a bookshelf. Many of his books are now in the University Library in Leiden, identifiable by his distinctive signature on the title folios (see Ünver, pl. 10-4). They are overseeing a group of astronomers involved in copying manuscripts and operating various instruments. The terrestrial globe, mechanical clock and the sand-glass are of European inspiration, but all other instruments are Islamic.

Bibliography: J.H. Mordtmann, *Das Observatorium*

des *Taqī ed-Dīn zu Pera*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 82-96, repr. in F. Sezgin *et alii* (eds.), *Arabische Instrumente in orientalistischen Studien*, 6 vols., Frankfurt 1991, iv, 281-95; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, in *Abh. zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, x (1900) (repr. Amsterdam, 1982, and again in idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Astronomie im Islam*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1986, i, 1-285 and 286-314), 191-2 (no. 471); A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960 (repr. New York 1981), 289-305; S. Ünver, *İstanbul rasathanesi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII. Seri, Sayı 54, Ankara 1969; and D.A. King, *A survey of the scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1986, 171-2 (no. H12). A new listing of all known works by Taḳī al-Dīn and their mss. is in E. İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı literatürü tarihi. I. Astronomi*, IRCICA Studies and sources on the history of science 7, Istanbul 1996, 199-217.

On the observational instruments at the Istanbul Observatory, see S. Tekeli, *Âlât-i raṣadiye li-Zîc-i Şehinşahiye*, Ankara 1964, and idem, *Nasirüddin, Takiyüddin ve Tycho Brahe'nin rasat aletlerinin mukayesesi*, Ankara 1958. On Taḳī al-Dīn's writings on clocks, see idem, *The clocks in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları* 171 (1966), 121-339, and A.Y. al-Hasan, *Taqi 'l-Din and Arabic mechanical engineering*, Aleppo 1976. On his tables for timekeeping, see King, *Astronomical timekeeping in Ottoman Turkey*, in *Procs. of the Internat. Symposium on the Observatories in Islam, 19-23 Sept. 1977*, Istanbul 1980, 245-69 (repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, London 1986, XII), especially 248-9.

(D.A. KING)

TAḲĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SHARAF AL-DĪN ʿALĪ al-Ḥusaynī al-Kāshānī, commonly called TAḲĪ KĀSHĪ, Persian scholar of the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. He was a pupil of the poet Muḥtasham Kāshī, whose *dīwān* he edited. His fame rests on his monumental compendium of Persian poetry *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār wa-zubdat al-afkār*, of which the first version was completed in 993/1585 and the enlarged second version in 1016/1607-8. It contains notices of well over 600 poets from the 5th/11th century up to the author's own contemporaries, each with a detailed biography, followed by an exceptionally generous selection of poems. Manuscripts of this gigantic work (some of which contain only the biographies) are rare and it remains unpublished. Taḳī's book is a valuable primary source for the literature of the early Ṣafawid period, but its main importance lies in the fact that it has preserved a very large number of poems by ancient authors which are not known from any independent source. In particular, it can be observed that all the surviving manuscripts of the *dīwāns* of such major poets as ʿUnṣurī, Manūčihrī, Farrukhī [*q.vv.*] and quite a few others, are not only later than Taḳī's compendium but in fact evidently derive from it. It is thus clear that Taḳī played a decisive role in collecting what in his time must already have been very rare works of early Persian poetry and in rescuing them for posterity.

The importance of the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* for the textual history of early Persian poetry has until now been neglected; at the same time, its value as a biographical source has been overrated. Taḳī's notices, like those in all the so-called biographical dictionaries of Persian poets, are a jumble of idle legends and largely scurrilous anecdotes. Taḳī had the particularly irritating habit of pretending to know the year when most of his poets died; many of these dates are manifestly wrong and it seems likely that virtually all of them were invented *ad hoc*. Unfortunately, these fictitious dates have been perpetuated by subsequent works, among them many of the entries in the present Encyclopaedia.

Bibliography: A. Sprenger, *A catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindústány manuscripts, of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, i [= all published], Calcutta 1854 (repr. Osnabrück 1979), 13-46 (contains a list of all the poets discussed by Taḳī, with their supposed date of death); Storey, i, 803-5; A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, i, Tehran 1348 *Sh.*/1969, 524-56 (with a list of mss.)

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

TAḲĪ AL-DĪN AL-NABHĀNĪ (1909-77), founder and chief ideologue of the Islamic Liberation Party (*ḥizb al-taḥrīr al-islāmī*), which has striven since its formation in 1952 to establish an Islamic state and has been particularly active in Jordan. Al-Nabhānī was born near Haifa, studied at al-Azhar and the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* in Cairo (1927-32), then returned to Palestine, where he taught religious sciences and worked in Islamic law courts. In 1952, he sought permission from the Jordanian Interior Ministry to form the Islamic Liberation Party as a legal political party, but the request was denied on the grounds that its platform contradicted Jordan's constitution. Government restrictions on al-Nabhānī's activities induced him to emigrate to Syria in 1953, and three years later he permanently resettled in Beirut.

In over two dozen works (listed in Mūsā Zayd al-Kaylānī, *al-Ḥarakāt al-islāmiyya fī 'l-Urdunn*, Amman 1990, 117), al-Nabhānī elaborated his arguments for the imperative to establish a universal Islamic state, the character of such a state, and the means to achieve it. He expresses many of the same concerns as other 20th century revivalists, but he stands out for his emphasis on the revolutionary role of a vanguard party that would revive true Islamic consciousness among the masses, guide them to overthrow existing régimes and safeguard the ideological purity of the Islamic state. Al-Nabhānī also laid down a detailed model constitution for such a state, and devoted separate works to his vision of the Islamic economy and society. While the Islamic Liberation Party never attracted a large following in the several Arab countries where it established cells, al-Nabhānī's works have become an important part of contemporary Islamist literature.

Bibliography: For analysis of al-Nabhānī's thought, see D. Commins, *Taqī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī and the Islamic Liberation Party*, in *MW*, lxxxi/3-4 (1991), 194-211; S. Taji-Farouki, *Islamic discourse and modern political methods: an analysis of al-Nabhānī's reading of the canonical textual sources of Islam*, in *American Journal of Islamic Social Science*, xi/3 (1994), 365-93.

(D. COMMINS)

TAḲĪ KHĀN AMĪR-I KABĪR [see AMĪR KABĪR, in Suppl.].

TAKIDDA or Takedda (Tamadjaḳ *tagidda* "saline spring, pool"), a name given by mediaeval Arab writers to one or more locations to the west of the Aïr massif in the south-central Sahara. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 438-45, tr. Gibb, iv, 972-5) described Takidda as a place where copper was mined, smelted and forged into rods used locally as currency. The copper was also exported to Bornū and other places to the south of Aïr. Takidda, in his day, was a flourishing commercial centre trading with Egypt, and a key centre of the slave trade. It had its own *ḳāḍī* and a resident community of North Africans. It also had

a *sulṭān* who lived in a tented camp and was described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as a Berber.

Ibn Khaldūn describes Takidda as a meeting place for pilgrims from *bilād al-sūdān* and says that its sultan exchanged gifts with the *amīrs* of the Mzab and of Wargla (Hopkins and Levtzion, *Corpus*, 336, 338-9). His siting of Takidda (variously twenty or seventy days travel south and to the west of Warghla) indicates some confusion with Tādmakkat, a Berber town in Adrar-n-Iforas, some 250 km/150 miles north of Gao, though there is little doubt that his description of the place actually refers to Takidda.

Other sources portray Takidda as a haunt of scholars. Al-Saʿdī, *Taʾrīkh al-sūdān* (ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 66), mentions it as a place where some scholars fled, *ca.* 875/1470-1, to escape the persecution of Sunni ʿAlī of Songhay. Aḥmad Bābā (*Nayl al-ibtihādj*, 330-2, 335, 348) records that al-Maghīlī [*q.v.*] taught there *ca.* 1490, and gives biographies of two 10th/16th-century scholars who bear the *nisba* "al-Takkidāwī": al-ʿĀḳib b. Muḥammad al-Anuṣammanī (d. 955/1548) and al-Nadjīb b. Muḥammad (d. after 1004/1595).

The precise location of Takidda has been a subject of dispute, not least because there are several locations which have "Tagidda" as an element of their names: Tagidda-n-Tsemt (or Tagidda-n-Tesoum "of the salt"), Tagidda-n-Tagait ("of the doum palms") and Tagidda-n-Adrār ("of the mountain"), all to the west of Agades. At the first of these salt is extracted on a regular basis, leading Lhote to suggest that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of copper production should be read as salt production. More recently, it has been demonstrated that Azelik (sometimes referred to as Tagiddazzarai "the first Tagidda" according to Dj. Hamani, *op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 98), some 25 km/15 miles north-east of Tagidda-n-Tsemt, is a location near which copper was smelted over many centuries. It seems likely that Azelik was the location visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and that it was the principal settlement of a small Ṣanhādja polity, known to the external world simply as Tagidda. This general picture seems confirmed by the report of the Genoese merchant Malfante visiting Tuwāt in 1447, who mentioned "Thegida, which comprises one province and three ksour".

The history of Takidda is sketchy. Aḥmad Bābā (*Kifāyat al-muḥtādj*, in Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr*, London 1951, 15) says it was founded by Ṣanhādja, and these may well have been members of the Masūfa who settled in several Saharan fringe locations (Walāta, Timbuktu and perhaps Gao) in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries; their descendants would be the Inussūfan, now considered a Tuareg group. Mali probably exercised suzerainty over Takidda in the 8th/14th century (see Ibn Khaldūn in *Corpus*, 336, 339), governing it indirectly through its sultan. It was destroyed in a war with Agades in *ca.* 1561. For more than two centuries, however, it had played an important role in trade between North Africa and Hausaland, and between the Niger Bend and Egypt, and had supplied copper to Hausaland and Bornū, and perhaps to as far south as Ife (see R. Mauny, in *J. Hist. Soc. Nigeria*, ii/3 (1962), 393-5).

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(J.O. Hunwick)

TAḲIYYA (A.), also *tuḳan*, *tuḳāt*, *taḳwā* and *ittiḳāʾ*, "prudence, fear" (see *LʿA*, s.v. *w-ḳ-y*, Beirut 1956, xv, 401-4; *TʿA*, x, 396-8), and also, from the root *k-t-m*, *kitmān* "action of covering, dissimulation", as opposed to *idhāʿa* "revealing, spreading information", denotes dispensing with the ordinances of religion in cases of constraint and when there is a possibility of harm.

The Ḳurʾān itself avoids the question of suffering in the cause of religion in dogmatics by adopting a Docetist solution (sūra IV, 156) and in everyday life by the *hidjra* and by allowing in case of need the denial of the faith (XVI, 108), friendship with unbelievers (III, 27) and the eating of forbidden foods (VI, 119; V, 5). This point of view is general in Islam. But, as Muḥammad at the same time asserted the proclamation of his mission to be a duty and held up the heroic example of the ancient saints and the prophets as a model (V, 71; III, 40; etc.), no definite general rule came to be laid down, not even with the separate sects. Minor questions, which are very fully discussed, are whether *taḳiyya* is simply a permitted alleviation through God's indulgence (*rukhṣa*) or a duty, if it is necessary in the interest of the community.

Taḳiyya was never rejected even by the extreme wing of the strict Khāridjites [*q.v.*] although among the Azraḳīs in the related question of divine worship when danger threatens (*ṣalāt al-khawf* [*q.v.*]), it is often given as an example that one should not interrupt the *ṣalāt* even if his horse or his money be stolen from him during it. The advice is already old: "God gave the believers freedom of movement (*wassaʿa*) by *taḳiyya*; therefore conceal thyself!" The principle adopted by the Ibāḍīs, however, was that "*taḳiyya* is a cloak for the believer: he has no religion who has no *taḳiyya*" (Djumayyil, *Ḳāmūs al-sharīʿa*, xiii, 127-8).

Among the Sunnī authorities the question was not such a burning one. Nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī says on sūra XVI, 108 (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1323, xxiv, 122): "If any one is compelled and professes unbelief with his tongue, while his heart contradicts him, in order to escape his enemies, no blame falls on him, because God takes his servants as their hearts believe". The reason for this verse is unanimously said to have been the case of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir [*q.v.*], whose conscience was set at rest by this revelation when he was worried about his forced worshipping of idols and objurgation of the Prophet. It is more in the nature of

theoretical speculation, when in this connection the question of *hidjra* is minutely investigated, that in certain circumstances, e.g. threat of death, a Muslim who cannot live openly professing his faith may have to migrate "since God's earth is wide". Women, children, invalids and those who are tied by considerations for them, are permitted *muwāfaka* ("connivance"); but an independent individual is not justified in *takiyya* nor bound to *hidjra*, if the compulsion remains within endurable limits, as in the case of temporary imprisonment or flogging which does not result in death. The endeavour, however, to represent *takiyya* as only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory, as even some Sunnīs endeavour to hold on the basis of sūra II, 191, has resulted in the invention of admonitory traditions, e.g. *ra's al-fi'l al-mudārāt* "to be good friends with unbelievers is the beginning of actual unbelief". To prove that steadfast martyrdom is a noble thing, the story is told of the two Muslim prisoners of Musaylima [*q.v.*], one of whom allowed himself to be forced to acknowledge the anti-prophet, while the other died for the Prophet. The latter is reported to have said: "The dead man has departed in his righteousness and certainty of belief and has attained his glory, peace be with him! But God has given the other an alleviation, no punishment shall fall upon him".

Takiyya is above all of special significance for the Shī'a. Indeed, it is considered their distinguishing feature, not however always with justice, as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal* protests against al-Rāzī (see his commentary *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutakaddimīn wa 'l-muta'akhkhirīn*, Cairo 1323/1905, 181-2). The peculiar fate of the Shī'a, that of a suppressed minority with occasional open but not always unheroic rebellions, gave them even more than the Khāridjites occasions and examples for extreme *takiyya* and its very opposite; even the Ismā'īlīs, usually masters in the art of disguising their creed, made the challenge to their leaders: "He who has 40 men at his disposal and does not seek his rights is no Imām". The Zaydīs give as among the number of helpers who remove the necessity of *takiyya* from the Imām, that of those who fought at Badr. It is a common polemical charge of the Sunnīs, quoted from the writings of the Shī'īs themselves, that the latter, as followers of fighting martyrs, are not justified in employing *takiyya*, while the Twelvers, in particular, while representing the Imāms as examples compelling one to resoluteness, appeal on the other hand to the conduct of 'Alī during the reign of the three first caliphs and to the *ghayba* of the Mahdī as examples of *takiyya*. Belief is expressed by heart, tongue and hand; a theory of probabilities, developed with considerable dialectic skill, calculates under what real or expected injuries, "the permitting of what is pleasing to God and the forbidding of what is displeasing to God" can be dispensed with. Observance with the heart is always absolutely necessary. But if it is considered as probable to anyone (*law ghalaba 'alā zannihi*) or if he is certain that an injury will befall him, his property or one of his co-religionists, then he is released from the obligation to fight for the faith with hand or tongue.

In Shī'ī biographies, concealment is a regular feature; we are told that the hero broke the laws of religion like the prohibition of wine under compulsion, and this is not always reported as excusable. But since for them also Muḥammad is the Prophet, and since as among the Sunnīs a prophet may not practice *takiyya* in matters of his office, because otherwise one could not be certain of the revelation, we have, in view of the double example of the Imāms, in the code of morals for the ordinary pious men of the Shī'a, the following sayings of 'Alī in juxtaposition: "It is the mark of belief to prefer to practise justice even if it injures you, rather than injustice when it is of use to you"; and as an explanation of sūra XLIX, 13: "He among you who is most honoured before God is the most fearful (of God)", that is, he who uses *takiyya* most (*atkākum* = *aktharukum takiyyat^an*); and it is also said "*Al-kitmān* is our *djihād*", but at the same time the chapters on *djihād* are to be read with the implied understanding that the fighting is primarily against other Muslims. It is also to be noted that the *takiyya* of the Shī'īs is not a voluntary ideal (cf. Khᵂānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1306/1888, iv, 66-7), but one should avoid a martyrdom that seems unnecessary and useless and preserve oneself for the faith and one's co-religionists.

In any case, because of their attachment to *takiyya*, the Shī'īs have devoted numerous works to it. Ṭihrānī, in *al-Dharī'a*, iv, 403-4 nos. 1769-83, gives a list of some 26 epistles and other works, including (1) the *R. fi 'l-takiyya wa 'l-idhā'a* of Abu 'l-Mufaḍḍal al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (d. 387/997); (2) the *Takiyya* of 'Alī al-Bakrī (d. 940/1533), of which there is a ms. of 1100/1688 in the library of Sh. Dja'far Āl Baḥr al-'Ulūm in Nadjaf; (3) the *R. al-takiyya* of Āghā Muḥammad Bākir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1206/1791), also with a ms. at Nadjaf belonging to Sh. Mashkūr; (4) the *Takiyya*, in 600 verses, by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥillī (d. 1309/1891), of which there is a ms. in the library of Sh. Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī; etc.

In the last resort, *takiyya* is based on intention, so we continually find the appeal made to *niyya* in this connection. The validity of the profession of faith as an act of worship is not only settled by the correct formulation of the intention to do it, but this is the essential of it, so that it alone counts, if under compulsion a profession of unbelief is made with the lips or worship performed along with unbelievers. God's rights alone can be injured by *takiyya*. He has the power to punish the constrainer, and only in certain circumstances will a slight portion of the punishment fall upon the one constrained. The wiles used in this connection, especially in oaths with mental reservations give, however, ample opportunities to injure one's fellow-creatures.

The moral dangers of *takiyya* are considerable, but it may be compared with similar phenomena in other religions and even among the mystics. The ethical question whether such forced lies and denials of the faith are not still lies and denials of the faith, is not put at all by the one "who conceals his real views", as he is not in a state of confidence which would be broken by lies or denial.

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ff.; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1385/1965, i, 5 ff.; Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhādj al-sunna*, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 43 ff.; Dja'far b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, St. Petersburg 1862, 149 ff.; Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, *Mukhtalaf al-Shī'a*, Tehran 1323 ff., ii, 158-9; Horovitz, in *Isl.*, iii, 63-7.—Druzes: ms. Berlin, Mq 814 (not in Ahlwardt), fol. 11b; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1317/1899-1900, iii, 112 ff., iv, 6; Sha'rānī, *Balance de la loi musulmane*, ed. Perron, Algiers 1898, 456 ff.—Modern general surveys of the topic: Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharī'a*, Tehran 1360/1941, iv, 403-5; Kāshif al-Ghiṭā', *Aṣl al-Shī'a*, Nadjaf 1389/1969, 176-80; Maḥmūd al-Alūsī, *Mukhtaṣar al-tuḥfa al-ithnā-'ashariyya*, Baghdād 1301/1883, 188-94; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Cairo 1384/1964, iii, 246-9; Ḥasan al-Amīn, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-islāmiyya al-shī'iyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, xi, 85-99.

(R. Strothmann-[Moktar Djebli])

TAKĪZĀDA, Sayyid Ḥasan (b. Tabrīz, 27 September 1878, d. Tehran, 28 January 1970), Persian politician and scholar of Iranian studies.

1. Life. The son of Sayyid Taḳī Urdūbādī, he received both a traditional Islamic and a modern education, including natural science and French and, to some extent, the English language. In Tabrīz he founded, with three like-minded friends, an ephemeral journal, *Gandjīna-yi funūn* (1903-4), and then travelled for a year in the Caucasus, Istanbul, Beirut and Egypt, returning with Western modernist ideas and sympathies. Moving to Tehran at the time of the Constitutional movement [see dustūr. iv], his reputation as one of the more radical, even revolutionary, activists secured him election to the first *Madjlis* as a representative for Ādharbaydjān, arousing the fear of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh who plotted, as the sources all agree, to kill him and five other constitutionalists. Hence when the Shāh replied with his anti-constitutionalist coup of 1326/1906, Taḳīzāda took refuge in the British Legation and then made his way to Europe, to Paris and London; in the latter place, he worked with the Iran Committee there, and his friendship with the famous Persian scholar E.G. Browne dates from this time.

He returned to Tabrīz and then to Tehran, becoming a member of the provisional steering committee when Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh was deposed and a member of the second *Madjlis* for the Democrat Party (*ḥizb-i dimūkrāt*). But he had to leave Persia in 1910 after the murder of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Bihbihānī, and after periods in Turkey, London and the United States, went in 1914 to Germany at the German government's suggestion to help organise an anti-British and anti-Russian "Committee of Iranian Nationalists", founding the journal *Kāwa*, first as a political but later as a cultural and literary journal also; he remained in Germany till 1921.

With the defeat of the Central Powers, the Committee was dissolved. Taḳīzāda returned to Persia and now filled various government positions, serving also as a deputy in the fifth and sixth *Madjlis*. He was opposed to changing the constitution to allow Riḍā Khān (Pahlawī) [*q.v.*] to assume power. During Riḍā Shāh's reign he filled such offices as governor of Khurāsān and ambassador in London, and as Minister of Finance was concerned in the negotiations of 1933 for the extension of the Anglo-Persian (after 1935 Anglo-Iranian) Oil Company's agreement. He was also ambassador in Paris, but becoming *persona non grata* to the Shāh, went to Berlin and then London, where he started teaching at London University. On the abdication of the Shāh (1941) he became ambassador to Britain.

Returning home in 1948, he became a member of the 15th *Madjlis* and a professor at Tehran University and in 1949 a senator, acting for a time as President of the Senate. Amongst his many cultural activities during the last two decades or so of his life was his involvement in the Society for National Monuments and, in conjunction with UNESCO, the Institute for Translation and Publication of Books (*Bungāh-i Tardjuma wa Nashr-i Kitāb*).

2. Literary work. Amongst his important works in Persian were his *Gāh-shumārī dar Īrān-i ḳadīm* (Tehran 1315/1937, repr. as vol. x of his collected works, see below); a study on Firdawsī, in *Kāwa*, N.S. i-ii (1920-1), and works on Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Mānī. His articles and other writings are collected in *Maḳālāt-i Taḳīzāda*, ed. I. Afshār, 10 vols. Tehran 1349-57/1970-8, of which vols. vi-viii contain his writings in European languages. His writings in European languages were partly political and partly in the field of Iranian studies. He had an interest in bibliography, and with W. Litten published *Persische Bibliographie*, Berlin 1920. For a complete bibliography, see his own autobiography *Zindigī-yi ṭūfānī*, [2]Tehran 1372/1993.

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(Iradj Afshar)

TAKKALŪ (Täkkä-lü), the name of a group of Turcomans originating from the regions of Menteşe, Aydın, Saruhan, Hamit and Germiyan in southern Anatolia, an area known collectively as Tekeili [*q.v.*] (*Tārīkh-i Ḳizilbāshān*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1361 AHS/1982, 27).

The Turcoman tribes of Anatolia were one of the primary targets of Ṣafawid propaganda (*da'wa*) [see bāyazīd ii; ṣafawids. i], and the Takkalūs responded early to this call and entered the service of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* Djunayd and Ḥaydar [*q.v.*]. In 905/1499, when Ismā'īl [see ismā'īl i] summoned his supporters to rally to him at Erzindjān, a Takkalū contingent formed part of the force of 7,000 men who assembled there (R.M. Savory, *Studies on the history of Ṣafawid Iran*, Variorum Reprints, London 1987, no. I, 63). At the time of the establishment of the Ṣafawid state in 907/1501, the Takkalū tribe was listed among the "great tribes" (*büyük oymaklar*) of the *Ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*] (Faruk Sümer, *Osmanlı devletinin kuruluşu ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolü*, Ankara 1976, 46-7), and the Takkalūs were classified as a tribe "of the right" (*maymana*), the Ṣafawids having adopted the old Turco-Mongol system of military organisation (Masashi Haneda, *Le Châh et les Qizilbāš. Le système militaire safavide*, Berlin 1987, 52). After the major revolt in Asia Minor led by Shāhḳulī Bābā Takkalū in 917/1511 had been crushed, a further 1,500 Takkalū tribesmen emigrated to Persia and joined Shāh Ismā'īl.

After the death of Ismā'īl I (930/1524), and the accession of the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], civil war erupted between rival coalitions of *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes.

At first, the Takkalūs and other tribes acknowledged the leadership of Dīw Sulṭān Rūmlū (Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, 187-8; Būdāḳ Munshī Ḳazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-akhbār*, Leningrad ms. Dorn 288, fol. 298b) as *amīr al-umarā'* [see art. *Amīr al-Omarā* ii. Safavid usage, in *EIr*, i, 970-1], but by 933/1527 a Takkalū *amīr*, Čūha Sulṭān, had become the virtual ruler of the state (Savory, *op. cit.*, no. V, 69 ff.). Many Takkalūs defected to the Ottomans and fought alongside Ottoman troops during Sultan Süleymān's various invasions of Persia (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 237, 247 ff.). As a result, the Takkalūs lost their prestigious position in the Ṣafawid state, and only three Takkalū *amīrs* appear in Iskandar Beg's list of leading *amīrs* at the time of the death of Ṭahmāsp (984/1576) *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, text, ii, 1084-7, tr. Savory, ii, 1309-15). There was a brief revival of Takkalū fortunes under Shāh Ismāʿīl II [*q.v.*], but once more the tribe became embroiled in *Ḳizilbāsh* factionalism. Their *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] in the Hamadān area were transferred to the Ustādjlū and Shāmlū tribes, and once again many Takkalūs took refuge with the Ottomans. From then on, they had the status in Persia of only a second-class tribe (Sümer, *op. cit.*, 144), and no Takkalū *amīrs* are listed by Iskandar Beg at the death of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1038/1629) (text, ii, 1084 ff., tr. ii, 1309 ff.).

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(R.M. Savory)

TAḲLĪD (A.), from the verb *ḳallada* "to imitate, follow, obey s.o.", meaning acceptance of or submission to authority. The word, with this semantic range, is not found in the Ḳur'ān nor in *ḥadīth* literature (as covered by Wensinck's *Concordance*). It has an important role throughout the Muslim religious sciences where it has a predominantly negative meaning, implying unreasonable and thoughtless acceptance of authority. It was, however, capable of being rescued and given a positive orientation. Different degrees of positive orientation can be found in the technical analyses of authority that emerged in pre-modern Islamic thought in relation to both juristic authority and credal matters. In spite of these developments, the term retained a generally abusive implication and might be discovered, on any side, in any debate about authority and epistemology, from the earliest to the most recent articulations of Islamic belief. The term has been widely adopted into Orientalist discourse where it is almost invariably translated as "blind submission". The same is broadly true of modernist Islamic discourse. The absence of any positive assessment of this term in modern commentary tends to produce a negative view of more than 1,000 years of Islamic history.

Al-Muzanī (d. 264/878 [*q.v.*]), pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, attributes to his master a prohibition of *taḳlīd* either of himself or of others (*Mukhtaṣar*, 1). This implies that the learned should not simply accept al-Shāfiʿī's juristic rulings but should be aware also of his arguments and the *ḥadīth* they are based on. It does not mean that the illiterate or unlearned should work out juristic rules for themselves; in matters of law the unlearned were necessarily subject to the authority of the learned and the appropriate term for that submission was *taḳlīd*. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889), who did not believe that reason could lead to positive results in the sphere of credal beliefs, characterised the Muʿtazila (the *aṣḥāb al-kalām*) as achieving whatever unity they achieved as a result of *taḳlīd*, i.e. imitation and unthinking acceptance. The *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, by contrast, achieved consensus on the basic principles of faith through revelation and submission to the acknowledged authorities of the past, the *ʿulamā'* and the *fuḳahā'* (this, apparently, was not *taḳlīd*) (*Ta'wīl*, 13-17). Al-Shāfiʿī's distrust of *taḳlīd* in juristic matters is echoed in the works of the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). He argued that there should be a return to the evident (*ẓāhir*) meanings of *ḥadīth*, and all else (he meant the principles of authority and continuity that dominated the juristic schools of Sunnī Islam) was "stubbornness, ignorance, *taḳlīd* and sin" (*Iḥkām*, ii, 130). The Shāfiʿī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) defined the term *taḳlīd*, in a formula widely accepted, as "accepting the opinion of another without proof, *ḳabūl ḳawl al-ghayr min ghayr ḥudjdja*", while pointing out that prophets did not summon people to mere *taḳlīd* but rather offered evidence and/or miracles to justify acceptance of their message. Summarising a dominant view, he declared that *taḳlīd* was acceptable in juristic matters but not in *uṣūl al-dīn* (credal/theological matters) (*Ishāra*, 18). In the mystic sphere, it was possible to contrast the direct experience of God that was accessible to the Ṣūfīs with the mere acceptance and submission that characterised non-Ṣūfī belief. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) said of himself, "We are not the people of *taḳlīd*; our affair comes ... from God; we have witnessed it directly, *shahidnā-hu ʿiyān*[an]" (cit. in Chittick, 73). Since the late 19th century, many western scholars and modernist Muslims have characterised the earlier Islamic tradition as dominated by *taḳlīd*, meaning blind imitation. This reflects lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of the Western scholars; on the part of Muslims, it reflects a desire for radical reform, usually associated with a return to the time before *taḳlīd* became established. The motive here is technically fundamentalist, though associated indifferently with liberal or conservative views.

Taḳlīd in juristic matters. The earliest articulations of a juristic theory of authority acknowledge that the unlearned masses are dependent for their knowledge of the law on the learned. The relationship is defined by the terms *mudjtahid* and *muftī* (designating the learned authority) and *ʿāmmī* or *muḳallid* (designating the follower). In so far as these terms refer to a synchronic relationship between the participants, no jurist ever doubted the legitimacy or necessity of *taḳlīd*. However, with the development of juristic schools (*madhāhib*), it was evident that the common people and the learned alike, in fact, and by universal practice, submitted to the principles of law that had been articulated by the founders of each *madhhab*. A Shāfiʿī scholar, like a Mālikī or Ḥanafī and, in time, a Ḥanbalī, followed the basic structures of the tradition (*madhhab*) within which he was educated. *Idjtihād* [*q.v.*], meaning direct creative confrontation with the texts of revelation, was—it became gradually more evident—not characteristic of Muslim jurists after the age of the great founders. The jurists accepted and submitted to the authority of the founders. But they did not thereby cease to explore and develop the juristic tradition they inherited. In elaborating a theory which described and accounted for the reality of historical development, the jurists distinguished between *idjtihād muṭlaḳ* (meaning the creative act of *idjtihād* through

which the founding imāms derived from the revealed sources a systematic structure of law) and *id̲j̲tihād fi 'l-mad̲h̲hab* (creative development of the law within the broad structures of the *mad̲h̲hab*, the characteristic achievement of Muslim jurists through the centuries). The latter type of *id̲j̲tihād* was associated with *taḳlīd*, which, in this context, means willing submission to the authority of the founder and the *mad̲h̲hab*—but not blind submission, for the principles which justified the deductions of the founder and the developments of later jurists were explored in the science of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

From a historian's point of view, the role attributed to the founding imāms is a myth, but an important one, which can be analysed as offering a dynamic orientation to the juristic traditions of Islam. The dominant traditions carry the names of the founding imāms (Ḥanafī, Mālikī, S̲h̲āfiʿī, Ḥanbalī) as signs of the human element in the articulation of divine law; and as marks of an acknowledged pluralism in the details of the law. Subsequent generations of jurists added to the meanings of the law and became a part of an expanding reticulation of authorities which defined the *mad̲h̲hab* for later generations. The minor traditions are characterised by terms that indicate their fundamentalist orientation (Ẓāhirī, Salafī, and, amongst the S̲h̲īʿa, Ak̲h̲bārī). *Taḳlīd* is the dominant term used to characterise the special loyalty to the founding imām which was the essential element in nearly all pre-modern articulations of *s̲h̲arīʿa*. Neither in theory nor in practice, in spite of the intimations of Orientalists and modernising Muslims, can it be recognised as essentially a principle of stasis. The detailed expression of a theory of authority that adequately accounted for continuity and loyalty in the *mad̲h̲āhib* varied, naturally, from time to time and from *mad̲h̲hab* to *mad̲h̲hab*, but it always involved careful manipulation of the terms *id̲j̲tihād* and *taḳlīd* in subtle structures of thought which are different from the frequently unsubtle descriptions of modern commentators.

Taḳlīd in credal matters. The view that *taḳlīd* was not acceptable in *uṣūl al-dīn* had been articulated by al-S̲h̲īrāzī, and remained, for a majority of theologians, the preferred view. The alternative view that *taḳlīd* was acceptable in this field was also articulated and maintained as part of the tradition. A late summary characterised the tradition in four brief clauses. 1. There are two views as to whether *taḳlīd* is permitted in *uṣūl al-dīn*. 2. It is said that intellectual exploration in this area is *ḥarām*. 3. There is a view reported from al-As̲h̲ʿarī that the faith of the masses is not valid, but this has been claimed to be a lie. 4. If it is not a lie, it is neccessary to distinguish between *taḳlīd* as indifferent submission and *taḳlīd* as positive commitment (*d̲j̲azm*). That schema of views was intended to generate commentary. In the commentary tradition, the dominant view (that *taḳlīd* is not permitted in *uṣūl al-dīn*) is justified on the grounds that personal intellectual effort is a pre-requisite for certainty in this area. The alternative view is justified by reference to Bedouin converts, whose faith was acknowledged by Muḥammad though they were incapable of rational investigation. This argument is qualified, for, though unsophisticated, the Bedouin were capable of forms of deduction appropriate to their standing. The view that intellectual speculation may be *ḥarām* is a reminder that theological debate can be dangerous, leading some people to error and disbelief. According to any of these three views, the faith of the masses is valid, even if, according to the first view, they may be in a state of sin. The rigorous opinion attributed to al-As̲h̲ʿarī is certainly to be qualified, either because it is a lying attribution, or because he intended a particular distinction between *taḳlīd* as indifference (not permitted) and *taḳlīd* as commitment (permitted) (al-Subkī, *D̲j̲amʿ*, ii, 401-4).

The scholastic format should not hide the nuanced position that is here being advocated. If the word *taḳlīd* can be used to characterise the traditional faith and loyalty of the masses, it is not to be understood as "blind submission". Precisely that is not permitted and renders faith invalid. The shifting patterns of *ik̲h̲tilāf* that are offered, managed, and ranked in the scholastic tradition, here and generally, evoke a more refined and sophisticated consideration than has been recognised in the various forms of modernist discourse.

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TAḲLĪD-I SAYF [see MARĀSIM. 4].

TAKLĪF (A.), a term of the theological and legal vocabulary denoting the fact of an imposition on the part of God of obligations on his creatures, of subjecting them to a law. The corresponding passive participle *mukallaf* is used of someone who is governed by this law and in this connection, in legal language, it denotes every individual who has at his disposal the full and entire scope of the law (cf. J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 124).

The Ḳurʾānic origin of the term, though indirect, is beyond doubt. On six occasions (though differently expressed) the Ḳurʾān says that God only imposes on every man what he is capable of (*lā yukallifu llāhu nafs^{an} illā wusʿahā*, II, 286; cf. similarly II, 233; VI, 152; VII, 42; XXIII, 62; LXV, 7). Out of the various possible meanings of this root *k-l-f* the one which in this case is relevant is that which denotes the idea of a difficult task, requiring a great effort to perform. The *LʿA* defines *taklīf* as the fact of ordering someone to do something which is hard for him (*mā yas̲h̲uḳḳu ʿalayhi*). Al-D̲j̲uwaynī gives the same meaning and suggests *ilzām mā fīhi kulfa* (*al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Cairo 1400/1981, § 26).

From the theological point of view, the existence of *taklīf* principally raises three questions:

1. How do we know the obligations which God imposes on us? The Muʿtazilīs reply: in two ways, by our reason (*bi 'l-ʿaḳl*) and by revelation (*bi 'l-samʿ*, or *bi 'l-s̲h̲arʿ*). It is our reason which teaches us, for example, that we must be upright, pay back a deposit, be grateful to a benefactor. Revelation adds the specific obligations of the Islamic religion: the five daily prayers, the fast of Ramaḍān, etc. There are therefore, as ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār loves to say, two sorts of *taklīf*, a *taklīf ʿaḳlī* and a *taklīf samʿī* (cf. *Mug̲h̲nī*, xiv, 149, l. 13 and 150, ll. 2-3; Ps. ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *S̲h̲arḥ al-uṣūl al-k̲h̲amsa*, Cairo 1965, 70, l. 11; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿ fi 'l-Muḥīṭ*, i, Beirut 1965, 7, l. 3). From the Sunnī side, the Māturīdīs essentially maintain an identical point

of view. The As͟hʿarīs, on the other hand, affirm that no obligation is known by reason; the Law as revealed is the only foundation for good and evil.

2. Why does God impose obligation on us? The As͟hʿarīs refuse to answer this question, by virtue of their principle that we have not to look for motives (*ʿilal*) in any divine action. For the Muʿtazilīs the answer is simple: God acts in everything for the good of mankind and it is therefore also for their good that He imposes duties. The reason advanced by al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī [*q.v.*] and his disciples is that because of that, God has given man the power to reach the highest form of bliss. He certainly would have been able to create man directly in Paradise, but happiness which is granted directly is less keen than that which is preceded by pain and which is its recompense.

For al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī and his disciples, contrary to other Muʿtazilīs who submitted to the so-called *al-aṣlaḥ* thesis (from all points of view God is obliged to do whatever is most advantageous to man), God was not bound at the outset to impose a law on man. If He did that, it was purely out of favour (*tafaḍḍul*) towards them. But having done it, in this situation He set about the obligation of making for them *al-aṣlaḥ fī dīnihim*, that is to say, to provide them from now onwards with the means and all assistance necessary to help them discharge the duties to which He had subjected them, and thus to "remove every excuse" for their not doing so.

3. Can God oblige man to do the impossible? This is the most serious question, the so-called *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu. A priori* the answer should be consistently in the negative, seeing that there had appeared in the Ḳurʾān itself six times "God only asks of each one what he is capable of". This is certainly the Muʿtazilī point of view, on behalf of the principle of the divine justice (*ʿadl*), a cause which they champion. It is precisely this justice which lays the obligation on God, as mentioned above, of providing man with all the means to obey his commandments. The point of view of the Māturīdīs is also fundamentally in agreement with the Muʿtazilīs on this point. This, however, was not the view of al-As͟hʿarī and certain of his disciples for the following reasons.

Firstly, in favour of their thesis, there is the As͟hʿarī principle of absolute divine liberty. Al-As͟hʿarī said that no rule applied to God; he could do whatever He wanted; everything that He does is just and it would be equally just if He did the opposite. Nothing prevents Him, therefore, from compelling man to do the impossible, whether it be a matter of logical impossibility (*taklīf al-muḥāl*) like bringing together opposites, or a matter of physical impossibility (*taklīf al-ʿād̲j̲iz*) like commanding a lame man to walk.

Secondly, the way in which al-As͟hʿarī represents human power and its relation to action leads him to allow the principle of *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu* by using another expedient. Contrary to the Muʿtazilīs (for whom all power is necessarily the power of an action or its converse, and power therefore necessarily precedes the action), al-As͟hʿarī considers, as did al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār before him, that all human power is contemporaneous with the action which corresponds to it; it is therefore only power for this action and not for its converse. The result of this is that just when the unbeliever produces an action of unbelief this has not the power of the converse of unbelief; nevertheless, at that very moment God commands him to believe, which is certainly compelling him to do the impossible. The impossibility under the circumstances would not be of the same order as the preceding hypothesis. Al-As͟hʿarī explains (here again following the theories of al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār) that, if at the moment the unbeliever did not have the capacity to believe, it was because he had made a deliberate choice to have "no belief". It would be a question in the case of a *taklīf al-tārik* (*tark* meaning the fact of accomplishing the converse of a given act) as distinct from the *taklīf al-ʿād̲j̲iz*.

(It is worth noting that to avoid ending up with *taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳu*, certain theologians—one of whom is said to have been Abū Ḥanīfa—while supporting the thesis of the "non-anteriority" of the power in relation to the action, at the same time nevertheless maintained that identical power was a power of opposites, not simultaneously, but by the substitution of the one for the other. This thesis was called *al-badal.*)

Finally, there is the fact of eternal divine foreknowledge. God knows from time immemorial that this or that person will never believe. It is therefore for all time impossible that they will believe (unless the possibility was conceded that God could be mistaken), and yet God commands them to believe. In the same way, He did not stop commanding Abū Lahab to believe, even after having announced in Ḳurʾān, CXI, 1-3, that he would roast in Hell. One would imagine that, this time, even the Muʿtazilīs would have to recognise in this a situation with an obligation to do the impossible. However, this was not the case: according to al-As͟hʿarī (*Maḳālāt*, 2nd ed. Ritter, 243, ll. 14-15, and 561, ll. 14-15), all with just one exception were of the opinion that, in the matter of a man whom God knew would never believe, the order to believe was addressed to him as well, and he too had the power to believe.

Bibliography: As͟hʿarī, *Lumaʿ*, ed. McCarthy, index; Ibn Fūrak, *Mud̲j̲arrad maḳālāt al-As͟hʿarī*, Beirut 1987, index; Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, ed. McCarthy, §§ 503-6; Bag͟hdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 202-14; D̲j̲uwaynī, *Irs͟hād*, ed. Luciani, 128-30; idem, *al-ʿAḳīda al-niẓāmiyya*, ed. Kawt͟harī, Cairo 1948, 30-47; Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Munāẓarāt*, ed. Kholeif, 13th question; Māturīdī, *Tawḥīd*, ed. Kholeif, 263-86; Abu 'l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī, *Tabṣira*, Damascus 1993, ii, 583-93; Ṣābūnī, *Bidāya*, ed. Kholeif, Alexandria 1969, 118-21; ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *Mug͟hnī*, xi, 134-432, xiv, 115-72; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Mad̲j̲mūʿ fi 'l-Muḥīṭ*, Beirut 1981, ii, 56-65, 169-281; R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et pouvoir. Histoire d'un problème de théologie musulmane*, in *Etudes islamologiques*, Paris 1976, i, 179-220; J. Peters, *God's created speech*, Leiden 1976, index; D. Gimaret, *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*, Paris 1980, index; idem, *La doctrine d'al-As͟hʿarī*, Paris 1990, index s.v. "obligations" and "*taklīf*"; idem and G. Monnot, *Shahrastani, Livre des religions et des sectes*, Paris 1986, i, index s.v. "obligations" and "*taklīf*".

(D. Gimaret)

TAḲRĪB (a.) "rapprochement", a term widely used to designate an ecumenical trend within modern Islam in general and a movement towards reconciliation between Sunnī and S͟hīʿī Muslims in particular. To a considerable extent, this trend is part of the ideology of Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*]. It found its expression at many pan-Islamic congresses [see mu'tamar], as well as in the activities of a number of movements and societies striving for a friendly dialogue, especially between Sunnīs and S͟hīʿīs. So far, the most important of these associations has been the *D̲j̲amāʿat al-Taḳrīb bayn al-Mad̲h̲āhib al-Islāmiyya*, a society founded in Cairo in 1947. With an Iranian divine, Muḥammad Taḳī Ḳummī, as its founder and secretary-general, it had the support of a number of promi-

nent Sunnī *'ulamā'* and intellectuals from Egypt and elsewhere, including two rectors of al-Azhar [*q.v.*], sc. 'Abd al-Madjīd Salīm (d. 1954) and Maḥmūd Shaltūt (d. 1963 [*q.v.*]). Until his assassination in 1949, Ḥasan al-Bannā' [*q.v.*], the leader of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*], was in contact with the *Taḳrīb* society. On the part of the Shī'a, we find Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1954) and Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn [*q.v.*] among those lending their support.

The activities of the *Djamā'a* were directed by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*, an institute which, among other things, served as a publishing house issuing classical Shī'ī works. The journal of the society, *Risālat al-Islām*, was founded in 1949. When, after several interruptions, it finally stopped publication in 1972, a total number of seventeen volumes had appeared. In the journal, both Sunnī and Shī'ī authors found an opportunity to voice their opinion in favour of *taḳrīb*. Nearly all of them, however, avoided touching on the most controversial issues dividing the two sides.

The greatest success of the *Djamā'a* was a statement, in 1959, by Maḥmūd Shaltūt to the effect that worship according to the doctrine of the Twelver Shī'a [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA] was valid and its *madhhab* fully recognised within Islam. The statement, originally part of a press interview, was given the form of a *fatwā* and distributed world-wide by the *Dār al-Taḳrīb*. It was greeted enthusiastically by the majority of the Shī'īs, but met with strong criticism on the part of many members of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*]. For them, the *Taḳrīb* society from its very beginning had been nothing but a Shī'ī missionary institution designed to make converts in Sunnī lands, and not an instrument of a real rapprochement (if that, in the opinion of those critics, was feasible at all).

Mainly for political reasons, the *Taḳrīb* society lost much of its momentum from 1960 onwards. After the Iranian revolution, Muḥammad Taḳī Ḳummī left Egypt for Europe, where he died in Paris in 1990. His son 'Abd Allāh tried to re-establish the *Taḳrīb* society in Egypt in 1992. In Iran, an association called *Madjma' al-Taḳrīb* was founded with government support in 1990 (see M. Kramer, *Iran's ecumenical Islam*, in *Middle East contemporary survey*, xvi, 1992, publ. Boulder, Colo. 1995, 202-4).

A number of congresses were held in Iran and elsewhere in the early 1990s with the aim of reviving the dialogue, including one sponsored by the *İslami İlimler Araştırma Vakfı* in Istanbul in 1993. For its proceedings, see *Milletlerarası tarihte ve günümüzde şiilik sempozyumu. Tebliğler ve Müzakereler*, ed. E.R. Fığlalı *et alii*, Istanbul 1993 (texts in Turkish and Arabic).

Bibliography: Contributions to *Risālat al-Islām* by both Sunnī and Shī'ī authors have been selected and reprinted in a number of volumes dedicated to the idea of *taḳrīb*, such as Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Madanī (ed.), *Da'wat al-taḳrīb min khilāl "Risālat al-Islām"*, Cairo 1966; 'Abd al-Karīm Bī Āzār al-Shīrāzī (ed.), *al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya aw al-taḳrīb bayn al-madhāhib al-sab'a*, Beirut 1975, [2]1992; idem, *Ā'īn-i hambastagī*, Tehran 1976; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḳummī (ed.), *Da'wat al-taḳrīb, tārīkh wa-wathā'iḳ, bi-aḳlām ridjāl al-taḳrīb*, Cairo 1991; *Naḥwa mudjtama' islāmī muwaḥḥad, mas'alat al-taḳrīb . . ., bi-ḳalam 15 'allāma* (etc.), foreword by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-'Alāyilī, Beirut 1994; *Naḥwa mudjtama' islāmī muwaḥḥad, al-waḥda al-islāmiyya, mā lahā wa-mā 'alayhā*, foreword by Maḥmūd Ḥamdī Zaḳzūḳ, Beirut 1994; a number of interesting documents, photographs, etc., are to be found in Ṣāliḥ al-Wardānī, *al-Shī'a fī Miṣr, min al-imām 'Alī ḥattā 'l-imām al-Khumaynī*, Cairo 1993 (esp. 183 ff.).

For general surveys of the ecumenical trend in modern times (including the opposition to it), see, e.g., H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic political thought*, Austin 1982, 18-51, and W. Ende, *Sunniten und Schiiten im 20. Jahrhundert*, in *Saeculum*, xxxvi (1985), 187-200. For a comprehensive study of the Cairene *Djamā'at al-Taḳrīb*, see R. Brunner, *Annäherung und Distanz. Schia, Azhar und die islamische Ökumene im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1997 (with excellent bibl.).

(W. ENDE)

TAKRĪT (popular pronunciation TIKRĪT, cf. Yāḳūt), a town of 'Irāḳ on the right bank of the Tigris to the north of Sāmarrā' 100 miles from Baghdād divertly, and 143 by river, and at the foot of the range of the Djabal Ḥamrīn (lat. 34° 36' N., long. 43° 41' E., altitude 110 m/375 feet). Geographically, this is the northern frontier district of 'Irāḳ. The land is still somewhat undulating; the old town was built on a group of hills, on one of which beside the river, stands the modern town. To the north is a sandstone cliff 200 feet above the level of the river, on which still stand the ruins of the old citadel. The traces of the old town stretch to the west of these two hills in a large circle, which shows that Takrīt was once of considerable extent.

It has been suggested that the name may be recognised in a tablet of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Strassmeyer, quoted by Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, ii, p. xiii) but the first certain mention is that of Ptolemy (v. 18, 19), who calls it Birtha (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 861, in giving the latitude and longitude also refers to Ptolemy). Ammianus Marcellinus calls it Virta. Indeed, the hill of the citadel is still known as Burtha. In Syriac literature the town is called Taghrīth. From the fourth century, it was the see of a Jacobite bishop until, in 1155, the diocese was combined with that of al-Mawṣil (Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, i, 174, 465). The Arab writers attribute its foundation to the Sāsānid king Sābūr [*q.v.*], son of Ardashīr; the town is said to have been called after a Christian woman named Takrīt bint Wā'il; several legends are connected with its foundation (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ii, 288). Before Islam, the town was temporarily occupied by the Arab Christian tribe of the Iyād (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, i, 46); they were driven from it, but the Iyād remained for a long time afterwards in the neighbourhood (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat djazīrat al-'Arab*, 180) and in the period of the conquest, the soldiers of the Iyād in the garrison of Takrīt secretly assisted the Arabs [see IYĀD]. The first Muslim capture of the town seems to have been effected in the year 16/637 by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'tamm, who was sent out by Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. Then in 20/64, the town again surrendered by agreement; tradition ascribes this second occupation to al-Nuṣayr b. Daysam or to his deputy 'Uḳba b. Farḳad or to Mas'ūd b. Ḥurayth b. al-Abdjar. The last named was the first governor, and built the congregational mosque there (Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248-9).

Down to the middle of the 4th/10th century, the Arab geographers reckoned Takrīt as belonging administratively to al-Djazīra (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 94; Ibn Rusta, 106; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 129; Ḳudāma, 245, 250; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 72, 77; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 208-9, tr. 201-2; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 36), but from the time of al-Muḳaddasī (54, 115), the town is more often regarded as belonging to 'Irāḳ (except by al-Idrīsī and al-Dimashḳī). In the early centuries of Islam, the town was almost exclusively Christian. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-

Mas'ūdī (*op. cit.*, 155) mention the al-Khaḍrā' church there, and there is still a ruin of this name in the south of the town. There were also other Christian buildings (like the monastery of Sa'āba on the opposite bank (Yāḳūt, ii, 673) and the Dayr Mār Yuḥannā, Yāḳūt, ii, 701). The name of the great Muslim sanctuary of al-Arba'ī slightly west of the old town, seems to indicate that it was formerly the site of a Christian building. Two vaulted chambers decorated with stucco are still standing; the building goes back to the 7th/13th century. Takrīt was celebrated for its manufactures of woollen goods (al-Mukaddasī). In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries it is described as a large town (Ibn Djubayr, 223; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 133). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī says it is a town of average size. Al-Idrīsī (tr. Jaubert, ii, 147) mentions the Dudjayl canal which ran from the Tigris near Takrīt and went on to Baghdād; this is probably identical with the Nahr al-Isḥāḳī, dug, according to Abu 'l-Fidā', in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (cf. also Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 434). Traces of this canal, which according to Ewliyā Čelebi was cleaned out by Murtaḍā Pasha in 1064/1654 (quoted by von Hammer, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, xiii [1821], 235), are still visible.

Takrīt never played an important part in history, but al-Sam'ānī names some scholars and traditionists from there (*Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 64-5). However, it continued, until its devastation by Tīmūr in the late 8th/14th century (see below) to be a lively centre of Christian Arabic and Syriac scholarship, with a particular efflorescence in the period from the 9th to the 11th centuries A.D. Amongst its notable scholars were the Patriarch of Takrīt Cyriacus (Patriarch 793-817), the philosopher and theologian Abū Zakariyyā' Denḥā, with whom al-Mas'ūdī had discussions at Takrīt and Baghdād (*Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 213) and the great translator from Greek into Syriac and Arabic Yaḥyā b. 'Adī (d. 974 [*q.v.*]); see Fiey, *Tagrît*, 316-19.

In the 5th/11th century it belonged to almost independent lords until the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg took advantage of the death of its lord to seize it (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 448). From 544/1149 the town was part of the territory of the Begtegīnids, and in 586/1190 it passed to the 'Abbāsid caliphs. It was the birthplace of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), whose father Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb had been appointed commander of the town under the Saldjūḳs. When the conqueror Tīmūr took it, it was in the possession of Arab brigands (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, tr. Pétis de la Croix, ii, 141-54). In the following centuries, it remained a small place; Christians are mentioned in it for the last time by Tavernier (*Voyages*, ii, 87) in the 17th century. Under Turkish rule, Takrīt was a *sandjaḳ* in the *eyālet* of Raḳḳa (*Djihān-numā*, 434), but after the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms of the 19th century, it was reduced to a *nāḥiya* of the *ḳaḍā* of Sāmarrā' (in the *wilāyat* of Baghdād). In the 19th century the population was probably never more than 4,000-5,000 souls. All travellers up to the early 20th century were poorly impressed by it; the majority of the inhabitants until that time made their living by navigating inflated rafts or *keleks* [*q.v.*], which changed crews there.

During the First World War, Takrīt was the scene of a minor battle in November 1917 as the Turks retreated northwards before General Maude's Allied forces (S.H. Longrigg, *'Iraq 1900 to 1950*, London 1953, 90). It acquired a station on the standard-gauge northwards extension of the Baghdād-Sāmarrā' railway constructed by the British and Indian troops. In contemporary Republican 'Irāḳ, Takrīt is in the governorate of Sāmarrā'.

On the Arabic dialect of Takrīt, see O. Jastrow, *Tikrit Arabic verb morphology in a comparative perspective*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxxi (1983) [1985], 99-110.

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(J.H. Kramers-[C.E. Bosworth])

TAKRŪNA, a small village in Tunisia about 100 km/62 miles south of Tunis on the Tunis-Sousse road via Zaghouan, "perched on a gigantic rock rising up majestically from the midst of an infinitely-stretching plain".

It is divided into three quarters with, on the first level, on the northwestern side, the *Ḥūma*; on the second, on the southwestern side, *Dār al-Shūd*; and on the third level, *al-Blād*. At the summit of the rock is situated the mosque of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī 'Abd al-Ḳādir. Takrūna has at present 500 inhabitants spread over some hundred households. The oldest and most important families are the Gīga, who are said to be of Berber origin, the Gmāsh, descendants of the Lawāta Berber tribe and the Shūd, descendants of the Tripolitanian Maḥāmid.

The main activities of the village's people are sheep-rearing and agriculture, especially the cultivation of olive trees, but there also industrial activities, with a fairly important cement work. The village has a primary school, and both before and after independence in 1956, Takrūna has nurtured numerous leaders and high officials, teachers and persons of cultural significance, including painters and novelists.

However, it is probably through the problems raised by the elucidation of its name and its history that Takrūna has aroused so much interest. The name Takrūna (which should not be confused with Tākurunnā [*q.v.*], a place in the Spanish Sierra de Ronda) is not found in any old dictionaries or geographical works; it is found, however, from the 19th century onwards in "old legal enactments and official documents preserved in the archives of the Tunisian government". Also, as William Marçais and A. Guiga already remarked, the historian Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf (d. 1874) speaks of it incidentally in his *Itḥāf*. Numerous authors agree on the fact that the name is Berber, with the sense of "neck". At all events, the village, which as the two authors mentioned above wrote, "has no history", "is probably of Berber origin", built over Roman ruins at some undetermined date but in any case "in troubled times when living in the lowlands meant risking ruin or death". According to educated Takrūnīs, the village is said to date from six or seven generations back, i.e. about 200 years. One should note finally that the people of Takrūna have no memory of the Berber language which was presumably that of their ancestors. To conclude, the village of Berber origin which has so charmed travellers, and notably the French of the 19th and 20th centuries, now resembles, in its ways and people and language, all the

other villages of the Sahel extending in Tunisia from Enfideville to El-Djem.

Bibliography: El-Gharib, *L'agonie d'un village berbère en Tunisie: Takrouna*, Tunis 1923; Guy de Maupassant, *De Tunis à Kairouan. Impressions de voyage*, Tunis 1893; and above all, W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1958.

(T. El Achèche)

TAKRŪR, a name given to a mediaeval town, kingdom and people of West Africa, and later more generally to parts or all of Muslim West Africa. In this last sense it is a well-known *nisba*, pluralised as Takārīr, or in popular speech in the Middle East as Takārna. The name Takrūr itself appears to be the arabised form of an African ethnonym, now pronounced as Tukulor (French Toucouleur, earlier Portuguese Tucuról), and referring to a people whose home is the Futa Toro region [*q.v.* in Suppl.] of the middle Senegal river. Although the Tukulor are composed of diverse ethnic elements, Fulbe [*q.v.*] comprise an important element, and the Tokolor as a whole describe themselves as speakers of Fulfulde (*hal pularen*); clans of theirs have migrated far and wide in West Africa [see TUKULOR].

The Fulbe themselves were early and important immigrants to the region, invading it from the Sahel region, perhaps *ca.* A.D. 800, and furnishing the first known dynasty, the Dya-Ogo. There were several subsequent invasions of Futa Toro over succeeding centuries. In the 12th and 13th centuries a Soninke dynasty known as the Manna ruled, and in the 14th century a Serer dynasty simply called the Tondyon (Malinke *ton dyon* "royal slave soldiers") took power, easing the way for Malian control of the region. As Mali weakened in the following century, a new Fulbe invasion accompanied by Soninke seized control of the region. In the early 16th century a new Fulbe dynasty was founded by a warrior called Koli, whose father Tengella (or Teniella) had been expelled from Diara in the Malian Sahel by forces sent by the Songhay ruler Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. This in turn was overthrown by an Islamic reformist régime whose first Almamy (*imām*) ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Kan founded in 1770 a dynasty that lasted until the French conquest of the region in 1891.

Arabic writers of the Mediterranean world of Islam knew of Takrūr from the 5th/11th century, both as a town (thought to be in the region of Podor), and as a kingdom of the same name. Al-Bakrī described Takrūr as two towns astride the "Nīl" whose inhabitants were converted to Islam by a ruler called Wār Djābī b. Rābīs who died in 432/1040-1 (*K. al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 172). Later, in 448/1056-7, his son Labbi came to the aid of the Almoravid commander Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar when he was besieged in the Djabal Lamtūna (*ibid.*, 73). Wār Djābī also exercised hegemony over the neighbouring kingdom of Silā, upstream from Takrūr, and is said to have converted its people to Islam. In the mid-6th/12th century al-Idrīsī portrays a well-organised kingdom integrated into trans-Saharan trade networks, with the town of Takrūr on the south bank of the "Nīl". North African merchants took wool, copper and beads there and brought back gold and slaves (*Opus geographicum*, ed. A. Bombaci *et al.*, fasc. prim., Neapoli-Romae, 1970, 18). In the late 7th/13th century al-Ḳazwīnī, basing himself on an account by a North African travelling *faḳīh* ʿAlī al-Djanaḥānī, reported that Takrūr was a great town without walls inhabited by both Muslims and pagans, and that giraffe and elephant were common in the area (*ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 17). Al-Ḳazwīnī's contemporary Ibn Saʿīd says that the kingdom of Takrūr extended up the Senegal river to as far as Galambu near the confluence of the river Senegal and the Faleme, and that by his day Islam had entered all the towns along the river (*K. Basṭ al-arḍ fi 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-ʿarḍ*, ed. J. Vernet Ginés, Tetuan 1958, 24). For Ibn Khallikān, Takrūr is both the name of a land and of a "race" or "tribe" who are "cousins of the Kānim" (*Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. ʿAbbās, vii, 14).

By the mid-8th/14th century, the name Takrūr was already being applied to a much greater area, and also often to the people who inhabit it, such conflation of towns, kingdoms and peoples being common in mediaeval Arabic sources. Al-ʿUmarī, describing the visit of Mansā Mūsā [*q.v.*] of Mali to Egypt, says he is known as the king of Takrūr, but "if he were to hear of this he would be disdainful, for Takrūr is but one of the provinces of his kingdom" (al-Munadjdjid, *Mamlakat Mālī*, 44). Ibn Khaldūn presents several different definitions of Takrūr, ignoring the contradictions. Relying on al-Idrīsī in his *Muḳaddima*, he places the town of Takrūr on the "Nīl". In the *K. al-ʿIbar* he first quotes Ibn Saʿīd, who seems to locate a people called Takrūr close to the Atlantic ocean (Cairo 1284/1867, vi, 199), and he calls Mansā Mūsā "king of al-Takrūr" (v, 433). But later he asserts that the nation (*umma*) called Takrūr live "beyond Kawkaw (Gao)" apparently in an easterly direction, and he quotes a "*faḳīh* of the people of Ghānā" who says that they call the Takrūr "Zaghay" (vi, 200), perhaps suggesting an identification with Songhay. In another passage (v, 433) the Takrūr are squarely placed between Kawkaw and Kānim. A century later, al-Suyūṭī clearly adopts the same usage, addressing a letter to the kings of al-Takrūr in general and specifically to the sultans of Agadès and Katsina. He answers a series of questions from an inquirer in "al-Takrūr", probably referring to this same general area (see his *al-Ḥāwī li 'l-fatāwī*, Cairo 1933, ii, 284-94).

From the 8th/14th century on, Arab writers, including those of West Africa, use the name al-Takrūr as a name for Muslim West Africa, either in part or in whole, and for its inhabitants. The extension of meaning of Takrūr was probably influenced by descriptions of Mansā Mūsā as "king of al-Takrūr". Al-Saʿdī, writing in Timbuktu in the mid-11th/17th century, seems to use it as the equivalent of the Songhay empire (*Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, ed. O. Houdas, Paris 1898, 38, 64, 73, 120). The long title of the contemporary *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh* (ed. Houdas, Paris 1913), also concerned with Songhay, includes reference to "the events of al-Takrūr". The Moroccan historian al-Ifrānī in his *Nuzhat al-hādī* (Fez n.d., 75), quoting the unidentified al-Imām al-Takrūrī, describes Askiya *al-Ḥādjdj* Muḥammad as being invested as the *khalīfa* of *bilād al-Takrūr*. In *ca.* 1800 al-Bartilī (or Barritaylī) describes al-Takrūr as "an extensive land, stretching eastwards to Adhghāgh (perhaps Adrār-n-Ifoṛas, north of Bourem), westwards to the river Senegal, southwards to Bīṭu (Begho in east-central Republic of Ghana), and northwards to Ādrār (the highlands of central Mauritania)" (*Fatḥ al-shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-Takrūr*, ed. M.I. al-Kattānī and M. Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1401/1981). Writing in 1227/1812, Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] defines al-Takrūr as "a name given to the western region of the Sudanic south. It is a name widely used in the Ḥaramayn, Egypt and al-Ḥabasha, but unknown in its homeland" (*Infāḳ al-maysūr fī taʾrīkh bilād al-Takrūr*, ed. Bahīdja al-Shādhilī, Rabat 1996, 47, ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London 1951, 3). He quotes an unspecified source as saying

that *bilād al-Takrūr* refers to the region around Timbuktu, whereas *bilād al-Sūdān* refers to Kano, Katsina and their adjacent lands. But for the purpose of his book he defines it as extending "from [Dār] Fūr to Fūta [Toro]".

The *nisba* Takrūrī (pls. Takārīr and Takārna) is used in the Nile valley and the Middle East to refer to persons or communities of West African Muslim origin. From the 8th/15th century, we have a number of entries in biographical works for persons with the *nisba* al-Takrūrī (Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1392-6/1972-6, ii, 362, Ṣabīḥ al-Kallawtātī, a former slave who later taught in Cairo and Damascus; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, Cairo 1353-5/1934-6, iii, 173, Khāliṣ al-Takrūrī, who became chief eunuch under Ḳā'it Bāy, vii, 2, al-ʿIzz al-Takrūrī, a Cairene bookseller), while al-Maḳrīzī mentions a saintly man of Takrūr after whom the quarter known as Būlāḳ al-Takrūrī (nowadays al-Dakrūrī) was named (*Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853, ii, 326). West African pilgrims were known as Takrūrīs and their caravans as the Takrūr caravan (*rakb al-Takrūr*). In 1047/1637 ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laḳānī wrote his commentary *Itḥāf al-murīd* on his own *Djawharat al-tawḥīd* at the request of a Takrūrī student (Cairo 1368/1948, 5). In the 19th century there was a *riwāḳ al-Dakārina* at al-Azhar (J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt*, London 1939, 25n.).

Certain communities of West African origin in the Republic of the Sudan have been referred to as Takārīr. The best known of these is the community at al-Ḳallābāt (al-Matamma [*q.v.*]) on the Ethiopian border. West African pilgrims are said to have established themselves there in the mid-18th century, and at the time of the Mahdiyya they were an important self-governing community that played a role in the Khalīfa's war with the Ethiopians in 1884-5. Their leader Ṣāliḥ b. Idrīs fought with the Ethiopians, while a cousin of his was appointed to succeed him as community head. In the 20th century, communities of West African origin in the Sudan are referred to as Fellāta (the Kanuri name for the Fulbe) rather than Takrūrī. By the riverain Sudanese both terms are applied to persons from anywhere west of (and sometimes including) Dār Fūr.

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TAKRŪRĪ [see TAKRŪR].

TAḲSĪM (A.) (*taksim* in modern Turkish spelling), "division", "segmentation", also used in its plural form *taḳāsīm*, a term of urban art music in the eastern Arab countries and Turkey. It refers to the improvising presentation of a *maḳām* [*q.v.*], played on a melody instrument. The corresponding North African genre is called *istikhbār*. The *taḳsīm* serves generally as an introduction into a measured vocal or instrumental piece, but it has also developed into an independent solo piece. *Taḳsīm* performance has a declamatory character. Melodic segments of different length and intensity are followed by periods of silence. It is the elaboration of a basic modal structure, concretised and embellished by the instrumentalist according to his musical knowledge and technical skill. It starts and ends with the basic tonal group (tetrachord or pentachord) of the mode, and progresses from the lower to the higher register and back again. Transitions to related modes, considered essential in virtuoso varieties of *taḳsīm*, can be introduced in the course of the ascending movement. The rhythm is free and is not determined by musical metrics (*awzān, uṣūl*), but the soloist can occasionally be supported by a kind of rhythmic drone played on a percussion instrument. By reducing the actual performance of a *taḳsīm* to its basic structure, musicologists have abstracted simple tonal patterns similar to those described earlier by Arab theorists. Thus the initial segment of the mode *rāst* transcribed by E. Gerson-Kiwi and P. Rovsing Olsen, is identical with the first section (*shuʿba*) of the mode *rāst* described in the anonymous *al-Shadjara dhāt al-akmām al-ḥāwiya li-uṣūl al-anghām* (Cairo 1983, 53), and in other more recent Syrio-Egyptian sources.

The historical development of the *taḳsīm* has scarcely been investigated. In its modern signification the term occurs in the Turkish treatise by Dimitrie Cantemir (d. 1723), where an extensive instrumental *taḳsīm* is described which touches upon thirty other *maḳāms* before returning to the initial mode. Cantemir stresses the unmetred, improvised character of the piece (see Ḳanṭemiroğlu, *Kitāb-ı ʿIlmü'l-mūsıḳī ʿalā vechi'l-ḥurūfāt*, Istanbul 1976, 126-36, 172-3). This improvised instrumental *taḳsīm* is not mentioned in pre-Ottoman music literature, neither in Arabic, nor in Persian or Turkish sources. It first appears as an introductory part of the Turkish "concert suite" *faṣıl* (see *ibid.*, 186-7) that had superseded, in the 17th century, the traditional *nawba* [*q.v.*]. In the same function it occurs in the Egyptian *waṣla*, which combined elements of the earlier local *nawba* and the Turkish *faṣıl*.

In the earliest Ottoman art and court music of the 15th and 16th centuries, the name *taḳsīm* was given to the initial section of vocal forms of the *nawba* repertoire. From extant song-text collections we learn that the poetic text of these *taḳsīm* sections was "divided" or "segmented" by the duplication of syllables and by the introduction of other elongating word elements. Although a direct relation between the earlier vocal and the later instrumental *taḳsīm* can not be recognised, it may well be that the latter resulted from a borrowing process from the vocal sphere, comparable to the adaptation of other vocal forms to the Turkish instrumental repertoire in the 16th and 17th centuries.

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sational music: a study of interrelatedness in the arts, in *The World of Music*, xx (1978), 17-32; S. Elkholy, *The tradition of improvisation in Arab music*, Cairo 1978, 15-23; H.H. Touma, *Maqam Bayati in the Arabian Taqsim*, Berlin 1980; L. Ibsen al-Faruqi, *An annotated glossary of Arabic musical terms*, Westport and London 1981, 348; L. Landy, *Arab Taqsīm improvisation*, in *Informatique et musique*, Ivry 1984, 71-8; K. and U. Reinhard, *Musik der Türkei*, Darmstadt 1984, i, 103-109; S. El-Shawan, *Aspects de l'improvisation dans la musique arabe d'Egypte*, in *L'improvisation dans les musiques de tradition orale*, Paris 1987, 151-7; H.H. Touma, *Die Musik der Araber*, ²Wilhelmshaven 1989, 134-6; Y. Öztuna, *Büyük türk mûsikîsi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1990, ii, 370; O. Wright, *Words without songs*, London 1992, s.v. *taḳsīm*. (E. Neubauer)

TAḲSĪṬ (a.), the verbal noun of a form II verb *ḳassaṭa* "to distribute", especially used as a term of early Islamic financial administration. It denoted the allocation or distribution amongst the tax-payers of the global amount of taxation due. The synonyms *ḳasṭ/ḳisṭ* are also found. The term could also denote the total amount of taxation due or the instalments by which it was paid. See the references given by F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period, with special reference to circumstances in Iraq*, Copenhagen 1950, 127, and also H.F. Amedroz, *Abbasid administration in its decay, from the Tajarib al-Umam*, in *JRAS* (1913), 883-4.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬAḲṬŪḲA (pl. *ṭaḳāṭīḳ*), a form of strophic song in Egyptian colloquial Arabic. The semantic background of the term is vague. In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., a certain manner of singing to the accompaniment of a wand (*ḳaḍīb*) was called *ṭaḳṭaḳa*, as attested by Ibn al-Ḳaysarānī (*Kitāb al-Samāʿ*, Cairo 1970, 63) and by Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayya b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (see *al-Mawsūʿa al-Taymūriyya*, Cairo 1961, 168). Similarly, a traditional Egyptian Bedouin song called *ṭagg* is accompanied "by the beating of two sticks on some hard surface" (see J.R. Smart, in *JSS*, xii [1967], 248). There is, however, no reference to any particular "beating" in early *ṭaḳṭūḳa* performances that would permit an explanation of the term based on its onomatopoeic connotation. The actual song form flourished in urban Egyptian society from the late 19th century to the 1940s. Being considered a basically female genre, it seems to have originated in the circle of the Egyptian singers called *ʿawālim* (sing. *ʿālima* [*q.v.*]). The popularity of the *ṭaḳṭūḳa* was stimulated by the local record industry. One of the prominent performers was Munīra al-Mahdiyya (d. 1965), but also Umm Kulthūm (d. 1975 [*q.v.*]) recorded *ṭaḳṭūḳa* songs in the twenties and early thirties. The fashionable genre was soon taken up by some well-known composers, such as ʿAbduh al-Ḥamūlī (d. 1901), Sayyid Darwīsh (d. 1923), and Zakariyyā Aḥmad (d. 1961), who refined the melodic structure, whereas the rhythm was generally based on simple musical metres (*uṣūl*).

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TĀKURUNNĀ, the name of one of the provinces (*kuwar*) of al-Andalus from the 2nd/8th to the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, at least up to the formation of the Taifas. Somewhat curiously, the Arabic sources do not describe the boundaries of these *kuwar* with precision, hence we have to rely on approximations illuminated to varying extents by the geographers and historians of the time.

This is the case for the *kūra* of Tākurunnā, for the sources on this administrative division are vague. We know that its chef-lieu was Ronda [see runda], which was also one of its strongholds, although, according to Ibn Ghālib, Ronda was an *iḳlīm* or district of the *kūra* of Écija. In this regard one should recall that the Sierra de Ronda formed part, at varying times, of Écija, Cordova and Seville. In his *Mughrib*, Ibn Saʿīd states that the town of Tākurunnā "was the fortified centre of the *kūra*, later depopulated (or: destroyed)". Perhaps there was a fortified place in the first stages of the Muslim invasion, later abandoned through necessity or politico-military strategy or for some administrative restructuring. One should also remember that Ibn Saʿīd was writing in the 7th/13th century and that his descriptions may be based on anachronistic information.

The main fortresses of Tākurunnā included Bobastro [see barbashturu], the refuge of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*].

It seems certain that there was a *kūra* thus named where a *djund* or army group was established from 125/743, since, according to the anonymous *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, the lord of the province appeared some years later before ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I with his soldiers in order to give allegiance. After that, Tākurunnā is mentioned amongst the *kuwar* of al-Andalus, and Ibn Ḥayyān mentions the governors nominated or dismissed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III during his reign. In the 5th/11th century, Runda was the seat of the Berber Taifa of the Banū Īfran [*q.v.*], who belonged to the Zanāta recently arrived in the Peninsula. Once independent, the Banū Īfran occupied the territory of Tākurunnā after the death of the ruler of Malaga, Idrīs al-Muta'ayyid, in 431/1039-40, the year in which Hilāl b. Abī Ḳurra al-Yafranī rebelled, reigning in the first instance till 445/1053-4. Whilst he was imprisoned by al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*] for four years in Seville, his son Bādīs succeeded him, but acted so tyrannically that, once his father was released in 449/1057-8, he resumed power and executed his son. He died soon afterwards, leaving the succession to another son, Abū Naṣr Fatūḥ. But on the rebellion of one of his commanders, in league with al-Muʿtaḍid, the principality passed to the Seville kingdom in 457/1065. The region fell into the hands of the Almoravids in 484/1091. In the last stage of this dynasty's power, as part of a process observable in other parts of al-Andalus, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Akhyal b. Idrīs rebelled, according to Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Saʿīd, but for only a short time, it seems, since the people of Tākurunnā subsequently returned Abu 'l-Ghamr b. al-Shā'ib b. Gharrūn to power. For the Almohad period, al-Baydaḳ affirms that their occupation took place peacefully.

Finally, the territory formed part of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada and was conquered by the Catholic monarchs in 1485.

Within Tākurunnā society, the Berber element was of importance, and included the ʿAwsadja, probably arriving there at the time of the conquest, and the Zadjādjila from the Ittaft tribe, a part of the Nafza; during the amirate of Cordova, the Zadjādjila supplied high officers for the court. New Berber groups arrived in the region with the Īfran during the 5th/11th century (see above). There must have also been a significant Christian population at the time of the conquest, some of whom probably became *muwallad* converts, whilst those faithful to their religion would become Mozarabs. Such Christians included the ancestors of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, whose great-grandfather Djaʿfar settled at Torrecilla in the *kūra* of Reyyo (Malaga) in the time of al-Ḥakam I. Personages of Arabic origin were also known in Tākurunnā. Thus in the 5th/11th century the Lakhmid family of the Banu 'l-Ḥakīm left Seville for Ronda, as did others. The date of the appearance of the Azd Arab lineage there is uncertain; it included the famous *muḳriʾ* ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd al-Rundī (548-609/1153-1213). Also uncertain is the arrival date of the Djudhām, who included the famous judge and *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf al-Djudhāmī al-Muntishāḳirī, the teacher of Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], who exercised his profession at Ronda and Marbella right into the 8th/14th century. Finally, one should mention a group of Jewish families, including that of the 6th/12th century physician Ilyās b. Ṣaddūd.

The author of the *Dhikr* states that Tākurunnā was very mountainous, with numerous inaccessible castles, and that Ronda was an ancient place, with fertile agriculture, good pastures and other advantages, including a much sought-after aromatic herb of the mountains called the mahaleb cherry tree.

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TAḲWĀ [see Suppl.].

TAḲWĪM (a.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *ḳawwama* meaning "to correct, to rectify", in particular used by Muslim astronomers for determining the positions of the sun, the moon and the planets; hence, ephemeris or astronomical almanac.

1. Its use in astronomy.

For the computation of the *true* solar position [see al-shams], Muslim astronomers first calculated the *mean* solar position (*wasaṭ al-shams*). They then had to adjust or "correct" this by the amount of the equation of the sun (*taʿdīl al-shams*), and the result was the true solar position (*muḳawwam al-shams*). The determination of the true positions of the five naked-eye planets and the moon required more sophisticated calculations because of the more complicated underlying planetary models, but proceeded in an analogous way. The mean positions, the lunar nodes and the equations were determined by means of a *zīdj*, a handbook containing astronomical and mathematical tables (see al-zīdj, and E.S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, xlvi (1956), 123-77). The operations described above were then performed for the sun, moon and planets, at midday of each day of a period of, say, a year (lunar or solar Hidjra; for various years in use, see al-taʾrīkh) or by going in steps of a few days (usually five or ten). This information was organised in annual ephemerides (*taḳwīm*, pl. *taḳāwīm*), from which one could determine the position of the seven celestial bodies relative to each other. This was done e.g. for predicting eclipses of the sun and the moon (for eclipses, see al-kusūf) or to determine the horoscope for a given moment.

The principal part of most *taḳwīms* consists of 24 pages, one opening of two pages for every month of a given year (see the illustrations of a Yemeni specimen in ruʾyat al-hilāl). On the right-hand page the first columns give the current day expressed usually in several calendars (the Persian, Arabic, Syrian and Coptic calendars were used) and the day of the week. The right margin of the page was used for putting down annotations about the day in question, such as memorable historical events, religious feasts of Muslims, Jews and Christians, local events such as the beginning of shipping seasons, and the like. To the left of these columns is found the ephemeris for each day of the current month, consisting of one column each for the sun, moon, the planets in their usual order, and the ascending lunar node. To the left of these columns might be found columns for the daily solar altitude at noon, the length of daylight, and the solar altitude at the *ʿaṣr* prayer [see mīḳāt]. The left-hand page was devoted entirely to matters astrological. For each day, the occurrence of aspects of one planet with the others was recorded, giving the hour of the event and short astrological interpretations like "good", "bad" or "mixed". Because aspects of the moon were given particular importance, the moon had one column of its own while the other planets shared one together. Astronomical information about the time and location of conjunction and opposition of the sun and the moon were usually mentioned in a special row at the top and bottom of the pages. Because of its importance in eclipse predictions, the lunar latitude [see al-ḳamar] at these times was added. Further, since the Muslim month starts with the first visibility of the lunar crescent [see ruʾyat al-hilāl], the predicted time, location and condition of first visibility were noted.

At the beginning of the *taḳwīm*, the planetary positions at the time when the sun entered the sign of Aries (vernal equinox) were put down in a diagram, thus providing the horoscope for the given year, accompanied by astrological forecasts for the year. If eclipses were predicted for the year, then information about their time, location, duration and colour was recorded. Because eclipses were considered to be maleficent they were located in a separate part at the back of the *taḳwīm* for "... it is undesirable to have it at the beginning of the calendar ..." (al-Bīrūnī). Topics featured in additional chapters of the *taḳwīm* were more astrological in nature, but here no fixed convention existed. Of the wealth of possible topics, two were the most common. One of these was a table called

iḵẖtiyārāt (electiones) [see IKHTIYĀRĀT] showing days suitable for a given purpose, depending on the position of the moon in the zodiacal signs. Another was tables of the anwā' and the rising and setting times of the lunar mansions [see ANWĀ'; AL-MANĀZIL]; almanacal information relating to agriculture, weather and the like is often also found in taḳwīms.

The Islamic taḳwīms were developed from Hellenistic precursors dating from the 4th or 5th centuries A.D., which show the same arrangement of several calendars, ephemerides for the sun, moon and the planets, and astrological remarks for the actual day in monthly tables (see H. Gerstinger und O. Neugebauer, *Eine Ephemeride für das Jahr 348 oder 424 n.Chr.*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ccxl/2 [1962], 1-25). The first known mention of a *taḳwīm* was made by Thābit b. Ḳurra [q.v.], and he called it *daftar al-sana* (reported by Ibn Yūnus in his *Ḥākimī zīdj*, ed. and tr. C.A. Caussin de Perceval, in *Le livre de la grande table Hakémite*, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vii, Paris 1804, 98). A detailed description was presented by al-Bīrūnī [q.v.] in his *Tafhīm*, elucidating all essential parts of a *taḳwīm*. The same arrangement given by him was followed for centuries with little variation. Al-Bīrūnī reports that he knew *taḳwīms* from Eastern Persia to the north-west of India. In putting forward additional materials and minor modifications, Persian astronomers played a major role. Some fifty years after al-Bīrūnī, Shahmardān b. Abi 'l-Khayr Rāzī in his work *Rawḍat al-munadjdjimīn* proposed to add *iḵẖtiyārāt* tables to the basic ephemerides. In the 6th/12th century, *taḳwīms* are mentioned in the mediaeval literature for Syria and Egypt (see A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, repr. New York 1981, 167). To this period belong the extant fragments of *taḳwīms* which are Hebrew copies of Arabic contemporaneous originals found in the Cairo Geniza and which cover the period from 526/1131-2 to 553/1158-9. The *Sī faṣl* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [q.v.] marks the culmination in sophistication of astronomical and astrological terminology used in the *taḳwīms*. Al-Ṭūsī considerably enlarged the tables by joining tables for the moon's motion through the mansions, tables for changes in planetary motions (direct motion, stationary points, retrograde motion), and visibility of the planets depending on their position relative to the sun. Some symmetric alignments of the planets had special meanings and were annotated in the ephemeris: e.g. when two planets were symmetrically positioned to the beginnings of Cancer and Capricorn (*tanāẓur-i zamānī*) and to the beginnings of Aries and Libra (*tanāẓur-i muṭallīʿ*). For the Yemen, we know of *taḳwīms* from the 8th/14th century onwards; two specimens for the years 727/1326-27 and 808/1405-06 are preserved intact. The importance given to agricultural lore is peculiar to Yemeni *taḳwīms*, thus reflecting the Yemeni tradition of agricultural almanacs (see further, below 2.). The treatise on the computation of *taḳwīm*, entitled *Bīst bāb* written by ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Niẓām al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Bīrdjandī (d. 934/1527-8) is very similar to *Sī faṣl*, differing from it by the inclusion of a section on prayer-times and the finding of the *ḳibla* [q.v.]. The widespread use of *Bīst bāb* was surpassed by a detailed commentary *Sharḥ-i Bīst bāb* written by Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad Ḳāsim-i Muẓaffar Djunābādī in 1005/1596-7. The extant *taḳwīms* which mainly originated in Persia and Turkey and date from 1800 onwards, commonly consist of the 24 ephemeris pages in the middle, an *iḵẖtiyārāt* table at the end, and at the beginning a horoscope using the usual zodiacal signs and a second one using the Turkish animal signs, thus showing Ottoman influence. In a small number of *taḳwīms* the astronomical tables are replaced by extended tables of memorable events (sometimes called *tawḳīʿāt*).

Bibliography: For descriptions of *taḳwīms* by Muslim authors, see Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, tr. R.R. Wright, London 1934, 186-91; Shahmardān b. Abi 'l-Khayr Rāzī, *Rawḍat al-munadjdjimīn*, facs., Tehran 1989, 15-33; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sī faṣl*, Tehran, Iranian Parliament Library ms. 6998. For descriptions of extant *taḳwīms*, see M. Boutelle, *The almanac of Azarquiel*, in *Centaurus*, xii (1967), 12-19, and E.S. Kennedy, *A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34, both repr. in D.A. King and M.H. Kennedy (eds.), *Studies in the Islamic sciences*, Beirut 1983; B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, *Astrological almanacs from the Cairo Geniza, Parts I + II*, in *JNES*, xxxviii (1979), 153-75, 231-56; B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, *Additional astrological almanacs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JAOS*, ciii (1983), 673-90. On the way *taḳwīms* were compiled, see G. Saliba, *Computational techniques in a set of late medieval astronomical tables*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, i (1977), 24-9; idem, *The double-argument lunar tables of Cyriacus*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, vii (1976), 41-6; D.A. King, *A double argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnus*, in *Centaurus*, xviii (1974), 129-46, repr. in idem, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*, Variorum, London 1986; idem and E.S. Kennedy, *Ibn al-Majdī's tables for calculating ephemerides*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, iv (1980), 48-68, repr. in King, *Islamic mathematical astronomy*. (M. HOFELICH)

2. Agricultural almanacs.

The almanac as a literary and scientific genre in Arabic provides seasonal information on astronomical events, weather periods, holidays, agriculture, and other activities. There is no single Arabic term that defines this genre. When almanac data are arranged in tabular form, the text is sometimes called *taḳwīm*. The terms *natīdja* and *ruz-nāma* (derived from Persian) are sometimes used to denote almanacs. The seasonal information in a tabular almanac is often referred to as *tawḳīʿāt* ("events"). Despite numerous claims to the contrary, the English term "almanac", as well as its cognates in Western languages, is not derived from the mediaeval and contemporary Arabic term *manākh* ("climate"), but is probably from the Greek αλμενιχιακα in reference to astrological calendars.

Most Arabic almanacs are arranged according to the solar calendar. In Egypt, this is the Coptic reckoning of twelve months of thirty days followed by an interstitial period of five days. Almanacs of the Arabian Peninsula, Levant and ʿIrāḳ cite the Syriac month names, sometimes referred to as *Rūmī* months, starting with *Tishrīn al-Awwal* (October). In North Africa and Spain, the Roman month names, starting with January, are simply Arabised. Since the Islamic *hidjrī* calendar is lunar, some eleven days shorter than the seasons. it must be correlated to a given solar year to be appropriate for seasonal activities. A few star calendars are also recorded as written almanacs, although these are more common in folklore (see D.M. Varisco, *The agricultural marker stars in Yemeni folklore*, in *Asian Folklore Studies*, lii [1993], 119-42). The Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās compiled a unique perpetual almanac by the degree of the zodiac about 777/1375 for Taʿizz in Yemen.

Hundreds of almanac texts have survived, but only

a few have been studied or translated (idem, *The Arab almanac. A preliminary bibliography*, in *MME*, vii [1995], for a full bibliography of texts). Earlier almanacs are found in folk astronomical texts of the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] and *azmina* genres. They are also found in works on astronomy, agriculture, encyclopaedias, and, more recently, as independent documents. Almanac poems, such as that of the Yemeni Nas̲h̲wān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1177), are quite common, although many are anonymous.

The earliest extant almanacs in Arabic date from the 3rd/9th century, including the texts of Abū Ḥanīfa Aḥmad al-Dīnawarī and the ʿIrāḳī Christian physician Ibn Māsawayh [*q.vv.*]. One of the most influential early almanacs was from the widely-quoted *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* attributed to Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya [*q.v.*]. Al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) included excerpts relevant to Greece from an earlier almanac derived from Sinān b. T̲h̲ābit. The majority of surviving almanacs are Egyptian, including texts by al-Mak̲h̲zūmī (d. *ca.* 580/1185), Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (d. 821/1418), and al-Maḳrīzī (d. 845/1442). Several almanacs have survived in Spain, the most famous being the 4th/10th century Calendar of Cordova, which was translated into Latin as *Liber Anoe*. The agricultural texts of Ibn Baṣṣāl (d. 499/1105) and Ibn al-ʿAwwām (7th/13th century) contain detailed almanacs with extensive agricultural coverage.

One of the best-preserved almanac traditions is in Yemen, where traditional almanacs are still compiled. The earliest extant agricultural almanac here is found in *al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-nud̲j̲ūm* of the Rasūlid sultan al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf ʿUmar (d. 696/1296). The text is arranged in tabular form, starting with *Tis̲h̲rīn al-Awwal* (October), which is correlated with the Ḥimyarite month name *D̲h̲ū Ṣirāb*. The subjects covered in the almanac include: zodiacal astronomy; timing of the sun's zenith (*samt al-raʾs* [see AL-SAMT]); amount of daylight and shadow lengths for the start and middle of each month; risings and settings of the twenty-eight lunar stations (*manāzil al-ḳamar*) [see AL-MANĀZIL] and fixed stars such as Altair, Canopus, Procyon, Sirius, six stars of Ursa Major, and Vega; weather periods of major rains, winds, heat, and cold; stages of the Nile and Euphrates rivers; fluctuation in water sources; appearance of certain natural plants and pasturage; appearance or disappearance of certain animals; health régimes for each season; humoral timing of sexual desires; sailing seasons from Aden to Egypt, Africa and the Indian Ocean; and agriculture. The agricultural information supplements the author's *Milḥ al-malāḥa fī maʿrifat al-filāḥa* (see M. D̲j̲āzm, in *al-Iklīl* (Ṣanʿāʾ), iii/1 (1985), 165-207). Al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf recorded ten distinct tax periods for Yemen as well as a major description of the agricultural cycle for the coastal Tihāma and the southern highlands. The crops mentioned include twenty-one varieties of sorghum and millet; ten local varieties of wheat; rice; sugar cane; over two dozen fruits, vegetables, and legumes; flax; cotton; and seven aromatic plants. At least seven almanac texts have survived from the Rasūlid era. Later Yemeni compilers often copied from these Rasūlid almanacs, at times introducing errors for crops or place names. From the 1940s up to the mid-1970s an annual almanac was published in Taʿizz by Muḥammad al-Ḥaydara.

The almanac tradition also survives in the Arabian Gulf. From 1957 until 1989 S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd Allāh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī published annually his *al-Taḳwīm al-Ḳaṭarī*. One of the primary sources for al-Anṣārī was a *taḳwīm* compiled by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUyūnī of Nad̲j̲d around 1324/1906. In Kuwait, Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad al-ʿUd̲j̲ayrī has published an annual almanac since the 1940s. During the 1980s, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār Muḥammad al-Mād̲j̲id compiled an annual almanac in Sharjah of the United Arab Emirates. The Gulf almanacs combine information on pastoralism in the eastern part of the peninsula with weather periods and sailing seasons for the Persian Gulf.

As a written text, the Arabic almanac throughout the Islamic period was aimed at a scholarly audience rather than as a practical guide for the farmer. Early almanacs in Arabic offer an example of applied science, i.e. the kinds of seasonal events in nature that were deemed relevant among scholars. This accounts for the attention paid to basic astronomical risings and settings in most almanac texts. Because the information provided is often cryptic and invariably unattributed to the sources consulted, study of the genre requires familiarisation with a variety of scientific texts and is enhanced when contemporary oral folklore contextualises the data.

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4. Yemen. R.B. Serjeant, *Star calendars and an almanac from south-west Arabia*, in *Anthropos*, xlix (1954), 433-59; D.M. Varisco, *al-Ḥisāb al-zirāʿī fī ʿurd̲j̲ūzat Ḥasan al-ʿAffārī. Dirāsāt fī 'l-taḳwīm al-zirāʿī al-Yamanī* in *al-Maʾt̲h̲ūrāt al-S̲h̲aʿbiyya*, xvi (1989), 7-29; idem, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science. The almanac of a Yemeni sultan*, Seattle 1994; idem, *An anonymous 14th century almanac from Rasulid Yemen*, in *ZGAIW*, ix (1995), 195-228. (D.M. VARISCO)

TAKWĪN (A.) "to bring into being", more specifically used for the artificial generation of minerals, plants and animals; in the case of plants and animals, the process is often called *tawlīd*, and Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya also gives *taʿfīn*. Within the mediaeval Islamic cultural sphere, the idea that artificial generation was possible was widespread in less orthodox circles. The accepted notions concerning generation, including spontaneous generation [see TAWALLUD] made the idea less far-fetched than it may seem. In the occult sciences (alchemy and magic), the processes of artificial generation are discussed in various contexts; see especially Paul Kraus' ground-breaking study in *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân. Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Cairo 1943, ii, 97-134.

The main sources involved here are (a) the *D̲j̲ābir ibn Ḥayyān* [*q.v.*] corpus (especially the *K. al-Tad̲j̲mīʿ*; partly ed. by Kraus, *Jâbir ibn Ḥayyân. Textes choisis*, Cairo 1935, 341-91; full ed. being prepared by Pingree and Haq; also the *K. al-Ik̲h̲rād̲j̲*, see F. Rex, *Zur Theorie*

der Naturprozesse in der frühar abischen Wissenschaft; das "Kitāb al-iḥrāq", übersetzt und erklärt. Ein Beitrag zum alchemistischen Weltbild der Ǧābir-Schriften (8./10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), Wiesbaden 1975, 58, 136-8). Sources mentioned by Djābir include an otherwise unknown work of Porphyry, the *K. al-Tawlīd*, and the pseudo-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs*, see below. (b) Various works connected with Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*], notably the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya* (facs. ed. Frankfurt a/M. 1984, 7 vols.; currently being edited by Toufic Fahd, *L'Agriculture nabatéenne*, Damascus 1993-), and *K. Asrār al-Ḳamar* (only quotations extant; see Ullmann, *Naturwiss.*, 76). (c) The pseudo-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs* (only partly extant in Arabic, but known from its Latin translation, the *Liber Vacce*); the importance of this text was already pointed out by Kraus, 1943, 103-4, and, more recently, by Pingree (*Plato's hermetic* Book of the Cow, in P. Prini (ed.), *Il neoplatonismo nel rinascimento*, Rome 1993), who places its origin in 9th-century Ḥarrān. The article contains useful refs. to extant Arabic fragments, 435 n. 15. The possible relevance of the *K. al-Nawāmīs* for the mediaeval Jewish idea of the *golem*, an artificially-created human being, remains to be studied.

The influence of all these sources is widely traceable in Arabic literature, especially the occult, such as pseudo-Madjrīṭī's [*q.v.*] *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* and—in the case of plant production—also in agricultural texts.

The idea that underlies the concept of artificial generation is that since nature [see ṬABĪʿA] can transform the four elements into minerals, plants and animals, it is possible for man to repeat this process by closely imitating nature's procedures. Added to this, especially with regard to theories about the artificial generation of higher forms of animal life, Neoplatonic ideas about the souls of the celestial bodies are of considerable importance, since these souls could possibly be induced to join with earthly matter (cf. the practices involved in making talismans). Given these ideas, it was not only of basic importance to compose the right mixture for creating a specific creature, but also to submit the matter to the right procedure. This involved not only processes such as heating and putrefaction (*taʿfīn*), but also various imitative techniques. These range from including parts of the creatures to be produced, or images of them, with the matter to be transformed (see Ibn Waḥshiyya 1984, vii, 32; Kraus 1943, ii, 110), to (Djābir, see Kraus) the use of elaborate equipment and techniques imitating the celestial bodies. Another recurring element is placing the matter to be transformed, which might contain a symbolic equivalent to semen or, as in the *Liber Vacce*, real semen of the type of animal that one intended to create, in a space or container functioning as a symbolic womb, or even putting it in the womb of a live animal (again in the *Liber Vacce*, see Pingree, *op. cit.*).

In the *K. al-Ikhrādj* (136), the production of living creatures is presented as the end result of science in Djābir's system, the "seventh science" in which the synthesis of the first six (the sciences of the Balance, talismans, engaging spiritual powers (*rūḥāniyyāt*), medicine, alchemy and the science of properties (*khawāṣṣ*)) took place. In the 12th section of the *Filāḥa nabaṭiyya*, Ibn Waḥshiyya also implies a culmination of theories unfolded earlier by referring to artificial generation as "the great advantage", *al-fāʾida al-kubrā* (on his theories, see *GAS*, iv, 141-2; also 352-6 of Fahd's synopsis of the *Filāḥa* in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, i, Leiden 1977).

While Djābir's methods involve not only putting together the right mixture but also complicated equipment and techniques to induce spiritual powers, Ibn Waḥshiyya (usually referring to "Adam", the author of the *K. Asrār al-ḳamar*) mainly concentrates on the transformation, by means of *taʿfīn* "putrefaction", of earth and water particles; the process is set in motion by the heat of the sun. Several methods for the production of plants are given on the authority of "Adam", as well as a number of recipes for producing specific species; see also the many refs. to the *K. Asrār al-ḳamar* in, for instance, al-Waṭwāṭ's section on plants in his *Mabāhidj al-fikar*. Ibn Waḥshiyya describes two different methods involving burying matter in the earth, and a third one that involves burning. Of the many recipes which he tried out, a considerable number turned out to be useless, for which he blames textual corruption, while others worked satisfactorily, especially those involving burying (*tadfīn*).

Artificial generation of animals was also considered possible. This went fairly undisputed where lower animals (wasps, scorpions, snakes) were concerned (see, for instance, a recipe in the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (411); for refs. in the *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*, see Kraus 1943, ii, 103). The possibility of creating higher animals, and even human beings, however, is not excluded either. Ibn Waḥshiyya alludes to this (sheep, camels and such like), and tells about the sorcerer ʿAnkabūtā, who managed to produce a human being, who, however, did not possess the powers of reason and speech, and could not eat. He also mentions the clay of a certain mountain (Kraus 1943, ii, 112, obviously referring to the same tradition, mentions Makrān and Kirmān), which had the potential to spontaneously produce (lifeless) human bodies and was reportedly used by people to create (living) human beings; these, however, never lived longer than a day (1984, vii, 24-5).

In Djābir's *K. al-Tadjmīʿ*, the possibilities concerning the artificial generation of human beings seem virtually unlimited; his text seems to imply that even the highest possible kind of sub-lunar creature, a prophet (*ṣāḥib al-nāmūs*), may be generated artificially. The various possible interpretations of *nāmūs/nawāmīs* (which, among other things, may mean "spell", cf. *aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal wa 'l-nawāmīs*, Kraus 1943, ii, 104; Rex, *Zur Theorie*..., 96, 129) make this statement highly cryptic. Kraus also suggests that the idea of an artificially-created spokesman of the celestial world may have its origin in Egyptian-Greek theories about the bringing to life of the statues of deities.

It may be noted that the gender issue plays no part in discussions about these artificially-produced human beings; their sex is never mentioned. Implicitly, they seem to be male. That some of the hominoid creatures produced had the power of speech (another important issue in artificially-created human beings) is explicitly stated by Djābir (see Kraus 1943, ii, 117); see also Pingree, 1993, 441.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(REMKE KRUK)

ṬALAB AL-ʿILM [see ʿILM].

ṬALABA, ṬULLĀB, ṬULBA, ṬOLBA (A.), pls. of *ṭālib* "scholar, one who has studied, student".

In Morocco, the colloquial plural *ṭolba* denotes the students at *madrasas* (*medersas*) or at universities. The best-known are those of Fās (Fès), who stay in the *madrasas* of the town and who follow courses at the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] University. Their spring festival, called "the festival of the *sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" won for them a certain fame. In the second half of April, these *ṭolba* or students used to have the custom of gathering together on the open spaces bordering on the Wādī

Fās. In former times, after having sought the Sultan's authorisation through the intermediacy of the Grand Vizier (under the Protectorate, the request was equally transmitted by the French administration), the *ṭolba* would congregate in the main court of the Ḳarawiyyīn Mosque and would proceed to choose the "*ṣulṭān* of the *ṭolba*", an office which continued to be exercised all through the days of festivity, a little more than a week. On the Wednesday following the Sultan's reply, this office was put up for auction through the voice of the *dellāl*, the crier in the book market. After being proclaimed, the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" would organise his own *makhzan*, and the chosen *muḥtasib* would make a collection, levy taxes on the markets, check the weights and measures, etc. Even the notables of Fās would hand over taxes due to the ephemeral sultan. Two days later, dressed in the insignia of sovereignty lent by the real Sultan, and accompanied by his court, the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" would visit various holy places in the town, and, on the Saturday, would reach the open spaces along the Wādī Fās. An audience was given to a prince of the reigning dynasty, who brought a present, a *hediya* (*hadiyya*) for the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*". Sometimes it was the Sultan in person who would come out to the students' encampment. The "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" had at this time the privilege of asking the real Sultan for a favour.

In our own time, this festival of the "*sulṭān* of the *ṭolba*" has fallen into total disuse.

For theories on the origin of this festival, see SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA.

Bibliography: See that to SULṬĀN AL-ṬALABA, and add F. Gaillard, *Une ville de l'slam. Fès*, Paris 1905; P. Ricard, *Le printemps à Fès, le sultan des ṭolba*, in *France-Maroc*, 15 June 1917.

(CH. DE LA VÉRONNE)

ṬALABĪRA, a place in al-Andalus corresponding to the modern Talavera de la Reina in the Spanish province of Toledo. It grew up on the site of the Roman Caesarobriga, near the Sierra de Gredos and on the banks of the Tagus [see TĀDJUH].

As far back as the 4th/10th century, al-Rāzī describes it as a town dependent on Toledo, well fortified, and adds that in 325/936, on the orders of the ruler ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, a citadel for accommodating its governors was built. Al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century) also mentions its fortifications, adding that it was a fine town with considerable economic life there, surrounded by fertile lands and with numerous mills along the river. Ibn Ghālib and Yāḳūt, in the next century, drawing on al-Rāzī, state that Ṭalabīra was on the frontier between the Muslims and the infidels. According to the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (8th-9th/14th-15th century), it was the *amīr* Muḥammad I who built the walls and populated the site known as Ṭalabīra.

Its Islamic history was linked, in its various stages, with that of the important centre of Toledo [see ṬULAYṬILA].

Bibliography: Rāzī, *Description*, tr. Lévi-Provençal, in *And.*, xviii (1953), 18, 82; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, 227; Ibn Ghālib, *Farḥa*, tr. J. Vallvé, in *Annuario de Filologia* (1975), 378, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 542; *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. L. Molina, text 121, tr. 156; Mª Jesús Viguera, *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes*, Madrid 1992, index.

(FÁTIMA ROLDÁN CASTRO)

ṬALĀʾIʿ B. RUZZĪK, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, vizier in Cairo from 549/1154 to 559/1161. He held office during the imāmate of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Fāʾiz, and also at the beginning of the imāmate of al-ʿĀḍid, with the full names Abu 'l-Gharāt Fāris al-Muslimīn al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk al-Ghassānī al-Armanī (for all the titles borne by him, see *RCEI*, ix, 3231; Ibn Muyassar, *al-Muntaḳā min akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid, Cairo 1982, 151; al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥilmī Muḥ. Aḥmad, Cairo 1393/1973, iii, 218); coming after Badr al-Djamālī and al-Afḍal, he was the last Fāṭimid military grand vizier who attempted successfully to carry out an autonomous Fāṭimid political project in the Eastern Mediterranean. He derived his power from Upper Egypt, a rich province which controlled the route of the pilgrimage, including the supply of wheat to the holy cities, and the trade in spices and drugs with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean, as well as the trade with black Africa involving the import of slaves and gold dust.

There is just one source which gives him a Maghribī Berber origin; for although he bore the Arabic *nisba* of al-Ghassānī, most of the chronicles see him as an Armenian born in Egypt in 495/1101-2. His father is said to have been attached to the group of officers who came to Egypt for Badr al-Djamālī. Certain writers thought that he was born in Armenia (Muḥammad Ḥamdī al-Mināwī, *al-Wizāra wa 'l-wuzarāʾ fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-fāṭimī*, Cairo 1970, 285-7).

He probably sought his fortune in ʿIrāḳ, having been converted to Imāmite Shīʿism there, and always used to keep up a correspondence with Mawṣil, Kūfa and Ḥilla. He made his career in the army in Egypt. In 538, as governor of al-Buḥayra, he quelled a revolt of the Lawāta and won a decisive victory against Ibn Maṣāl (Ibn Muyassar, *Muntaḳā*, 142) for the future vizier al-ʿAbbās. In 549/1154, at the time of his accession to the vizierate, he was the governor of either Ushmūnayn and al-Bahnasā, or of Munyat Banī (or Ibn) al-Khaṣīb, or of Asyūṭ. In the interim he had been governor of Aswān and of Ḳūṣ, a town with which he kept close ties.

After he had become vizier, in 550/1155, he had the mosque there reconstructed, endowing it with a beautiful *miḥrāb* (J.-Cl. Garcin, in *AI*, ix [1970], 99-109; and idem, *Ḳūṣ*, 115). There is a very well-known account of the assassination of the caliph al-Ẓāfir by his lover Naṣr, the son of the vizier al-ʿAbbās, in Muḥarram 549/April 1154, and of the slaughter which resulted from this assassination, and of how the women of the palace cut off their hair and sent it to Ṭalāʾiʿ to urge him to come to the defence of the dynasty (see for example G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, Paris 1937, 284-8; Ayman F. Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimīyya fī Miṣr, tafsīr djadīd*, Cairo 1413/1992, 214-20). Ṭalāʾiʿ set out to attack Cairo, at the head of officers who had received the *iḳṭāʿ* of the region and preceded by allied tribal groups, the Djudhām, Sanbas, Ṭalḥa, Djaʿfar and Lawāta (al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 217), and al-ʿAbbās attempted to negotiate with him while organising the defence of the capital. But there was popular active resistance in the city, and the imminent threat of the arrival of a powerful coalition made the situation untenable for al-ʿAbbās, so he left the city; he was accompanied by his son Naṣr, by Usāma b. Munḳidh, and by other important dignitaries, heading a convoy of 100 war horses, 200 mules and 400 camels, laden with the treasures taken from the Fāṭimid palace.

In Rabīʿ I 549/July 1154, Ṭalāʾiʿ, dressed in black, entered the city at the head of his soldiers, who were brandishing black standards and carrying on the points of their lances the hair of the women of the Fāṭimid family whom they had come to avenge. The chroniclers saw the abandoning of the white Fāṭimid standards as a premonition of what was to be a reinstallation

of the black ʿAbbāsid standards by Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 567/1171. Having given a decent burial to the bodies of the war dead, Ṭalāʾiʿ, once he was installed in the Dār al-Maʾmūn which Naṣr b. ʿAbbās had occupied, set about making general investigations among all the families of eminent civil and military persons who had collaborated with al-ʿAbbās. Executions ensued, as well as journeys into exile and flights to the Yemen.

Throughout his reign he displayed great keenness in financial matters, balancing the financial system, carrying out confiscations, speculating on the price of cereals as soon as a scarcity was announced. The wealth of property became apparent in an act of foundation of *waḳf* (Cl. Cahen, Muṣṭafā Ṭāhir and Yūsuf Rāghib, *L'achat et le waqf d'un grand domaine égyptien par le vizir fāṭimide Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzīk*, in *AI*, xiv [1978], 59-126). He used his wealth for pious aims; in 555/1160 he built a mosque outside the Bāb Zuwayla, which was destined to receive the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. In fact, this project was never fulfilled (G. Wiet, *Les mosques du Caire*, Paris 1966, 103), but this very elegant monument, the last built under the Fāṭimids, was fortified with a *badhandj* in the style of Upper Egypt; its decoration was carefully executed and, according to the original plan, it was built above a row of shops, and comprised a narthex-loggia dominating the road going south from Cairo (Caroline Williams, *Islamic monuments in Cairo*, Cairo 1993, 106-7).

The zeal for financial success shown by Ibn Ruzzīk is partly explained by the fact that the vizier al-ʿAbbās in his flight had taken away all the currency and moveable treasures which belonged to the dynasty; this collection of wealth was recovered by the Franks when they killed al-ʿAbbās in Palestine (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, 330). That is how the magnificent Fāṭimid aiguières made from rock crystal were rediscovered in the Holy Land, from where they were to be despatched to monasteries and to the collections of European royal palaces where they were displayed as relics. The young Naṣr was handed over to Ṭalāʾiʿ, who in turn handed him to the women of the palace; they put him to death.

Ṭalāʾiʿ was the first Fāṭimid vizier to bear a *laḳab* in *al-Malik*. This followed the example of his contemporary al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, but was probably chosen in memory of the Būyid rulers, who were Imāmīs like himself and protectors of the Sunnī ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

When the Sunnī Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had reunited Egypt and Syria, he bore the title of *sulṭān* which was made popular by the Sunnī Saldjūḳs. It was a title which implied a status of total political autonomy (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, ed. al-Ḥilū and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1388/1968, v, 314-16).

The chroniclers drew attention to his high Arabic culture (al-Wahrānī, *Manāmāt*, ed. Shaʿlān and Naʿsh, Cairo 1968, 33-4), his ability to compose verses, and the entourage of scholars (who often came from Upper Egypt where Imāmī Shīʿīs and Ismāʿīlīs were numerous) among whom he liked to live; they are listed in *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 219-20. The *ḳāḍī* al-Muhadhdhab al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Zubayr, from an eminent family in Aswān, and the *kātib* al-Djālis al-Mākin Ibn al-Ḥubāb, who directed the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* along with al-Muʾaffiḳ b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, are those most often cited.

It was probably under the vizierate of Ṭalāʾiʿ that the Sunnī *ḳāḍī* al-Fāḍil, the future minister of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, began his public career as *kātib* of the *dīwān* at Alexandria (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1970, iii, 158-63).

Having to exercise political and military authority in Upper Egypt involved taking a particular interest in the pilgrimage to the Holy Cities, and as governor he had to give the governor of Ḳūṣ the order to exempt pilgrims from taxes, to deliver wheat to Mecca, or to detain *ʿumarāʾ* arriving in Egypt from the city (Garcin, *Qūṣ*, 104 f.).

In 548/1153, Nāṣir al-Dawla Yāḳūt was governor of Ḳūṣ. He supported Ṭalāʾiʿ, in particular in 551/1156, at the time of the revolt of al-Awḥad Ibn Tamīm, the governor of Damietta. But in 552/1157, relying on the discontent of an aunt of the Imām with the intrusion of the vizier into palace administration, Yāḳūt prepared a revolt and was arrested in Cairo. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭarkhān succeeded him a short time later in Ḳūṣ; then he was replaced by Shāwar, a page of Ṭalāʾiʿ's, who was destined to play a top-ranking political role.

In Ṣafar 549/spring 1154, the Frankish fleet from Sicily had carried out a murderous attack on Tinnīs. Ṭalāʾiʿ wanted to obtain a truce with the Franks and to pay them a tribute financed by a tax levied on the *iḳṭāʿ*s. His officers were uneasy and, thanks to some Egyptian sailors who spoke "Frankish", they launched a bold commando-type operation against the port of Tyre. Their victory put an end to his project (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 331-2).

In Ṣafar 549/April 1154, three months after power was taken from Ṭalāʾiʿ at Cairo, Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī took up residence in Damascus, which he made his capital, being committed to his project of reconquering the territories occupied by the Franks. The hostility of Ṭalāʾiʿ towards the Christians was well known (Sāwīrus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, *Taʾrīkh baṭārikat al-kanīsa al-miṣriyya*, iii, 1, ed. A. Khater and Khs. Burmester, Cairo 1968, in English, 74-9, in Arabic, 46-7; S.M. Stern, *Faṭimid decrees*, London 1964, 76 f.), hence his humiliation after ʿAsḳalān fell into their hands in 548/1153. Abandoning his diplomatic overtures to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he sent the *ḥādjib* Maḥmūd al-Muwallad to Damascus to propose a joint military action to Nūr al-Dīn, to whom he had paid a tribute (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 353, Ramaḍān 553/autumn 1158, 356, Ṣafar 554/January-February 1159). The Egyptian army was commanded by the *nāʾib al-Bāb* Ḍirghām, for whom the military corps of the Barḳiyya had been created. He led operations at Ghazza in 553/1158, then in the interior of Palestine and beyond Jordan. The Fāṭimid fleet attacked the Frankish coast, and Beirut specifically. As the military capacity of the Fāṭimid fleet was from now on recognised, in the months which followed, Ṭalāʾiʿ received a mission from Byzantium asking for his aid against the Normans of Sicily. The brother of the Count of Cyprus had been taken prisoner, so he was despatched to the Byzantine Basileus. Then the Frankish delegates, worried at the new Mediterranean situation, came in their turn to attempt to negotiate a truce. At the same time, a reconciliation was witnessed between the Byzantines and Nūr al-Dīn.

For the Arab chroniclers (Ibn Muyassar, *Muntaḳā*, 142) these costly operations gained some success but did more harm. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 496-565, has seen them as important operations but has attributed the passivity of Nūr al-Dīn to his distrust of the stability of the Egyptian régime. G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, 287-8, gives as a reason the faint-heartedness of the Prince of Damascus, who was ill during that period. J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969, i, 413, has attached no real military impact to these actions, and he scarcely mentions them.

Prudently, Ṭalāʾiʿ fortified Bilbays to block the approach of any army coming from Syria against Cairo. In Radjab 555/July 1160, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀḍid li-Dīn Allāh [*q.v.*], born in Muḥarram 546/May 1151, succeeded his cousin, al-Fāʾiz, the child who witnessed the massacre of 549/1154, but died of illness. His father, the son of the caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, had been killed on the day of the enthronement of al-Fāʾiz. Al-ʿĀḍid was chosen as Imām by al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭalāʾīʿ after the first choice had rested on an adult member of the Fāṭimid family (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 255; al-Fāriḳī, cited in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl*, 360-1). A child of eleven years old probably seemed more inclined to comply with the directives of Ṭalāʾiʿ, who had now governed Egypt for more than six years as an absolute monarch.

The vizier made the Imām his son-in-law; he would have liked to have a grandson as caliph, but he died, assassinated at the instigation of an aunt of al-ʿĀḍid, on 19 Ramaḍān 556/11 September 1161. He was attacked in the hallway of his palace, but during his long agony the vizier was able to obtain from the young caliph the death sentence for the instigator of the conspiracy and also for the three men who carried it out. Furthermore, he had his son Ruzzīk recognised as his successor, and it was to him that he confided his three regrets: the construction outside Bāb Zuwayla of a mosque which could offer an advance position to an assailant against Cairo, the excessive expenses involved in fortifying Bilbays [*q.v.*] without having the chance to make use of it for marching on Jerusalem, and the nomination of Shāwar as governor of Upper Egypt, which posed a threat to his power in Cairo.

Historians assess his exploits in diverse ways. On the one hand Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal al-munḳatiʿa*, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 108-13, has strongly emphasised his rapacity and his violence. On the other hand, Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Cairo 1970, 91-3, 217-58, 332-6, ranked him alongside Ibn Killis and al-Afḍal b. Badr al-Djamālī, as one of the very great Fāṭimid viziers. Al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, iii, 214-54, devoted a long account to him, passing a much more finely-shaded judgement on him. In any case, this was the last great man of the Fāṭimid state, who wanted to reconstruct a strong Egypt, which could carry out its own foreign policies. He was not an Ismāʿīlī, but this was not a danger.

His son Ruzzīk succeeded him. In 569/1174, three years after the fall of the Fāṭimid régime, a descendant of Ṭalāʾiʿ took part in a vain attempt to restore the dynasty against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1992, 274).

Bibliography: This is extensive, but the essential references are given in the text of the article.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

ṬALĀḲ (A.), repudiation of a wife by a husband, a form of divorce, effected by his pronouncing the words *anti ṭāliḳ*. The root idea of the verb *ṭalaḳa* is to be freed from a tether, etc. (of a camel), to be repudiated by a man (of a wife; in this sense also *ṭaluḳa*), hence *ṭallaḳa*, to release (a camel) from a tether, to repudiate (a wife); *ṭāliḳ* means a camel untethered or a woman repudiated by a man (see Lane, *Lexicon* s.v.).

I. In classical Islamic law.

1. The right to a one-sided dissolution of a marriage belonged to the man exclusively, among the pre-Islamic Arabs. Long before Muḥammad, this *ṭalāḳ* was in general use among the Arabs and meant the immediate definite abandonment by the man of all rights over his wife, which he could insist upon as a result of his marriage. See Th.W. Juynboll, *De mohammedaansche bruidsgave*, diss. Leiden, 42-64, who corrects the view held by W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 112 ff., and J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *Nachrichten v.d. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen (1893), 452 ff.

2. The Ḳurʾān lays down regulations which go into *ṭalāḳ* with comparative thoroughness. From their fullness, and still more from the many admonitions to observe them exactly, it is evident that Muḥammad was here introducing new rules which had been previously quite unknown to his contemporaries. Muḥammad found particularly repulsive the apparently not uncommon exploitation in his milieu of the wife by the *walī* as well as by the husband, which took place especially in connection with *ṭalāḳ*. The first Muslim regulation about *ṭalāḳ* seems to be the prohibition to use it for extortions from the woman: sūra IV, 24 (of the years 3-5/624-7; on the whole chronology, which is here given in further detail, see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*; the preceding v. 23 is directed against encroachments by the relatives of the deceased and by the *walī*): "If ye be desirous of exchanging one wife for another and have given one of them a certain sum (as *mahr* [*q.v.*] or bridal gift) make no deduction from it; would ye take it by manifest slander and sin? (25) How could ye take it when ye have had intercourse together and they (the wives) have received a binding promise from you?" (Here Muḥammad recognises *ṭalāḳ* as such as legitimate.) The next passage which deals with *ṭalāḳ* introduces an important innovation by the Prophet, namely, the period of waiting (*ʿidda*), which is on the one hand intended to leave no doubt about the real paternity of a child born from the divorced woman, and on the other to give the man an opportunity of atoning for a too-hurried pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ* by withdrawing it; thus it is laid down in II, 228: "The women who have been given the *ṭalāḳ* shall wait three *ḳurūʾ* (this expression, which is variously explained, means in any case menstrual periods); it is not permitted to them to conceal what God creates in their bodies, if they believe in God and the Last Day; their husbands have the full right to take them back during this period, if they desire to make atonement; they have to demand the same good treatment to which they were bound but the men are a step above them; and God is powerful and wise" (the man is here given the right to take back the wife during the period of waiting, even against her will). But this right now given to the man for the first time was very soon abused; the wife was taken back near the end of the period of waiting and a new *ṭalāḳ* at once pronounced over her so that she was permanently in a state of waiting, in order to induce her to purchase her freedom by giving back the *mahr* or making some other financial sacrifice; v. 229 was therefore revealed: "If the man has twice pronounced the *ṭalāḳ*, he may still keep his wife if he treat her kindly or let her go in a seemly fashion; it is not permitted to you to take away anything of what ye have given them. . . . (in an interpolation, the *khulʿ*, the amicable purchase of her freedom by the woman in contrast to the extortions condemned above, is declared permitted). (230) If he pronounces the *ṭalāḳ* over her for the third time, it is not permitted for him to take her again unless she has married another husband; if the latter pronounces the *ṭalāḳ* over her, it is no sin for the two to return to one another if they think they can observe God's commands; these are the commands of God which

make clear to those who have knowledge" (it is probable that the second part of v. 230 was induced by a concrete case in which a thrice-divorced woman who had married another husband and received the *ṭalāḳ* from him also, desired to marry her first husband again). A further extension made necessary by the practice, which was intended to prevent abuses of the right of taking back the wife during the period of waiting, is given in v. 231: "If ye give women the *ṭalāḳ* and they reach their time, retain them with you kindly or let them go kindly; but do not keep them to harm them with hostile intent; he who does so only injures himself; make not a jest of God's words!" (Here it is forbidden to take back the wife under a show of reconciliation, and to keep her simply with the object of making her life uncomfortable and forcing her to purchase her release by the payment of a sum of money; the perhaps contemporary v. 232 contains warning admonitions to the *walīs* of divorced women.) Later than II, 228, which is presupposed, but still before the year 5/626-7 are the regulations of LXV, 1: "O Prophet, when ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over women, do it with regard to their period of waiting (the meaning, not quite clear, of the Arabic expression seems to be that *ṭalāḳ* is to be pronounced in such a way that the period of waiting can be easily calculated, i.e. not during menstruation), and calculate the time exactly and fear God your Lord; put them not out of your houses and they are not to depart of their own accord, unless they have manifestly done something shameful (i.e. committed adultery); these are the commands of God, and whoso transgresseth them injureth himself alone; thou knowest not whether God after this may not bring about a change (in the attitude of the man to the woman so that he may take her back). (2) When they have reached their time, then either help them with kindness or separate from them with good feeling, and take upright people from among you as witnesses and bear witness before God. This is a caution for him who believes in God and the last day. (3) (further exhortations to observe the precepts). (4) If your wives can no longer expect a menstrual period or have not yet had one and ye are in doubt (as a result, about the period of their waiting), their period of waiting shall last three months, and if they are pregnant, the period shall be until they are delivered; God will make His commands easy to him that feareth him. (5) (further exhortations). (6) Let them live where ye live, in keeping with your means and oppress them not by making their lives unpleasant; if they are pregnant, maintain them till they are delivered . . ." (here follow rules for the divorced woman while she is nursing); (in these verses certain obligations are laid upon men regarding the housing and maintenance of their wives during the period of waiting; this completes the work of protecting the woman against financial exploitation by the man in connection with *ṭalāḳ*, which IV, 24 had begun). XXXIII, 48, belongs to the end of the year 5/626-7: "O believers! when ye marry believing women and then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, ye have not to make them wait a period; provide for them and dismiss them in a suitable fashion." The general rule here given is stated more fully in II, 237: "It is no sin for you if ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over your wives before ye have consummated the marriage or made a settlement (as bridal gift) upon them; provide fairly what is needful for them, the well-to-do according to his fortune and the impoverished according to his means; this is a duty for those who do what is right. (238) If ye pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over them before ye have consummated the marriage, and have already made a settlement upon them (as *mahr*), ye shall give them half of what ye have settled unless they withdraw their claim, or he withdraws who has to decide about the contract of marriage (i.e. the husband); that you should withdraw your claim is nearer to the fear of God; forget not generosity to one another; God sees what ye do" (this rule also seems to owe its origin to a concrete case in which doubts had arisen; on the legal significance of the withdrawal from the promise of marriage, which here appears as a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation, see Juynboll, *op. cit.* 73).

In addition, there are XXXIII, 28 (of the end of the year 5) and LXVI, 5 (of the late Medinan period in which Muḥammad threatens his own wives with *ṭalāḳ*, as well as II, 226-7, where *ṭalāḳ* is mentioned in connection with *īlā'*.

3. *Ṭalāḳ* is treated hardly less fully in the *Ḥadīth* than in the Ḳur'ān. Besides numerous traditions which simply repeat the well-known precepts of the Ḳur'ān and therefore need not be dealt with here, there are also some which further develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ*. A group of *ḥadīths* which endeavour to limit as much as possible the *ṭalāḳ*, deserves particular attention: "Among permitted things, *ṭalāḳ* is the most hated by God"; two arbiters appear who are to negotiate between husband and wife; the wife cannot demand from the husband that he should pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* over another wife on her account; God punishes the woman who seeks *ṭalāḳ* from her husband without sufficient reason. LXV, I, is unanimously interpreted to mean that it is forbidden to pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* during the woman's period of menstruation; such a *ṭalāḳ* is regarded as a sin and error (*khaṭa'*, the opposite of *ṣawāb*) but its validity is not disputed; the man who has pronounced it should, however, withdraw it and, if he insists on a divorce, should pronounce a *ṭalāḳ* in keeping with the rules. A question not yet conceived in the Ḳur'ān is that of the effect of a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced three successive times. The traditions are divided regarding this; alongside the approval of such a thing, there is the strongest disapproval, sometimes it is even held to be invalid. In the same direction points the *ḥadīth* that, down to the caliphate of 'Umar such a *ṭalāḳ* was considered to be a single one, and that 'Umar was the first to introduce into jurisprudence his view that it was a threefold one, in order to restrain people by fear of the undesirable consequences of this abuse. The traditions further mention as a third requirement for the *ṭalāḳ* which is to be *sunna*, i.e. in keeping with the prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān and of the Prophet, that the man during the woman's period of purity in which he pronounces it must have had no intercourse with the woman. The so-called *taḥlīl*, which consists in marrying a thrice divorced woman and at once pronouncing the *ṭalāḳ* over her, simply with the object of enabling her to remarry her first husband (see II, 230) is strongly disapproved of and even cursed. In general, the woman is only considered "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) for the first husband when the second marriage is actually completed. To check frivolous pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ*, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest is considered legal and binding. As, on the other hand, *ṭalāḳ* means the dissolution of the marriage, a *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the conclusion of the marriage is of no importance. Whether a woman who has thrice received *ṭalāḳ* has a claim during the period of waiting on her husband for lodging and maintenance is not evident from the Ḳur'ān; the earliest differences of opinion are enshrined in a group of

traditions, some of which completely deny any such claim, some of which recognise it only for lodging and some for maintenance also.

Ṭalāḳ between slaves is not regulated in the Ḳur'ān; the *ḥadīth* gives the slave also the right to *ṭalāḳ* but (in analogy with other legal enactments) only twice, and similarly puts the period of waiting of a slave-woman at two *ḳurū'* or menstrual periods. Anyone who becomes a convert to Islam and has more than four wives is bound to keep four and pronounce *ṭalāḳ* on the others. If he has married two sisters, he must pronounce *ṭalāḳ* on one of them. Finally, it should be mentioned that according to tradition, Muḥammad at once gave *ṭalāḳ* to women who took their refuge with God before him, and is said to have induced 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar to separate from his wife by a *ṭalāḳ* out of consideration for his father's dislike of her.

4. The oldest jurists (down to the beginning of the formation of the *madhhabs* or law schools), some of whom go back to the time of the origin of the traditions, develop the doctrine of *ṭalāḳ* on the lines indicated above; the most important views to be mentioned here are the following. The doctrine of *ṭalāḳ al-sunna* and its three requirements is further developed. It is ascribed among others to 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, Mudjāhid and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (such attributions to the oldest authorities may possibly be regarded as unhistorical; they only become certainly historic with Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī; this is also true of what follows). It is even applied to the case when a woman is pregnant; for this, 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd, Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī are given as authorities. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced three times in immediate succession is considered a sin but as thrice valid by the overwhelming majority, including 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ḥammād, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī. Sometimes the view is even described as the only prevailing one, against which no contradictory opinion exists; but at a somewhat later date there were nevertheless champions of the view that *ṭalāḳ* of this kind is to be considered as only once valid. While, according to the view of the majority, among whom are mentioned 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās and al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the wife becomes *ḥarām* for the man after a threefold *ṭalāḳ* and can only marry him again after completing and dissolving a marriage with another man, these consequences come into force after a twofold *ṭalāḳ*, if the man does not withdraw it, but "allows the woman to go". That the second marriage must be actually consummated if the woman is to be *ḥalāl* again to the first man, is unanimously demanded, e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhrī. The validity of *ṭalāḳ* pronounced in jest, is expressly affirmed by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and is regarded as generally recognised. The principle is unanimously affirmed that, in ambiguous expressions, the opinion of the speaker decides, but there is much difference of opinion as to whether certain expressions are to be considered ambiguous or not, and also whether the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced under pressure or under the influence of intoxication is valid or not. Here it is a question of the application of principles, important in other cases also, in a field which on account of its practical importance had a great influence on its development. The validity of the *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is denied, in agreement with the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Alī, 'Ikrima, Mudjāhid, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, etc. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced on condition that the marriage is consummated (if I marry thee, thou art divorced) is, on the other hand, recognised as valid by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī, while others deny it. Any *ṭalāḳ* pronounced before the consummation of the marriage is irrevocable (see sūra II, 238; XXXIII, 48); authorities for this are 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and al-Zuhrī, etc. (this rule is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Ḳur'ān; see XXXIII, 48). The different views found in the *Ḥadīth* regarding the claims of the thrice-divorced woman to lodging and maintenance are also found here: according to 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Ikrima, she has no claim at all, whilst according to al-Zuhrī (who, however, also appears among the advocates of the first view but probably wrongly) only to lodging. According to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī and 'Umar, the claim is to lodging and maintenance. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and al-Zuhrī allow the slave only the possibility of the twofold *ṭalāḳ*, whether in respect of a female slave or a free woman.

According to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, on the other hand, the deciding factor is the status of the woman as a slave, so that every husband of a slave, whether slave or freeman, has only the possibility of a twofold *ṭalāḳ*. The Ḳur'ānic expression *ḳurū'* (228-9) is sometimes interpreted as menstruation and sometimes as the period of purity; among the representatives of this former view are 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Ḥammād, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima, 'Umar and the 'Irāḳīs; as adherents of the latter view, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhrī (the first view is also wrongly attributed to him) and the Medinans are mentioned; 'Alī and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab appear in both groups. Less important differences of opinion are associated with the interpretation of different Ḳur'ānic expressions in II, 228, and LXV, I, 2, 4. There is unanimity on the point that the man has the right to withdraw *ṭalāḳ*, even against the will of the woman. This is expressly stated, e.g. by 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, 'Ikrima and Mudjāhid.

5. The teachings of *fiḳh* on *ṭalāḳ*, which can be briefly summarised as follows, are based on the above. The husband has the right to pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on his wife even without giving the reasons, but his pronouncing it without good grounds is considered *makrūh* (reprehensible), and by the Ḥanafīs even as *ḥarām* (forbidden); the *ṭalāḳ al-bid'a* also, i.e. one in which the requirements of the *ṭalāḳ al-sunna* (see above) are not observed, is regarded as *ḥarām*; however, the validity of the *ṭalāḳ* is not in any way affected thereby. To be able to pronounce *ṭalāḳ*, the husband must have attained his majority and be *compos mentis*; the *ṭalāḳ* of a minor is regarded as valid only by one tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; the guardian acts for the legally-disqualified husband. *Ṭalāḳ* is a personal right which the husband must exercise in person or through a mandatory specially appointed by him; he may even entrust this mandate to his wife, who can then pronounce the *ṭalāḳ* on herself. *Ṭalāḳ* presupposes a valid marriage; *ṭalāḳ* pronounced on condition that the marriage is carried through (see above) is invalid according to the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, but valid

according to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs (according to the latter, however, not if it is expressed in quite general terms, e.g. "every woman that I marry, is divorced").

Ṭalāḳ pronounced in delirium or by a lunatic is invalid. The *ṭalāḳ* of an intoxicated man has given rise to lively discussions in all the *madhāhib*; in the case of culpable intoxication, it is regarded as valid by the majority. *Ṭalāḳ* pronounced under pressure is valid according to the Ḥanafīs, but not according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs.

Words referring unambiguously and directly to *ṭalāḳ* bring it into operation, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker who uttered them; if the speaker uses unambiguous circumlocutions, the Ḥanbalīs, Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs demand also a corresponding intention, while the Mālikīs pay no heed to the intention. In the case of ambiguous expressions or gestures, the intention of the speaker is the only deciding factor. There is a great difference of opinion among the *madhāhib* on all these questions when it comes to the individual case. The question of the validity of a conditionally pronounced *ṭalāḳ* (apart from the above-mentioned case) is also much disputed. The Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs make such a *ṭalāḳ* come into operation on the fulfilment of the condition; the Mālikīs regard it, according to the nature of the condition, as sometimes at once effective and sometimes void.

The woman's period of waiting begins at once after *ṭalāḳ* unless it is a question of a *ṭalāḳ* before consummation of the marriage, which is always definite: in this case, the woman does not need to have a period of waiting and has only a claim to half the bridal gift if it was already fixed (if it was already paid, she has to pay back half of it) or to a gift at the discretion of the man, the so-called *mutʿa* [*q.v.*] (see sūra II, 237). A distinction has further to be made between a revocable and a definite *ṭalāḳ*. In the first case, the marriage is still considered legally in existence, with all its consequences, and the woman has a claim upon the man for lodging and maintenance for the whole period of waiting; on the other hand, the man has the right to revoke the *ṭalāḳ* throughout the period of waiting. If he allows the period to pass without exercising this right, the marriage is definitely dissolved at its expiry. If the bridal gift was not yet paid, it is now due unless some later date was agreed upon for its payment. If a reconciliation then takes place between the two parties and they wish to marry again, they must draw up a new contract of marriage with a new bridal gift.

With a definite *ṭalāḳ* on the other hand, the marriage is at once finally dissolved (with the single exception that a definite *ṭalāḳ* pronounced by a man during his mortal illness does not abolish the wife's rights of inheritance: thus the Ḥanafīs, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs, with *ikhtilāf* on details, while the Shāfiʿīs consider the opposite view the better). The woman has, however, in this case also to pass the period of waiting, during which she cannot conclude a new marriage; during this period, she has a claim on the husband for lodging but for maintenance only if she is pregnant. The husband's payment of the bridal gift is the same as in a revocable *ṭalāḳ*. The conclusion of a new contract of marriage between the former partners is impossible, unless the woman has in the meanwhile lived with another man in a regularly completed marriage (cf. II, 230); but even this way out is only open to them twice.

The third *ṭalāḳ* is considered definite among freemen (see II, 229-30) and the second among slaves; it is a matter of indifference whether the separate repudiations were announced in one marriage or in several, not separated by *taḥlīl*. In mixed marriages between freemen and slaves, the status of the man is decisive according to the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanbalīs, and of the woman according to the Ḥanafīs.

The period of waiting for a woman is three *ḳurūʾ* (see II, 228), i.e. according to the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs, three periods of purity, and according to the Ḥanafīs three menstruations; if she is pregnant, the period lasts till her confinement (*loc. cit.*). For a slave woman, the period of waiting is in the first case two *ḳurūʾ*, and in the second, a month and a half; if she is pregnant, the period of waiting again lasts till her confinement.

Sexual intercourse with a not definitely divorced woman during the period of waiting is not permitted according to the Ḥanafīs and the better-known view of the Mālikīs; according to the lesser-known view of the Mālikīs, Shāfiʿīs and the other Ḥanbalī view, it is forbidden. In keeping with the views of the first class, it is regarded by them as revoking *ṭalāḳ* in every case; according to the Mālikīs, only if the man intends to do so, while the Shāfiʿīs only regard an utterance by the man as revoking the *ṭalāḳ*.

6. The Shīʿa rules concerning *ṭalāḳ* only differ in unimportant details from the Sunnī ones with which we have so far dealt. In a more strict interpretation of sūra LXV, 2, the production of two legal witnesses is regarded as absolutely necessary for the validity of a *ṭalāḳ*, while the Sunnīs dispense with them. All circumlocutions, ambiguous expressions and gestures are neglected, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker.

7. As an institution of family law, *ṭalāḳ* has in practice to follow lines strongly dictated by the principles of Muslim law. The very frequent pronunciation of *ṭalāḳ*, often on the most worthless grounds and three times in succession, has brought about the following usage: if the couple wish to marry one another again after the third *ṭalāḳ*, they seek a suitable individual who is ready for a certain reward to go through the ceremony of marriage with the woman and at once repudiate her; the woman is then again *ḥalāl* for her first husband and he who undertakes this *taḥlīl* is therefore called *muḥallil*. For this purpose, a minor or a slave is used by preference. Nothing can be urged against the validity of such a procedure, providing that at the conclusion of the intervening marriage the word *taḥlīl* is not used; its permissibility is defended by the Ḥanafīs but disputed by the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya regarded the *taḥlīl* in general as invalid, and attacked it in a special work (see Brockelmann, II[2], 127, S II, 124), but he seems to be practically alone in this view.

The conditional pronunciation (*taʿlīḳ*) of the *ṭalāḳ* may have different objects: a man may pronounce such a *ṭalāḳ*, for example, to drive his wife or himself to something or to refrain from something by threatened separation, or to give force to some statement made by him. In India, Malaysia and a large portion of Indonesia, this *taʿlīḳ* of the *ṭalāḳ* has become a regular custom at the conclusion of a marriage; it is hardly ever omitted and serves to impose upon the man certain obligations towards his wife as a kind of pre-nuptial agreement, on the non-fulfilment of which the marriage is dissolved by the *ṭalāḳ*. Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, i, 382 ff.; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 300 ff., 370; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mohammedaansche wet*[3], 207 ff.

On the practice of *ṭalāḳ* as it has developed in

different countries under the influence of the *Sharīʿa* and under native customary law, see e.g. for North Africa: Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, 37, 97, 194, 277, 379; for Egypt: Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, chs. iii, iv; for Transjordania: A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, section 3; for Northwest Arabia: idem, *Coutumes des Fuquarâ*, section 4; for Indonesia, the literature quoted by Juynboll, *Handleiding*, 207, n. 3; and ethnological works and travels in general.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already mentioned and the Arabic works on *Ḥadīth* and *fiḳh*, see R. Roberts, *The social laws of the Qorân*, 18 ff.; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. Divorce; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf, Dictionary of the technical terms*, i, 920, ii, 921; Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], 203 ff.; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, book i; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, i, 201 ff.; Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Divorce. (J. SCHACHT)

II. Reforms in the modern Middle East and North Africa.

1. *The impetus for reform*

Since the beginning of the 20th century, increasing dissatisfaction with traditional divorce law, against the background of changing social conditions, has spawned reforms motivated by the desire to enhance the status of women. The reforms aim to restrict the husband's right to repudiate his wife unilaterally and to provide her with grounds for judicial dissolution at her initiative.

A range of methods has provided the juristic basis for the reforms. Most important are the "eclectic" (*takhayyur*) expedient, extension of the court's discretion, administrative measures anchored in the doctrine of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, penal sanctions, "modernistic" interpretation of the textual sources (neo-*idjtihād*), and the doctrine of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*) [see MAḤKAMA. 4. xiii, at VI, 40-1].

Relevant legislation: Algeria—Ordinance No. 59-2747, 1959; Decree No. 59-1082, 1959; Law of 29 June 1963; Family Code No. 84-11, 1984; Egypt—Law No. 25, 1920; Law No. 25, 1929; Law No. 44, 1979, replaced by Law No. 100, 1985; Iran—Family Protection Act, 1967, replaced by Family Protection Act, 1975 (repealed in 1979); ʿIrāḳ—Personal Status Law No. 188, 1959, amended by Act No. 11, 1963; Israel—[Ottoman] Family Rights Law, 1917 (OFRL), put into effect in 1919; Marriage Age Law, 1950, amended in 1960; Women's Equal Rights Law, 1951; Jordan—Law of Family Rights, No. 92, 1951, replaced by Law of Personal Status, No. 61, 1976; Kuwait—Law of Personal Status, 1980; Lebanon—OFRL, put into effect by Decree No. 241, 1942, reasserted in 1962; Libya—Law No. 112, Facilitation of Provision of *Sharʿī* Maintenance, 1971; Law No. 76, Protecting Some Rights of Women in Marriage, Divorce for Prejudice, and Consensual Divorce, 1972 (amended by Law No. 18, 1973), replaced by Law No. 10, Marriage and Divorce and their consequences, 1984; Morocco—Code of Personal Status, No. 1.57.379, 1957-58, amended by Law No. 1.93.347, 1993; The Sudan—Judicial Circulars: No. 17, *ca.* 1916, amended by No. 28, 1927; No. 41, 1936; No. 59, 1973; No. 60, 1973; No. 61, 1977; Law of Personal Status for Muslims, No. 1554, 1991; Syria—Decree No. 59, Law of Personal Status, 1953, amended by Law No. 34, 1975; Tunisia—Law of Personal Status, 1956, put into effect in 1957, amended in 1959; Turkey—Civil Code, 1926; Yemen (Republic)—Family Law No. 3, 1978, replaced by Law of Personal Status, No. 20, 1992; Yemen, South—Family Law, No. 1, 1974, replaced by 1992 Law.

2. *Curtailment of the husband's freedom of repudiation*

(a) Under OFRL (still applicable in Lebanon and Israel), in Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwait and Yemen, a divorce formula pronounced by a husband under compulsion, or in a state of intoxication or uncontrollable passion, etc., is no longer valid or binding.

(b) In Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936, 1991), Jordan, Syria and Yemen, a formulaic oath to repudiate the wife pronounced merely to express determination in an unrelated matter, or as a threat to repudiate the wife with a view to inducing her to perform or abstain from some act with no intention to terminate the union, is no longer valid. In Morocco, ʿIrāḳ and Kuwait, conditional divorce is no longer valid under any circumstances. This applies also to a formula expressed in terms which need not necessarily imply divorce.

(c) In Morocco, if repudiation is pronounced during the wife's menstruation, the court shall force the husband to revoke repudiation.

(d) In some countries, more radical steps seek to make unilateral repudiation a judicial proceeding. In Tunisia, Algeria, Jordan, former South Yemen and Iran, no formula of divorce pronounced outside a court of law has any legal validity; it must be effected by judicial decree. In ʿIrāḳ, if it is not feasible for the husband to seek a court judgment he must register the repudiation during the waiting period. In Morocco (1993), repudiation may be registered only in the presence of the parties and after a *ḳāḍī*'s permission has been obtained. In Iran, both spouses were required to obtain a "certificate of impossibility of reconciliation" (see below) before a dissolution could be effected. In South Yemen, a divorce could be effected only after a "People's Committee" had failed to reconcile the spouses. In Libya (1984), repudiation can only be effected by mutual consent of the spouse, failing which the court will effect judicial divorce. In Israel (1951), divorcing one's wife against her will, unless permission to do so has been given (since 1959, prior to the divorce) by a religious court, entails a penal sanction; the divorce, however, is valid.

Turkey, with the introduction of a slightly amended form of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, has totally abolished unilateral divorce. This applies also to Tunisia and Algeria (1984), where divorce can only be effected by a court.

3. *Judicial dissolution at the wife's initiative*

Far more radical progress has been made regarding dissolution of the marriage at the wife's (and in some countries also the husband's) initiative. A variety of Mālikī-inspired grounds have become available:

(a) Defects of body and mind, either incurable or curable only after a long period, which prevent the husband from consummating the marriage or which make married life dangerous, provided that the wife was unaware of them at the time of the marriage or, in a case where the husband was afflicted after the marriage, that she did not consent to live with him. With certain variations, such reforms have been introduced in OFRL, Egypt (1920), the Sudan (1927, 1991), Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria and former South Yemen. In Morocco, Kuwait, Libya (1984) and Yemen, this ground obtains also for the husband.

In Iran (1975), a "certificate of impossibility of reconciliation" (required for any divorce) could be obtained by either spouses on various grounds: insanity, sterility, inability or unwillingness to have normal sexual intercourse, affliction with specified diseases or with some "addiction" which is prejudicial to family

life, imprisonment, desertion of family, the commission of an offence "repugnant to family honour", etc.

(b) Non-provision of maintenance or non-payment of dower. In the Sudan (1916, 1991), Egypt (1920), Jordan, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Iran, former South Yemen, Yemen, Kuwait and Libya (1984), failure of the husband (present or absent) to provide the wife with maintenance is a ground for judicial revocable divorce (see below), provided (in some of the countries) that he has no property out of which maintenance can be collected and that a period of delay has been exhausted. In former South Yemen, either party was able to request a judicial divorce if he or she needed support and the other, who could provide it, failed to do so. In Algeria, the wife loses this option if she knew of her husband's insolvency at the time of the marriage.

In Jordan (1976), non-payment of dower due to the husband's insolvency constitutes independent grounds for dissolution.

(c) Deprivation of the husband's company. Countries vary as to the relevant period of deprivation, and as to the question of whether the husband's absence must be without legal justification, whether imprisonment is included, and whether or not the wife must expressly allege that she has suffered hardship or been exposed to the danger of unchastity. This remedy obtains in the Sudan (1916, 1927, 1991), Lebanon and Israel (under OFRL), Egypt (1929), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria, Iran (1975), former South Yemen (for either spouse), Kuwait, Libya (1984) and Yemen.

(d) Injury or marital discord. Countries vary as to whether and when a dissolution may be granted directly by the court or only on the recommendation of arbitrators (Mālikī law empowers them to dissolve the marriage at their discretion with no prior authorisation of the spouses), and as to the circumstances in which the wife must compensate her husband financially. This remedy obtains under OFRL, in Jordan, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Egypt (1929, 1985), Morocco, Algeria, Libya (1972) (for the husband also), Kuwait, the Sudan (1991) and Yemen.

Lacking precise definition (except in ʿIrāḳ), injury may be regarded as a residuary ground. Thus marriage to another wife seems to fall under the heading of injury in some countries, and disputes between the spouses have been extended to cover also unequal treatment of the co-wives. With slight variations, this remedy obtains in the Sudan (1916), Lebanon and Israel (under OFRL), Jordan, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ and Iran (1975). In Egypt (1979), marriage to another wife without the consent of the first was simply deemed injurious to the latter, but from 1985 the wife must prove physical or mental injury. This option, available also to the new wife (provided she was unaware of the first marriage), expires one year from the date of the wife's learning of the polygamous marriage. In former South Yemen, this option obtained even if the second marriage had been permitted by a court. In Yemen, polygamous marriage is a ground for dissolution (available to all wives) if the husband fails to provide maintenance. The *ḳāḍī* will give the husband the choice to keep one of the wives and repudiate the others. If he refuses to do so, the *ḳāḍī* will dissolve the marriage of the wife who initiates the dissolution. In Libya (1984), if repudiation cannot be obtained by mutual consent of the spouses, the court will effect judicial divorce on grounds of injury after attempts by court and arbitrators to reconcile the spouses have been exhausted. The financial consequences of the dissolution will be determined in accordance with the spouses' responsibility for the injury.

(e) Other grounds. In the Sudan (1977, 1991), a recalcitrant wife is entitled to dissolution in return for ransom (*fidya*) after a specified period provided she proves injury and her husband refuses to divorce her. In Libya (1972), a court may impose *khulʿ* with compensation (which is a condition for its validity) where the husband vexatiously refuses to divorce his wife. In Yemen, addiction to wine, etc. and lack of equality between the spouses (*kafāʾa*) in terms of religion and morality are grounds for dissolution (the latter available for either spouse). In Tunisia, the wife may obtain dissolution for any or no reason provided she pays any compensation decided by the court.

In Israel (1950, 1960), marriage of a girl under 17 is a civil ground for dissolution by the religious court in accordance with the religious law applicable. If the husband divorces the wife, the (district) court will take this into account as a mitigating factor when deciding the penal sanction. In Kuwait, a Muslim wife's (unlike the husband's) apostasy is no longer grounds for dissolution.

4. *Legal and financial consequences*

(a) In Egypt (1929), the Sudan (1936, 1991), Jordan, Syria, Morocco, ʿIrāḳ, Kuwait and Yemen, a repudiation accompanied by a word or sign indicating a number pronounced on one and the same occasion, counts as only a single revocable repudiation provided that the marriage has been consummated, that the husband has no financial benefit (as in *khulʿ*) and that it was not preceded by two repudiations. In Yemen (1978), the reinstatement of the wife must take place before another repudiation is permitted.

(b) Divorce, after consummation, on grounds of non-provision of maintenance is a Mālikī-inspired judicial, and therefore revocable, divorce. The husband may reinstate his wife if he proves during the waiting period that he is willing and able to support her. If he fails to do so, the divorce becomes irrevocable when the waiting period expires. In Syria, dissolution on grounds of the husband's absence or imprisonment for more than three years (even if he has left property from which maintenance can be collected) counts as revocable. The husband may reinstate his wife on his return before the expiry of a waiting period. In Algeria (1984), the husband may reinstate his wife within three months enabling the court to reconcile the spouses before effecting the divorce. In former South Yemen, judicial divorce on any specified grounds was considered a single revocable divorce, while in Yemen it was irrevocable. In Kuwait, if the wife sues her husband more than twice for non-provision of maintenance, the court shall issue an irrevocable divorce on grounds of injury.

(c) In Tunisia, the husband is prohibited from remarrying his triply-divorced wife.

(d) In Jordan (1976) and Egypt (1985), non-registration of divorce entails penal sanction. In Egypt (1985), if the husband conceals the divorce from his wife, its financial consequences take effect only from the date of the wife's learning of it.

(e) In Egypt (1929) and Syria, waiting-period maintenance cannot be claimed for a period beyond one year from the date of the divorce. In several countries, the length of the waiting period has been modified.

(f) In several countries, if a man divorces his wife arbitrarily after consummation, the court may decide to award, in addition to waiting-period maintenance, compensation or a consolatory gift (*mutʿa*) not exceeding the amount of maintenance for one year (Syria, Jordan,

1976, Kuwait, Yemen), two years (Egypt, 1979, 1985), six months (Sudan, 1991), or until she marries (Iran, 1975), having regard to the husband's financial standing and the damage caused to the wife. In Algeria (1984), in addition to compensation due an arbitrarily divorced wife, each spouse may be compensated for damage caused following a divorce by the other spouse's departure from the conjugal home, and, in Tunisia, for any damage whatsoever sustained from the divorce. In Morocco (1993), Egypt (1929) and former South Yemen, the consolatory gift is determined in proportion to the husband's means and the wife's circumstances. In Israel, the High Court has ruled that a wife divorced against her will (see above) is entitled to prejudicial compensation on the grounds of violation of statutory obligation.

(g) In Algeria (1984), the husband must provide independent accommodation for his divorced wife and minor children until she remarries and, in Egypt (1985), during the waiting period; otherwise, they shall continue to occupy the conjugal home until the expiration of the period of custody.

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(A. Layish)

ṬĀLAḲĀN, Ṭālḳān, the name of three places in the Iranian lands. The biographical and geographical dictionaries mention only two of these specifically (thus al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 8-13; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 6-8: both distinguish just a Ṭālaḳān of Marw al-Rūd̲h̲ and a Ṭālaḳān of Ḳazwīn). These are nos. 1 and 2 below. There was, however, a further Ṭālaḳān in the Ṭuk̲h̲āristān-Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān region; this is no. 3 below.

1. A town of mediaeval Gūzgān or D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ān [*q.v.*], in what is now northern Afg̲h̲ānistān but adjacent to the frontier with the Turkmenistan Republic. The geographers al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and al-Muḳaddasī attach it administratively to Marw al-Rūd̲h̲ [*q.v.*], three stages away. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*[2], Second series of addenda, tr. p. xxii and map at p. xxviii, and tr. 107, states definitely that it belongs to the ruler of Gūzgān, who at the time of this work's composition (372/982) belonged to the Farīg̲h̲ūnids [*q.v.*]. It clearly lay in the hills of the northern rim of the mountain range now known as the Band-i Turkistān, well-watered, with a pleasant climate, producing wine and woollen felts, and was large enough to have two congregational mosques. The exact site of the town is uncertain. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 423, associated ruins at Chachaktu with it, whilst Barthold located it on a small stream, that of Ḳalʿa-yi Wali (*An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 35-7); it may, however, have been located either somewhere between modern Maymana [*q.v.*] and Dawlatābād, near mediaeval Faryāb, or else to the east of this, in the triangle Darzāb—Belčirāg̲h̲—Kūrčī.

It is quite often mentioned in the historical sources on the early Arab conquests of eastern K̲h̲urāsān and the Oxus lands, and in the years 90/709 and 116/734 there is mentioned a local ruler, called *Suhrab (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1218, 1566). The K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ite rebel against the caliph al-Mahdī in *ca.* 160/777, Yūsuf al-Barm al-T̲h̲aḳafī, held it, together with Marw al-Rūd̲h̲ and Gūzgān (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 126). A Ḥusaynid ʿAlid, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, rebelled at Ṭālaḳān in the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim (in 219/834: al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1165-6). In 617/1220 the Mongol Čingiz K̲h̲ān besieged its citadel, called in the sources Nuṣrat Kūh, for several months till it was captured; in the next year, the K̲h̲ān's son Toluy was using Ṭālaḳān as a base for operations against the cities of K̲h̲urāsān (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 439, 446-7)

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. A town of northwestern Persia, apparently in the southern part of the Elburz range, near one of the sources of the S̲h̲āh Rūd [*q.v.*], in mediaeval times called both Ṭālaḳān of al-Rayy and Ṭālaḳān of Ḳazwīn, and coming administratively in the province of D̲j̲ibāl. Although al-Muḳaddasī, 360, speaks of it as a substantial town, which might have been an administrative centre had it not been too close to the frontier (sc. with the turbulent region of Daylam), other sources seem to describe it more as a district with villages. Thus in the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 65, tr. 70, characterises it as a district, largely populated by Sunnīs but with some Ismāʿīlī elements.

Its chief fame in mediaeval times was as the birth place of the great Būyid vizier and littérateur, the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād [see ibn ʿabbād], who consequently had the *nisba* of al-Ṭālaḳānī. The place later disappeared from history, and its exact site is not known, but the valley of Ṭālaḳān is still known and was the place of origin of the modern Āyatullāh Ṭālaḳānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 225; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 733-4; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 132.

(C.E. Bosworth)

3. A town of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān [*q.v.*], on the modern K̲h̲ānābād river, the ancient river of Ṭālaḳān, considered by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* as the easternmost town of that province, hence adjacent to Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān; this same source spells the name also as Ṭāraḳān and Ṭāyaḳān (tr. 63, 109, comm. 339-40; cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 229-31). It lay on the road running eastwards from Balk̲h̲, K̲h̲ulm and Ḳunduz [*q.vv.*] to Kis̲h̲n in Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān; cf. Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 24. Marco Polo calls it Taican, and mentions its

castle, its corn market and the important deposits of pure salt in the mountains to the south (Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 153-6; the salt industry is still important in the district today). In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 156, tr. 153, describes it as populous and flourishing, most of the people being weavers. From the 17th to the mid-19th centuries, Ṭālaḳān was a strategic fortress in the Özbeg amīrate of Ḳataghān founded by Maḥmūd Bī. The English traveller William Moorcroft passed through Ṭālaḳān, estimating the population as considerable but fluctuating, most of these being transhumant Özbegs but with a large minority of sedentary Tādjīk traders, and counting some 1,500 houses (Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab... from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, repr. Karachi 1979, ii, 456 ff., 482). But in 1859 Ḳataghān was annexed to Afghānistān by the Amīr Dūst Muḥammad's son Sardār Muḥammad Afḍal Khān, despite resistance by the Mīr Atālīk Sulṭān Murād, and from this time onwards, Ḳataghān became an integral part of the kingdom of Afghānistān (J.L. Lee, *The 'Ancient Supremacy'. Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901*, Leiden 1996, 267-71). The old citadel was destroyed and a new cantonment and bazaar laid out nearby.

The present town of Ṭālaḳān (lat. 36° 44' N., long. 69° 32' E.) is the chef-lieu of Takhār province created in 1964 when the former province of Ḳataghān was divided into three. It has a thriving bazaar and is noted for its fine cloth. The ruins of the earlier town, Tepe Shahr, lie to the west of the modern settlement (W. Ball, *Archaeological gazetteer of Afghanistan*, Paris 1987, i, 267).

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ṬĀLAḲĀNĪ (or Ṭāliḳānī), Āyatullāh Sayyid Maḥmūd (1911-79), prominent Iranian cleric and political activist, one of the outstanding representatives of Shī'ī modernism in Iran and a key figure in the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1978-9.

He was born in a village of the Ṭālaḳān valley [see ṬĀLAḲĀN. 2] to the northwest of Tehran, to a father who was himself an *'ālim* and political activist. After studying in Ḳum and Nadjaf, including under such noted teachers as the Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī Yazdī [see ḤĀ'IRĪ, in Suppl.], he settled at Tehran in 1939, teaching at the Sipahsālār Seminary. He suffered spells of imprisonment and exile from the capital for his religious activities, but after the fall of Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1941, returned to Tehran and collaborated with Mahdī Bāzargān and Yād Allāh Saḥābī in various Muslim societies, such as the *Ḳānūn-i Islāmī*, and later he supported Muṣaddiḳ's [*q.v.*] National Movement. In 1948 he became prayer leader at the Hidāyat Mosque, and this became his main centre of activity for the rest of his life.

In the 1950s to the 1970s, he was again involved in various anti-government organisations, including the National Resistance Movement (*Nahdat-i Muḳāwamat-i Millī*), gave help to the extremist group of the *Fidā'iyyān-i Islām* [*q.v.*] and had contacts with the *Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ*, set up in 1971 by three of his former pupils and fellow-prisoners. He was imprisoned and exiled from Tehran on various occasions up to 1978. He performed many services important to the triumph and consolidation of the Islamic Revolution; he became a member of both the Revolutionary Council and the Assembly of Experts, and Khumaynī appointed him *Imām Djum'a* of Tehran, but before his death on 9 September 1979 he openly criticised the clergy's over-engagement in political affairs and the politicisation of religion. He clearly preferred clerical oversight (*wiṣāyat-i fuḳahā'*) to clerical rule, having struggled all his life against one-man rule, political or religious, but strove to maintain the unity of the Islamic movement, and emphatically endorsed the correctness of Khumaynī's leadership. Because of his often-ambiguous statements, such diverse groups as Muṣaddiḳ's National Front, 'Alī Sharī'atī [*q.v.*], the Islamic Republic leaders and the *Mudjāhidīn-i Khalḳ* have all claimed inspiration from his ideas.

His published works include a multi-volume interpretation of the Ḳur'ān, *Partawī az Ḳur'ān*, expressing *inter alia* a developmental and progressive notion of human history; a re-issue, with his own commentary, of the 1909 treatise on government, *Tanbīh al-umma wa-tanzīh al-milla*, by the pro-Constitutionalist Sh. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī [*q.v.*], which expresses the view that representative government and the rule of law are desirable and both compatible with Shī'ī Islam; and *Islām wa mālikiyyat* ("Islam and ownership") (1965), the first serious and detailed discussion of Islamic economics in Persian.

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(ROSWITHA BADRY, shortened by the Editors)

AL-ṬALAMANKĪ, Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ... b. Ḳarlamān al-Maʿāfirī (340-429/951-1037), Andalusian scholar of the religious sciences, born at Talamanca near Madrid in a frontier zone frequented by ascetics of the *ribāṭs*.

He studied at Cordova, his main master being Ibn ʿAwn Allāh (d. 378/988), an open partisan of the reality of saints' miracles in the polemics then aroused on this subject in the capital, a position equally shared by al-Ṭalamankī (see M. Fierro, in *BSOAS*, lv [1992], 236-49). In the years 375-81/985-91, he travelled abroad and made the Pilgrimage, acquiring a solid grounding in the Ḳur'ānic readings, *ḥadīth* and Ṣūfism, and studying *fiḳh* with both Mālikī and Shāfiʿī masters. On his return, he became *imām* of the Mutʿa mosque at Cordova and taught there without requiring payment. When *fitna* compelled him to leave the capital, he moved permanently to Almeria and Murcia, finally going to teach in the Upper March and acquiring a great number of pupils. At the end of his life, he retired to a *ribāṭ* at Talamanca.

Al-Ṭalamankī's importance resides not only in his numerous pupils but also in his innovatory role in intellectual circles. His biographers stress his expertise in Ḳur'ānic studies but also in non-rationalist theology (*uṣūl al-diyānāt*), and his Ṣūfī tendencies are reflected in the fact that he appears as a link in the mystical *silsila* going up to the Almeria Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 536/1141 [*q.v.*]). He wrote many works, notably in the Ḳur'ānic sciences, ascetism and theology, plus a *Fahrasa* and a *Futūḥ al-Shām* (ms. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid coll. Gayangos, no. XVIII). He opposed the extreme doctrines of the Bāṭiniyya and criticised, amongst others, the Ṣūfī Ibn Masarra, but also equally refuted the Mālikī jurist Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, who denied the reality of saints' miracles.

During a stay at Saragossa in 425/1035, al-Ṭalamankī was accused of being too radical in his condemnation of reprovable actions, of becoming guilty of *mukhālafāt al-sunna* and of being a Ḥarūrī or Khāridjite. The basis of this last accusation would seem to be his opinion that the *bayʿa* was due to God and, in regard to the exhortation of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, that the head of the community should be the best Muslim and that all Muslims judged by him to be in rebellion against God were to be put to death. Another accusation seems to have arisen from al-Ṭalamankī's being at the head of a group (*djamāʿa*), whose leading man (*awwal*) he was. The *ḳāḍī* of Saragossa rejected the accusations and produced a certificate attesting his innocence. It is not impossible that these attacks on al-Ṭalamankī were related to his stance on the imāmate, crucial at that time. Against the partisans of the Umayyads and Ḥammūdids, and against those who ventured to propose the ambiguous solution consisting in designating the *imām ʿabd allāh*, generally identified with the ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Ṭalamankī's solution seems to have been that the *imām* ought to be the best Muslim of the community, quite apart from his *nasab*. This way was the one to be followed a century later by the Ṣūfī Ibn Ḳasī [*q.v.*].

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(MARIBEL FIERRO)

TALAS [see TARĀZ].

ṬALʿAT BEY (PASHA), MEHMED (1872-1921), a moving spirit in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]) before and after the 1908 revolution, minister and Grand Vizier (1917-18). He was born in the border town of Edirne to a lower middle-class family. His father died when he was eighteen, and he became the family's bread winner, entering the postal service as a clerk. Ṭalʿat also taught Turkish and learned French at the *Alliance Israëlite Universelle* school in Edirne. He became active in the underground opposition against Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] and was arrested in 1895. After serving two years in prison, he was pardoned and exiled to the bustling, cosmopolitan city of Salonika, where he again joined the secret constitutional movement. In 1906, he was one of the founders of the Ottoman Liberty Committee (*ʿOthmānlī Ḥürriyyet Djemʿiyyeti*), which then affiliated with the CUP.

After the restoration of the constitution in July 1908, Ṭalʿat, described as the "the internal secretary", was perhaps the single most important member of the CUP, though he lacked the charisma of an Enwer Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was elected deputy for Edirne in 1908, and served that constituency until 1918. Unable to take power directly, the Committee tried to control the government through parliament. But rivalry between its secret bodies like the central committee (*merkez-i ʿumūmī*) and the parliamentary group made this difficult, and Ṭalʿat, who was a member of both bodies, had the unenviable task of mediating between them and reconciling their differences. He was elected Vice-President of the Chamber, and in July 1909 led the parliamentary delegation to the capitals of Europe to explain the revolution.

The Unionists wanted to exercise power indirectly by having their deputies appointed as under-secretaries to important ministries. But when this manoeuvre failed, they decided to assume office directly. Therefore, in August 1909, Ṭalʿat entered the cabinet in the critical post of Minister of the Interior in the cabinets of Ḥilmī [*q.v.*] and Ḥaḳḳī Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was forced to resign on 10 February 1911 because chauvinists in the assembly claimed that he had not taken sufficiently harsh measures to quell rebellions in Albania, Macedonia and the Yemen. He was elected president of the parliamentary party (21 February 1911) and again became Interior Minister (and later Minister of Posts and Telegraph) in Saʿīd Pasha's [*q.v.*] cabinet in 1912. When the CUP was ousted from power in July 1912 by a military *coup d'état*, Ṭalʿat rallied the Unionists and organised a Committee of National Defence during the Balkan Wars on the model of the Jacobins in the French Revolution, emerging as the CUP's "Danton".

Ṭalʿat was instrumental in organising the Unionist

coup d'état of 23 January 1913 and the recapture of Edirne from the Bulgarians. He again entered the Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pas̲h̲a cabinet as Interior Minister in June 1913 following the assassination of Maḥmūd S̲h̲ewḳat Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*]. His appointment was a victory for the civilian wing of the CUP over the military faction which sought D̲j̲emāl Pas̲h̲a's appointment to this post. As Interior Minister, he was held responsible for the brutal implementation of the 1915 law to deport the Armenian population from the war zones. When Saʿīd Ḥalīm resigned in February 1917, Ṭalʿat was appointed Grand Vizier with the rank of Pas̲h̲a. He retained the portfolio for interior affairs and also acted as Finance Minister until D̲j̲āwīd Bey's appointment. Because of his personal integrity and modesty, and his tendency to please everyone, he was acceptable to the various factions in the CUP, which he kept united. His government's dependence on Germany forced him to declare war on the United States and to make concessions when he negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. When he saw that the war was lost, he resigned on 8 October to make way for a non-Unionist government which might obtain better armistice terms from the victors. He then convened the last congress of the CUP on November 1 and dissolved the organisation. On the same day, he and some other prominent Unionists left Istanbul for Germany, where he lived until his assassination in Berlin on 15 March 1921 by Soghomon Tehlirian, an Armenian nationalist.

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(FEROZ AHMAD)

ṬALʿAT PAS̲H̲A, MEḤMED [see Suppl.].

TALBIYA (A.), the invocation made in a loud voice and repeatedly by the pilgrim when he enters the state of ritual taboo (*iḥrām*) for the Pilgrimage at Mecca [see ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲].

This moment begins on entering the *Ḥaram* or sacred area and at the points where the pilgrims gather together (*mawāḳīt*) on the boundaries of the enclosure. Amongst the practices to be followed by the pilgrims are prayers and movements (see T. Fahd, *Les pratiques musulmanes*, in *Atlas des religions*, Encylopaedia Universalis, Paris 1988, 319-23). On entering the sacred territory, the pilgrim expresses his intention to make the Pilgrimage by repeating the formula "Here I am! Here I am! O Allāh, Who has no associate! To You are praise, grace and power! Here I am!" It is after this necessary condition, with the state of ritual taboo and by this predisposition, that the ritual of the Pilgrimage properly begins.

Like other parts of the Meccan Pilgrimage, the *talbiya* goes back to ancient times, certainly to that of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], reformer of the cult in Mecca. All the tribes had such a formula when visiting their idols, and especially when undertaking the Meccan Pilgrimage, the greatest and most famous in the Arabian peninsula. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) in his *Tafsīr* of Ḳur'ān, XXII, 31, gives a list of 56 *talbiyas*, of a composite and even artificial nature (see text and comm. by M.J. Kister, Labbayka, Allāhumma, labbayka. *On a monotheistic aspect of a Jāhiliyya practice*, in *JSAI* [1980], ii, 33-57, repr. with 9 pp. of additional notes in his *Society and religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam*, Variorum, London 1990, no. 1). Also, Sayyid Muʿaẓẓam Ḥusayn gathered together 28 formulae of the pre-Islamic tribes uttered when entering the *Ḥaram* (*Talbiyât al-Jâhiliyya*, in *Procs. of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, 1937, 361-9), mentioning only as his source Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, who, in his *Risālat al-G̲h̲ufrān*, gives seven versified *talbiyas* (Cairo 1382/1963, 535). Kister has also analysed the material in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's *Muḥabbar*, 311-15, Muḳātil (see above) and al-Yaʿḳūbī in his *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i, 296-7.

Talbiya denotes the act of reciting formulae beginning with *labbay-ka*, (< form II verb *labbā*, in the sense of form IV *alabba* "halt, set foot in a place", referring to the arrival of the pilgrims at the boundaries of the *Ḥaram* and their alighting from their mounts, and then placing themselves, by this formula, at the disposal of Allāh, master of the place, by entering into a state of sacralisation.

An example, using the numbering adopted by Kister from Muḳātil, is as follows:

The *talbiya* of the Ḥums [*q.v.*] (nos. 1, 17, 32), a group concerned with the religious cult and religious life in Mecca, grouping together such leading tribes as Ḳuray s̲h̲, K̲h̲uzāʿa, Kināna and ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa:

Labbayka Allāhumma! Labbayka! Lā s̲h̲arīk laka illā s̲h̲arīk[an] *huwa laka tamlikuhu wa-mā malaka*! (no. 1), translatable as:

"Here we are (as if it were *labbaynā-ka*), O Allāh! Here we are! You have no associate, unless it is an associate whom You dominate and who has no power (or possibly, "unless it is an associate of whom You are master with what he possesses)!" (i.e. taking *mā* here as a relative pronoun rather than as a negative).

There is also another *talbiya* of the Ḥums (no. 45) and *talbiyas* of Tamīm (no. 3) and Rabīʿa (nos. 4, 17, 38). Noteworthy is the one of Bakr b. Wā'il (no. 50), a component tribe of Rabīʿa, with some Christian sections, notably in the S̲h̲aybān and ʿId̲j̲l [*q.vv.*]. These Christians seem to have attended the Pilgrimage under the banner of Rabīʿa, with the aim of trading:

Labbayka Allāhumma! Labbayka! Labbayka ʿan Rabīʿa, samīʿa wa-muṭīʿa, li-rabb[in] *mā yuʿbadu fī kanīsa wa-bīʿa, ḳad k̲h̲allafat awt̲h̲ānahā fī ʿiṣmat*[in] *manīʿa*:

"Here we are, O Allāh, here we are! Here we are in the name of the Rabīʿa, submissive and obedient to a certain (*mā*) God, worshipped in a church and a synagogue. They have left behind them their idols in a well-guarded place."

The *mā* could be taken as a negative, but this seems unlikely, for Allāh of the Kaʿba was, in the eyes of Arab Christians in pre-Islamic times, if only nominally, the one whom the Jews and Christians used to invoke in their places of worship. If the Rabīʿa, pagans and nomads, did not come for gain, the Christians amongst

them came under their banner to trade. It is unthinkable that trading should be excluded in such a panegyric. If the Ḳur'ān, II, 198, considers it as licit, it must have been practised, if only by Christians and Jews, whilst Judaeo-Christians (? Ebionites) [see ṢĀBI'A] who lived at Mecca must inevitably have been associated in this great annual event which brought prosperity to the town.

The above examples (see for further analyses of *talbiyas*, Kister, *op. cit.*) give an idea of the *talbiyas*' form, close to that of rhymed and assonantal *sadj*ʿ [*q.v.*]. They announced the entry of the official tribal representatives into the *Ḥaram* and could not have an individual character. Whereas Islam, substituting the individual for the tribe and preaching brotherhood between believers, made the *talbiya* into a personal invocation, that of the individual before Allāh, who was to perform the rites of the Pilgrimage with a personal guide; hence the phrase "Here we are" becomes "Here I am".

The Islamic *talbiya* is pronounced with the *tahlīl* [*q.v.*], "the joy felt at seeing the new moon", which opens the ceremonies. One should note that the moon is called *hilāl* in the last two nights (26th and 27th) of the lunar month and the first two (1st and 2nd) of the following month. It is thus called because people raise their voices to hail it (*TʿA*, s.v.). The pilgrim is only *muḥrim* when he has pronounced the *talbiya* in a loud voice (al-Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, 147; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāsik*, 56). According to al-Bukhārī, *Ṣayd*, 18, the Prophet ordained the *ihlāl* for the pilgrim, saying that he received the command to do this from Djibrīl (Gabriel), and Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 217, says that the *talbiya* is the ornament (*zīna*) of the Pilgrimage.

The passive verb *uhilla* is used in the Ḳur'ān II, 173, etc., in the sense of bloody offerings to the gods. Should one see here sacrifices made at the appearance of the new moon, as Ḳur'ān II, 189, suggests? In the *Ḥadīth*, *ahalla* is used for sacrifices to Manāt (Muslim, *Ḥadjdj*, 26; Ibn Ḥanbal, vi, 192).

Finally, one may note that *talbiya* has become a synonym of *iḥrām*, sacralisation, and *ihlāl*, jubilation (*TʿA*, s.vv.), i.e. psalmody, with the jubilation of the invocation formula by which the *muḥrim* pilgrim proclaims his *islām*, submission, to the One God (*tawḥīd*).

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(T. FAHD)

TALDJI'A [see ḤIMĀYA].

TALFĪḲ (A.), a notion in Islamic law.

1. In classical Islamic law.

The basic meaning of *lafaḳa* and form II *laffaḳa* is "to sew (a garment) together (by joining two lengths of cloth)", whence "to patch together", and by an extension of meaning, "to piece together (a verse or story), to concoct", which is close to the legal meaning. In legal jargon, *talfīḳ* connotes the bringing together of certain elements of two or more doctrines in such a manner as to create therefrom yet another, different doctrine. It is to be noted that no technical dictionary lists the term (in any of its forms), and that the strictly technical connotation attached to the concept in modern legal reform is absent from classical and mediaeval juristic discourse. In fact, the verb form *lafaḳa* seems to have been as commonly in use as the verbal noun *talfīḳ*.

In pre-modern juristic works, the notion of *laffaḳa*/*talfīḳ* arises in the context of departing from the doctrine of the *mudjtahid* [see IDJTIHĀD], whom the layman otherwise follows. One type of such a departure is to combine in a single transaction two or more elements from the doctrines of two or more *mudjtahids*. This combination may acquire one of two forms. The first is what may be termed a synchronic combination, as when an individual enters into a marriage contract without having a guardian (*walī*) or witnesses. Here, the individual would be combining elements of the Ḥanafī and Mālikī schools, for the Mālikīs consider matrimonial contracts to be valid without the existence of witnesses (though they would be required for the consummation of marriage); and Abū Ḥanīfa held that the marriage of a free woman who is of age and of sound mind—whether a virgin or not—is valid through her consent, even if no guardian is involved. The second is what may be called a diachronic combination, namely, when another school's or *mudjtahid*'s doctrine is followed in a transaction whose juridical effect (*athar*) has not been completely exhausted. An example in point is the case of an individual who exercises the right of pre-emption (*shufʿa* [*q.v.*]) according to the Ḥanafī school, which allows the adjoining neighbour to exercise such a right. Once in possession of the property, and in a future sale, he adopts the Shāfiʿī or Mālikī doctrine which restricts the right of pre-emption only to the co-owner and does not acknowledge the adjoining neighbour as enjoying this right. Both of these forms of *talfīḳ* were considered downright unlawful. A *talfīḳ* may be deemed lawful only if a *mudjtahid* shows that his combination is grounded in textual evidence (*dalīl*).

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(WAEL B. HALLAQ)

2. In modern Islamic legislation.

Talfīḳ, an extension of the eclectic (*takhayyur*) expedient, designates any modern legislative enactment which combines, in a single statutory provision, parts of doctrines of more than one recognised Sunnī school. In its extreme form, the juristic opinions invoked may not only be mutually contradictory, but the statutory provision in its entirety might be such that it would not have been approved by any of the authoritative schools or jurists.

The components of the doctrines are selected on the basis of their suitability for changing social conditions regardless of their historical and systematic contexts. This expedient, inspired strongly by the liberally-oriented modernist movement in Islam, has been used extensively in matters of personal status, succession and *waḳf*. Although traditionally the ruler has the right to impose on the *ḳāḍīs* the chosen opinions of the ancient authorities, today the application of *talfīḳ* by sovereign parliaments actually undermines the doctrine of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], and signifies the transition of Islamic law from jurists' law to statutory law [see TASHRĪʿ].

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(A. LAYISH)

ṬALḤA B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH, prominent Companion of Muḥammad, is counted among the first

eight converts to Islam and the ten *mubas͟hs͟hara*, those to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise. He belonged to the clan of Taym b. Murra of Ḳurays͟h and thus was a kinsman of Abū Bakr, but was about twenty years younger than he. The two were evidently closely associated and were known as the "two mates (*ḳarīnān*)." According to the prevalent explanation, they were thus named because during the early persecution of the Muslims they were once tied together with a single rope. According to another explanation, the young Ṭalḥa was made by his father a close associate of Abū Bakr. Ṭalḥa's mother was al-Ṣaʿba, daughter of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿImād al-Ḥaḍramī, confederate of Ḥarb b. Umayya.

According to his own account, Ṭalḥa was told by a monk in Buṣrā about the advent of "the last of the prophets." After hurriedly returning to Mecca, he was introduced by Abū Bakr to Muḥammad and accepted Islam. He continued carrying on his caravan trade in Syria and did not join the emigration to Abyssinia. At the time of Muḥammad's and Abū Bakr's *hid̲j̲ra*, he met them on the way at al-K̲h̲arrār as he came from Syria. He provided them with clothes from Syria and information about the Muslims in Medina. Then he went on to Mecca and later escorted the family of Abū Bakr, including ʿĀʾis͟ha, to Medina. Just before the battle of Badr, Muḥammad sent him, together with Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, to spy on the Meccan caravan. The two were thus not present at the battle, but were given their share of the booty. At Uḥud he greatly distinguished himself by personally shielding the Prophet. He killed two Meccans and received numerous wounds, one of which left one or two of his fingers paralysed. It was for his bravery on that occasion that Muḥammad promised him Paradise. He participated in all later campaigns and battles of the Prophet.

After Muḥammad's death, Ṭalḥa backed his kinsman Abū Bakr. Isolated reports of Ibn Isḥāḳ and others that he initially stayed with ʿAlī and refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr are unreliable. He took a prominent part in the battle of D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaṣṣa which opened the war of the *Ridda*. Before Abū Bakr's death he is said to have vainly protested against the caliph's choice of ʿUmar as his successor, complaining about the latter's rough treatmemt of Muslims even during Abū Bakr's reign. It is not impossible that he already aspired himself to the caliphate. ʿUmar appointed him one of the six electors and candidates for the succession. At the time of ʿUmar's death, however, he was not present in Medina and thus did not participate in the election of ʿUt̲h̲mān. When he returned to Medina, he displayed his dissatisfaction about his exclusion from the election remarking that he was not someone whose views could be ignored. ʿUt̲h̲mān is said to have offered to resign to allow a fresh election, but Ṭalḥa, having made his point, pledged allegiance to him. ʿUt̲h̲mān at first made special efforts to gain his backing by generous gifts. According to Ṭalḥa's son Mūsā, the caliph's presents to Ṭalḥa amounted to 200,000 dīnārs. ʿUt̲h̲mān also allowed him to exchange his share in the oasis of K̲h̲aybar for the highly lucrative estate of al-Nas͟htāstad̲j̲ near Kūfa. Ṭalḥa soon, however, turned against him and eventually became his harshest critic among the major Companions. He wrote letters to the provincial garrison towns summoning them to revolt against the caliph. During the siege of ʿUt̲h̲mān's palace in Medina, he took possession of the treasury keys and kept close contact with the besieging Egyptian rebels. He evidently shared their aim of forcing ʿUt̲h̲mān out of office and expected, with strong backing from ʿĀʾis͟ha, to be chosen as his successor.

After the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān, Ṭalḥa at first had some support among the Egyptian rebels and the Ḳurays͟h present in Medina. The Kūfan rebels favouring ʿAlī, however, soon gained the upper hand, being backed by the great majority of the Anṣār. Ṭalḥa was dragged by the Kūfan leader al-As͟htar to the mosque to pledge allegiance to ʿAlī against his will, though no physical force or threats were used in the presence of ʿAlī. He and al-Zubayr, who also pledged allegiance against his will, absconded within days to Mecca, where they joined ʿĀʾis͟ha in claiming revenge for the blood of ʿUt̲h̲mān and declaring ʿAlī responsible for the murder. They jointly led a Meccan army to Baṣra seeking support and promising a new election after the removal of ʿAlī. There was intense rivalry between Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr as the latter, having loyally backed ʿUthmān to the end, considered himself better entitled to the succession. Ṭalḥa was treacherously murdered by ʿUt̲h̲mān's cousin Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in the Battle of the Camel (15 D̲j̲umādā I 36/8 December 656) as ʿAlī and the Kūfans were gaining the upper hand. Marwān, fighting in the Meccan army, hit Ṭalḥa's knee with an arrow, causing profuse bleeding from which he died. The reports that Ṭalḥa was killed by Marwān have been dismissed by L. Caetani and other modern scholars as anti-Umayyad fiction. They are corroborated, however, by the fact that Marwānid propaganda in Syria during the second *fitna* proudly proclaimed Marwān as the first avenger of the caliph ʿUthmān on account of his deed.

Ṭalḥa's eldest son, the pious Muḥammad, was also killed in the Battle of the Camel. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, who survived the battle, was pardoned by ʿAlī and allowed to take possession of Ṭalḥa's vast fortune, including land holdings in ʿIrāḳ and the Sarāt in Arabia, for his family. Ṭalḥa's wealth seems to have been surpassed only by that of ʿUt̲h̲mān among the early Companions. Like ʿUt̲h̲mān, he is described as a generous benefactor of the early Muslim community.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 152-61; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1323-25, iii, 290-2; Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 380-99 and indices s.v.; N. Abbott, *Aishah, the Beloved of Mohammad*, Chicago 1942, index s.v.; W. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997. (W. MADELUNG)

ṬALḤAT AL-ṬALAḤĀT "Ṭalḥa of the Ṭalḥas", the name by which the early Islamic Arab commander Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲alaf al-K̲h̲uzāʿī was known. Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 88, tr. de Slane, ii, 53, explains that he got this cognomen because his mother's name was Ṭalḥa bt. Abī Ṭalḥa. On his mother's side he was connected with Ḳurays͟h (Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 555).

He appears in Umayyad history as governor of Sīstān around the end of the caliphate of Yazīd I, being appointed by the governor of K̲h̲urāsān Salm b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] just after an Arab raid into eastern Afg̲h̲ānistān had ended in disaster and Arab captives had to be ransomed from the local rulers of Zamīndāwar and Kābul. The chronology is uncertain, but Ṭalḥa apparently began his term of office in early 64/end of 683 or mid-64/early 684; coins minted by him in Sīstān are extant for the years 64 and 65. After incurring Salm's wrath, he lost office, was reappointed, but died shortly afterwards and was buried in Sīstān, probably in 65/684-5, mourned by such poets in his entourage as Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt and Abū Ḥuzāba al-Ḥanẓalī. It was presumably when

Ṭalḥa was governor of Sīstān that Ruzayḳ, the great-grandfather of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], founder of the line of Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān, became his *mawlā*.

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic histories of Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, and Ṭabarī, see also the Persian ones of Gardīzī and the anonymous *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. These are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 45-6, and G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)*, Wiesbaden 1982, 87-8. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-ṬĀLIʿ (A.), literally "that which rises".

1. Astronomical aspects.

Al-ṭāliʿ is that point of the ecliptic which is rising over the horizon at a given moment, called the ascendent or horoscopus (and sometimes, incorrectly, the horoscope); see the diagram in MAṬĀLIʿ. The determination of the ascendent is necessary in mathematical astrology [see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-] before one can calculate the instantaneous positions of the 12 astrological houses (*al-buyūt*); with these determined, one can then investigate in which houses the sun, moon and five naked-eye planets are situated and then make the appropriate astrological prognostications.

Muslim astronomers generally determined the ascendent by first finding the time of day or night [see MĪḲĀT], this by means of an observation of the altitude of the sun or a bright star and the application of a trigonometric calculation or the use of an astronomical instrument such as an astrolabe or quadrant [see ASṬURLĀB and RUBʿ]. Then by using tables of ascensions [see MAṬĀLIʿ] or an astrolabe, the instantaneous position of the ascendent could be ascertained. The opposite point of the ecliptic, called the descendant (*al-ghārib*), and the points of the ecliptic instantaneously culminating on the meridian at upper and lower mid-heaven (*wasaṭ al-samāʾ*) could be found in the same way. These four points provided the basis for determining the houses, the first starting with the ascendent, the fourth with lower mid-heaven, the seventh with the descendant and the tenth with upper mid-heaven. Various mathematical procedures were available for smoothing the lengths of the houses around the ecliptic (*taswiyat al-buyūt*).

The Rasūlid astronomer Abu 'l-ʿUḳūl (in Taʿizz, *ca.* 700/1300) compiled an extensive set of tables from which one could simply read the longitude of the ascendent at day as a function of the solar longitude and the solar altitude, and at night as a function of the solar longitude and the altitude of various fixed stars. Likewise, some astrolabe plates, particularly those of the Andalusian Ibn Bāṣo (Cordova, *ca.* 700/1300), have special markings for finding the houses for a particular latitude directly. But generally the determination of the houses at a particular time in a specific latitude was a tedious mathematical operation.

The positions of the sun, moon and planets at that time could either be calculated from the tables in an astronomical handbook of the genre known as *zīdj* [*q.v.*] or taken from an ephemeris giving positions for each day at midday [see TAḲWĪM]. The location of each of the seven bodies in a given house had astrological significance, as well as their positions relative to each other, and particularly with respect to the moon (see *ibid.*).

The resulting horoscope [see ZĀʾIRADJA] might be included in an ephemeris, showing prognostications for the beginning of a given year or for an eclipse occurring during that year, or in a nativity book, showing prognostications for each year in the life of an individual. A string of horoscopes might be recorded in an astrological history, be it of individuals or dynasties, or of conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, which according to a theory adopted from Sāsānid astrology were deemed to be of singular astrological significance for religious and political changes.

A popular notion (associated with Vettius Valens) was that the length of life (*ʿumr al-mawlūd*) of an individual was related to the horoscopus at birth. Another was that the duration of the foetus in the mother's womb was related to the horoscopus at conception (*masḳaṭ al-nuṭfa*) and the horoscopus at birth.

Bibliography: For the basic notions, see R.R. Wright, *The Book of instruction in ... astrology by ... al-Bīrūnī*, London 1934, 149 ff.; E.S. Kennedy, *Spherical astronomy in Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj, in *ZGAIW*, ii (1985), 1-46, esp. 42-6; idem, *Treatise V of al-Kāshī's* Khāqānī Zīj. *Determination of the ascendent*, to appear in *ibid.*; and idem, *Ibn Muʿādh on the astrological houses*, in *ibid.*, ix (1994), 153-60. See also idem and D. Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshāʾallāh*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971; L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The horoscope of Asadullah Mirza. A specimen of nineteenth-century Persian astrology*, Leiden 1977; E.S. Kennedy, *An astrological history based on the career of Genghis Khan*, in S. Seikaly *et alii* (eds.), *Quest for understanding. Arabic and Islamic studies in memory of Malcolm H. Kerr*, Beirut 1991, 223-31; and D.A. King, *Some Arabic copies of Vettius Valens' table for calculating the duration of life*, in G. Endress (ed.), *Symposium Graeco-Arabicum II*, Amsterdam 1989, 25-8. (D.A. King)

2. Astrological aspects.

These start from the application of the term in astronomy (see 1. above) to a star (*nadjm*) whose movement is from above to below the horizon, or of a planet (*kawkab*) whose movement is from south to north, traversing the plane of the ecliptic. One speaks therefore of the ascending node of a planetary orbit, of ascending degrees and ascending latitudes. The ascending signs denote those during which the sun appears to rise on the horizon, sc. Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus and Gemini. Hence, in astrological terminology, "the ascendent is the zodiacal sign which rises on the horizon at the first moment of a man or woman's birth" (Littré, s.v.). The astrologers derive indications from these astral positions and from their movements.

Other terms used to describe such positions and movements are: *ḳirānāt* or *iḳtirānāt* "conjunctions", in regard to the relationships between stars; *mumāzadjāt* "coincidences" of planets between themselves; *ittiṣālāt* relations of planets between themselves; *ishrāf* "apogee" of a planet; *hubūṭ* "declension" of a planet; *raʾs*, Lat. *caput*, the ascendent node in opposition to *dhanab*, Lat. *cauda*, descendant node (the pl. *ruʾūs* denotes "the direction of the zenith". For the main planets of the solar system, the line of the nodes, taken into consideration, is connected with the plane of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, in his *Raccolta*, v, 396); *ghurūb* "setting" of the planets; *rudjūʿ*, their retrograde motion; *istiḳāma* their "direct course"; *muḳābala* "opposition" of the planets in the signs of the Zodiac; *ḥurūḳ* "fire", which springs into flame on the planets when they find themselves in the signs of the Zodiac (involving here the "comet tails", *shuhub*, Grk. αἰφλόγος, Lat. *flammae accense*, see Nallino, *op. cit.*, 16); *mudabbir*, Grk. κύριος "regent", said of a planet whose ascendent is in one of the signs of the Zodiac; and *ṭulūʿ al-shaʿrā al-ʿabūr* "heliacal rising of Sirius". All these terms play a decisive role in interpreting the movements of the planets and stars within the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

In regard to the ascendent, one can derive examples from the revolutions of the years and their ascendent stars (*taḥwīl al-sinīn wa-ṭawāliʿihā*), e.g. indications of the revolution of the years when the ascendent is the sign of Leo, or the sign Virgo with Mercury as regent, Libra with Venus, Scorpio with Mars, etc., and the same procedure for the conjunctions, oppositions, appearance of comets' tails, etc.

For the applications of these principles in daily life, see FA'L; in astrological predictions, see DJAFR; ḤURŪF; in divination through weather phenomena, see MALḤAMA; in the construction of horoscopes, see NUDJŪM, AḤKĀM AL-; and in hemerology, *electiones*, see IKHTIYĀRĀT and SAʿD AND NAḤS. Thus omens at birth, and the choice of days and hours, derive from the principles governing the connections of the stars with each other. Knowledge of these connections makes up the essence of astrological divination, of theurgy [see SIḤR] and the talismanic art [see ṬALSAM].

The anonymous ms. Aya Sofya 2684, used for this article, gives indications for the signs of the Zodiac and their regents, sc. Taurus-Mars, Taurus-Venus, Gemini-Mercury, Cancer-the Moon, Leo-the Sun, etc. (see Fahd, *Divination*, 494).

Bibliography: See also Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Paris 1987, 488 ff. (T. FAHD)

ṬALĪʿA (A.), a term of military organisation, meaning an advance guard or reconnaissance force (pl. *ṭalāʾiʿ*).

It is said to refer to either an individual or a small group (three or four men) which was sent ahead of the main army to obtain information regarding the enemy (Lane, i, 1870a), although it is evident from descriptions of battles, at least from the later Middle Ages, that much larger bodies of soldiers were called by this term. According to *TʿA*, the *ṭalīʿa* was like a *djāsūs* [*q.v.*], and in fact, even in later times, the line between reconnaissance and espionage is not always clear. The term is often translated as vanguard, but this leads to some confusion, since the latter word should be reserved for the *muḳaddama*, which represents a separate corps of the regular army, such as in the *taʿbiʾa* formation (see ḤARB. ii. The Caliphate, at vol. III, 182). In later military manuals, much attention is devoted to the role of the advance guard. Al-Anṣārī (d. 811/1408) writes that they should be a small group of lightly-armed cavalry, whose soldiers (and horses it might be added) should be carefully picked. The importance of secure communications with the main body and its commander is emphasised, as is the necessity of caution, especially against enemy ambushes. These reconnaissance troops are also known as *kashshāfa*, literally "scouts" (G.T. Scanlon, *A Muslim manual of war*, Cairo 1961, 51-3 of Arabic text; see also ḤARB. iii. The Mamlūk Sultanate, at vol. III, 185). Another synonym for *ṭalīʿa* is the Persian term *yazak*: the Mongol advanced guard at Gaza in the summer of 658/1260 is referred to as *ṭalīʿa* in an Arabic source (Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Vatican Ar. 726, fol. 245a) and *yazak* by Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* = *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 346-7). Shortly afterwards, on the eve of the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] the Mamlūk advance guard commanded by Baybars is referred to by one source as a *ṭalīʿa* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1934-73, i, 430) and by another as a *shālīsh* (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg-Cairo 1971, 49). But the latter Persian term (also written *čālīsh*) is usually understood to be the equivalent to *muḳaddama*, as is clearly seen from a description of the Mamlūk order of the battle at Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] in 681/1280 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, ms. B.L. Add. 23325, fols. 113b-114a).

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(R. AMITAI-PREISS)

ṬĀLIB ĀMULĪ, an Indo-Persian poet of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, b. at an unknown date (*ca.* 987/1579?), d. 1036/1626-7.

A native of Āmul in Māzandarān, he was a cousin of the famous physician and poet Ḥakīm Ruknā Kāshī, who had gone to India before Ṭālib's arrival in that country. Despite the fact that his works include *ḳaṣīda*s in praise of Shāh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], there is no evidence that he was ever attached to the Ṣafawid court, and his earliest patrons seem to have been high officials. Via Kāshān and Marw, he eventually migrated to seek his fortune in India, and after being patronised by various provincial governors and leading officials, finally gained entry to the court of the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. The high point of his career was the Emperor's appointment of him as poet laureate at his court, but he seems to have developed some sort of mental illness in the last years of his life, dying comparatively young.

Ṭālib's complete poems as published (*Kulliyyāt*, ed. Ṭāhirī Shihāb, Tehran 1346/1967) comprise some 23,000 couplets. They include *ḳaṣīda*s, including some addressed to ʿAlī, an indication of the poet's possibly Shīʿī sympathies, various other types of verse-form, including *mathnawī*s, but above all, *ghazal*s, which are central to his literary contribution.

Ṭālib was generally praised by the *tadhkira* writers for the quality of his verse, although Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar in his *Ātashkada* was disapproving, reflecting his dislike for the "Indian style" (*sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*]). Ṭālib in fact contributed to what might be called the transitional phase of this style. The merit of his verse lies chiefly in the novelty of similes and metaphors and in his innovative skill in the construction of word compounds. The dominant sentiment is, however, one of sadness arising from a sense of failure and disappointment.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN, shortened by the Editors)

ṬĀLIBŪF (TALIBOV), ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM, Persian writer and intellectual of the 19th century (b. Tabrīz 1250/1834, d. 1329/1911).

At *ca.* sixteen, he left for Tiflis (Tbilisi) in Transcaucasia, where he learned the Russian language and was exposed to the writings of Russian writers as well as to Western political ideas. Subsequently, he settled in Tamir Khān Shūra (present-day Buynaksk), capital of Dāghistān. In *ca.* 1306/1888 he joined Sayyid Muḥammad Shabistarī (afterwards editor of *Īrān-i naw*)

in starting in Istanbul the paper *Shāhsawan*, of which only one number was published (see E.G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 106-7; Muḥammad Ṣadr Hāshimī, *Tārīkh-i djarāʾid u madjallāt-i Īrān*, Iṣfahān n.d., iii, 56). In 1906, after the proclamation of a constitutional régime in Persia, he was elected in his absence to the Persian parliament but, for reasons which remain unclear, he decided against taking up his seat and stayed on in Russia. He died in Tamir Khān Shūra.

Ṭālibūf was the author of several books, both original and translated, which enjoyed much prestige during their time. Among them, *Safīna-yi Ṭālibī* "Ṭālib's journal" (Istanbul 1311-12/1893-4), *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* "The ways of the charitable" (Cairo 1323/1905), and *Masāʾil al-ḥayāt* "Problems of life" (Tiflis 1324/1906) deserve special consideration because of their literary significance. The first-named work, also called *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, was inspired, according to the author, by Rousseau's *Emile*. In the second, Ṭālibūf presents an imaginary travelogue describing the experiences of a group of individuals who set out on an educational trip for the peak of Damāwand, and uses the narrative of the journey to expound his own views on various social, cultural and ethical subjects. Similar in form is his *Masāʾil al-ḥayāt*, which has politics and society for its theme. Ṭālibūf also wrote sundry articles which were published in the journals of the day such as *Andjuman* and *Ḥabl al-matīn*. In all his works, he used a simple Persian style, an achievement all the more creditable in view of the fact that his own language was Ādharī [*q.v.*] Turkish. Ṭālibūf's ideas attracted a keen response from the enlightened and progressive elements of the society, and played a prominent role in the late 19th-century political and intellectual awakening in Persia.

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2. Studies. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i muʿāṣirīn*, in *Yādgār*, v/4-5; Īradj Afshār, in *Yaghmā*, iv/5; idem, introd. to *Āzādī wa siyāsat*, Tehran 1357/1978; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1328/1949; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, i, Tehran 1357/1978; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964; Rypka *et alii*, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; Farīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīsha-hā-yi Ṭālibūf*, in *Sukhan*, xvi/5-8; Yaḥyā Āryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, i, Tehran 1350/1971; ʿAlī Kātibī *et alii* (eds.), introd. to *Siyāsat-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1357/1978; Īradj Pārsī-nizhād, in *Madjalla-yi Īrānshināsī*, ii/3, Bethesda, Md. 1990.

(Munibur Rahman)

ṬALĪḲ [see ṬULAḲĀʾ].

TAʿLĪḲ, Taʿlīḳa (A., pls. *taʿlīḳāt, taʿālīḳ*) in scholarly activity refers to the "appending upon (*ʿalā*)" a text or the "deriving from (*ʿan*)" an author and then to the resulting notes, glosses, comments, excerpts and appendices. Similar in a way to *ḥāshiya* [*q.v.*], it is, however, much less firmly anchored in manuscripts than *ḥāshiya* was originally. In later centuries, it came to be used quite frequently in titles of essays. Earlier, its supposed use as a title was more descriptive than formal and was often the choice of convenience by someone other than the author. Among titles listed in the *Fihrist*, *Taʿlīḳāt* appears only for two alchemical works (*Fihrist*, 359, ll. 5, 16) and is of uncertain meaning. In later bibliographies, some titles of works by philosophers and scientists were expanded, obviously not by their authors, by the addition of "in the form of notes" (*ʿalā djihat/ṭarīḳ al-taʿlīḳ*, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 138-9 [al-Fārābī], ii, 96 [Ibn al-Haytham]); some were stated to be *taʿlīḳ*, *taʿālīḳ* (Ḳifṭī, 362-3 [Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī]; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 103-5 [Ibn Riḍwān and Afrāʾīm]; *ibid.*, i, 322, l. 13, *taʿālīḳ ḥikmiyya* [Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī] also may not be a formal title). The originality of the title *Taʿlīḳāt* in preserved works of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā is also subject to doubt. Yet the use of the word as a descriptive title may indeed have originated among problem-centred disciplines such as philosophy, natural science and grammar, rather than in the religious sciences, but it appears rather early in jurisprudence.

Other technical usages of *taʿlīḳ* include one of the science of *ḥadīth* that came into use, originally in connection with the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, for traditions "derived from (*muʿallaḳ ʿan*)" an authority without the indication of a complete *isnād* or the complete text. Note further the use of *taʿlīḳ* for a particular script [see KHAṬṬ, at vol. IV, 1124-5] and as a grammatical term. See also ṬALĀḲ.

Bibliography: Title indices s.v., as, for instance, in Brockelmann, Sezgin, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; Lane, 2137a-b; J. Michot, *Tables de correspondance des "Taʿlīqāt" d'al-Fārābī, des "Taʿlīqāt" d'Avicenne et du "Liber Aphorismorum" d'Andrea Alpago*, in *MIDEO*, xv (1982), 231-50; J.E. Brockopp, *Slavery in Islamic law*, unpubl. Yale Univ. diss., 1995, 75 ff., for possible 4th/10th-century legal titles. For the *ḥadīth* term, see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, chs. 1 and 11, and the introduction of Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān Mūsā al-Ḳ-r-ḳī's edition of Ibn Ḥadjar, *Taghlīḳ at-taʿlīḳ*, ʿAmmān 1405/1985, i, 283 ff., and *passim*. For the grammatical term, see R.M. Rammuni, in *Intern. Journal of Islamic and Arabic Studies*, iii (1986), 27-42.

(F. Rosenthal)

TAʿLĪḲĪ-ZĀDE, Meḥmed b. Meḥmed el-Fenārī, Ottoman court historiographer (*shehnāmedji*) in the sixteenth century. Taʿlīḳī-zāde was born in the province of Aydîn in Western Anatolia at some time in the 1540s. He was a descendant of the famous Fenārī family; as his name shows, his father must have been an expert in calligraphy, especially in the *taʿlīḳ* script. From 969/1562 he served as secretary (*kātib*) to Prince Murād in Manisa. When the latter ascended the throne in 982/1574, Taʿlīḳī-zāde found employment as a *kātib* in the imperial chancery. In 991-3/1583-5, he took part in the military campaigns against Persia where he performed secretarial services. In *ca.* 998/1590 he was appointed assistant to the chief *shehnāmedji* Loḳmān. In 1004/1596, when the latter showed reluctance to accompany Meḥemmed III on his Hungarian campaign, his office was given to Taʿlīḳī-zāde. He held this post until 1009/1601 and probably died between 1011 and 1020/1603 and 1611.

Prior to his appointment as court historiographer, Taʿlīḳī-zāde wrote three works (*Firāset-nāme*, 1574-5: on the connection of a man's outward features and his character; *Tebrīziyye*, 1585, and *Gürdjistān seferi*, 1585, on the Persian campaigns). As *shehnāmedji* he left to us another three compositions. The *Shemāʾil-nāme-yi āl-i*

ʿOthmān (1593) outlines the distinctive features of the Ottoman dynasty, while the *Shehnāme-i hümāyūn* (1596) and the *Egri fethi ta'rīkhi* (1598, in verse; the title has been established by Woodhead, *see Bibl.*) describe the Hungarian campaigns of Sinān Pasha and Meḥemmed III respectively. While the first court historiographers imitated the famous *Shāh-nāme* of Firdawsī in form and language, Taʿlīḳī-zāde, with one exception, composed prose works in Ottoman *inshā'* style. Shortly after his dismissal, the *shehnāmedji* post seems to have been abolished.

Bibliography: Nedjīb ʿĀṣim, *ʿOthmānlî ta'rīkh-nüwīsleri we müwerrikhleri: shehnāmedjiler*, in *TOEM*, ii, no. 7 (1911), 432-4; Christine Woodhead, *From scribe to littérateur: the career of a sixteenth-century Ottoman* Kātib, in *BSMES Bull.* ix/1 (1982), 55-74; eadem, *An experiment in official historiography: the post of Şehnāmeci in the Ottoman Empire*, in *WZKM*, lxxv (1983), 157-82; eadem, *"The Present Terror of the World"? Contemporary views of the Ottoman Empire c. 1600*, in *History*, lxxii/234 (1987), 20-37 (a thorough analysis of the *Shemā'il-nāme*); eadem, *Taʿlīḳī-zāde's* Şehnāme-i hümāyūn. *A history of the Ottoman campaign into Hungary 1593-94*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 82, Berlin 1983 (ed. of the work in transcription). The four miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Egri fethi ta'rīkhi* were published by G. Fehérvári, *The "Egri Fetihname" in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi* (in Hungarian), in *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 1969*, Eger 1969, figs. 1-10 (according to the author, the correct title of this work is *Shehnāme-yi sulṭān-i selāṭīn-i djihān*) and Géza Fehér, *Turkish miniatures from the period of Hungary's Turkish occupation*, Budapest 1975, pls. XLVIII-LI.

(P. Fodor)

TĀLĪKŌṬĀ, a small town of the mediaeval central Deccan, now in the Bīdjapur District of the Karnataka State of the Indian Union (lat 16° 31' N., long. 76° 20' E.). It is famed as the assembly point and base camp for the combined forces of the South Indian sultanates (the ʿĀdil Shāhīs, Barīd Shāhīs, Ḳuṭb Shāhīs and Niẓām Shāhīs [*q.vv.*]). These all marched southwards some 50 km/30 miles southwards to the Krishna river and the villages of Rakshasa and Tangadi, crossed the river and, at a point 20 km/12 miles south of the Krishna, after several skirmishes, the Muslim forces engaged those of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] at a village called Bannikaṭṭi on (most probably) 20 Djumādā II 972/23 January 1565. This historic battle is usually termed that of Tālīkōṭā, although it should more accurately be called that of Bannikaṭṭi. In it, the power of the Hindu ruler of Vidjayanagara, the 80-year old Rāma Rādjā, was broken and the Rādjā himself executed by the victorious Niẓām Shāhī.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 214; H.K. Sherwani, *Tilingana under Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh*, in *Jnal. Indian Hist.* (1957), 359-84; idem, *The site of the so-called Battle of Tālīkōṭā*, in *Jnal. Pak. Hist. Soc.*, v, 111 ff.; idem and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, Ḥaydarābād 1973, i, 128 n. 179, 247-8, 330-2; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people. VII. The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 424-6; B. Stein, *Vijayanagara* (= *The New Cambridge history of India*, I.2), Cambridge 1989, 119-20. See also HIND. iv. History, at vol. II, 425a.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TAʿLĪMIYYA [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA].

TĀLISH, a district on the southwestern shores of the Caspian Sea, originally wholly within Persia until the Gulistān Treaty of 12/24 October 1813 between Russia and Persia awarded to Russia the greater part of Tālish, that north of the Astārā river. This last part has successively been ruled by Imperial Russia, the Soviets and (since 1991) the Azerbaijan Republic. The part of the Iranian Tālishī people remaining within Persia occupies an area of the modern province (*ustān*) of East Azerbaijan to about 50 km/30 miles south of the Astārā river.

1. Geography and history.

The region comprises an inland mountain region and a narrow coastal strip, fertile, with dense vegetation (a home of the endangered Caspian tiger) and a high rainfall (approx. 125 cm/50 inches of rain p.a. at Lankorān [*q.v.*], the main urban centre of Tālish); in the north, Tālish merges into the steppelands of Mūḳān [*q.v.*] or Mūghān.

According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 278-9, the name is first found in the Armenian translation of the Alexander Romance as Tʿalish. At the time of the Arab conquests, in 24 or 25/645-6, al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ raided al-B.b.r (? cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm., 391; the anonymous author does not mention Tālish), al-Ṭ.y.lasān (= Tālish) and the steppe region of Mūḳān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 327; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2805). According to al-Aṣmaʿī, in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 812, iii, 571, the Persian pronunciation of the region's name was Tālishān (a plural form?), and in early Islamic times it was an administrative district (*ʿamal*) of the province of Gurgān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (8th/14th century) mentions a village Tālish on the road from Sulṭāniyya to Ardabīl (hence south of the earlier Tālish) (*Nuzha*, 180, tr. 173). In the Il-Khānid period, the Ispahbadhs of Gīlān seem to have had a principality on the borders of Gīlān and Mūḳān, with a fortress and villages in Tālish (Minorsky, *A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Ẓāhid*, in *BSOAS*, xvi [1954], 524-5), and in later times, a local *khān* had his seat at Lankorān and was subject to the kings of Persia; but the district played little part in the wider affairs of Persia until the advance of Tsarist Russia through eastern Transcaucasia. Peter the Great first occupied the region; it was returned to Persia in 1732, again occupied by the Russians 1796-1812 but finally lost in the next year. Hence after 1813, the greater part of Tālish came within Russian territory, in which the greater part of the Tālishī people now found themselves, many of them continuing to nomadise in the Mūḳān steppes, but a smaller part of them has remained within Persia. Most of the Tālishīs are Shīʿīs.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 173; N. Yu. Marr, *Talīshi*, Petrograd 1922; M. Bazin, *Le Tâleche, une région ethnique au nord de l'Iran*, Paris 1980.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. Language.

Tālishī is a North-Western Iranian language, close to Tati [*q.v.*]. The language (or dialect) has a range of mutually intelligible sub-dialects, stretching from the north to the south. The consonantal system of Tālishī does not differ from that of Persian, whereas the range of its vowels is enlarged, in comparison to Persian, by the addition of *ə*, a central vowel, and at least in northern and central sub-dialects, also by *ü*, a front vowel. As is the case with most of the modern Iranian dialects of ancient Media, Tālishī possesses two cases: the direct or the subject case, and the oblique or the genitive and object case. In Asālimī, a central Tālishī dialect, the case endings typically are: sing. dir. *-ø*, pl. dir. *-e*, sing. obl. *-i*, pl. obl. *-un*.

The verbal system diverges from most other Western Iranian dialects by employing the present stem

for the Imperfect and the past stem for the Present, e.g., Asā(limī) *vrij-/vrit-* "to run," *a-vrij-im* "I was running" (*a-* is the durative marker), *b-a-vrit-im* "I run, I am running". Further, verbal affixes, including the negative *nə/ni*, cause a reshuffling of the elements of conjugation in the Present, e.g. *ni-m-a-vrit* "I don't run, am not running" where the personal "ending" precedes the marker and the stem.

Syntactically, Tālis͟hī, like Tati, employs the ergative construction in past transitive verbs based on the past stem; accordingly, the agent of the verb is put in the oblique case, the logical direct object in the direct case and the verb agrees with its direct object, e.g. Asā. *esbun* (obl. pl.) *gušd harda* (sg.) "the dogs ate flesh".

Bibliography: The Northern Tālis͟hī spoken to the north of the Arax river has been adequately studied and published by B.V. Miller in *Tales͟hskiĭ yazïk* ("Tālis͟hī language"), Moscow 1953. A sketch of Māsūla'ī, together with some texts and a glossary, by G. Lazard is published in *St. Ir.*, vii/6 (1978), 251-68, and viii/2 (1979), 36-66, 269-75; and a grammatical outline of Asālimī by E. Yarshater in *ibid.*, xxv/1 (1996), 77-104. See also M. Bazin, *Le Tâleche, une région ethnique au nord de l'Iran*, ii, Paris 1980, 69-70, 189 ff. and figs. 94, 95; idem, *Recherche des rapports entre diversité dialectale et géographie humaine: l'exemple du Tāleš*, in *Interdisziplinäre Iran-Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1979, 1-14; L.A. Pireyko, *Talïs͟hsko-Russkï slovar* ("Tālis͟hī Russian dictionary"), Moscow 1976; ʿAlī ʿAbdolī, *Farhang-i Tātī u Tālis͟hī* ("T. and T. [-Persian] dictionary"), Tehran 1984. For other works, see Bazin, *Le Tâleche*, 263-4, and Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 77. (E. Yarshater)

TALK͟HĪṢ [see MUK͟HTAṢAR].

TALL (A.), usually written Tell in European geographical terminology, means in Arabic "hill, mound, tumulus", but has in the Mag͟hrib a specific meaning unconnected with archaeology.

According to Maurer, in Troin (ed.), *Le Maghreb*, the primary meaning in Arabic dialect is said to be "marly, grey or darkish soil" (cf. W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna. II. Glossaire*, i, Paris 1958, 495: "sol gras et argileux"). By extension, it designates the whole region where this type of soil is found, and is contrasted on one hand to the regions of the high northern plains of a more crusted, clayey nature and, in a certain manner, to the idea of *ṣaḥrāʾ*. The definition in terms of soil has then inclined towards a bio-climatic definition designating that part of the Mag͟hrib still under a marked Mediterranean influence. It denotes a band of territory running west-south-west to east-north-east of very variable width extending from the Moroccan G͟harb to northern Tunisia. Despite a relief much broken up and containing a mosaic of plains, hills and mountains, liable to intense erosion, the Tell constitutes the part of the Mag͟hrib useful for agricultural purposes; the conjunction of soils of the *tell* type and more abundant rainfall (over 300 or 400 mm) permits agriculture there without irrigation. The parts of this made up of plains have been the main sites for economic changes, whereas the mountains have had their development frustrated by communication difficulties.

Bibliography: J.-F. Troin (ed.), *Le Maghreb*, Paris 1985. See also ALGERIA. i; ATLAS; AL-MAG͟HRIB. i; TUNISIA. (Y. Callot)

TALL BĀS͟HIR (present-day (Tkish.) Tilbeşar Kalesi; Armenian Thilpašar, Thil Aveteač; Frankish Turbessel), a fortress and walled town of the north Syrian borderlands, in present-day southern Turkey, 25 km/15 miles south-east of the city of Gaziantep (ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*]), near the village of Gündoğdu.

Although mentioned as early as Assyrian times, the detailed history of Tall Bās͟hir begins at the end of the 5th/11th century, testimony to its position in the path of powers seeking to expand east or west. In 489/1096 the Sald͟jūḳ ruler of Aleppo, Riḍwān b. Tutus͟h [*q.v.*], captured it from Yag͟hīsiyān, ruler of Anṭākiya. The following year Tall Bās͟hir and the fortress of al-Rāwandān [*q.v.*] were acquired by Baldwin II, Count of Edessa, who gave both sites as a fief to his nephew Joscelin I, Count of Courtenay. Tall Bās͟hir remained in Frankish hands until 546/1151, when Joscelin II lost it to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī [*q.v.*], for whom Tall Bās͟hir played an important role in checking his rivals: the Artuḳids to the east, and the Dānis͟hmendids and Sald͟jūḳs to the north. Tall Bās͟hir's strategic and economic importance were reflected in the elaboration and extent of its arrangements: a fragmentary 6th/12th century Arabic source describes an inner circuit wall comprising 15 salients, an outer circuit wall and a suburb (ms. Bibl. Nat. 2281, fol. 57b). In 571-2/1176, together with other north Syrian strongholds, including ʿAyntāb, Tall Bās͟hir was ceded to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], although it was to remain mostly in the control of its Zangid fief-holder, Badr al-Dīn Duldirim al-Yārūḳī, until 615/1218-9, when it was taken by the Rūm Sald͟jūḳ ruler ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I. Shortly afterwards, it fell to al-Malik al-As͟hraf I, Ayyūbid ruler of the D͟jazīra, who gave it to the S͟hihāb al-Dīn Ṭog͟hrïl, regent to the ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. Withstanding an attack by the K͟hʷārazmians in 638/1240-1, Tall Bās͟hir was given in 646/1248 by al-Malik al-Nāṣir of Aleppo to al-Malik al-As͟hraf III in exchange for the latter's possession of Ḥimṣ. The fortifications survived destruction by the Mongols, since al-As͟hraf paid homage to Hülegü, but were then dismantled by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars towards the end of the 7th/13th century, leaving, according to Ibn S͟haddād, an administrative presence and a civilian settlement. Today, little remains of the site save for the fortress mound, upon which there are traces of a gateway.

Bibliography: Matthew of Edessa, tr. Dostourian, *Chronicle*, London 1993, 168, 176, 207, 225, 258-60; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC. Historiens occidentaux*, i/1, 437, 689, i/2, 784-6; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Paris 1905, iii, 195, 211, 216, 230, 232, 296, 297, 333, 366; Ibn al-At͟hīr, index; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bug͟hya*, ed. S. Zakkār, i, Damascus 1988, 321-2; idem, *Zubda*, ii, Damascus 1954, 125, 148, 158-9, 194-5, 251, 302-3, iii, Damascus 1968, 71, 125, 129-30, 153, 182-3, 213, 252; Abū S͟hāma, *D͟hayl*, Beirut 1974, 109; ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn S͟haddād, *Aʿlāḳ*, i/2, Damascus 1991, 100-8; Dussaud, *Topographie histor. de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 436, 464, 468; Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, 115-9; H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit*, Bonn 1976, 38-43 (description and plan); T.A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, iv, London 1990, 123.

(E. Honigmann-[D.W. Morray])

AL-TALL AL-KABĪR, Tell el-Kebir, a fairly recent village agglomeration of some 5 settlements in the Egyptian Nile Delta, 50 km/30 miles west of Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] at the eastern end of al-S͟harḳiyya province.

Located in Wādī Ṭumaylāt, ancient fortifications

and mounds of buried cities mostly of Ptolemaic times underline the former strategic importance of the settlement. During the late Middle Ages, the Wādī Ṭumaylāt had ceased to be a place of permanent settlement, and it was only in the middle of the 19th century that the Wādī was recultivated. Hanadī, Nafaʿāt and Ṭumaylāt nomads now settled in the vicinity of the former fortifications, giving to the place the name al-Tall al-Kabīr. In 1857-8, the railway which followed the Wādī Ṭumaylāt reached the village, and the Ismāʿīliyya Canal (dug 1858-63 in order to supply the new urban settlements in the Suez Canal region with fresh water) also improved the local agriculture. In consequence, the population of al-Tall al-Kabīr rose to over 3,000 by the end of the late 19th century. During the last phase of the Anglo-Egyptian war of 1882, al-Tall al-Kabīr became famous as Aḥmad ʿUrābī Pas̲h̲a moved his military headquarters to this place. Al-Tall al-Kabīr became the last line of defence against the British troops under General Sir Garnet Wolseley advancing from Ismāʿīliyya to Cairo through the Wādī Ṭumaylāt. On 13 September 1882, 6,000 to 7,000 Egyptian regulars and some 20,000 peasant soldiers were overrun during one hour of short but severe fighting, and at least 2,000 Egyptians were killed. On 12 and 13 January 1952, al-Tall al-Kabīr again came into the news when British troops leaving the Canal Zone entered the region in order to fight Egyptian partisans.

Bibliography: A. Boinet, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Egypte*, Cairo 1899; A. Biovès, *Français et Anglais en Egypte, 1881-1882*, Paris 1910, 279; Salīm al-Nakkās̲h̲, *Miṣr li'l-Miṣriyyīn*, Alexandria 1884, v, 151-7; Ch. Royle, *The Egyptian campaigns*, i, London 1886, 249-57; W. Scawen Blunt, *My diaries*, London 1919-20, ii, 38-9; idem, *Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt*, New York 1922, 311 ff.; A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern*, Zürich 1972, 252-60, Eng. tr. *Egypt for the Egyptians*, London 1981.

(R. Schulze)

AL-TALLAʿFARĪ, S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Masʿūd b. Sālim, a well-regarded minor poet of Ayyūbid times, born in Mawṣil on 25 D̲j̲umādā II 593/15 May 1197 and died in Ḥamāt on Wednesday, 10 S̲h̲awwāl 675/17 March 1277.

He claimed Arab descent from the Banū S̲h̲aybān [*q.v.*]. His father, known as Ibn ʿUrrād̲j̲, who was born in Tallaʿfar (Tallyaʿfar) near Mawṣil in 560/1165 and died in Naṣībīn on Tuesday, 3 Muḥarram 615/(Sunday!) 1 April 1218, was well educated, a poet and expert in ancient Arabian and Persian history, with strong S̲h̲īʿī sympathies; he was on familiar terms with the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Mūsā of Mayyāfāriḳīn (later of Damascus). His son spent his life at the courts of the Ayyūbid rulers of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Aleppo, Damascus, and, eventually, Ḥamāt, and also traveled widely in the region. We hear of only one trip outside of it, to Cairo, where he was in Ramaḍān 638/March-April 1241 (Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 40). Precise details as to how he fared during the Mongol invasion are lacking. He became well known as a poet already as a young man (if Yāḳūt, i, 863-4, refers to him rather than his father) and was in close contact with contemporary poets and littérateurs. It was poetical rivalries, especially one with Sulaymān b. Bulaymān (595-686/1199-1287), that appear to have done the most to publicise his troubles as a compulsive gambler who gambled away whatever gifts and stipends he received at court, allegedly making himself homeless at times and even provoking an official edict against gambling with him. His morals, in general, were severely criticised, yet he lived a long and productive life. As a poet, he enjoyed fame for his skilful use of lyrical/erotic imagery, and he is said to have worked in all the popular poetic genres of the time.

Bibliography: His biography and that of his father appear in the *Ḳalāʾid (ʿUḳūd) al-d̲j̲umān fī farāʾid s̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-zamān* by his contemporary (who died, however, two decades before him), Ibn al-S̲h̲aʿʿār, parts VII and X = vols. vi, 44-56, and viii, 512-24, of the facsimile published by F. Sezgin, Frankfurt am Main 1410/1990. Biographies by younger contemporaries are Ibn al-Ṣuḳāʿī, *Tālī*, ed. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974, nos. 226 and 121, and al-Yūnīnī, iii, 218-28, iv, 323-4 (the Ḥaydarābād ed. conflates his with his father's data, as shown by manuscripts of the work made available by Dr. Li Guo). Among later biographies are D̲h̲ahabī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Islām* and *ʿIbar, anno* 675; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, v, 255-63, xv, 356-58; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 546-55, i, 350-1, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 62-71, ii, 57-59; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, xiii, 272; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, vii, 255-57; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, v, 349. See further Brockelmann, I², 300, S I, 458; F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 147-49, 176. The long promised edition of his collected poems seems not yet to have appeared; the so-called *Dīwān* (Cairo 1298 [not available], Beirut 1310, 1326) contains only a small selection of poems.

(F. Rosenthal)

ṬĀLŪT, the Islamic equivalent to the biblical Saul based on a familiar form in the Arabic reproduction of ancient names (often in assonant pairs), *fāʿūl* (Ṭālūt-D̲j̲ālūt, Yād̲j̲ūdj-Mād̲j̲ūd̲j̲, Hārūt-Mārūt, Hārūn, Ḳārūn, Dāwūd, Tābūt, etc.). He occurs in the Ḳurʾān only in II, 246-51, a parallel with the Biblical I Samuel, v-xviii. Chosen by God to lead Israel in response to their request for a king, Ṭālūt is poor but wise and physically powerful. Although considered unworthy of kingship by the people, he is confirmed through an unnamed prophet by the divine sign of angels bearing the Ark (*Tābūt*) containing the *Sakīna* and a remnant of the house of Moses and Aaron (Hārūn). On a campaign against Goliath (D̲j̲ālūt [*q.v.*]), God divides Ṭālūt's army on the basis of how they drink from a river, a motif reminiscent of the episode of Gideon in Judges, vii, 4-7. Ṭālūt's army is victorious despite Israel's fear, but it is David (Dāwūd [*q.v.*]) who slays Goliath.

The story is filled out substantially in the exegetical literature, which exhibits great familiarity with motifs from the Bible and Midrash. The traditions making up the longer exegetical narrative derive from a consistent set of sources which can be traced according to their motifs and styles of narration. The unnamed prophet of the Ḳurʾān is usually Samuel (As̲h̲mawīl or S̲h̲amwīl [*q.v.*]), but occasionally Jeremiah, Simon, Joshua or Elisha. Ṭālūt is unfit for kingship because his tribe is Benjamin, which is disqualified because of its evil acts (Wahb in al-T̲h̲aʿlabī alludes to the episode of the tribe's evil nature in Judges, xix-xx). Before becoming king, Ṭālūt, whose name refers to his great height, was a poor donkey herder, tanner, or water carrier. God gave Samuel a staff and/or a horn of oil with which to determine whom God chose to be king of Israel. Only Ṭālūt fits the signs, and subsequently advances against Goliath, king of the Canaanites or Amalekites, or a Copt, who had Berber soldiers in his armies. In one version, Ṭālūt excuses many from his army before encountering the river (cf. Deut., xx, 5-7; Ḳurʾān, IX, 91-2). His troops

number from 4,000 to 300,000, but only 310 (or 313/319) pass the test at the river, a number equal to the number of fighters at Badr (cf. al-Bukhārī, *maghāzī*, 6; al-Tirmidhī, *siyar*, 38; Ibn Mādja, *djihād*, 25). Ṭālūt pledges to give his daughter to whomever will smite Goliath, but refuses David until he kills 200 of Ṭālūt's enemies. He eventually gives David a third (or half) of his kingdom, or his signet ring as a sign of rule, but envies Israel's love of David and tries repeatedly to kill him. In some versions, he attempts to co-opt his daughter into helping him, but to no avail. In one humorous episode, Ṭālūt impales a wine-skin put in place of David in his bed. When Ṭālūt is splashed with the red wine, he remarks how David was a drunkard. In rage at his repeated failures, Ṭālūt kills all the sages of Israel except one surviving woman who knows the ineffable name of God. He subsequently regrets his violence against David and/or the sages and seeks atonement, but Samuel has since died. With the help of the woman, a prophet (usually Samuel or Elisha, but even Joshua) is called from the dead. Ṭālūt learns that his atonement is possible only if he and all his heirs are killed in sacred warfare (*djihād fī sabīl Allah*), which he orchestrates for himself and his sons.

Bibliography: Yaʿkūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 50-3; Ṭabarī, i, 548-59; idem, *Tafsīr*, Beirut 1984, ii, 595-625; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 98-102; Thaʿlabī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 235-9; Fasawī, *Badʾ al-khalk*, ed. Khoury, Wiesbaden 1978, 85-98; Kisāʾī, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, 250-8; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1965, i, 217-22; Ibn Kathīr, *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Beirut 1982, ii, 240-7; Djazāʾirī, *al-Nūr al-mubīn fī kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Kum n.d., 330-4; Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1956-7, xiii, 435-57; G. Weil, *Biblical legends of the Mussulmans*, New York 1846, 177-85; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 185-9; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii (1925), 161-4; idem, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 123; R. Ebied and L. Wickham, *Al-Yaʿqūbī's account of the Israelite Prophets and Kings*, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 80-98.

(R. Firestone)

TAMAHAK [see ṬAWĀRIK. 2].

TAMASHEK [see ṬAWĀRIK. 2].

TĀMASNA (Berber, "the palm of the hand, plain"), the ancient name for the Atlantic coastal plain of Morocco bounded by the rivers Bouragrag and Umm al-Rabīʿ, "from Salā to Marrākush (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, i, 60). This "Moroccan meseta", known for its fertile soil, has traditionally been an area for cereal growing, the products being exported to al-Andalus in mediaeval times. It forms a natural passage between two key regions, those of Fās and of Marrākush, limited on the east by deep valleys covered with forest. Its richness and its position explain its lively history.

The place-name Tāmasna appears for the first time in the list of regions conquered by Idrīs I and then in the succession of his son Idrīs II [*q.vv.*]. Until the 6th/12th century, this region was merged into the kingdom of the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*], which was also termed the kingdom of Tāmasna. After the elimination of these so-called "heretics", the ruined countryside remained abandoned, and the Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr established there nomadic Arab tribes (Khulṭ, Sufyān and Djābir). The Marīnids used it as pasture land and entrusted their beasts to the Hilāl, who intermarried with the Zenāta and Hawwāra Berbers. The mixture of the two races gave birth to new tribes using the Arabic language who became sedentarised and known under the name of Shāwiya (or Chaouïa) [*q.v.*]. This name ended up by replacing the ancient Tāmasna used in the official documents of the *Makhzen* up to the 19th century. However, "Chaouïa" denotes a more restricted region.

The place-name Tāmasna has now completely disappeared. Only a place within Rabat (Bāb Tāmasna), recalling a gate now disappeared, and the patronymic "Masnāwī") retain a feeble echo of it.

Bibliography: See the classical sources on the history of Morocco (Bakrī, Idrīsī and Leo Africanus), and also Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istiḳṣāʾ*, Casablanca 1956, viii, 30; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècles*, Paris 1913; *Villes et tribus du Maroc. Casablanca et la Chaouïa*, Paris 1915; ʿAllāl Lakhdīmī, *al-Tadakhkhul al-adjnabī wa ʾl-muḳāwama bi ʾl-Maghrib, 1810-1894*, Casablanca 1991.

(Halima Ferhat)

TAMATTUʿ [see IḤRĀM; MUTʿA].

TAMAZIGHT (Berber).

1. This is a general term used by many Berber speakers [see BERBERS at vol. I, 1173] to designate their native language (dialect). It is increasingly used not only by them but by many other Berber speakers, non-speakers, and outsiders as well, to designate the Berber language, particularly—but not exclusively—in associations for the promotion of Berber culture and language. It is the feminine form of *Amazigh*, which is used more and more—along with its plural form *Imazighen*—to replace, in both noun and adjective uses, the traditional term *Berber* as it applies to people, artifacts, etc.

2. More specifically it is a term used to designate the Berber dialect group of the Middle Atlas mountains of Morocco, one of three groups widely, if somewhat grossly, construed as representing Berber in Morocco's territory: the other dialect groups in this paradigm are Tarifit in the north of the country and Tashelhit [*q.v.*] in the High Atlas, Sūs river valley and Anti-Atlas regions in the south. Tamazight territory, in this sense, extends from roughly Demnat in the south-west north to the corridor between Rabat and Taza. The towns and river valleys on the Sahara side of the Middle Atlas—Tinghir, Tafilelt, Oued Ziz, Djebel Sargho, Ouarzazate, Oued Dra—are the eastern limits of Tamazight, while to the north-west its territory extends to within a few tens of kilometres from Rabat (Ait Buzemmur). Within this whole area, Tamazight is the primary language. However, except in the most remote areas, there is widespread bilingualism with Arabic, especially in the towns, where Arabic generally dominates.

The region's history of tribal movement, immigration and displacement has left its mark on language patterns. Like the other two groups, Tamazight dialects, though mutually intelligible for the most part, exhibit a fair degree of variation in phonology and vocabulary, and some of its dialects (e.g. Ait Seghrouchen of Imouzzer) in fact more closely resemble certain Tarifit and even Algerian dialects than their immediate neighbours. With regard to the general description of Berber contained in the art BERBERS at vol. I, 1181-5, only a few specific features need to be noted:

Phonology. Tamazight dialects are characterised by the spirantisation of "short" (or lax) occlusives: *b* > [β], *t* > [θ], *d* > [ð], *g* > [y], *k* > [c] or [š] as opposed to Tashelhit where these are usually occlusive like the corresponding "long" (tense) consonants, used in derived morphological forms: [b], [t], [d], [g], [k]. By virtue of massive borrowings of Arabic words, the phonemic inventory includes all the Arabic phonemes.

Morphology. The demonstrative adjectival suffixes used with nouns or pronoun bases are *-ad* "near", *-inn* "distant" and *-enna* "the one in question" with a form *-dex* or *-tex* that can be suffixed to them for additional immediacy. The first three numbers are native, with distinct masculine and feminine forms; the rest are borrowed from Arabic.

Syntax. Most dialects have developed the equivalent of a relative pronoun, *enna*, used to introduce the subordinate relative clause. The intensive aorist verbal form is always preceded by a *lla* or *da*, along with any satellites, when it is used in its common habitual or progressive meaning: *lla as akkan elflus* "they give him (*as*) money".

Bibliography: See BERBERS. V. Bibl., and for further bibl. and a grammatical description of a typical dialect of the central Moroccan (Tamazight) group, see T.G. Penchoen, *Tamazight of the Ait Nadhir*, Malibu, Calif. 1973; also E.T. Abdel-Massih, *Tamazight verb structure*, The Hague 1968.

(T. PENCHOEN)

TAMERLANE [see TĪMŪR LANG].

TAMGHA (T.) means brand, sign, seal and, by extension, tariff or commercial tax. The exact etymology is somewhat unclear, but the original Turkish meaning was a brand or sign placed on livestock or personal property. As brands, certain *tamghas* became identified with specific Turkish tribes. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's [*q.v.*] illustrations of the distinctive brands of the twenty-two branches of the Oghuz (Türkmen), the oldest surviving identifications, are well known (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk* [written 464/1072], tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly as *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 101; for variants found in Rashīd al-Dīn [early 8th/14th century] and Yazīdjī-oghlu ʿAlī [second quarter 9th/15th century], see F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler): tarihleri-boy teşkilatı-destanları*, [3]Istanbul 1992, 170-1). Similar signs have been found on grave stones and other objects, some dating perhaps from prehistoric times, widely distributed across Central Asia and as far west as the Lower Danube (B. Ögel, *İslâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, [2]Ankara 1984, 134, 136, and index).

In addition to providing the aforesaid illustrations, al-Kāshgharī defines *tamgha* as "the seal of the king or other" and as synonymous with the Arabic *ṭābiʿ* (*Dīwān*, i, 321). The title of "keeper of the seal" (*tamghadjī*) appears in the earliest Turkish inscriptions, i.e. those from the Orkhon river valley [*q.v.*] composed in the 8th century (H. Orkun, *Eski Türk yazıtları*, Ankara 1986, i, 52, l. 1 Ş 13). M.F. Köprülü thus concluded that *tamghas* were used as legal symbols in the sense of a dynastic or personal arms (*Ortazaman Türk devletlerinde hukukî senbôllerdeki motifler*, in *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, ii [1932-9], 37-50; his promised exhaustive study of the word was never published). After the Mongol invasion, *tamghas* appeared on both documents (see e.g. V. Minorsky, *The clan of the Qara-Qoyunlu rulers*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 381; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, [2]Ankara 1970, 199, 277-8) and coins, notably those of the Djalāyirids, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Golden Horde, Crimean Tatars (İ. and C. Artuk, *İstanbul arkeoloji müzeleri teşhirdeki islâmî sikkeler kataloğu*, Istanbul 1970-4, ii, 828, 839, 814-15, 818, respectively—see i, p. xlvii, regarding the *tamgha* of the Ḳînîk tribe on the coinage of Ṭoghrïl Beg—and İ. Artuk, *İA*, art. *Sikke*, 630-1) and even the Georgians (D.M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia*, New York 1955, 40).

Also after the Mongol invasion, *tamgha* appeared as the name of a tax on the urban population, i.e. as a tax on commercial goods and services (including prostitution). It was introduced to the Middle East during the reign of Hülegü (654-63/1256-65). The amount varied. It may have been as much as 10% before Ghazan (694-703/1295-1304) reduced it by half (I.P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic conditions of Iran under the Īl-Khāns*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 494, 506, n. 3, 508; on amounts, cf. E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, etc. 1976, 274-5; A.K.S. Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, in *SI*, lxxiv [1986], 84-5). For some time, the *tamgha* seems to have replaced the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] under the Mongols (Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*, 532). As a tax, *tamgha* was sometimes used synonymously with the Persian term *bādj* [*q.v.*]. It was a major source of revenue for the Mongols (W. Barthold, *İlhanlılar devrinde malî vaziyet*, in *THITM*, i [1931], 152-4, tr. W. Hinz as *Die persischen Inschriften an der Mauer der Manūčehr-Moschee zu Ani*, in *ZDMG*, ci [1951]; and A.Z.V. Togan, *Mongollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadi vaziyeti*, in *THITM*, i [1931], 18-21, tr. G. Leiser as *Economic conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol period*, in *AI*, xxv [1991]). The *tamghadjī* thus became the tax collector. Because the *tamgha* was a non-canonical tax, Muslim jurists urged its abolition, but they had little success. Bābur [*q.v.*], the Mughal conqueror of India (932-7/1526-30), abolished it several times, testifying to its importance (Barthold, *İlhanlılar*, 154). It was retained in Persia until the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76). The *dāmgha resmi* remained as a market tax, especially on textiles and metals, in the Ottoman Empire until its collapse (Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, ii, 8-9). As a term for a tax, *tamgha* entered Arabic, Persian and many other languages, including Russian. Furthermore, it is still a common word for brand or stamp in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the text): G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965, ii, 554-65; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, art. *Damga*; and, on contemporary use of brands, L. Kosswig, *Eigentumszeichen (Damga) in Anatolien*, in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 333-405. See also C. Humphrey, *Horse brands of the Mongolians: a system of signs in a nomadic culture*, in *The American Anthropologist*, i (1974), 471-88.

(G. LEISER)

TAMGRŪT, important town in the Wādī Darʿa (Dra), in the south of Morocco and the site of the mother *zāwiya* of the religious brotherhood of the Nāṣiriyya [*q.v.*]. It is a fair-sized town with houses of red clay, surrounded by groves of palm and fruit trees, on the left bank of the Wādī Darʿa, which is here 120 to 250 feet wide but of no depth and runs between hills about 300 yards apart. Tamgrūt is surrounded by low walls pierced by 4 gates: in the north, Fumm (class. *fam* "mouth") al-Sūḳ, in the northeast, Fumm Tāʾurīrt, in the southwest, Bāb al-Rizḳ and to the east, Fumm al-Sūr. An important market is held there on Saturdays.

The *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, which owes all its importance to the Shaykh Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, was founded in 983/1575-6 by a member of a Marabout family of the Wādī Darʿa, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī from the *zāwiya* of Sayyid al-Nās. It was the fame as mystics of two holy men who lived in the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, Sayyidī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn and Sayyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, that led the Ṣūfī novice Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, born at Ighlān in 1015/1603, to settle there. On the death of Sayyidī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, he became head of the *zāwiya*, and founded his order there, directly based on the teaching of al-Shādhilī [*q.v.*]. He died here in Ṣafar

1085/May 1674 and his descendants from father to son without interruption have since been heads of the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt. The latter contains the tombs of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and his successors together in a mausoleum, rebuilt in 1869 after a fire and surmounted by a pyramidal cupola of green tiles, with a *djāmūr* with three golden balls on top. On the fine library there, see Muḥammad al-Mannūnī, *Dalīl makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Nāṣiriyya bi-Tamghrūt*, Rabat 1405/1985; Latifa Benjelloun-Laroui, *Les bibliothèques au Maroc*, Paris 1990, 280-5.

The *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt and the holy men who lived in it have formed the subject of a monograph by Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī [see AL-NĀṢIR AL-SALĀWĪ], author of the *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā'*, entitled *Ṭalʿat al-mushtarī fi 'l-nasab al-djaʿfarī* (2 vols. lith. Fās n.d. [1309]). Tamgrūt was the birthplace of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamgrūtī [*q.v.*], a noted official of the Saʿdian court.

Bibliography: Ch. De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, 293; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 467; H. de Castries, *Notice sur la région de l'Oued-Draa*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, xx (1880), 497 ff.; P. de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910, 89-98; M. Bodin, *La zaouia de Tamegrout*, in *Archives Berbères*, Paris 1918, 259-95; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa, essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIème au XXème siècle*, Paris 1922, 99 n. 1 and 354.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL*)

AL-**TAMGRŪTĪ**, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, a Moroccan writer, a native of Tamgrūt [*q.v.*], died at Marrākush in 1003/1594-5 and was buried in the sanctuary of Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ. He held an official position at the court of the Saʿdian Sultan Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (986-1012/1578-1602). He was placed by this ruler in charge of the embassy to Sultan Murād III in Istanbul along with another court dignitary, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fishtālī, d. 1021/1612-13. Al-Tamgrūtī prepared an account of his journey (*riḥla*) which he called *al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyya fi 'l-sifāra al-turkiyya*: it was afterwards used, as one of his sources, by the author of the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*] (or Ufrānī). It contains interesting information about the court of Marrākush at the end of the 10th/16th century. An edition, with a translation, of al-Tamgrūtī's work by H. de Castries, appeared at Paris in 1929.

Bibliography: Ifrānī, *Ṣafwat man intashar*, Fās n.d., 106; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310, i, 31 (tr. in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi, Paris 1913, 70), reproduced exactly by Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit, *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, Fās 1336, i, 90-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, 98-9. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

TAMIL [see LABBAI; MARAKKAYAR].

TAMĪM B. **BAḤR** AL-**MUṬṬAWWIʿ**, Arab traveller in Central Asia in early ʿAbbāsid times and the only Muslim one who has left us a record of his visit to the capital of the Uyghur Turks (pre-840) on the Orkhon river [*q.v.*] in Mongolia, most probably Ḳarabalghasun, the Khara Balghasun of the modern Mongolian Republic. It may be assumed that Tamīm was an Arab, possibly one of those settled within Khurāsān, and his *nisba* implies that he had been a fighter for the faith against pagans. He certainly seems to have been a great traveller in the steppes, since he says that he also visited the Turkish Kimäk [*q.v.*] and their king on the Irtīsh river [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Siberia. What is extant of his report has been recovered from the Mashhad ms. of Ibn al-Faḳīh's *K. al-Buldān*, though citations were earlier known in e.g. Yāḳūt. Tamīm's report, perhaps dateable to 821, i.e. during al-Ma'mūn's caliphate, contains precious information on the Toḳuzghuz or Toghuzghuz Turks [*q.v.*] in particular, and supports the equation of them at this time with the Uyghurs.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *Tamīm ibn Baḥr's journey to the Uyghurs*, in *BSOAS*, xii (1948), 275-305. See also TOGHUZGHUZ. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TAMĪM B. AL-**MUʿIZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH**, ABŪ ʿALĪ, poet and Fāṭimid prince, born in al-Mahdiyya (present-day Tunisia) in 337/949, died in 374/985 in Egypt (but Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Kathīr mention his death *sub anno* 368/978-9).

Though Tamīm was al-Muʿizz's eldest son, he was passed over as *walī al-ʿahd*, successor to the Fāṭimid throne in the newly-founded capital al-Ḳāhira. The official reason given by al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Muḳaffā*, ii, 588), was the fact that Tamīm did not have any male offspring necessary to avoid problems for the dynasty in future, the throne being inherited from father to son. On the other hand, Tamīm's dissipated way of life and rumours about his involvement in a conspiracy by the sons of previous Imāms, like al-Ḳā'im and al-Mahdī, against al-Muʿizz, might have influenced the latter's decision too (see M. Canard, tr., *Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar*, 213, n. 467).

After his younger brother Nizār had been installed in 365/976 as the Fāṭimid Imām al-ʿAzīz bi 'llāh, Tamīm concentrated on composing poetry only. Quite often his poems, especially some long *urdjūza*s, were dedicated to the glory of the Fāṭimid dynasty, as represented in both his father's and his brother's reign. Tamīm's laudatory poems are moreover remarkable for some scattered references to the Ismāʿīlī creed of the Fāṭimid family, and in this way Tamīm presented himself as a self-appointed propagandist of the dynasty. But these poems of his were quite often composed with an introductory section or *nasīb*. An elegant *takhalluṣ* was then necessary to ensure the smooth transition from the profane subject of love for some distant girlfriend to the more serious praise and love for the existing Imām (P. Smoor, *Fāṭimid poets and the "Takhalluṣ" that bridges the nights of time to the Imām of time*, in *Isl.*, lxviii [1991], 232-62).

Generally speaking, Tamīm's poems belong to different genres, among which are some *marthiya*s, elegies on the premature deaths of his brothers ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAḳīl, on his father al-Muʿizz, and on the often violent deaths of his ʿAlid ancestors during previous centuries. On the dynastic level, Tamīm as a Fāṭimid poet tried to compare with an earlier poet, sc. the ʿAbbāsid caliph Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], in some *naḳā'iḍ* [*q.v.*] poems in which he contradicted his ʿAbbāsid adversary by pointing out how the ʿAlid's right to the caliphal throne had been usurped.

Tamīm's more frivolous poetry is remarkable for its description of expeditions to a monastery, or to a wine tavern and its cup-bearers, both girls and boys. One poem (*Dīwān*, 440-2, rhyme *hunna*) holding descriptions of wine and beautiful girls, and finally entailing praise of Tamīm's brother the Imām al-ʿAzīz, came to be criticised severely, even after a time interval of some one hundred years, by the Fāṭimid Dāʿī al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] (see Smoor, *Wine, love and praise for the Fāṭimid Imāms*, in *ZDMG*, cxlii [1992], 94-100). As a counter-balance to his *mudjūn*, or more probably as a matter of convention, Tamīm composed a small number of poems in an ascetic and pious mood (in the style of the *zuhdiyyāt*). He must have felt not a little admiration for Abū Nuwās, a few of whose poetic lines being quoted here and there

in Tamīm's *Dīwān* as proverbial sentences or as parts of a slave girl's song. When Tamīm died, his brother the Imām al-ʿAzīz personally arrived from ʿAyn Shams in order to perform the *ṣalāt* over him in the graveyard of al-Ḳarāfa. Finally, his remains were entombed in the precincts of the Fāṭimid palace of al-Ḳāhira.

Bibliography: *Dīwān Tamīm ibn al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh al-Fāṭimī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Aʿẓamī, Cairo 1957, Beirut 1970; *Vie de l'ustadh Jaudhar (contenant sermons, lettres et rescrits des premiers califes fâtimides) écrite par Mansûr le secrétaire*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1958; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 301-3 (no. 125); Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, 8 vols., Beirut 1991, ii, 588-600; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, repr. Beirut 1973, i, 436-44, in *bāb* no. 9; Brockelmann, I², 91, S I, 147; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950. (P. SMOOR)

TAMĪM B. AL-**MUʿIZZ**, Abū Yaḥyā and Abū Ṭāhir AL-ṢANHĀDJĪ, the fifth Zīrid ruler in Ifrīḳiya, b. Ṣabra 422/1031, d. after an exceptionally long reign covering 454-501/1062-1108.

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in his *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr*, Tunis 1966, i, 141-2, makes him a Ḳaḥṭānī Arab, with a genealogy back to Noah and Adam, see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo n.d., v, 198. He inherited a kingdom dislocated by the invasions of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], and after almost half-a-century of effort, did not succeed in "restoring Ṣanhādjī power in its state of disarray" (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, i, 249). On the political career of Tamīm, see *ibid.*, i, 249-57, 283-302 and index, with full bibl.; here, he will be treated mainly as man and as poet. He is said to have been highly energetic, but in fact he spent his life in struggles without any clearly-defined policy or singleness of purpose and without any lasting success on all the fronts involved: in Sicily, inside his own kingdom, and against his Ḥammūdid neighbours. After a reign of almost 50 years, he left a kingdom in a worse state than before.

His qualities of heart, his culture and his fine appearance were praised. He was tall and fair-complexioned, a great lover of pretty women, above all the *banāt al-rūm* (al-Iṣfahānī, i, 156), most of whom were Christian slaves, which made him love Christian ceremonial and the singing which accompanied it (*ibid.*, i, 146). It is related that he had 110 sons and 60 daughters. Since he was a great Maecenas and lover of pleasures, his court attracted poets, cultivated persons and musicians, from Sicily, Muslim Spain and the East. Like his Fāṭimid homonym [*q.v.*], he appreciated the beauty of young boys, good wine and singing. What survives from his *dīwān* is devoted almost exclusively to these themes. Like him also, he relied, for his salvation, on the Creator's goodness and the salvational value of the sole testimony of faith (*shahādat al-ikhlāṣ*), see al-Iṣfahānī, i, 152. One seeks in vain—and this is certainly not due to the choice of his anthologists—for the slightest sign in any verse of his poetry which would allow one to suspect the political disappointments of his reign, as if the misfortunes of his subjects and his kingdom hardly touched him so long as wine flowed at his palace. A poet of his court, Ibn al-Ḥaddād, on one occasion abandoning the current platitudes of *madīḥ* or eulogy for *hidjāʾ* or satire, tells us that "He personally preferred the Byzantines" (*al-Rūm aḥsan ʿindī*) for governing his kingdom (Ibn al-Abbār, 23). This is worth stressing. Tamīm tells us about his defiance of death (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, Leiden 1948, repr. Beirut 1983, i, 303), but he spent the whole of his life looking after his health (*ibid.*, i, 304); all his verses reveal a sensualist eager for all the joys of life.

His *dīwān*, said to have been "voluminous and celebrated" (*ibid.*, i, 303), has not come down to us. Al-Iṣfahānī (i, 142-3) was able at Damascus to borrow a copy from his grandson ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shaddād in 571/1175-6, and he has provided for us the longest and most numerous extracts (i, 143-60), classified by rhyme-order. These have served as a basis, together with other fragments drawn from various anthologies, for the reconstruction of what remains of his *dīwān* by Muḥammad al-Marzūḳī (*al-Mahdiyya wa-shāʿiruhā Tamīm*, Tunis 1980, 91-128). Tamīm undoubtedly possessed a truly poetic sense. His verses are highly flowing and perfectly adapted for singing. They were used thus and form a veritable hymn to the beauty which their author admired, above all in pretty girls and handsome boys. They continually evoke, with a poignant nostalgia, the fleeting moments of intense mental intoxication. If we had nothing else of him but his *dīwān*, one would conclude that his age was one of a happy freedom from care. The breaking waves did not spoil his epicurism. In order to enjoy life to the full, he took excessive care of his health and bodily fitness, but nevertheless finally died paralysed.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): 1. Sources. Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 304-6; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, index; Ibn Ẓāfir al-Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, Cairo 1278/1861, 97-9; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, ii, 132, 199; Muḥammad al-Nayfar, *ʿUnwān al-arīb*, Tunis 1351/1932, i, 54-5.

2. Studies. Chédly Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zīrides (362-555/972-1160)*, Tunis 1972, 206-9 and index; Aḥmad Khālid and Aḥmad al-Shābbī, *al-Mumtiʿ fi 'l-adab*, Tunis 1973, 321-422; ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Sharīf and ʿAlī Dibb, *Min turāthinā al-shiʿrī*, Tunis 1982, 11-46.

(M. TALBI)

TAMĪM B. **MURR** (or Tamīm bt. Murr, when the tribe or *ḳabīla* is referred to), a very large "Northern" tribe which before Islam and in its early days lived in central and eastern Arabia. Its *nasab* is: Tamīm b. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān.

1. Source material.

The literary output about the Tamīm in the form of monographs is now lost. For example, Abu 'l-Yaḳẓān (d. 190/806), a *mawlā* of the Tamīm, compiled a monograph *Akhbār Tamīm*, and also a *K. Ḥilf Tamīm baʿḍihā baʿḍ^an^*; Ibn al-Kalbī wrote *K. ʿAdī b. Zayd* [*q.v.*] *al-ʿIbādī* and *Ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm*; and Abū ʿUbayda [*q.v.*] compiled *K. Ayyām Banī Māzin wa-akhbārihim* which he dedicated to the pre-Islamic battles of one of Tamīm's subdivisions.

Before reaching the literary stage, the materials included in these and other early monographs were preserved by tribal informants, e.g. al-Kalbī (who is quoted by his son, Ibn al-Kalbī, in his *Djamharat al-nasab*) had a Tamīmī informant, Shabba b. Iyās b. Shabba b. ʿIḳāl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Nādjiya . . . b. Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim, whose father was an indirect source of Abū ʿUbayda (who quoted from him, via another Tamīmī, a report regarding al-Farazdaḳ's [*q.v.*] father, Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] b. Nādjiya).

Indeed, most of what we know about Tamīm's genealogy, and much of what we know about their history, is based on materials transmitted by informants who were either members of the Tamīm or their *mawālī*, and the clash between them and non-Tamīmī

(or rather anti-Tamīmī) informants was inevitable. Was al-Akraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*] (Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim) really "the arbiter of the Arabs (*ḥakam al-ʿarab*)" before Islam—in other words, was he the holder of an inherited arbiter's office at the market of ʿUkāẓ? Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kinānī was of the opinion that he was not: he only arbitrated one case, following which the Tamīm gave him this epithet. Was Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ al-Usayyidī one of the Prophet's scribes, and did he write down Ḳurʾān verses? According to al-Wāḳidī [*q.v.*] (who no doubt based himself on an earlier source), Ḥanẓala received the epithet *al-kātib* ("the scribe") having written for the Prophet one single letter, "because literacy (*al-kitāba*) among the Arabs was limited".

The place of honour in Tamīm's pre-Islamic glory is given to Ḥādjib b. Zurāra's [*q.v.*] bow (*ḳaws Ḥādjib*). During severe drought Ḥādjib asked for Kisrā's [*q.v.*] permission to graze his tribe's herds at the fringes of the sown land. As a guarantee of good conduct he pledged his bow, a humble item which, however, acquired great value through the prestige and authority of its owner.

No wonder that the Tamīm (or rather the Dārim) were very proud of this story in which the Persian emperor allegedly showed great respect to traditional tribal values, whereas Tamīm's adversaries in their turn attempted to belittle the importance of the emperor's gesture.

2. Genealogy.

The Tamīm were divided into three branches the eponyms of which were Tamīm's three sons, Zayd Manāt, ʿAmr and al-Ḥārith. In the Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm branch, the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt (Saʿd Tamīm, "Saʿd al-Aktharīn", "Saʿd al-Suʿūd") were said to have equalled in number the whole of Muḍar; one of these Saʿd was al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*]. The children of Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt except Kaʿb and ʿAmr—these two were referred to as *al-buṭūn*—formed a group called *al-abnāʾ* (*nisba*: al-Abnāwī).

Most Saʿdīs belonged to the line of Kaʿb b. Saʿd. Two of Kaʿb's sons (probably ʿAmr and ʿAwf) were called *al-mazrūʿān*ʿ "because of their large number and their numerous herds", while the rest of his sons were called *al-adjārib* ("the scabby ones"). ʿAmr b. Kaʿb's son Muḳāʿis was the father of several tribal groups. The Ṣuraym b. Muḳāʿis were the group of the founders (or alleged founders) of two sects of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*] and the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]. Among Muḳāʿis's offspring, the ʿUbayd b. Muḳāʿis line was the most significant one. All of ʿUbayd's children but Minḳar were called *al-lubad* (or *al-libad*), their central component being the Murra b. ʿUbayd, the group of al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays. The two most famous Minḳarīs were the Companions Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim and ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam [*q.vv.*], who was the great-grandfather of the orator Khālid b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*].

The other strong subdivision of the Kaʿb b. Saʿd was the ʿAwf b. Kaʿb. Among ʿAwf's children, the offspring of Ḳurayʿ b. ʿAwf included the Banū Anf al-Nāḳa; four other children of ʿAwf formed a group called *al-adjdhāʿ* (or *al-djidhāʿ*). A family of one of the *adjdhāʿ* groups held an office related to the Meccan pilgrimage which in later times was considered one of the greatest merits of the Tamīm (Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*[2], ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1378/1959 f., xv, 126-7).

The main group among the Mālik b. Zayd Manāt was the Ḥanẓala b. Mālik [*q.v.*] (Ḥanẓalat Tamīm, "Ḥanẓala al-Akramīn"). Five (or six, or four) components of the Ḥanẓala—the less numerous ones—formed the *barādjim* group (pl. of *burdjuma* or "knuckle") against their brothers, Yarbūʿ, Mālik and Rabīʿa, sons of Ḥanẓala.

The most prominent figures among the Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓala at the time of the Prophet were Mālik b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*], "the *ʿarīf* [*q.v.*] of the Thaʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ" (a subdivision of the Yarbūʿ) and his brother, Mutammim b. Nuwayra [*q.v.*].

The Yarbūʿ were one of the *djamarāt al-ʿarab* or "the burning coals of the Arabs", i.e. tribes which were able to defend themselves without allying themselves with other tribes. The main component of the Yarbūʿ was Riyāḥ b. Yarbūʿ. The Riyāḥ did not attach themselves to Yarbūʿ's other sons. Four of these sons born by the same mother formed a group called *al-aḥmāl*, while three other sons formed a group called *al-ʿuḳad* (or *al-ʿuḳadāʾ*). Separate groups among the ʿUḳad were the Ghudāna b. Yarbūʿ, Ṣubayr b. Yarbūʿ, Kulayb b. Yarbūʿ (one of whom was the poet Djarīr [*q.v.*]) and the ʿUḳfān who descended from al-ʿAnbar b. Yarbūʿ.

The dominant group among the Mālik b. Ḥanẓala (according to some, among the Tamīm as a whole) was the Dārim b. Mālik, or rather the ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim. The offspring of Mālik's other sons formed three groups: the children of Ṭuhayya. The two most commonly mentioned are ʿAwf and Abū Sūd (or Abū Sawd), but some add Djushaysh or Ḥushaysh or Khushaysh and (al-)Ṣudayy. Most genealogists, however, include (al-)Ṣudayy in another group of Mālik's descendants whose members were called, again after their mother, Banu ʾl-ʿAdawiyya (or Balʿadawiyya). The Banū Ṭuhayya and Banu ʾl-ʿAdawiyya formed the *djimār* group and "were with the Yarbūʿ". Yet another group of Mālik b. Ḥanẓala's descendants, *al-khishāb* (or *al-khashabāt*), included the offspring of Mālik's sons, Rabīʿa, Rizām and Kaʿb.

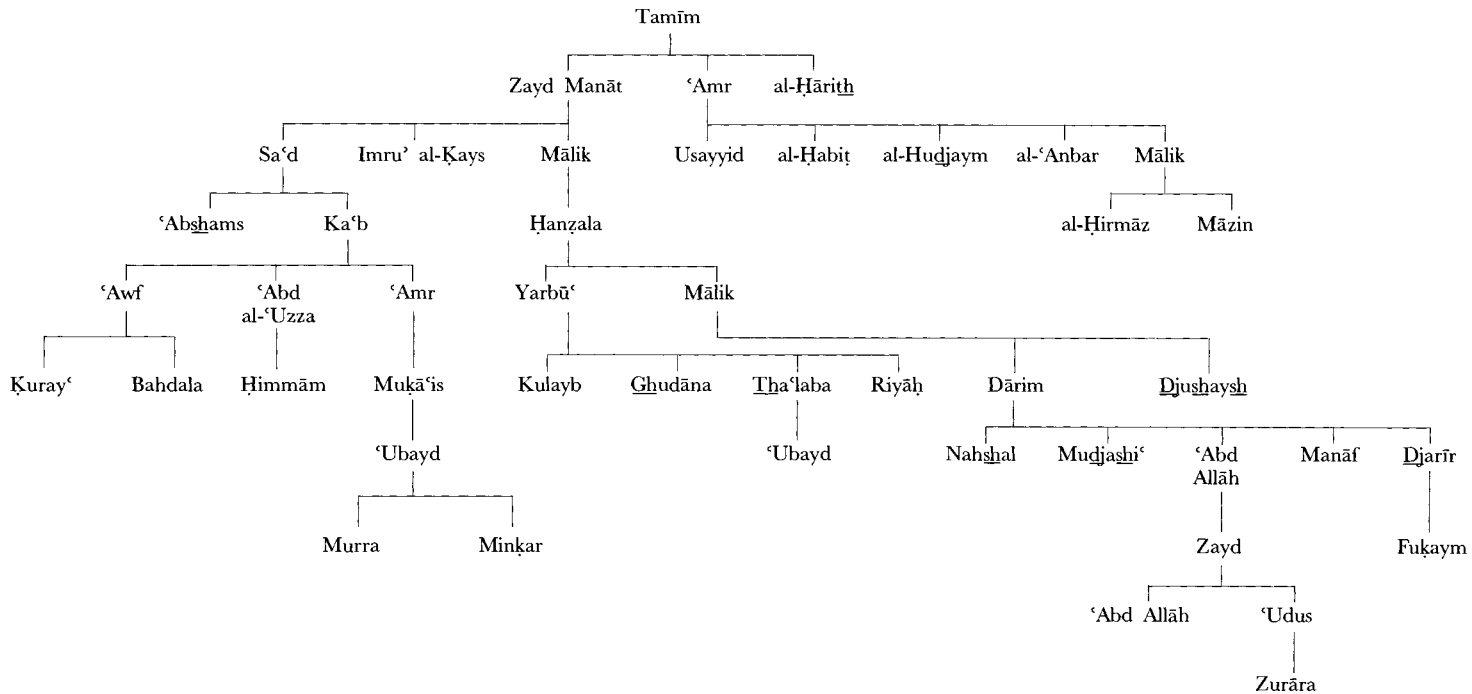
Among the Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala independent tribal groups can be discerned through their *nisbas*: Nahshal, Manāf, Sadūs, Abān and Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim. A biographical dictionary, with reference to a certain *muḥaddith* or traditionist, uses four *nisbas* while moving from the general to the particular: al-Tamīmī, *thumma* al-Ḥanẓalī, *thumma* al-Dārimī, *thumma* al-Mudjāshiʿī. The three best known Mudjāshiʿīs were al-Akraʿ ("the bald") b. Ḥābis, al-Farazdaḳ and al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*].

The dominant line among the ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim was Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh. All but one of Zayd's descendants formed a group called *al-aḥlāf*; the pedigree of al-Mundhir b. Sāwā [*q.v.*], the governor of Hadjar [see AL-ḤASĀ] at the time of the Prophet, goes back to one of the *aḥlāf* groups, the ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Dārim.

The ʿAmr b. Tamīm branch ("ʿAmr al-Ashaddīn") included several subdivisions, the most important one being Banu ʾl-ʿAnbar (or Balʿanbar) b. ʿAmr. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr was given the nickname al-Ḥabiṭ (which was probably pejorative) and his offspring were known as al-Ḥabiṭāt (*nisba*: al-Ḥabaṭī); ʿAbbādān near Baṣra was called after one of them, the *murābiṭ* [see RIBĀṬ] ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn. The main component of the Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm was the Māzin b. Mālik. Other groups were the Ḥirmāz b. Mālik and the Ghaylān b. Mālik.

The least important branch of Tamīm was al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm and its members were the clients of the Nahshal b. Dārim. Rather than referring to the members of this branch by the *nisba* al-Ḥārithī, the more distinctive *nisba* al-Shakarī or al-Shaḳirī was preferred, al-Shaḳira being the nickname of al-Ḥārith's son, Muʿāwiya.

A BASIC GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE TAMĪM b. MURR

- Tamīm
  - Zayd Manāt
    - Saʿd
      - ʿAbshams
      - Kaʿb
        - ʿAwf
          - Ḳurayʿ
          - Bahdala
        - ʿAbd al-ʿUzza
          - Ḥimmām
        - ʿAmr
          - Muḳāʿis
            - ʿUbayd
              - Murra
              - Minḳar
    - Imruʾ al-Ḳays
    - Mālik
      - Ḥanẓala
        - Yarbūʿ
          - Kulayb
          - Ghudāna
          - Thaʿlaba
            - ʿUbayd
          - Riyāḥ
        - Mālik
          - Dārim
            - Nahshal
            - Mudjashiʿ
            - ʿAbd Allāh
              - Zayd
                - ʿAbd Allāh
                - ʿUdus
                  - Zurāra
            - Manāf
            - Djarīr
              - Fuḳaym
          - Djushaysh
  - ʿAmr
    - Usayyid
    - al-Ḥabiṭ
    - al-Hudjaym
    - al-ʿAnbar
    - Mālik
      - al-Ḥirmāz
      - Māzin
  - al-Ḥārith

3. History.

Tamīm's territory before Islam was in Nadjd around al-Yamāma [*q.v.*] and it stretched to the Gulf, Baṣra, and al-ʿUdhayb near Kūfa (for detailed evidence see al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī [Lughda], *Bilād al-ʿarab*, ed. Ḥ. al-Djāsir and Ṣ.A. al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ 1968, *passim*; see also the relevant entries and maps in U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958). They owned several rich grazing areas such as Ḥazn Banī Yarbūʿ, al-Faldj and al-Dahnāʾ [*q.v.*].

Not all Tamīmīs were nomadic before Islam. Many of them were semi-nomads or sedentaries inhabiting the oases and villages of al-Washm and eastern Arabia. In the early Islamic period, more Tamīmīs became sedentary and settled in permanent settlements and villages while other tribes gradually claimed parts of their territory. But many, perhaps most Tamīmīs remained pastoral (or semi-nomadic), reluctant to abandon their fine grazing grounds and watering-places; hence the frequent mention in the genealogical literature of the nomadic sections of the tribe. The Tamīmīs who settled in ʿIrāḳ were not cut off from their nomadic brothers who were a kind of military, political and economic hinterland.

Beside the battles described in the *ayyām* literature, Tamīm's historiography of the pre-Islamic period is dominated by two crucial relationships, with the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and Ḥīra and with Mecca. We turn first to the Sāsānid/Ḥīran connection. The Tamīm, among other tribes, were instrumental in the transportation and defence of Sāsānid and Ḥīran trade. Trade interests were presumably behind at least some of Tamīm's long-range expeditions to the Yemen. For example, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis (Mudjāshiʿ b. Dārim) attacked, after the second battle of al-Kulāb (which took place after 620), the Ḥārith b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] in Nadjrān [*q.v.*].

The institution of *ridāfa* or viceroyship to the king of Ḥīra in which the Tamīm and other tribes participated was essential in establishing Ḥīra's control over the Bedouin. The privileges associated with it, some ceremonial and some material, served to buy off potentially dangerous tribes. Tamīm could offer the Sāsānids a strong military potential. Obviously, the cooperation was not one between equals, since the Bedouin depended on food supplies from settlements controlled by the Sāsānids. Hadjar, for example, was the largest date-producing oasis of Northern Arabia and access to its market was vital for the Bedouin roaming its vicinity.

Hadjar was an important venue of Tamīmī-Persian cooperation. Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā (of ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbdallah b. Dārim), in his capacity as the governor of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] or of Hadjar, only had authority over the Arabs. In Baḥrayn, precisely as in Ḥīra, ʿUmān and Yemen (after the Sāsānid conquest of *ca.* 575), there was also a superior Persian governor. All this changed with the advent of Islam, when al-Mundhir became the Prophet's governor in al-Baḥrayn or in Hadjar.

Tamīm's Meccan connection is less obvious than the Sāsānid/Ḥīran one. It is true that the pre-Islamic history of Mecca was recorded during the Islamic period, when the name Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] stood for power and wealth, but Tamīm's relationship with pre-Islamic Mecca is no doubt a solid historical fact (see M.J. Kister's articles in the *Bibl.*; the first, or the second, husband of Khadīdja [*q.v.*] before she married the Prophet had been a Tamīmī; see Kister, *The sons of Khadīja*, in *JSAI*, xvi [1993], 59-95, at 59-66; on this and other Tamīmīs who settled in Mecca in the Djāhiliyya, see idem, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAI*, xiii [1990], 113-54, at 113-26).

The evidence about Tamīm's connection with the Prophet is a plethora of confused and contradictory reports because every trivial detail acquired in due course immense importance. What is more, the evidence was further obscured by a process of redaction (cf. E. Landau-Tasseron, *Process of redaction: the case of the Tamīmite delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad*, in *BSOAS*, xlix [1986], 253-270, esp. 256-7, 270).

Both Baṣra and Kūfa were extensions of Tamīm's Arabian territories and there were large Tamīmī groups in both. The Tamīmīs in Baṣra belonged to the Saʿd, the Ḥanẓala and the ʿAmr; members of the same groups were among the early settlers in Kūfa as well. Many Tamīmīs settled in the regions of Persia conquered by Baṣran and Kūfan troops.

Tamīm's weight in the tribal population of ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces meant that they were involved in every major event of early Islam which took place in these regions. Five hundred of them are said to have been killed in the Battle of the Camel [see DJAMAL], in which the Saʿd did not participate. Shortly afterwards, the Saʿd were part of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's [*q.v.*] army at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], together with many fellow tribesmen from Baṣra and Kūfa. There were no Tamīmī units on Muʿāwiya's side. Tamīm's strong support for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn was not the best prelude for a prosperous relationship with the Umayyads; but no government could control ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces without Tamīm's participation and support. The many Tamīmīs who held government positions under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids reflect their tribe's influence in ʿIrāḳ (especially in the south), ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn and throughout the east; few Tamīmīs officiated as governors elsewhere.

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TAMĪM AL-DĀRĪ, a Christian from Palestine [see FILASṬĪN] who became a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad. He converted to Islam at the time of the Prophet while other members of his family remained Christians and paid the poll-tax. Tamīm is said to have received from the Prophet a grant of land; a *wakf* [*q.v.*] carrying his name still exists in Hebron [see AL-KHALĪL].

Tamīm's origin is disputed. His *nisba* al-Dārī is said to relate to a subdivision (*baṭn*) of the Lakhm [*q.v.*] called al-Dār, and his pedigree testifies to his Arab origin. However, al-Shaʿbī [*q.v.*] lists him among the non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*) who fought at Badr [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 455, l. 3).

After his conversion, Tamīm lived in Medina. He emigrated (or rather returned) to Syria after the murder of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (35/656). According to a report purporting to describe a meeting between Tamīm and Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ [*q.v.*], Tamīm was then the governor (*amīr*) of Bayt al-Maḳdis. However, other versions of the same report place the meeting in *Masdjid Ibrāhīm*, i.e. Hebron (see e.g. al-Musharraf b. al-Muradjdjā, *Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maḳdis*..., ed. O. Livne-Kafri, Shfaram 1995, 349), and it cannot be ruled out that in this context Bayt al-Maḳdis means Hebron. Tamīm's tomb is said to be located north of Bayt Djibrīn [*q.v.*]. The inscription on his tombstone reportedly stated that he died in 40 A.H. (660-1); but according to some he died before then.

The links between Tamīm and Mecca, which go back to pre-Islamic times, were probably based on trade; Tamīm and his brother used to conduct trade with Mecca and after the Prophet's Hidjra they made Medina their destination. Tamīm was a wine merchant: according to his own somewhat unorthodox testimony, he used to grant the Prophet every year a wine-bag until the drinking of wine was forbidden. This trade is also mentioned in a report about a slave of his called Sirādj; together with his master and other slaves, Sirādj carried wine to Medina, and in due course became *sādin Bayt al-Maḳdis* (cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic worship*, Leiden 1995, 55, l. 6).

Tamīm, possibly conceived of by Islamic tradition as representing Christian monasticism, is associated with several devotional practices. For example, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot, running and resting along the way (al-Wāsiṭī, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. K. ʿAwwād, Beirut 1406/1986, 150).

Tamīm reportedly introduced in Islam's public worship several innovations, the Christian-Palestinian origin of which is openly admitted. He introduced oil-lamps in the Prophet's mosque and built in it a pulpit [see MINBAR] modelled on the pulpits of Syrian churches. Some claimed that, under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Tamīm started story-telling in Islam [see ḲĀṢṢ]. Reportedly, he was the source of eschatological traditions on the Antichrist and the Beast [see AL-DADJDJĀL; AL-DJASSĀSA]; the *ḥadīth al-djassāsa* has a unique position since the Prophet himself "transmitted it on Tamīm's authority". Tamīm was likewise famous as an intrepid traveller, allegedly penetrating to the lands of darkness (*bilād al-ẓulma*) and the lands "behind the Byzantines" (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Taʿrīf fi 'l-ansāb*, ed. Ẓalām, Cairo 1407/1987, 252).

The letters regarding Tamīm's grant are generally considered an early forgery. It appears that between the murder of ʿUthmān and Tamīm's death several years later, the members of Tamīm's clan seized former Byzantine domains and were allowed to hold them; the letters were supposed to legitimise this situation, which won official approval.

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TAʾMĪM (A., Pers. *millī, kardan*, Tkish. *devletleştirme*), all neologisms for nationalisation (in Turkish, probably with *Verstaatlichung* in mind), i.e. the state's assumption of control or ownership of natural resources, services or economic enterprises, from private individuals or corporations. The explicit or implicit reasoning offered is that nationalisation conforms with social advancement and the public good. The term was employed in 19th-century Europe, together with the political and socio-economic philosophy implied. Its use in Muslim lands dates from the 20th century, after both World Wars, when several Muslim states became semi- or entirely independent, automatically receiving ownership of certain natural resources from their former colonial rulers. However, the issue became prominent chiefly after the Second World War, when the number of Muslim states rose substantially and some of their ruling élites were influenced by radical ideologies, both leftist and rightist. Nationalisation was considered a panacea for the problems of the people. Socialist and Communist writers in Arabic and Persian during the 1940s and 1950s, and in Turkish during the 1960s, pointed out what they perceived as the success of nationalisation in the Soviet Union and, later, in China, Great Britain and France. They recommended, as part of economic planning, rapid nationalisation of their countries' main resources, sc. land and oil. Not surprisingly, these were nationalised first (with others, such as foreign schools and companies, rail and sea transport, to follow) in several states. For oil, the main argument was that it belonged to the nation, which was taking it over to consolidate independence, secure social justice and ensure economic development. Its nationalisation in Iran (passed by Parliament, the law was approved by the Shāh on 2 May 1951) served as a model for other Muslim oil producers, such as Libya (1970), Algeria (1971), and ʿIrāḳ (1972), together with Syria, regarding the latter's transit fees, and Indonesia. By 1976, most major operating oil companies in the Middle East and North Africa had been taken over by the governments. In some states, like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya and ʿIrāḳ, oil revenues were used, at least partly, for public investment and industrial development. Agricultural countries with no substantial oil revenues nationalised land, together with, firstly, foreign, and then local capital. In 1952 Syria started expropriating land and

redistributing it, followed by Egypt in 1952 and at later stages in 1954, Indonesia annulled its union with the Netherlands and nationalised all Dutch plantations. In 1956, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company; in 1957, financial, monetary and banking networks; in 1958, all foreign schools; and, in the early 1960s, private newspapers, public utilities, transportation, insurance companies, foreign trade, the larger industries and the fortunes of 400 wealthy Egyptians. By then, Indonesia had nationalised the remaining Dutch properties in 1958. Algeria (1963) and Tunisia (1964) nationalised agricultural lands owned by foreigners and then other economic assets. In 1964, ʿIrāḳ nationalised all banks, insurance companies and 32 large industrial firms. Libya nationalised all foreign banks in 1969, and all foreign oil interests, as well as Italian properties, in 1970. A conference of non-aligned states meeting in Algiers in September 1973 proclaimed nationalisation to be a legitimate procedure. Finally, immediately following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the Iranian government nationalised all banks, insurance companies and most large manufacturing and mining enterprises, as part of the Islamisation of the economy.

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(J.M. Landau)

TAMĪMA (a., pl. *tamāʾim*, synonyms *taʿwīdh*, *ʿūdha*), amulet, talisman (for a wider consideration of this last, see ṬILSAM). In origin, it means a stone with white speckles on a black field or vice-versa, threaded on a thong or cord and worn round the neck to avert danger. The Arabs placed such stones on their children, believing that it would protect them from the evil eye, ill fate, sickness and death, having thereby recourse to someone other than God, Who alone is capable of preventing evil and fixing the destiny of His creatures. Hence insofar as this practice was associated with another power than God's, Islam condemned such belief; but, when these *maʿādhāt* contain verses of the Ḳurʾān and invoke the Most Beautiful Names of God, they are licit.

But the root *t-m-m* also contains the idea of completion and perfection. Hence wearing an amulet, it is hoped, is an efficacious remedy and a perfect cure. In the invocation *aʿūdhu bi-kalimāt Allāh al-tāmmāt*, the last word means that "God's words are profitable for whoever invokes them; they preserve him from evil and suffice for him" (*TʿA*, s.v.).

Taʿwīdh "placing oneself under the protection of God" is frequent in the Ḳurʾān (II, 67; III, 36; XI, 17; etc.), and these verses are often used in the preparing of amulets. These invocations may be written down and hung from the neck or simply pronounced or yet again soaked in some water which is then drunk, hence the name of the philtre given to them (whence *filaktūrāt* = φυλακτήρια).

Ḥadīth also provides significant elements for this usage, still current in certain milieux. "Amongst the ten faults detested by the Prophet... [is] wearing *tamāʾim*", says a *khabar* repeated four times by Ibn Ḥanbal (i, 38, 381, 397, 439; see also al-Nasāʾī, *zīna*, 17; Abū Dāwūd, *khātam*, 3). Likewise attributed to him is the saying "Whoever bears a *tamīma*, may God not bring him to a safe goal (*lā atamma lahu*). Another *ḥadīth* puts on the same level three actions very different from each other: "drinking a drug (*tiryāḳ*) or wearing a *tamīma* or speaking poetry" (Abū Dāwūd, *ṭibb*, 10; Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 223). Three practices stem from paganism (*shirk*): *ruḳā* or charms [see RUḲYA], *tamāʾim* and *tiwala* "spells by means of which a woman seeks to gain a man's love" (Abū Dāwūd, *ṭibb*, 17; Ibn Mādja, *ṭibb*, 39).

The effects expected from these amulets are various: as well as protection from the evil eye, they may be used to excite love or hatred between men and women, win over one person's love for another by arousing a voracious passion, excite sexual desire or destroy it, create discord and enmity between persons, cause people to fall ill or die by slow poisoning, wasting away or disjunction of limbs, protect oneself against the malevolence of others, etc. (see Fahd, in the volume devoted to *Sciences occultes en Islam*, in BEO, xliv [1992], 40-1). On the whole practice, inherited from the *Djāhiliyya* and Islamised thanks to the usages of the Prophet himself, see Fahd, in the volume of *Sources orientales*, vii, called *Le monde du sorcier*, Paris 1966, 179

ff., in which numerous examples are given. See also, as part of these usages of natural or white magic, NĪRANDJ, RUKYA and SIHR.

Bibliography: See also J. Robson, *The magical use of Koran*, in *Trans. Glasgow Or. Soc.*, lxi (1929-33), 51-60. For an analogous use in the Psalms, esp. Pss. xcii, xciii, see M. Gaster, art. *Charms and amulets (Jewish)*, in *ERE*, citing a work called *Shimmush tehillim* related to this usage. On the bad effects of and the warding off of the evil eye, see Doutté, *Magie et religion en Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 37 ff., and cf. S. Seligman, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen*, Berlin 1922; idem, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 2 vols., Berlin 1910; E.F.C. Lake, *Some notes on the evil eye round the Mediterranean basin*, in *Folk-Lore*, xliv (1938), 93-8; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes en pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 376-80; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination*, ch. iv, Magic and sorcery, and Note C, Magic and religion; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, ii, *Amulette und Beschwörungen*, Wiesbaden 1961 (with 104 pls.). For further refs., see the bibl. to *Sources orientales*, vii, cited above, at 201-4.

(T. FAHD)

TAMMĀM B. GHĀLIB, Abū Ghālib Tammām b. Ghālib b. ʿUmar, also known by the name **IBN AL-TAYYĀN(Ī)** (sometimes AL-TAYYĀN), Andalusian lexicographer and philologist, d. 436/1044. He was considered by his contemporaries as the undisputed master of the science of language (*kāna mukaddam^an fī ʿilm al-lisān, musallamat^an lahu al-lugha*: Ibn Ḥayyān, ed. al-Abyārī, Cairo-Beirut 1989; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, i, 201), which earned him the title of *al-lughawī* "the lexicographer, lexicologist" which biographers often attach to his name, sometimes followed by the epithet *adīb* (*ibid.*, ii, 665; al-Ḥumaydī, *Djudhwa*, ii, 639-40; al-Kifṭī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1986, i, 294).

Originally from Cordova, where he was born at an uncertain date, probably during the second half of the 4th/10th century, he spent much of his life in Murcia and died in Almeria. He studied in the city of his birth as a pupil of his father, Ghālib (who was himself the pupil, among others, of the eminent Abū Bakr Ibn al-Kūṭiyya [d. 367/977], *apud* Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 665; cf. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, Cairo 1973, i, 256, who mentions him among the masters of Aḥmad b. ʿAbbās Ibn Zakariyyā [d. 427/1036]), attended courses given by numerous Cordovan masters, including ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Sufyān Ibn Djubrūn [d. 395/1005] and was specifically the disciple of the very eminent grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989).

Although he received a thorough education in all branches of knowledge, including *adab* and poetry (al-Ḥumaydī, *Djudhwa*, ii, 639-40, quotes four verses rhyming in *-ri* which are attributed to him), he distinguished himself particularly in the realm of the linguistic sciences.

Very meagre information is available regarding his activity as a teacher, but it is known that he taught in Murcia (Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, i, 166) and in Almeria, whither he was summoned by the governor of the town who entrusted to him the education of his son and the sons of other dignitaries (Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, 360). Among those who studied with him, we know of a certain Ibn Maḍāʾ (*var.* Ibn Maḍā) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (not to be confused with the author of the *K. al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-nuḥāt*) (Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Ṣila*, ii, 746, where Ibn al-Tayyānī should be read in place of al-Bayyānī; *Inbāh*, iii, 215), and according to a statement by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Hishām al-Mushafī (d. 481/1089), he met Tammām twice in Murcia; he does not, however, indicate whether he was a student of his or not.

As for his writings, biographers attribute two works to him: *al-Mūʿab* and *Talkīḥ al-ʿayn* (Ismāʿīl Bāshā, i, 245-6; Kraemer, 218-19; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 92-3; Ziriklī, ii, 70; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 256; al-Sharkāwī, 205, 220) while the ancient sources speak, often without indicating the title, of a single and unique work. The latter unanimously stress the intellectual rigour and the piety of Ibn al-Tayyānī. As illustration of his supreme morality and his disregard for personal gain, they relate the anecdote according to which Mudjāhid al-ʿĀmirī [*q.v.*], prince of Denia and of Algeciras, offered him 1,000 dīnārs in exchange for the dedication of his work to himself, but Tammām refused the money and would not accede to his request, declaring that he was not prepared to lie and that his book had been composed for the benefit of every *ṭālib* ("person who desires to learn") and not for any specific person.

In his article *al-Mūʿab, précieux dictionnaire arabe aujourd'hui retrouvé, al-Mūʿab muʿdjam ʿarabī badīʿ fukid fa-wudjid*, in *Lughat al-ʿArab*, iv/1 (1914), 5-14, Père Anastase-Marie al-Karmalī showed, largely through a process of comparing the edited texts of certain biographies (in particular those of the *Ṣila* and the *Djudhwa*) and manuscript texts which he seems to have possessed, that *talkīḥ al-ʿayn* is not the title of a work but is, in fact, an erroneous reading of the expression *bi-fatḥ al-ʿayn* which originally followed the title *al-Mūʿab*. It is introduced in order to specify that this word should be read as the passive participle, with *fatḥa* on the *ʿayn*. P. Anastase-Marie is probably right that Tammām b. Ghālib in fact compiled only one dictionary of the Arabic language, which he intitled *al-Mūʿab* "accumulated, complete (work)". However, the present writer considers that the expression *talkīḥ al-ʿayn* could well be another title by which *al-Mūʿab* was known, or even a qualificative which recalls the close connection existing between this dictionary and the famous *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (cf. Ibn al-Khayr, *op. cit.*, claiming to have studied *Talkīḥ al-ʿayn*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, x, 398, where this title only is mentioned).

At all events, the work is described on the one hand as a most useful dictionary, extremely thorough and comprehensive, and on the other as a dictionary possessing the distinction of containing everything that is correct in the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl including all the indications drawn from the Kurʾān, *ḥadīth* and poetry, while excluding forged attestations, erroneous readings and corruptions. In addition, it integrates all the material presented by Ibn Durayd in his *Djamhara*; as a result *al-Mūʿab* may be regarded as enfolding these two works, showing to the best advantage the material contained in the *K. al-ʿAyn* and the *Djamhara* (al-Suyūṭi, *Muzhir*, i, 88-9).

As regards his method of composition, the above-mentioned article by P. Anastase-Marie (11-14) supplies a clear description and an informative example. It emerges that Ibn al-Tayyānī organised the entries in his dictionary according to the patterns and forms of verbs and nouns, classifying these verbs and nouns in alphabetical order according to the last radical. Each entry is followed by a very brief definition and only such poetical or prosaic attestations as are strictly necessary, and in most cases he neglects to indicate his sources (cf. al-Wadghīrī, 61-6).

The *Mūʿab* seems to have enjoyed great success, particularly among scholars of al-Andalus, as is demonstrated by the compliments addressed to it by Ibn Ḥazm (*Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, in al-Makkarī, *Nafḥ*,

ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 171-2) and al-Shakundī (*Risāla fī 'l-difāʿ ʿan al-Andalus*, in *ibid.*, 190), citing it among the illustrious works which constitute the pride of the Andalusians. But for reasons which remain mysterious, this dictionary did not appeal to the general public and soon fell into oblivion.

The discovery of the manuscript of *al-Mūʿab* in the second decade of this century by P. Anastase-Marie, and the knowledge that the material was at that time preserved in the Library of the Mission of the Carmelite Fathers of Mesopotamia (Baghdād) was welcome news to students of Arabic lexicography. But in view of the declaration by that eminent scholar that the work would never leave that place (*lā yakhrudju minhu abad al-dahr: art. cit.*, 11), it appears, regrettably, that the dictionary itself will remain inaccessible for a considerable period of time.

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TAMMĀM B. GHĀLIB [see AL-FARAZDAK].

TAMMĀR (A.), the seller of dates, often found as a *nisba* of merchants who traded in dates and known also as one for traditionists and holy men, such as Dāwūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Tammār, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Tammār and ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Tammār (see al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 72-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, Cairo 1939, 180-1).

The date-palm fulfilled many uses in the Islamic societies of the Arab and Persian lands, not merely with its fruit as food but with its wood, branches and fronds for a variety of uses, from basket-weaving and constructing boats to building houses; see for these, NAKHL. Some places had special markets for date-selling, and al-Samhūdī mentions a *sūk al-tammārīn* in Medina (*Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ii, 758-9). The *ḥisba* literature records that the *muḥtasibs* should regularly inspect the shops of *tammārūn* in order to ensure that dates were stored in containers, which were to be cleaned daily, ensuring that the dates did not rot.

Dates were produced in the oases of the Arabian peninsula, in those of North Africa, along the Gulf shores of Persia and in the province of Kirmān, etc., with the Sawād of Baṣra especially famed for its abundance of dates, their cheapness and their manifold varieties. Trade in dates was always extensive, and Kirmān, for instance, produced so much that caravans of *tammārūn* travelled thither, and in an exceptionally good harvest year, 100 *manns* of dates sold for as little as a dirham. In North Africa, a camel-load of dates could reportedly be bought for two dirhams, and dates were exported across the Sahara by merchants in exchange for gold and slaves.

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TAMMŪZ, the tenth month in the Syriac calendar. Its name is derived from that of the fourth Jewish month with which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to July in the Roman calendar and like it has 31 days. According to al-Bīrūnī, in Tammūz the lunar stations 8 and 9 rise and 22 and 23 set; the days on which one rose and the other, 14 days apart from it, set were the 10th and 23rd. According to al-Kazwīnī, on the other hand, stations 7 and 8 rise, 21 and 22 set, on the 4th and 17th respectively. In the year 1300 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 989), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the stations mentioned by al-Kazwīnī rose and set on the 9th and 23rd. See also TAʾRĪKH. I.

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TAMR [see NAKHL].

TAMTHĪL (A.), literally "the adducing of a likeness, example; representation".

1. In grammar.

Here, it is used in various senses. As a denominative from *mathal* "example", it denotes the citing of examples and the technique of definition by exemplification (cf. Versteegh, 59, n. 8), while from *mathal* in the extended meaning of "proverb", it denotes the creation or use of such expressions; thus the phrase *ʿalayhi mālᵘⁿ* is called a *tamthīl* by al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] (*al-Muktaḍab*, i, 51) "because [the debt] has got on top of him", a usage which clearly overlaps with *tamthīl* in rhetoric.

As a denominative from *mithāl* "pattern", *tamthīl* has become synonymous with *wazn* "measure" in morphology, but by far its most interesting syntactic application is found in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi [*q.v.*]. Ayoub, 14, paraphrases the term as "a systematic recourse to paradigm and to a relation of equivalence between an utterance and a sequence that 'is not said'", the essential feature being that the ideal patterns represent a theoretical standard which is never realised. Hence Sībawayhi can say that *mā ṣanaʿta wa-akhāka* "what have you been doing with your brother?" is semantically and structurally equivalent to **mā ṣanaʿta akhāka*, even though the latter is an incomprehensible (*muḥāl*) utterance which cannot be said (*ibid.*, 3). By this means, Sībawayhi is able to invoke paradigms of the highest abstraction, unsayable for that reason alone, which is good evidence of his theoretical sophistication. Later grammarians replaced this device with *takdīr* [*q.v.*], raising many important questions for which answers have yet to be found.

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2. In rhetoric.

Here, it means literally "providing a *mat͟hal*". One of the meanings of *mat͟hal* being "proverbial saying", in works of rhetoric and poetics *tamt͟hīl* often simply means "producing a proverb" [see mat͟hal]. Since Ḳudāma b. D͟jaʿfar [*q.v.*], the term has also been used for specific forms of figurative speech, and in particular, through the influential studies of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D͟jurd͟jānī [*q.v.*] in his *Asrār al-balāg͟ha*, for a simile [see tas͟hbīh] or a metaphor [see istiʿāra] based on analogy which is sentence-based and not the mere substitution of one word for another; a standard example is the Ḳurʾānic comparison of "those burdened with the Torah but who do not understand it" to an "ass carrying books" (LXII, 5). Scholastic rhetoric in the school of al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*] often discusses it under simile (*tas͟hbīh tamt͟hīlī*) and metaphor (*istiʿāra tamt͟hīliyya*). It is clear that *tamt͟hīl* underlies many old-established proverbs, and that it may produce new poetic utterances that may serve as proverbs. Since *mat͟hal* has also been used for "parable" or "fable", *tamt͟hīl* sometimes refers to the genre of allegorical tales.

The *maṣdar* of the form V verb, i.e. *tamatht͟hul*, is often used to denote the activity of someone who quotes a line or two of poetry to encapsulate the gist of the situation in which he finds himself—just as one would use a proverb. As a literary technique, it is very popular in e.g. the *Arabian Nights*.

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(G.J.H van Gelder)

TANAS, conventionally Ténès, a town on the coast of Algeria (lat. 36° 30' N., long. 1° 18' E.) equidistant from Algiers and Arzew. This Berber town had near it in Antiquity a Phoenician trading-post and then a Punic landing-stage. Although the site has no protection against westerly and northwesterly winds, the mouth of the Wād ʿAllāla gives natural protection for ships. The different Latin names (Cartenna, Cartinna, Cartennas and the pl. Cartennae) suggest that there were two townships, the ancient, Berber one in a loop of the Wād 1.5 km/1 mile south of its mouth, and its satellite, the port. In Roman times it came within the western part of Mauritania Caesarensis, with a colony of veterans of Augustus in 30 B.C. In the 4th century A.D. the region was laid waste during the revolt of Firmus (370-5), and Cartennae took part in the Rogatist schism.

In Islamic times, two colonies of maritime adventurers, *baḥriyyūn*, from al-Andalus installed themselves at Tanas in 262/875-6. Their numbers increased, but many of them emigrated to Pechina to found a petty state there. The town had a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) and the "mosque of Old Tanas" has a mixture of Idrīsid and Ag͟hlabid styles reflecting the different occupations of the town in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries. The river provided water for irrigation, hence agriculture as well as maritime trade flourished there. According to al-Bakrī, the town wall had five gates. The town was at this time (5th/11th century) called Tanas al-Ḥadīt͟ha in distinction from the *ḥiṣn* and the Roman ruins, called Tanas al-Ḳadīma. In 298/910 the Fāṭimids occupied the town, but it was soon afterwards taken by Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya al-Mag͟hrāwī, a vassal of the Umayyads of Cordova. In 473/1080 the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tās͟hufīn captured it and the Mag͟hrāwa lands as far as Algiers. At this time, the town had several baths, and it flourished through being on a road connecting eastern with western Algeria, al-Masīla with Tilimsān or Tlemcen. At the opening of the 7th/13th century Tanas formed part of the domains of Mandīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mag͟hrāwī, a vassal of the Ḥafṣids, after the fall of the Almohads. It seems to have been a centre of some intellectual life, with theologians and other scholars whom the local rulers attracted, notably the sultan Yag͟hmurāsan b. Zayyān, founder of the Zanāta Berber line of the ʿAbd al-Wādids (r. 633-81/1236-83). The most famous were the two brothers Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. Yak͟hlaf al-Tanasī al-Maṭmāṭī, the latter (d. 680/1282) the author of a commentary in ten volumes on the *Talḳīn* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 422/1030), and also Muḥammad al-Tanasī, *imām* of Breshk, and his two sons, both of them with the profession of *mudarris* in Tlemcen as the *awlād al-Imām*, Abū Zayd (d. 743/1342) and Abū Mūsā (d. 749/1348). In 688/1289 Yag͟hmurāsan's son in Tlemcen Abū Saʿīd captured Tanas from the Mag͟hrāwa and Lamdiyya from the Banū Tūd͟jīn, but his descendant Abū T͟hābit failed to subdue the Mag͟hrāwa in 752/1351 after besieging without success the fortress of Ad͟jrū which dominated Tanas. In the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries the port of Tanas was active in the commerce with the coasts of Murcia in Spain. It continued to be involved in warfare between the Marīnids and ʿAbd al-Wādids, and in 870-1/1466 it submitted to a Ḥafṣid army under the sultan Abū ʿUmar ʿUt͟hmān al-Mutawakkil, marching on Tlemcen, who coined money there. At the opening of the next century, the Swīd Arabs in the service of the ruler of Tanas became the nucleus of the Mḥāl confederation of Arabs of Hilālian origin, and their chief Ḥamīd al-ʿAbd, ally of the Spaniards in Oran, was defeated by the Turks and lost Tanas. Internecine strife within the ruling family and popular discontent favoured the installation at Tanas of the Barbarossa brothers, so that it now became a base for the Turks of Algiers to attack the Spanish. In 1533 the Turkish garrison there comprised a mere 25 men under a *ḳāʾid* and a governor sent out from Algiers.

By *ca.* 1700 Tanas was best known for the export of cereals to Europe, with tribes like the Banū Mādūn occupied in this export trade from local ports in the region. Just before 1830, the vine growers of the Tanas coastland exported part of their abundant production to Portugal, Leghorn and Marseilles, since the vine flourished on the silico-calcareous soils of the Ẓahra. One of the most venerated local saints, Sīdī Marwān, with a *ḳubba* on the summit of Cape Ténès, watched over a flourishing maritime activity, and he distributed spoils taken from the enemy to the local poor. Abundant vegetations favoured stock-rearing, with sheep and goats, and there were flourishing handicrafts. At this time, the town had four mosques and

the walls were covered with vines and fruit trees.

Tanas remained relatively untouched by the French military initiatives in Algeria until 1843, being, after the Treaty of Tafna with the Bey of Constantine in 1837, the sole port, with Cherchel, available for ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to export wool, cereals, etc. towards Algiers and foreign lands and to supply the regions still free. Hence its traffic and commerce grew in 1838, despite the presence of a French naval force. The first attack on Tanas came in January 1842, and the French entered the town on 1 May 1843, founding a Ténès-Camp as opposed to the Muslim town, Ténès-Ville. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir installed himself at the end of 1845 on the Rhīw heights, but was repulsed. During the Crimean War, Ténès gained fresh life as a depot for forage and corn which were then exported to the scene of military operations. But the town remained largely depressed, and a period of famine saw the population drop *ca.* 30% between 1866 and 1872. Old Ténès, attached to the new Ténès-Ville from 1851, decayed and in 1854 had only 1,154 inhabitants. Although it remained a regional market centre, only with the beginning of construction of a new port in 1868, not completed till 1914, did it begin to acquire an appreciable share of activity amongst the ports of Algeria. By 1924 a narrow-gauge railway line connected Ténès and Orléansville, but this had little traffic and closed in 1937, most of the traffic of the Shlef region gravitating towards the great ports of Algiers and Oran. Emigration from Ténès and the Ẓahra, especially of the young, began in 1914 for participation in the First World War and for work afterwards in metropolitan France, with remittances forming a perceptible element in the economy of the region, and continued until the coming of independence.

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(H. Bencheneb)

AL-TANASĪ, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl Abū ʿAbd Allāh (d. 899/1494), Maghribī scholar.

Devoting himself to philological-theological studies, thus qualifying for an eminent rank in several fields of religious scholarship in Tlemcen or Tilimsān [*q.v.*], then the capital of the ʿAbd al-Wādids [*q.v.*] of West Algeria, al-Tanasī was eventually attracted by court life, figuring as poet and court historian. In his comprehensive work *Naẓm al-durr*, consisting of sections on ʿAbd al-Wādid history (H. Kurio, *Geschichte und Geschichtsschreiber der ʿAbd al-Wādiden*, Freiburg 1973, 15-26; ed. M. Bū-ʿAyyād, *Taʾrīkh Banī Zayyān*, Algiers 1985), on administration and court etiquette (a short account in Kurio, *Berberkönige und Schriftgelehrte*, Hamburg 1992, 72-5) anecdotes, and on poetics (ed. N. Soudan, *Westarabische Tropik*, Wiesbaden 1980) and Ṣūfī sayings, he gives his patrons, most likely of Berber origin, an Arab (ʿAlid) profile [see IDRĪSIDS]. Contemporary and fellow-citizen of the better-known theologian Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*], al-Tanasī ranked among the intellectual élite of Tilimsān at his time.

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(H. Kurio)

TANĀSUKH (A.), *maṣdar* of form VI of the root *n-s-kh*, a term with both legal and, above all, religious connotations. According to the *LʿA*, the simple form *nasakha* has two principal meanings: (1) to copy a writing (*iktitābuka kitāb^an ʿan kitāb^in*), the original and the copy both being called *nuskha* since each "replaces" the other (*ḳāma maḳāmahu*); and (2) to suppress a thing in order to replace it by another (*ibṭālu

'l-shay' wa-iḳāmatu āḳhara maḳāmahu, whence the sense of "to abrogate" [see NASKH]). *Tanāsakha* thus suggests the notion of things which succeed one another, each in its turn "replacing" the preceding (*tadāwala fa-yakūnu ba'ḍuhā makāna ba'ḍ*[in]). In the language of *fiḳh*, in the context of the laws of succession, *tanāsukh* is evoked in reference to the fact that "heirs die after other heirs in such a way that the initial heritage remains undivided" (al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 21, ll. 1-2).

Tanāsakha does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. This verb is found once (?) in *ḥadīth*, in a homily attributed to the founder of the city of Baṣra, 'Utba b. Ghazwān [*q.v.*]: *lam takun nubuwwat*[un] *ḳaṭṭu illā tanāsakhat ḥattā yakūna ākhiratu 'āḳibatihā mulk*[an] (Muslim, *zuhd*, 14; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, iv, 174; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'djam al-kabīr*, xvii, Cairo 1980, §§ 280-1). According to the *Lisān*, *tanāsakhat* is said to be here the equivalent of *taḥawwalat min ḥāl*[in] *ilā ḥal* "to change, move from one situation to another".

The term *tanāsukh* is above all known for the way it is used in so-called "heresiographical" literature to denote the concept of transmigration, this transmigration being itself, according to the context, understood in two very different senses: (1) the "transmigration of spirits" (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ*) from one body to another, otherwise known as metempsychosis (or more correctly, according to some, "metensomatosis"); and (2) in beliefs current among certain extremist Shī'ī sects (*ghulāt*), the transmigration of a divine element from one *imām* to another.

(1) To signify metempsychosis, *tanāsukh* is in fact the term most often used, but it is not the only one. Al-Mas'ūdī, for his part, has recourse to various derivatives of the verb *naḳala* "to transfer": *nuḳla, tanaḳḳul, intiḳāl* (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 687, 1396). The same vocabulary is sometimes used by al-Nawbakhtī (*Firaḳ*, 35-7) and Ps. al-Nāshi' (*Uṣūl al-niḥal*, § 57). Another term, coined in modern times, is *taḳammuṣ*.

The spiritual principle transmigrating is called *rūḥ*, pl. *arwāḥ*, less frequently *nafs*, pl. *nufūs* or *anfus*. The body in which it is incarnated is the object of more varied nomenclature: *djism, djasad, badan, ṣūra* ("form"), *ḳālab* (lit. "mould") and *shakhṣ* ("silhouette" ?).

The notion of metempsychosis naturally evokes that of metamorphosis (*maskh* [*q.v.*]), the difference being that *maskh* is always used in reference to a transformation from one body to another, inferior, body—from human to animal, in most cases. (It should be noted, however, that in current Arabic usage, *maskh* is itself sometimes employed to denote metempsychosis in general.) Following the lead of an anonymous theologian (*mutakallim*), a believer in *tanāsukh* quoted by al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 49, ll. 2-7), it became customary to distinguish between four types of metempsychosis, expressed by four *maṣdars* of identical assonance: *naskh, maskh, raskh* and *faskh*. These terms are variously explained. According to al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], *naskh* ("substitution") is said to refer to the passage from one human body to another human body, *maskh* ("transformation") to passage from human to animal, *raskh* ("immobilisation") to transformation into a vegetal state, and *faskh* ("disintegration") to that into mineral form (cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, i, 512). In reality, it is above all a question of reincarnation in the form of animals and also, in a more exalted context, the form of angels.

Muslim historians of religion locate beliefs in metempsychosis on the one hand outside Islam, on the other within Islam proper.

Outside Islam, it is principally the Indians who are credited with such a doctrine (cf. the testimony of Yaḥyā b. Bishr al-Nihāwandī, *ca.* 377/987, quoted by Ibn al-Djawzī, *Talbīs*, 80). A well-known phrase occurs in the preface to ch. v of *India* by al-Bīrūnī: "Just as the *shahāda* is the distinguishing mark of the Muslims, [belief in] the Trinity that of the Christians, observance of the Sabbath that of the Jews, so [belief in] transmigration is characteristic of the Indians" (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 38, ll. 4-6). Indians in general is the meaning here: al-Bīrūnī, on this point, is much better informed than al-Shahrastānī, according to whom only *certain* Indians held such beliefs (cf. *Livre des religions*, ii, 62, 530, 535). Besides "Hinduist" Indians (the "Brahmins" or *Barāhima* [*q.v.*]), the Buddhists (known as *Sumaniyya* [*q.v.*]) are also known as believers in metempsychosis (cf. Gimaret, in *JA* [1970], 297-9). The same applies to Mānī and the Manichaeans (cf. *Farḳ*, 271); according to al-Bīrūnī, Mānī was said specifically to have brought this doctrine back from his sojourn in India (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 41, ll. 15 ff.). Al-Shahrastānī, without further precision, mentions the *tanāsukhiyya* among the Dualists (*Livre des religions*, i, 671-2). Possibly he was also thinking of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*], the inheritors of Mazdakism.

Other believers in *tanāsukh* are cited not in the East but in the West of the *dār al-Islām*. These are in the first instance the Greek philosophers, namely, Socrates, Plato and their disciples (cf. *Farḳ*, 271, ll. 11 f.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, § 1396); in this context, al-Bīrūnī quotes a passage from the *Phaedo* (*Taḥḳīḳ*, 43, ll. 9 ff.). Then there are the self-styled Ṣābians of Ḥarrān, inheritors of neo-Platonism (cf. in particular 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v, 152, ll. 12-14, following Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī [d. 286/899]; and *Livre des religions*, ii, 169).

Within Islam, belief in metempsychosis is said to be characteristic of, on the one hand, a certain number of extremist Shī'ī sects, and on the other, curiously, of some marginal Mu'tazilīs.

Among the *ghulāt* Shī'īs, this is said to apply to certain of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], these being the supporters of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*] (cf. Halm, 69-78). Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳummī also attributes it to the Mukhammisa [*q.v.*] as well as to their 'Alyā'iyya rivals, disciples of Bashshār al-Sha'īrī (Halm, 222-6). It permeates the "Book of Shadows" (*K. al-Aẓilla*), supposedly relating conversations between Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ and the *ghālī* al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Dju'fī (Halm, 240-74). Finally, it is still today part of the creed of the Druzes (*Durūz* [*q.v.*]) and of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*].

On the Mu'tazilī side, there were certain disciples of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*] who were said to have become believers in it, in particular Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ [*q.v.*] or Khābiṭ, as well as a follower of the latter named Ibn Bānūsh or Mānūsh (cf. *Farḳ*, 273-6; *Livre des religions*, i, 221-7).

A number of "orthodox" theologians (in the broad sense of the term) applied themselves to opposing, among other "erroneous doctrines", the theory of metempsychosis. These included 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Mughnī*, xiii, 405-30), al-Baghdādī (*Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 235-6), al-Djuwaynī (*Irshād*, ed. Luciani, 158, ll. 5 ff., and 160, ll. 21 ff.) and the *ḳāḍī* Abū Ya'lā (*Mu'tamad*, Beirut 1974, §§ 199-202). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the Imāmī theologian al-Nawbakhtī is himself said to have composed a *Radd 'alā aṣḥāb al-tanāsukh* (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 225, ll. 27).

(2) In the second sense of the term, more characteristic of the Shī'a, the notion of *tanāsukh* is closely linked to that of *ḥulūl* "immanence" or "inhabitation" of the divinity or of a divine element in such-

and-such a creature. A characteristic of various extremist Shīʿī groups is actually the fact that they went so far as to deify ʿAlī and his successors to the Imāmate. Consequently, they used to say that "the spirit of God" (*rūḥ Allāh, rūḥ al-ilāh*) or "the spirit of sanctity" (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) or a "divine particle" (*djuzʾ ilāhī*) had "inhabited" (*ḥallat*) ʿAlī, then, from him, had "transmigrated" (*tanāsakhat*) into the person of al-Ḥasan, then of al-Ḥusayn, etc., until the end of the chain. Some, furthermore, placed the beginning of the process earlier than this, with Muḥammad, or even with Adam. Such was the belief, among the Kaysāniyya, of the above-mentioned supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, as well as of the Bayāniyya, disciples of Bayān b. Simʿān [*q.v.*] (cf. *Livre des religions*, i, 448-51). This was also the case with the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*], disciples of Abu ʾl-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī (cf. *ibid.*, 522-5); the disciples of al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*] (cf. *Farḳ*, 258, ll. 5-10); and certain followers of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī [*q.v.*] (cf. *Livre des religions*, i, 453-4).

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(D. Gimaret)

al-**TANĀWUTĪ**, the *nisba* of many spiritual *shaykhs* of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] referring to the Tanāwut, a Berber tribe of the Nafzāwa country in southern Tunisia and Wargla (Wārdjalān). To the 5th/11th century belongs:

1). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, who often appears in later tradition. His son 2). Ismāʿīl, but still more his grandson 3). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl, had the reputation of being very devout and miraculously gifted. The most important bearer of the name is the last-named's son:

4). Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tanāwutī, fellow-pupil and friend of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Sadrātī al-Wārdjalānī. He came of a wealthy family and had an allowance of 1,000 dīnārs a year for his studies in Tunis, of which he gave half to his teachers. His interest in learning, particularly in Arabic philology, was intense. His principal teacher in theology was Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-Wārdjalānī [*q.v.*] who also taught Abū Yaʿḳūb. Abū ʿAmmār lived principally in Wargla. In the spring, he roamed with his herds far to the south among the oases of Mzab [*q.v.*]. His co-religionists revere him as one of the renewers of their religion (*muḥyī ʾl-dīn*). On the question of the verdict on the caliph ʿAlī, always a fundamental one with the Ibāḍīs, he inclined to leniency. On the other hand, he shared the general bitterness of the Berbers against the incoming Arab Bedouins [see hilāl]. He declared that the property they had acquired in the Maghrib was theft (*ghasb*) and, like his friend Abū Yaʿḳūb, he received a painful impression of the Bedouins of the Ḥidjāz on a pilgrimage to Mecca, so that their consciences troubled them as to whether they, who in the Maghrib carefully avoided any, even business, intercourse with the Arabs, could purchase goods from them in the Ḥidjāz; they consoled themselves with the reflection that the Ḥidjāz had belonged to the Arabs from the very beginning.

Among the writings of Abū ʿAmmār are noted *al-Mūdjiz fī taḥṣīl al-suʾāl*, a "Refutation of all enemies of truth", i.e. one of those *farḳ* books in which the Ibāḍīs used carefully to define their doctrines as distinct from all other schools; also *Sharḥ al-djahālāt*, but particularly the *Sīra*, in which Masqueray recognised "le règle des clercs", a fundamental work for the spiritual organisation of the *ʿazzāb* leaders and their *ḥalḳa* disciples. A long illness prevented Abū ʿAmmār from ever answering a list of queries from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Numayr al-Anṣārī regarding the Ibāḍīs' teaching on their differences from other sects. A reply was only given after his and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's deaths by Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Wārdjalānī and is contained in the latter's *Kitāb al-Dalīl*. According to this, Abū ʿAmmār died before 570/1174. His teaching was continued, notably by 5). Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī, the younger, whose name is identical with that of the individual first named in this article.

6). ʿAdī b. al-Luʾlu' al-Tanāwutī, who lived for a time on the island of Djerba [see djarba], is said to have been the first man in Wargla to be killed by the invading Arabs. His brother was the father of Umm al-Muʾmin, a woman revered for her miracles. As in the cases above named, the brothers 7). Yaḥyā and 8). Abu ʾl-Rabīʿ Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAmr al-Tanāwutī are of interest to the biographers on account of their piety and miracles which they describe.

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(R. Strothmann)

ṬANBŪR [see ṭunbūr].

ṬANDJA, the name for the town of Tangier on the northern Moroccan shore of the Straits of Gibraltar.

Ṭandja is an Arabised form of the Roman *Tinjis*, but it is very probable that the name is Berber in origin, judging by the frequency of toponyms beginning with *tin-*, e.g. Tinmal, Tinghir, etc. Situated some 12 km/7 miles east of Cape Spartel, where the Atlantic begins, Ṭandja has for long been coveted on account of its strategic position, with Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Portuguese, Spaniards and English successively controlling it since its foundation in the 7th century B.C. The European occupation 1471-1684, its vulnerable geographical position as a *thaghr* [see thughūr. 2], as well as its essentially military population, have been factors hindering the town from developing truly urban structures and institutions such as are found in towns of the interior of Morocco.

Pre-Islamic history. Archaeological evidence shows a Phoenician presence in this part of the Tingitanian peninsula during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., but it was not till *ca.* 400 that the Carthaginians founded the small trading-post of Tingis. After the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C., the town, with the rest of North Africa, came under Roman aegis. In 38 B.C. the

emperor Claudius raised it to the rank of a colony and its people became Roman citizens. Tangier also became the capital of Mauritania Tingitana and benefited from the convergence on it of trade routes from Salé and Volubilis, but was caught up in the disturbances affecting the empire at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. It then passed under Byzantine control, but the imperial representative chose to reside not there but at Ceuta or Sabta [*q.v.*].

The Islamic period. Ṭandja came under Muslim control when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] seized the town and installed there his Berber lieutenant, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. The conquest of Spain in 711 gave the town a privileged position as a place of linkage between the two shores, and it also became the place of residence for Arab governors appointed from the East; but for Ṭandja, as for the rest of North Africa, the 2nd/8th century was dominated by Khāridjite revolts. According to historical tradition, the *sharīf* Idrīs (I) found refuge there at the end of the century, but the town was soon abandoned for a more central Idrīsid capital at Volubilis (Walīla). Thus it lost its position as the first town of the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā. It still played an important role in the traffic between North Africa and al-Andalus, but tended to be overshadowed by Sabta.

The period of European colonisation. After attempts at occupation from *ca.* 1400 onwards, the Portuguese occupied Sabta and then, in 1471, Ṭandja, to remain there for two centuries. In 1671 it passed briefly under English control as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry when she married Charles II. The English were especially concerned to make Tangier a base for their fleet in the Mediterranean, hence built defensive ramparts and towers, and for trading purposes, a mole was built out into the sea in 1663. It nevertheless remained primarily a military centre, with soldiers making up half of its 3,000 inhabitants. During these centuries, Ṭandja was completely cut off from its hinterland, but there had always been harrying of the town by Muslim *mudjāhidūn* from the Moroccan interior, and the English position was harassed by the attacks of al-Khaḍir Ghaylān of the Banū Gurfaṭ; only with the accession of the ʿAlawid sultans in Morocco in *ca.* 1666 did Ghaylān make a truce with the English in face of the common enemy.

The return to Moroccan control. It was the great Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (1082-1139/1672-1727 [*q.v.*]) who achieved the reputation of "liberator of the *thughūr*". The English tried to achieve a "lasting truce", but Ottoman pressure from the sultan Meḥemmed IV, that a *sharīf* should no longer tolerate the presence of infidels on his soil, with hopes dangled before Ismāʿīl of suzerainty over the central Maghrib, led to a long siege of the town and, finally, the English evacuation of Tangier in 1684, after destruction of the mole and main fortifications. Ismāʿīl now entrusted the town to the "army of the Rīf" commanded by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsamānī, who rebuilt the town and peopled it with immigrants from the central Rīf. Also, the sultan delegated the conduct of European affairs to the governor, who henceforth combined with his administrative duties diplomatic ones. When Ismāʿīl died, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī came to rule a virtually independent principality stretching from Ṭandja to Oujda or Wadjda. In the latter part of the 18th century, however, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh installed black troops, *ʿAbīd*, in Ṭandja as a counterweight to the power of the Rīfian army; but the sultans were unable to dispense with the services of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rīfī's family, and these continued to govern the town and its region into the 19th century.

Tangier in the 19th century. It was now that the town took on its appearance familiar till today, as a part of the general process of Morocco's opening-up to the European powers. This began with the establishing of consuls towards the end of the 18th century, these being transferred from Rabat because of Tangier's better access to maritime and postal communications, and nearness to continental Europe. For the sultan's administration, this was felt to be advantageous since it confined the European presence to a peripheral town. The increasing importance of these diplomatic connections led the Moroccan government, after the French naval bombardment of the town and the rout of the Moroccan army at Isly in 1844, to install in 1845 a representative (*nāʾib*) in Tangier charged with diplomatic duties. Its commercial importance now grew, especially as a supply of foodstuffs for the British garrison in Gibraltar; by *ca.* 1850 20% of Morocco's export trade was shipped via Tangier, and it became the main embarkation port for pilgrims to Arabia. The town developed especially after the 1856 Anglo-Moroccan trade treaty which abolished state monopolies. The population grew from 5,000 in 1810 to *ca.* 20,000 in 1878, with Jews making up one-fifth of the population. The European population was 700 in *ca.* 1862, rising to 5,000 by the end of the century in the wake of various treaties with European powers. This growth had implications for daily life and the appearance of modern urban institutions, such as a *conseil sanitaire* set up by the European consuls in 1874, and schools for the children of the European and Jewish communities. Printing was introduced, and the first newspapers known in Morocco were produced there, such as the *Times of Morocco* (1870) and *Le Reveil* (1883).

Tangier in the 20th century. On various occasions in the opening years of the new century, Tangier was a place of world interest because of colonial rivalries over Morocco, with a consequent tense and nervous climate of feeling. From the Moroccan side came acts of banditry and the targetting of Europeans, with in 1903 and 1904 the *sharīf* Aḥmad al-Raysūnī attacking the town and seizing the Greek-American Ian Perdicaris and the Englishman Walter Harris. In 1905 the Kaiser Wilhelm II landed there to assert "the rights of Germany" accorded to France by the 1904 Franco-Moroccan entente. The 1912 Protectorate agreement, however, gave Tangier a special status, in view of its strategic position on the Straits and its role as viewed by European powers, but definition of its special status only came after the First World War.

The international Status of Tangier and its zone 1923-56. The Algeciras conference of 1906 did not regulate the status of the town as the French and Spanish wanted, and Britain, in particular, did not wish to see the town under control of a power which could menace its naval hegemony in the Straits of Gibraltar region. The question was not resolved till the Paris agreement of 1923 with its "statute for the zone of Tangier", which remained in force till Moroccan independence in 1956, though suspended 1940-5 when Francoist Spain took advantage of the European war to occupy Tangier and attach it to its existing protectorate of northern Morocco.

The statute provided for political and military neutrality, unfettered economic freedom and an international administration. The sultan of Morocco retained his authority over his Muslim and Jewish subjects, with a *mandūb* or delegate in the town. Under the statute, Tangier developed greatly in the economic and financial direction, with 85 banking agencies in 1950, compared with four in 1900, and 4,000 limited companies, but commercial and industrial development remained

behind, mainly because of the separation of the town and its zone from the rest of Morocco, despite the opening of a railway link connecting Tangier with Fās and Rabat in 1927. But the town's prosperity attracted a large number of immigrants from the Moroccan interior, especially from the Spanish zone where the land was poor and there was an absence of any economic development. In the period of international control, the Moroccan population of Tangier quadrupled, and in 1952 Europeans, mainly Spanish, formed one-quarter of the total of 164,000 inhabitants.

Tangier after independence. Despite its separation from the rest of Morocco, Tangier took part in the struggle for independence, by providing a haven for nationalists fleeing the French and Spanish zones and by being the place where Muḥammad V in 1947 claimed the right of Morocco to independence, its own sovereignty and adhesion to the Arab world. But the consequences of independence were economically deleterious for Tangier, with the loss of its international status and the flight of outside capital, so that the artificial quality of its prosperity became apparent. The rural exodus continued, so that the population reached 293,000 in 1982. In the absence of any strategic economic plan for northern Morocco, the town's economy has become more and more dependent on smuggling and the drugs traffic. Thus the development of the town and its hinterland remains a social and economic challenge which independent Morocco has not yet succeeded in solving.

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(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

TANGA and **TANKA**, terms of Islamic coinage. The present article covers what were two articles in *EI*[1] by J. Allan. Both words are spelled تنكه in Arabic, but are traditionally pronounced *tanga* or *tenge* in Persian and Turkish-speaking lands and *tanka* in the Indian sub-continent. The etymology appears to be somewhat uncertain. The earliest appearance of the word occurs in a coin legend on the bilingual Arabic/Sanskrit silver issued by the Ghaznawid ruler Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] in Maḥmūdpūr (Lāhawr) in 418 and 419/1027-8, where the word *tankam* was used to translate the Arabic *dirham* in the Sanskrit legend giving the denomination and date. Various derivations are put forward in Edward Thomas's footnote on pp. 48-9 of his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, one of which suggests that the word represented a weight in the Indian ponderal system similar to that of the *tola* [*q.v.*], *ca.* 10.7-11.2 gr, and then became a name for gold and silver coins struck to that weight in the pre-Mughal Islamic coinages of the subcontinent. Another authority believed the word derived from *tang*, which in Čaghatay Turkish is said to have meant "white", the colour of the metal silver, and thus became a popular name for silver coin, as in the case of the Greek *asper* and the Turkish *akče*.

The numismatic evidence given above would suggest that *tanka* was the generic name for coined money at the time when Maḥmūd of Ghazna struck his silver in Lāhawr, but that it became the name of a specific denomination when Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36 [*q.v.*]) regularised the currency as part of his general administrative reforms. Although gold coinage with the weight of the tola is known to have been struck by both Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*], it was the silver tola-weight coinage of Iltutmish which became the standard for all fine silver tankas issued by most states in pre-Mughal India. Tola-weight gold tankas came into general circulation under Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I (644-64/1246-66). After about a century, during which gold and silver tankas were issued in abundance by many states, they gradually dropped out of use and were replaced by billon coins until Shīr Shāh Sūrī (945-52/1538-45) revamped the currency by reviving the tola-weight fine silver coinage, but using another traditional Indian name, the *rūpiyya* or rupee [*q.v.*]. The Mughal ruler Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [*q.v.*]) then applied the name *tanka* to his 2-*dām* copper coin weighing around 41.5 gr. The tenth part of the tanka which weighed 4.15 gr he named the *tanki*. When Akbar revived the large-scale striking of gold, he called the tanka-weight coin the *muhur*, a name it retained thereafter.

In the West, where the word was pronounced *tanga* or *tenge*, the name was given to the reform silver coinage introduced by Tīmūr in 796/1394, which was described as half the weight of the Indian tanka and nominally worth four dirhams. Album has pointed out, however, that it originally weighed about 6.2 gr, it was reduced to 5.1 gr in 828/1425, and to 4.78 gr in around 895-8/1490-3. During the reign of Shāh Rukh (807-50/1404-46 [*q.v.*]), it became known as the *shāhrukhī*, then in the period of Tīmūrid decline and thereafter its weight standard became subject to widespread variation. The *tanga* continued to be the generic name for the principal silver denominations issued by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Shaybānids and many minor Persian and Central Asian dynasties. *Tanga* is probably the most appropriate name for the heavy silver coinage that was struck by the Ottoman rulers from Sulaymān I to Murād III in the former Persian territories of Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ. The name then passed into use in Russia, where the half-kopeck copper coin was known as the *denga*. In the 19th and early 20th centuries the khānates of Turkistān, the Mangits of Bukhārā, the Rulers of Khīwa (Khʷārazm), Khoḳand and Kāshghar also named their silver and base metal coins *tenge*, with multiples and fractions being issued on a quasi-European pattern in the latter part of their usage.

Finally, in his *EI*[1] art. *Tanga*, Allan asserted that the word was connected with the Turki word *tamgha* [*q.v.*], an official mark or die [see SIKKA]. While this otherwise unsupported etymology seems rather far-fetched, it might have been inspired by the three-circle triangular design which Tīmūr used as a personal device on his reform tankas.

Bibliography, S. Album, *A checklist of popular Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa, Calif. 1993; B. Fragner, *Observations on the monetary system*, in his ch. 9, *Social and internal economic affairs*, in *CHIr*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 556-67; E. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, repr. Delhi 1967; H.N. Wright, *The coinage and metrology of the Sulṭāns of Dehlī*, repr. New Delhi 1974.
(R.E. DARLEY-DORAN)

TANGIER [see ṬANDJA].

TANKIZ (corresponding to Tkish. *deñiz* "sea") al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 740/1340), Mamlūk commander and governor of the province of

Damascus 712-40/1312-40 during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*].

Tankiz rose to favour as one of that sultan's bodyguard (*khāṣṣakiyya*), fought against the Il-Khānid Mongols in Syria and became *nā'ib al-salṭana* for the province. When in Syria, he remained high in the sultan's favour, travelling almost every other year to Cairo, where he was received with great honour and overwhelmed with rich presents. His son ʿAlī was made an *amīr*, and in 736/1336 two of the sultan's daughters were married to Tankiz's sons (al-Shudjāʿī, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn*, ed. and tr. B. Schäfer, Wiesbaden 1977-85; text 42 ff., tr. 63 ff.). The expansion of the capital Cairo under the sultans was paralleled in the provinces of the kingdom. Tankiz's foundations and reconstructions changed the townscape of Damascus. Besides nine *ḥammāms*, he built the impressive mosque named after him, where he was ultimately buried, and the mausoleum of Sitt Sutayta, which included a *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*] for women built posthumously for his wife Sutayta in 730/1330.

His pride and wealth excited jealousy at the Mamlūk court. The sultan's suspicions grew, especially as, if al-Maḳrīzī is to be believed, Tankiz planned to overthrow the sultan (*Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda and S.ʿA.F. ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1930-73, ii, 509). The sultan ordered his arrest, and he was brought to Alexandria, imprisoned and then executed in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 740/May-June 1340 or the next month; his treasury and properties were confiscated.

Bibliography: 1. Sources (in addition to the works mentioned in the text). Fākhirī, in K.V. Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 145-249; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ix, *al-Durr al-fākhir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. H.R. Roemer, Cairo 1960; Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr*, ed. F. Sezgin, part 1, Frankfurt a.M. 1990; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1973, i; ʿAlmāwī, *Mukhtaṣar Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris fīmā fī Dimashḳ min al-djawāmiʿ wa 'l-madāris* = partial tr. H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 9. série (1894-6).

2. Studies. Weil, *Chalifen*, iv; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1923; K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, Berlin-Leipzig 1924; J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932; N.A. Ziadeh, *Urban life in Syria under the early Mamlūks*, Westport, Conn. 1953; P.M. Holt, *The age of the Crusades. The Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*, London and New York 1986; M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, Glückstadt 1992; Amalia Levanoni, *A turning point in Mamluk history. The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)*, Leiden 1995.

(S. Conermann, shortened by the Editors)

TANNŪR [see MAṬBAKH].

TANPINAR, AḤMED ḤAMDĪ, Turkish poet and novelist, born in 1901 in Istanbul, died on 24 January 1962. His father was the Ḳāḍī Hüseyin of Batum. After graduating from the Istanbul Faculty of Literature, he taught in various schools in Anatolia 1923-32, and subsequently taught history of art, aesthetics and mythology in the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts. In 1930, he published the journal *Gürüş* with Ahmed K. Tecer. He was a professor of literature at Istanbul University 1939-42, and then was the Member of Parliament representing Maraş 1942-6. After 1946, he went back to his teaching at Istanbul University. His works were published in journals such as *Dergâh*, *Milli Mecmua*, *Hayat*, *Görüş*, *Varlık*, *Oluş*, *Ülkü*, *Aile*, and the newspapers *Tan* and *Cumhuriyet*.

Tanpınar was one of the most prolific modern Turkish authors, who began by writing poetry and then turned to writing essays, novels, short stories, literary criticism and literary history. Until 1932, his works reflected the influence of Western literature and thought, but thereafter he began to look for a synthesis of Western and Eastern traditions. His well-known novel *Huzur* is full of psychological dilemmas and analysis, discussions of history and architecture, and the dichotomy of East and West. Tanpınar strove to solve the realities hidden in the inner psyches of people rather than to reflect the observable reality of life; the use of nature and references to folk legends characteristic of his works are said to be reflections of his own childhood experiences. The best example of his poetic style is *Bursada zaman*. T.S. Halman says of his poetry that he "specialized in simple lyrics of genteel sensibilities expressed in tidy stanzaic forms and the traditional syllabic meters" (Halman, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 28). Tanpınar's other well-known work, *Beş şehir*, is about his impressions of the five cities of Istanbul, Bursa, Konya, Erzurum and Ankara.

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(Çiğdem Balim)

TAÑRİ (T.), Heaven, God. In the eastern Turkish dialects the vocalisation is usually palatal: Čaghatay, *tengri* (written تینکری) and similar forms in the other dialects. The trisyllabic forms in Teleut (*täñärä*) and in the Altai dialect (*täñäri*) are worthy of note; the Kazan Tatar dialect has alongside of *tängri* (god) a word *täri* = image of a saint, ikon (we may here mention the proper name *Täri-birdi*, where *täri* of course means God). The Oghuz dialects (Ottoman Turkish, Azerbaijani and Turkmen) have a non-palatal vocalisation, as has Yakut (*tañara*) and Chuvash (*tură* < *tañri*).

For the lexicographical material, see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 523-4, and idem, *Sanglax*, London 1960, 54; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1888-1911, iii, 823, 1043-4, 1047-8, 1065; O. Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten. Jakutisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg 1851, 90; and lastly Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, Istanbul 1333-5, iii, 278-9, Tkish. tr. Besim Atalay, iii, 376-8, Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 342-3, who says "*tängri* means God; the infidels however call heaven *tängri* and likewise everything that impresses them, e.g. a high mountain or a large tree. They worship such things and they call a wise man *tängrikän*". This word *tängrikän* appears also as an old Turkī title (see Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, 1048; F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica*, Berlin 1908ff., 47: *tängrikän* = ruler). With the meaning "God" (in the

Manichaean system) we find *tängrikän*, for example, in the Manichaean confession of sins (*Chuastuanift*, ed. A. von le Coq, Berlin, 1911, 10). The word *tängrim* (i.e. *tängri* with the pronominal suffix of the first person) seems to be used in the Turfan texts in the titles of princesses or queens (cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, 48, who compares the modern usage of *khanîm* and *bēgam*). We may here give a few derivatives of *tängri*: *tängriči* (in the Manichaean confession of sins, see *JRAS* [1912], 289, 299) = "preacher, chosen one" (lit. man of God); Kuman, *teñrilik* = "divine"; Uyghur, *tengrilik* = "pious". The Mongol *tängri* (God) is a loanword from the Turkish (for this form, see *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii, 51).

The word is presumably of Hsiung-nu (East Hunnish) origin, *tañri (in Turkish with assimilation either > *täñri* or > *tañrî*). In most modern Central Asian dialects, Turkish *täñri* has two meanings, "God" and "Heaven"; in Oghuz it only means "God".

To define the conceptions implied by the word *tängri* so far as the beliefs of Turkish paganism is concerned, it will be advisable to deal first with the Old Turkish inscriptions and then with the material collected in modern times from Teleut and Altai shamanism.

In the Old Turkish inscriptions, *täñri* is one of the three world potencies: (father) Heaven, (mother) Earth and (child) Mankind. The ruler governs mankind by order of *täñri*; his duty is to conquer the whole world. These three potencies existed from time immemorial: "When the blue Heaven above and the brown Earth beneath arose, between the twain Mankind arose." A connection with Chinese ideas is apparent. Along with the three potencies (whose mightiest is *täñri*), other deities are also mentioned, namely *umay* (goddess of women in child-bed) and *yer-sub* (spirits of earth and water).

On the conception of *täñri* in modern Turkish shamanism (i.e. mainly among the Teleut and Altai Turks) see H. Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, Leipzig 1879, 150 ff.; W. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884, ii, 1 ff., and the texts collected by Radloff in the first volume of his *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, St. Petersburg 1866-1904. This paganism, as might be expected, did not remain entirely free from foreign, e.g. Christian and Buddhist influences; when, for example, in a shaman's conjuration we find the expressions *Pyrkan Tengre* and *Pyrkan Kan* (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 33, 44), it is natural to recognise in *Pyrkan* the Mongol (also old Turkish) word *Burkhan* = Buddha. That the pagan Turkish creation myth shows traces of Jewish, Christian and Buddhist influences was noted by Radloff himself (*op. cit.*, ii, 5-6). When it is said that the evil spirit Erlik created a heaven for himself, like the god of heaven, one is tempted to think of Zoroastrian influence (the "counter-creations" of Ahriman).

According to Turkish shamanism, the most powerful god, Tengere Kayra Kan, created the heavens and also the evil spirit Erlik, the good spirits, mankind and the earth. The form *tengere* (following the orthography in Radloff) corresponds to the Teleut *Tänärä* and Altai *Tänäri*. Kayra Kan must be identical with the Altai *Kayrakkan* (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 22), a word used to describe gods and spirits; Tengere Kayra Kan is therefore the "god of heaven".

There are seventeen different regions in heaven arranged in succession one above the other; there the good spirits live. The highest of these minor deities are Bäy Ülgön, Kysagan Tengere and Mergen Tengere. The gods of heaven are not directly appealed to like the spirits of earth and of water, but through the intermediary of the spirits of ancestors, i.e. a shaman (*kam*) is required for the purpose. In a Teleut shaman's prayer (Radloff, *Volkslitteratur*, i, 238) the heavens above are appealed to as the Creator. In an Altaic myth (Radloff, *ibid.*, i, 61 ff.) a hero seeks the hand of the daughter of the god of heaven, Tämän Ökö.

When it is said of the thunderstorm in the dialect of Kazan: "The old man of the heavens (*täñri babai*) is thundering", this is a relic of old pagan ideas (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 1425, iii, 1047, iv, 1564).

Speaking generally, one may say that, apart from foreign influences, so far as they can be eliminated, in the Turkish conception Täñri is regarded as the heavens, as an element, and also as the spirit ruling in heaven. This spirit was probably originally conceived as a kind of force, a something which would be called *mana* in modern ethnology. The concept of a personal god of heaven must have developed out of this.

Turkish *kök täñri* "blue Heaven" has its counterpart in Mongolian *köke tenggeri*, also *köke möngke tenggeri* (the blue eternal Heaven). Under the influence of foreign religions, the undivided notion of *kök täñri* "the blue Heaven" (a) in the external, material sense: "the space above the earth" + (b) "the power which influences all earthly things", was split up; (a) was expressed by *kök*, (b) by *täñri* (or foreign words, such as *khudā*, *allāh*).

In Buddhist Old Turkish texts, *tängri* corresponds to the Sanskrit *deva* "god" in Buddhist mythology, a concept which is better conveyed by the word "angel", because this being lacks several qualities which to us are necessarily associated with the idea of "god". The feminine equivalent *devī* is given *by tängri khatun*; *tängri kïz* is Turkish for *devakanyā* (divine maiden, apsaras). The king of the gods (*devarādja*) Indra is *tängrilär elik/eligi Khormuzda*; Brahmā is called *Äzrua tängri*. These beings have thus Iranian names, Ōhrmazd and (perhaps) Zurwān. The goddess Śrī is called *Kut Tängri Khatunî* or (without *Khatun*) *Kut Tängrisi*. The name *Kut Tängrisi* seems also to be given to Kubera (e.g. Müller, *Uigurica*, 45). In a collection of *dhāraṇīs* for travellers, the *Tišastvastile* (ed. Radloff and A. von Staël-Holstein, St. Petersburg 1910 = *Bibl. Buddhica*, xii), we find a *deva* named *Tängridäm*, whom Radloff takes for Kubera so that the latter has therefore another Turkish name. But this is doubtful, for in one passage (22) of this work, Kubera (*Kupiri*) is mentioned by name and *Tängridäm* is mentioned soon after as a different deity; but it must be allowed that in the text there are elsewhere illogicalities (see, e.g. Turkish text, 23-4). For Kubera in this work, see also 97, n. 2; Buddha himself is often called *Tängri Tängrisi*. The god of heaven (*devaloka*) is called in Turkish *Tängri Yir*, and the *Vaimānika* gods, as a rule peculiar to Jaina mythology but also found, e.g. in the *Tišastvastile*, are called *Waimanuki-tängrilär*.

The Manichaean Turkish terminology which is influenced by the Buddhist one (see *Chuastuanift*, ed. Le Coq, 5; *JRAS* [1911], 278) shows the word in the following use. Tängri corresponds here to the Iranian *Yazd* (or *Bag*); in the first place, this means the highest principle of the Manichaean system, and secondly, the subordinate spirits of light or gods (*yaruk tängrilär*) in contrast to the demons (*yäklär*). The first man is called *besh tängri*, five-god (from his five components, known from the Manichaean myth: air, wind, light, water and fire). The name *tängri* is also given to the five elements, e.g. *oot tängri* = god of fire. Tängri is found with the meaning "heaven" (e.g. *Chuastuanift*, 16 = *JRAS* [1911], 291, l. 167). Paradise is called *Tängri Yer*. This Manichaean terminology corresponds pretty well to the Buddhist. One or two peculiarities may

still be pointed out: the occurrence of the already-mentioned term *tängrikän* (*Chuastuanift*, 10; *JRAS* [1911], 281, l. 22), in the name of a deity (*Äzrua Tängrikän*), translated by von le Coq (*JRAS*, *loc. cit.*) "Azrua the Lord", and the peculiar combination *Arkhon Yer Tängri*, the "archon earth-god", in which perhaps the word *tängri* is used for one of the powers of darkness (see *JRAS* [1911], 303, n. 31).

In Christian Turkish usage we find *Tängri* = God; *Tängri-Oghlï* = "Son of God" and *Mshikha Tängri* = the God Messiah. In the Christian fragments published by Müller in his *Uigurica*, we also have the word *Tängridäm*, which we frequently find in Buddhist Turkish; it occurs twice in these Christian texts and seems here to mean simply "God". The Kuman usage gives nothing worthy of special remark.

As regards the earlier Muslim Eastern Turkish texts, the Arabic and Persian terms (*Allāh*, *Khudā*) begin to compete with Turkish *Täñri*. The oldest (Ḳara-Khanid) sources of the 11th century still preserve *täñri* or (more frequently) employ the term *bayat* (*Ḳutadhghu bilig*, ed. R.R. Arat, 48, l. 284, *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. Arat, 2, l. 3). Later on, a competition can be detected: *bayat* fades out and the authors begin to prefer the Islamic terms. Here are some examples of the relation *täñri: allāh/khudā*. In Rabghūzī's (1310) and Bābur's (1483-1531) works, *täñri* is the usual word; but in Gadāʾī (1405-92?), the relation is 6:15, and in modern Uzbek all three words exist; *khudo*, *tañri*, *olloh*. To investigate the subtle social and semantic differences between these terms in the Turkic world is a difficult task. For an introductory discussion of this subject, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 577-85 (*täñri*) and 379 (*bayat*).

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(V.F. Büchner-[G. Doerfer])

TANSAR, Kitāb, "the Letter of Tansar", a political treatise from Sāsānid Persia, known in the Islamic world through an Arabic translation, probably by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], from a lost original in Pahlavi.

It was ostensibly written by "Tansar" (a misreading, in Pahlavi script, for Tusar, perhaps an abbreviation of **Tus-artēshtār*, Avestan *Tusa-raθaēštar-* "T. the warrior"), the chief priest of the first Sāsānid king, Ardashīr I (*ca.* 224-40), to Gushtāsp, the king of Ṭabaristān, encouraging him to submit to Ardashīr and, more generally, justifying the Sāsānid polity. Brief quotations explicitly from this epistle can be found in al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 99-100, quoting "Tansar", "but some call him *Dwsr*") and al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, 53, quoting the *Kitāb Tūsar*) and there is a third incorrectly credited quotation in Ibn al-Faḳīh, 197; this is all that survives of the Arabic text. But a complete, if painfully ornate, Persian translation of the letter of "Tansar" was included by Ibn Isfandiyār in his *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, where the underlying Arabic version is expressly attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ. This attribution is presumably correct, despite the fact that the letter is not named in any old list of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's writings. The Persian text was first published, with a French translation, by J. Darmesteter in *JA*, série 9, vol. iii (1894), 185-250, 502-55, then republished from a better manuscript by M. Mīnuwī (*Nāma-yi Tansar*, Tehran 1932), and again by ʿA. Iḳbāl in his edition of the whole of Ibn Isfandiyār's history (Tehran 1942, 12-41), and translated into English, with an introduction and valuable notes by M. Boyce (*The Letter of Tansar*, Rome 1968). There is also a Danish translation by Hertha Kirketerp-Møller, *Tansar's brev til Gushnasp, Konge at Tabaristan*, Copenhagen 1965.

"Tansar"/Tusar is clearly a historical person, but the text preserved by Ibn Isfandiyār contains several obvious anachronisms, and it has been suggested that the whole letter is a literary fiction from the late Sāsānid period (6th century). However, Darmesteter and Boyce have both maintained, with plausible arguments, that it does contain a genuine kernel from the time of Ardashīr.

Bibliography: Editions and translations are indicated in the article. See also A. Christensen, *Abarsām et Tansar*, in *AO*, x (1932), 43-55; M. Boyce, *The Indian fables in the Letter of Tansar*, in *Asia Major*, v (1956), 50-8; F. de Blois, *The "four great kingdoms" in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, in *Orbis Aethiopicus*, ed. P.O. Scholz, Albstadt 1992, 221-30 (on the passage from Ibn al-Faḳīh).

(F.C. de Blois)

TĀNSIN, or Mīrzā Tānsen (d. 997/1589), a celebrated Indian musician (*kalavant*). A native of Gwalior, he became a disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawth Gwāliyārī [*q.v.*] and so possibly formally converted to Islam, though neither he nor his son Vilas adopted Muslim names. Tānsen became an adept at the Dhurpad and Bishanpad modes of Indian classical music which had developed in Gwalior under patronage of Rādjā Man (9th/15th century), with many creations by Nayak Bākhshu, Tānsen's predecessor, but not apparently his preceptor. Tānsen received generous patronage from Rādjā Rāmčandra of Bhaṭṭa (in Central India), but the latter was induced to send Tānsen to Akbar's court, where his presence is first noticed in 986/1578-9. Tānsen was regarded as an unequalled master in composition (in Hindi) as well as vocalisation. Abu 'l-Faḍl, in a short obituary notice, claimed that no musician "with such sweetness, graceful composition and creation of effect has appeared in the last one thousand years." Tānsen died at Lahore on 19 Djumādā II 997/15 April 1589 and was buried there; his ostensible grave at Gwalior cannot therefore contain his mortal remains. Many of his compositions survive.

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(M. Athar Ali)

ṬANṬĀ, Egyptian city of more than 400,000 inhabitants (1996), the capital of the central Delta and the fourth city of the province. This commercial crossroads, situated 90 km/55 miles to the north of Cairo, occupies an exceptional position, being equidistant from the two branches of the Nile, equidistant from Damietta, Rosetta and Alexandria. The city is definitely of ancient origin: it is constructed on tells, currently obliterated by more modern buildings, where members of the Egyptian Expedition nevertheless identified crude bricks from the Pharaonic era, and where vestiges dating from the XXVIth dynasty have been found. The Egyptologist G. Daressy proposes that the ancient origin of Ṭanṭā is to be identified in the town of Tawa, situated 3 km/2 miles to the north-west. In the Coptic period, as an episcopal city, Ṭanṭā

is cited under the name of Tantâtho in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, and under that of Tanitad in *The history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*.

After the Arab conquest, the city took the name of Ṭandatā (numerous variants). In 344/955 Ibn Ḥawḳal described it as a populated agricultural centre, endowed with a great mosque and *sūḳs*, the seat of a governor (*ʿāmil*) and site of a weekly market. Ibn Djubayr confirmed these observations at the time of his visit in 579/1183, describing Ṭandatā as a huge and densely populated village, with a well-attended mosque. But it was with the *madjdhūb* Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 67/1276 [*q.v.*]), that Ṭanṭā acquired renown, as al-Badawī became the most revered saint in Egypt. After his death, his disciples formed the Suṭūḥiyya brotherhood, later known as the Aḥmadiyya, which turned the central Delta into a seed-bed of sanctity. In the early 8th/14th century, a *mawlid* (dialectal, *mūled*) was instituted in al-Badawī's honour, combining patronal festival, fair and pilgrimage, the most important in Egypt. There were as many as three annual *mawlids* in honour of al-Badawī, all determined according to the solar calendar: the major one in July, the minor one in the spring for the benefit of the nomads, and the *radjabiyya* in February.

The broad popular appeal of the cult centred on the saint accounts for the importance of the sanctuary; on the *zāwiya* built after his death, sultan Ḳāyitbāy constructed a mosque-tomb. Numerous *waḳfs* were conferred upon the mosque during the Mamlūk period, in particular the neighbouring village of Ḳuḥāfa. The Mamlūk *amīrs* came regularly to visit the tomb. The city seems to have declined at the start of the Ottoman period, and it was with the object of reviving the commerce of the Delta that in 1769 ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr had the great mosque rebuilt, also endowing the tomb with a *maḳṣūra* and numerous *waḳfs*. Successive renovations were undertaken, in particular by ʿAbbās I Ḥilmī in 1851, and finally by President Sādāt, who added two minarets and a huge peristyle to the entrance to the tomb. The central cupola is reserved for al-Badawī; in a corner there is the footprint of the Prophet indented on a black stone, installed quite recently and the object of fervent veneration. Two other cupolas are located above, to the west, the cenotaph of ʿAbd al-ʿĀl, successor of al-Badawī, and to the east that of ʿAlī al-Mudjāhid, *khalīfa* of the Aḥmadiyya in the 18th century. There are numerous tombs of saints in Ṭanṭā, thirty-seven at the latest count, the most important after al-Badawī being that of *shaykha* Ṣabāḥ.

The great mosque of Ṭanṭā is called al-Djāmiʿ al-Aḥmadī, referring to Aḥmad al-Badawī, and it has become, after al-Azhar, the second most important centre of Islamic education in Egypt, specialising in the reading of the Ḳurʾān, whence the adage: "the only Ḳurʾānic teaching is Aḥmadī, the only science is Azharī". The *waḳfiyya* of ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr fixed the number of students at 700. There were about a thousand in the 19th century, when studies at the great mosque of Ṭanṭā were officially affiliated to al-Azhar. A library was created in 1898. In 1914, the Azharī institute left the precincts of the mosque to occupy a modern building. A secular university was also established in Ṭanṭā from 1962 onwards.

The sanctified aura of the city has contributed to the development of its commercial role. The *mawlid*, as well being as a pilgrimage, was a fair and market which attracted crowds of local peasantry and numerous traders from Cairo; it was for them that ʿAlī Bey established in Ṭanṭā a *ḳaysariyya* called the Ghūriyya, and at the time of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition the city contained a dozen caravanserais. The fair took place at the gates of the city, on a huge open site near the village of Sīgār. Here animals were sold, linen and cotton fabrics, European merchandise, and, most of all, slaves. The fair attracted customers and visitors from all parts of Egypt, from the Levant, Turkey and Sudan. As the capital of popular Egyptian Ṣūfism, Ṭanṭā acquired among Europeans a reputation for fanaticism.

In spite of such disorders, the 19th century was a time of vigorous expansion for the city of Ṭanṭā. The administrative role of the city, which had become the seat of the *mudīriyya* of Gharbiyya in 1836, enabled it to supplant its rival al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. The Alexandria-Cairo railway, inaugurated in 1856, passed through Ṭanṭā and thereby reinforced its status as a mercantile centre. The trade in cotton brought additional prosperity to the town, with the establishment of warehouses and a Cotton Exchange, and the date of the major *mawlid* was moved to October, to follow the harvest. The cotton boom of the 1860s attracted large numbers of Greek migrant workers and also Levantines and Europeans. Churches were established, and European missionaries (Soeurs de Notre-Dame des Apôtres, Pères des missions africaines de Lyon) founded schools. Immigration also expanded the Jewish community, one of the oldest in Egypt, and in 1905 the Alliance Israélite Universelle was permitted to found a school there. These developments took place in spite of the fact that, in July 1882, riots had culminated in the slaughter of about a hundred Christians and Jews.

The spectacular growth in population (10,000 inhabitants in 1821, 33,725 in 1882, 54,437 in 1907) presented an urgent need for urban expansion. The old city, situated around the sanctuary and characterised by dingy, narrow and insalubrious alleyways, still enclosed within a double wall *ca.* 1800, was partially modernised from the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl onward. Through the appropriation of *waḳf* territory, Ismāʿīl provided the means for the city's expansion towards the west, where new administrative and residential premises were built alongside a canal. A municipal commission was created in 1893. *Ca.* 1900, the Sikka Djadīda was opened, connecting the new station to the tomb of al-Badawī. An administrative and commercial metropolis, Ṭanṭā still had little in the way of industrial activity.

These transformations of the city of Ṭanṭā marginalised the *mawlid*. The abolition of slavery, and the development of communications and of distribution networks led to a perceptible decline of the major *mawlid* at the end of the 19th century: from 500,000 visitors to the major *mawlid* in the 1860s, numbers had fallen to no more than 100,000 in 1900.

Early in the 20th century two fairs were inaugurated; they became more regional and their role in economic activity declined. The major *mawlid*, still spectacular, continues, however, to attract between one and two million pilgrims every year, although the encampments and the cosmopolitan festivities are being gradually blighted by the urbanisation which is encroaching on the suburb of Sīgār. Ṭanṭā has, in fact, experienced the urban and demographic explosion which has affected the whole of Egypt during the 20th century: the city which numbered around 95,000 inhabitants in 1937 had nearly 140,000 ten years later, and 342,641 in 1977.

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AL-ṬANṬĀWĪ, Muḥammad ʿAyyād, a product of al-Azhar who is best known as the informant and teacher of European Arabists. He was born 1810 in Nidjrīd near Ṭanṭā in Egypt and died on 29th October [O.S.] 1861 in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Having received his primary education in a *maktab* in Ṭanṭā, al-Ṭanṭāwī moved to Cairo at the age of thirteen to continue his studies at al-Azhar. Among his teachers were Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī and Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār; one of his fellow-students was Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī (1811-83). After his father's death in 1827, al-Ṭanṭāwī was forced to return for two years to Ṭanṭā. Returning to Cairo, he was engaged as a teacher in al-Azhar, where, in his own opinion, he was the first to lecture on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maḳāmāt* and al-Zawzanī's commentary to the *Muʿallaḳāt*.

To make ends meet, al-Ṭanṭāwī taught Arabic to European diplomats and to the specialists summoned by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] to Egypt. Among his students were E.W. Lane, F. Fresnel, F. Pruner, A. Perron, G. Weil, and the Russian diplomats N. Mukhin and R. Frähn. When J.F. Demanges (1789-1839), teacher of Arabic at the Institute of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, died, the two Russians were influential enough to bring about al-Ṭanṭāwī's invitation to St. Petersburg in 1840 as Demanges' successor.

Al-Ṭanṭāwī arrived to St. Petersburg on 29 June [O.S.] 1840. In 1847 he became the third occupant of the Arabic Chair at the University of St. Petersburg, a position he held until his death. Among his students at the Institute and at the University the following can be mentioned: P.S. Savel'ev, V.V. Grigor'ev, and the Finnish traveller to the Arabian peninsula G.A. Wallin, with whom al-Ṭanṭāwī established a close friendship. Al-Ṭanṭāwī's two decades in Russia left few imprints; the testimonies of his contemporaries make it clear that his Azharī methods did not bear fruit. Only those already familiar with Arabic profited from his teachings.

Already in Cairo, al-Ṭanṭāwī had learnt French by exchanging lectures with Fresnel; in St. Petersburg he used the same method with Wallin when studying German. He had also some knowledge of Russian. During his years in Russia, he travelled in Europe; in 1844 he had the opportunity to make a visit to his native country, Egypt.

Of al-Ṭanṭāwī's literary output two works must be mentioned: his *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* (Arabic title, *Aḥsan al-nukhab fī maʿrifat lisān al-ʿarab*; published in Leipzig 1848), one of the most interesting sources for our knowledge of the Arabic of Egypt in the 19th century; and his *Tuḥfat al-adhkiyāʾ bi-akhbār bilād al-Rūsiyā* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĪsā Ṣāliḥiyya, Beirut 1992), the Introduction of which is a relation of his itinerary from Cairo to St. Petersburg, the rest a history and description of the Russian Empire.

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(K. Öhrnberg)

ṬANṬĀWĪ DJAWHARĪ [see djawharī, ṭanṭāwī, in Suppl.].

TANŪKH, a pre-Islamic confederacy of various Arab tribes that adopted a common genealogy.

The essential reliability of the Arabic historians' accounts of this confederacy is supported epigraphically by a Sabaic, a Greek, an Aramaic, and a Syriac inscription and also by Ptolemy, in spite of some conflicting reports on its early history in the Arabian peninsula, with details that so far have not been open to verification.

1. The Arabian Peninsular stage. The history of Peninsular Tanūkh belongs to the "Migration Period" in the history of Arabia, which witnessed the movement of tribes, mainly from the south, to the centre, to the north of the Arabian Peninsula, and ultimately to the Fertile Crescent. As far as Tanūkh is concerned, various historical traditions speak of their migration from Tihāma to Baḥrayn in Eastern Arabia, but the details are difficult to accept without the availability of epigraphic and non-Arabic sources. Their arrival in Baḥrayn is, however, supported by a precious Sabaic inscription. It was in Baḥrayn that the Tanūkh is supposed to have become a confederacy and to have acquired its confederate name, to which the lexicographers refer in the phrase *muḳām wa-tanūkh*, "halt and sojourn," an etymology equally difficult to accept or reject. It was also in Baḥrayn that they are said to have been joined by the Azd (under Djadhīma) and the Lakhm, two important tribes that appear associated with them when they reached the Fertile Crescent, especially its eastern half, ʿIrāḳ. Whether they became constituent members of the Tanūkh confederacy or remained closely allied to them is not clear.

2. Mesopotamia. Less shadowy than their Peninsular history is the Mesopotamian one, both in the south, in al-Ḥīra and in the north, around al-Ḥaḍr or Hatra.

(a) In the south, the Tanūkh is associated with the most important Arab urban centre in pre-Islamic times, al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. The mysterious Mālik b. Fahm is sometimes represented as an Azdī and sometimes as a Tanūkhid, and he is the one who is credited with the foundation of al-Ḥīra. Certainly historical is Djadhīma al-Abrash [*q.v.*] of the 3rd century A.D., whose kingship over Tanūkh is attested by a bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) found at Umm al-Djimāl in Trans-Jordan. His family relationships may solve the problem of how al-Azd, Tanūkh, and Lakhm became related. According to one tradition, he married Lamīs, the sister of the Tanūkhid Mālik b. Zuhayr, thus connecting the Azd with Tanūkh, while his own sister, Raḳāsh, married ʿAdī of the Lakhm tribe, thus connecting the Lakhm with Tanūkh. Djadhīma was a large historical figure in the history of the Arabs before Islam. According to the Arabic tradition, he warred with Zenobia (al-Zabbāʾ) of Tadmur or Palmyra, at whose hands he met his death. After his death, al-Ḥīra became a strictly Lakhmid city, ruled by the House of Naṣr, whose first king was ʿAmr son of ʿAdī, Djadhīma's nephew. But Tanūkh remained a factor in the history of their relatives, the Naṣrids of al-Ḥīra: they were considered one of the three groups that constituted the population of al-Ḥīra, the other two being al-ʿIbād and al-Aḥlāf "the allies or protected tribes"; in addition to al-Ḥīra, they lived in the area west of the Euphrates between al-Ḥīra and Anbār and were called ʿArab al-Ḍāḥiya "the Arabs of the Marches"; one of the military divisions in the army of the Lakhmids under Nuʿmān, namely, Dawsar, was said to be a Tanūkhid division. Apparently, the Tanūkhids fell out with the Lakhmids in the 6th century, since they were defeated by the Lakhmid king, Ḳābūs b. al-Mundhir, at the battle of Ḳuhād.

(b) The Arabic sources speak of an encounter with the Sāsānid king, Shāpūr Dhū 'l-Aktāf [*q.v.*], as a result of which they moved under al-Ḍayzan b. Muʿāwiya into al-Ḥaḍr or Hatra, in northern Mesopotamia. This is again a detail that is impossible to accept as it stands. That they had some relation or association with Hatra must be accepted as historical, since their move to northern Mesopotamia in the vicinity of Hatra is indubitably attested in an authentic Syriac source, the *History of Aḥudemmeh*, the 6th-century Monophysite Patriarch of the Orient in Mesopotamia, who converted them to Christianity, to which they became very devoted. This raises the question of their alleged Christianity while they were still in southern Mesopotamia and their Christian war cry *Yā āl ʿIbād Allāh*, which they used in their wars with the Sāsānid king of the 3rd century. Perhaps only some of them were Christianised in southern Mesopotamia while others were not, such as those who moved on to northern Mesopotamia, and this may reconcile the seeming contradiction in the sources. The Christianity of those in the south is attested by a monastery, Dayr Ḥanna, which a Tanūkhid clan by the name of the Banū Saṭiʿ erected in al-Ḥīra.

3. In Bilād al-Shām, Byzantine Oriens. This is the region where the history of Tanūkh is no longer engulfed in some unverifiable details, and this is true of it in pre-Islamic and mediaeval Islamic times.

(a) Apparently after their defeat by the Sāsānids, some of them emigrated to Byzantine territory in Oriens, and became the first group of Arab *foederati* or allies to enter the service of Byzantium, whose principal Arab allies they became in the 4th century. Al-Masʿūdī assigns to them three kings: al-Nuʿmān, ʿAmr and al-Ḥawārī, whose names cannot be checked with non-Arabic sources. The Arab allies, *foederati* of Byzantium in this century in Oriens, are represented by two large historical figures: Imruʾ al-Ḳays "King of all the Arabs" (d. 328), attested in the Namāra [*q.v.*] inscription, and Queen Mavia of the 370s, attested in the ecclesiastical Greek historians. Imruʾ al-Ḳays was a Lakhmid who had some Tanūkhid blood in him, but Mavia's tribal affiliation is unknown, hence her Tanūkhid affiliation is only a possibility. The Tanūkhid *foederati* were zealous orthodox Christians, and Mavia's wars with the Arian Valens were waged along doctrinal lines. Tanūkhid relations with the central government were chequered. Around A.D. 380 they apparently revolted, but their revolt was quelled in 383 by the *magister militum* of Theodosius I, the Frank Richomer, in the same year, and their defeat preluded their final eclipse as the dominant *foederati* of Byzantium in the 4th century. But throughout the three pre-Islamic centuries, the Tanūkhids remained federates of Byzantium, and as such they appear fighting against the Muslims during the period of the Arab conquest of Bilād al-Shām. They fought at Dūmat al-Djandal, at the Yarmūk, and took part in the abortive Byzantine counter-offensive against Ḥimṣ in A.H. 17. Their status as *foederati* came to an end shortly after the Yarmūk when Abu ʿUbayda treated with them in the vicinity of Chalcis/Ḳinnasrīn and of Beroea/Ḥalab; some of them adopted Islam while others remained staunchly Christian. In A.H. 17, a group among them participated in translating the Gospel into Arabic. The reference in the Arabic Islamic sources to the two *ḥāḍirs* of the Tanūkhids near Ḥalab or Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn argues for the reliability of the sources on the principal area of their settlement in Byzantine Oriens, which they naturally continued to occupy in the Islamic period, a fact that receives further confirmation from the non-Arabic Syriac sources, both literary and epigraphic. If Queen Mavia's tribal affiliation was with the Tanūkhids, then these could be associated with the earliest reference to poetry, epinician odes composed in Arabic on the occasion of her victory over Valens, and vouched for by a non-Arabic Greek source, Sozomen. A *dīwān* for Tanūkh is attested later in Islamic times, which presumably contained poetry composed in this pre-Islamic period.

4. The Islamic period. With the rise of a new order in Bilād al-Shām, that of the Islamic caliphate, those Tanūkhids who did not cross to Anatolia formed part of the *Adjnād* of Bilād al-Shām [see DJUND] and served the Umayyads, for whom they fought at Ṣiffīn with Muʿāwiya against ʿAlī, and again at Mardj Rāhiṭ with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Their South Arabian sympathies ranged them against the Umayyad Marwān II, whose army, composed of north Arabian Ḳaysīs, they attacked when he passed through Ḳinnasrīn and Khunāṣira in 127/744-5. With the *translatio imperii* from Umayyad Damascus to ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, their fortunes deteriorated, as did Umayyad Bilād al-Shām in general. The final act of this deterioration came in the reign of the ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) who, when visiting northern Syria, was greeted by 5,000 Tanūkhid horsemen under the leadership of Layth b. Mahaṭṭa. The caliph asked them to accept Islam, which they refused to do, but after their chief was beheaded, they complied and their churches were destroyed. Again, the accounts of the Arabic Islamic

sources, which located them in the district of Ḳinnasrīn and Aleppo, are confirmed both by the non-Arabic Syriac sources, Bar Hebraeus and Michael the Syrian, who speak of them as residing in this area when they tell the story of their encounter with al-Mahdī, and what is more, by a Syriac contemporary inscription. Their encounter with al-Mahdī brought to a close the history of the Tanūkhids as an autonomous Christian community in Bilād al-Shām and from now onwards they appear at various junctures as Muslim Arabs. Their association with Ḳinnasrīn and Aleppo also came to a close during the reign of al-Mahdī's son, Hārūn, when rebels attacked their settlements near Aleppo. Consequently, they left the region of Aleppo and Ḳinnasrīn and moved elsewhere, where the Arab geographers found them, in al-Lādhiḳiyya and in Djabal Bahrā' and Djabal Tanūkh, the mountainous range that extended from al-Lādhiḳiyya to Ḥimṣ. Their greatest contribution to Arabic and Islamic culture in this period was in the person of the great philosopher-poet, Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī, who was a Tanūkhid.

5. In mediaeval Lebanon. The last stage of their historical role in Bilād al-Shām was set in a new area, Lebanon, where the Tanūkhids suddenly appeared in the district of al-Gharb, which lies to the south of Beirut and where they established their supremacy in mediaeval times till the Ottoman occupation of the region. The erstwhile Christian Tanūkhids thus became the first Muslim group to establish itself in Christian Lebanon, more specifically a clan within them, the Banū Buḥtur. Later, these Tanūkhids of Lebanon walked another step in their religious journey when they, Sunnī Muslims, became involved in the Druze movement. They served the ʿAbbāsids by acting as a check on the Maronites in the north of Lebanon and against the Byzantines, who would attack from the west, sc. the sea. Al-Gharb prospered under the Tanūkhid enlightened administration, and so did Beirut, which flourished as a port for Damascus and the hinterland, especially after contacts were made with the Italian merchant republics. The victory of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] spelt disaster for them, and they were superseded by the Maʿns [*q.v.*] of al-Shūf, who became the new masters of central and northern Lebanon. The final phase of their decline was their massacre in their own mansion and at a feast at which they were the hosts!

Nowadays, they are represented in Lebanon by a shrine of one of them, al-Sayyid, who was a Druze. This shrine at ʿAbayh has become a pilgrimage centre to which thousands of Druzes flock every year. Their presence in Beirut, attested during the Crusades, is now confined to a street called Shāriʿ al-Tanūkhiyyīn.

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(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, DJAMĀL AL-DĪN ʿABD ALLĀH (820-84/1417-79), called by the Druzes *al-Amīr al-Sayyid*, Druze writer on theology, philosophy, mysticism, etc.

He was born at ʿAbayh in the district of the Lebanese Shūf [*q.v.*], a descendant of the Tanūkhī *amīrs* who ruled the Gharb of Lebanon during Mamlūk times and to whom Epistle 50 of the Druze Scriptures was addressed. Al-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh was taught by private teachers grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, logic, poetry, and history. He stayed several years in Damascus consulting its libraries for his studies. Equal devotion went to the study of the Ḳur'ān and the Druze Scriptures. His writings are imbued with this education: a lexicon of the Arabic language (*al-Lugha al-ʿarbā'*), a biography of the Prophet (*Siyāsat al-akhyār wa-kamālāt al-Nabī al-mukhtār*), and fourteen volumes on theology, ethics and commentaries on three Druze Epistles, called by the Druzes *Sharḥ al-Amīr al-Sayyid*. Through his commentaries on the Epistles (no. 5, *al-Mīthāḳ*, no. 13, *Kashf al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, and no. 25 *Sharṭ al-Imām*), his treatises and the many letters which he wrote throughout his life, he succeeded in creating unity in the various explanations of the terminology by which, until today, the *ʿuḳḳāl* of the Druzes understand the Scriptures. In meeting houses (*madjālis al-dhikr*) erected in all Druze localities, where disciples gathered to study his preaching and commentaries, he provided them with guides for comportment called *Ādāb al-Amīr al-Sayyid*. Following the Druze Scriptures, al-Sayyid elaborated the moral principles and "the lawful and the prohibited" (*al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām*) into fifteen subjects with headings such as "marriage", "heritage", "child education", "expenditure", "obligation of the borrower and lender", which soon became a kind of elementary code on which the Druzes still rely in their everyday life and in the religious courts established since 1950s. The Druzes continue to consider al-Tanūkhī as the most revered individual after the propagators (*al-ḥudūd*) of their religious doctrine (*al-daʿwa*) in the 5th/11th century.

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(KAIS M. FIRRO)

AL-TANŪKHĪ, AL-MUḤASSIN b. ʿALĪ, Abū ʿAlī (329-84/941-94), littérateur, judge and secretary in

Mesopotamia and Western Persia during the 4th/10th century, stemmed from a family of transmitters of *Ḥadīth*. Born in 329/940-1 in Baṣra, he began the study of *adab* at an early age with Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī and later continued with Abū 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and others. Less than twenty years old, he was appointed supervisor of measures and weights at the mint in Sūḳ al-Ahwāz. Shortly thereafter, the vizier al-Muhallabī had him appointed *ʿāmil* near the ʿAbbāsid capital, and a little later he became *ḳāḍī* of some districts in Khūzistān. From 363/973 until 365/976, the year his son ʿAlī was born, he fulfilled the same function in al-Wāsiṭ. Thereafter, he changed into the class of the *kuttāb*, working as a secretary in the *ḥukm* and *wakf* department in Baghdād. Thus he came closer to the people in power, in particular, to the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], whose companion he became until, in 371/981-2, he fell from grace and was put under house arrest. Fleeing from Baghdād for some time but then returning, he lived in seclusion and under difficult circumstances until his death in 384/994.

Al-Tanūkhī is known as the author of three or four transmitted works, all compilations of anecdotes: *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda; Nishwār al-muḥāḍara wa-akhbār al-mudhākara; al-Mustadjād min faʿalāt al-adjwād*; and (least certain, cf. Fähndrich, *A propos . . .*) *ʿUnwān al-ḥikma*. All four of them were compiled under a guiding principle, namely (apart from the last one), deeds of *karāma*, of salvation from difficult situations, be they financial, political, social or personal. This is most obvious in *al-Faradj*, in which al-Tanūkhī continues the literary genre known under the name of his book's title, and *al-Mustadjād*, both of whose very titles indicate this interest. However, the stories transmitted in the *Nishwār* also have this preference, thus presenting an interesting aspect of man's relation both to God and destiny and also to the hierarchy of power. In addition, the author takes a specific interest in reporting events which he saw or was informed about from oral sources. This makes his compilations, in particular his *Nishwār*, an invaluable source about life and procedures within the 4th/10th century ʿAbbāsid bureaucracy.

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(H. Fähndrich)

TANWĪN (A.), the grammatical term nunation, the suffixed *-n* normally marking indefinite nouns (but not diptote nouns, those not fully inflected) as well as a good number of proper names and several adverbs.

This very varied distribution of the phenomenon is the result of a complex evolution which is only explicable from a diachronic and a comparativist viewpoint. Without going into the details of a complicated discussion (see H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, 342-5), one may note the existence in Akkadian of mimation, the suffix *-m* used for determination, as well as in Epigraphic South Arabian the suffixed definite article *-n* and an ending *-m* which seems to have an indefinite meaning but which is also found in certain proper nouns. The different usages of the *tanwīn* in Arabic would thus correspond, at least in part, to the different stages in the evolution of the system of the marking of determination and indetermination in Semitic. This situation, further complicated by certain special usages connected with poetic declamation (the *tanwīn al-tarannum* of the Banū Tamīm, see Fleisch, 192-3), led the Arab grammarians, who worked within a strictly synchronic framework, to reject the idea that the *tanwīn* could be in itself a mark of indetermination; in their eyes, this was "the basic state" (*aṣl*) of the noun, i.e. its case which is not marked, which does not need to be marked by any special sign. The *tanwīn*, at least in its usage of the linguistic phenomenon *-un, -an, -in*, simply marks that a noun is *mutamakkin*, i.e. that it has a complete inflexion. This enables account to be taken at the same time of its presence in proper nouns (which are in their very nature definite) and of its absence in nouns imperfectly declined. A supplementary rule stipulates that *tanwīn* is incompatible with the definite article *al-* and with the state of annexation. Other uses, clearly more marginal, are considered as different *tanwīn*s—to some extent, simple homonyms—each of these being the object of special analysis.

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(J.-P. Guillaume)

ṬANYŪS, SHĀHĪN, (1815-95), Maronite mule driver and blacksmith, who in 1858 became the leader of a peasant rebellion against the *shaykh*s of the al-Khāzin family, *muḳāṭaʿadjī*s of Kisrawān, Mount Lebanon. He was chosen by several rebellious villages as their leader and, after the flight of a number of *shaykh*s, established his authority over most of Kisrawān [*q.v.*]. He enjoyed some *de facto* recognition by the Maronite patriarch and the Ottoman authorities. In 1860, when relations between the Maronites and the Druze deteriorated, he tried to mobilise support in Kisrawān for the Christians in the southern districts, but did not himself participate in struggles against the Druze. The failure of his attempts led to a decrease

of his authority, and in spite of French support, his troops were defeated in 1860 by Yūsuf Karam, a warlord from the north.

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(R. van Leeuwen)

TANZANIA, Muslims in.

1. *The pre-colonial period*. Archaeological findings as well as the oldest extant written records indicate that Muslims found their way to and established themselves on the islands off, and in the coastal area of, what is today known as Tanzania in the first *hidjrī* century [see dar es salaam; kilwa; pemba; swahili; zanzibar]. The oldest extant African source on the history of Tanzania is the *Kilwa Chronicle* dated around 1530.

Muslims remained coastal dwellers exclusively for many centuries partly due to their seaward orientation and the links they maintained with the heartlands of Islam through the use of the monsoons. Ecological, economic, political and logistical factors of the interior also played a role. The sparse population, constant movement of disorganised ethnic groups, their fissiparousness and lack of political entities, the tsetse-fly belt, and lack of natural venues of penetration made progress inland problematic. Even coastal settlements experienced the ferocity of the Zimba as late as the second half of the 16th century. In some instances, vested interest were also a contributory factor, as some ethnic groups had evolved their own trading patterns and were bringing cattle, ivory and copper to the coast, thus making it unnecessary for the coastal people to undertake the arduous journeys inland.

The earliest known Muslim penetration of the Tanzanian hinterland began in the 16th century via the Rovuma River and somewhat later via the Ruvu/Ruaha, the Wami and Pangani rivers. In some instances they followed the routes already established by the Nyamwezi, Sukuma and Yao. This gradual penetration was primarily carried out by the descendants of the earlier Arab and Persian settlers who had married local African women along the coast and had given rise to a new "coastal" culture and language which took its name from the Arabic word for "coast" *sāḥil* (pl. *sawāḥil*), whence Swahili. Islam acted as a detribalising force, bringing into being a new group of people who read and wrote Arabic, knew Arabic literature and law, attended the mosque and observed the requirements laid down. Arab influence changed some Bantu kinship systems from matriliny to patriliny in descent, inheritance and succession. It introduced a monetary economy, promoted the cultivation of cash crops (e.g. coconut and mango) and with it new concepts of land tenure. Even the traditional division of labour was modified so that in the coastal areas agriculture became the responsibility of the men. In the interior, persons born of Bantu parents became acculturated Swahili, adopting the external signs of Swahili culture, i.e. an Arabic name, the *kanzu* (*gallābiyya*), the *kofia* (stitched cap > Ar. *kūfiyya* "head kerchief"), the language, passages of the Ḳur'ān and circumcision. The appeal of Islam derived from a mixture of tolerance and snobbishness. The acculturated Swahili retained much of their traditional beliefs and practices, and their ethical demands fitted easily into the African kinship morality. At the same time, the Swahili claimed that they alone possessed *utaarabu*, the genteel manners and values of Arab civilisation. They saw the local people as contemptible *washenzi*, uncouth, raw natives, people still under tribal bondage, while the Swahili were *wangwana*, freemen who were not subject to any local chief. Adoption of Islam was seen as a sign of progress, status and prestige.

The penetration of the hinterland was first given an impetus with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century, who became competitors of the Arabs and the coastal people. The coastal people became known in Swahili as *Wamrima*. A further impetus came with the arrival of the ʿUmānīs in the 17th century. After the establishment of the Zanzibar sultanate in the 1830s, new routes into the interior were opened up and permanent Swahili posts were established in Unyamwezi at Unyanyembe and Msene as well as at Ujiji and Karema on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika and at Mtengera in Uhehe.

In 1839 Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (see below) negotiated a treaty with a delegation of Nyamwezi visiting Zanzibar, according to which his Arab and *Mrima* subjects would be exempt from paying tax to the local ruler in Unyanyembe. One of the earliest Muslims to take up residence in Unyanyembe was Djuma b. Radjab al-Murdjibī, Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Murdjibī's grandfather. His father, Muḥammad b. Djuma al-Murdjibī (d. 1881), married into the Fundikira family in Unyamwezi and owned large plantations at Ituru near Tabora. Richard Burton noted in 1857 that the Coast Arab and the *Wamrima* had established themselves at Msene a few miles to the west of Unyanyembe due to their antipathy to the ʿUmānīs. The lines of division between the people from the coast and the Zanzibaris, the people of mixed race and the pure-bred Arab, although often blurred, led to a mutual distrust between the two groups which became a persistent feature among Muslims in the interior. A similar phenomenon developed in the south among the Yao, who from the 1880s increasingly became Muslims taking over the trade from the Arabs and *Wamrima*.

When a new Nyamwezi ruler tried to impose payment of tax on them, the Arabs and *Wamrima* deposed him and set up their own puppet. This led to serious tension between the local people and the people from the coast under Mirambo (d. 1884) to the detriment of their trade and by implication to the influence of Muslims in the area. In some areas the Arabs and the *Wamrima* were in control, in other areas, particularly in the south they were clients (*mawālī*, sing. *mawlā*) of the local rulers.

The reasons for the increasing involvement of the *Wamrima* with a scattering of Arabs upcountry was that, although there had been a few Indian traders and merchants on the coast since the time of the Portuguese occupation in the early 16th century, Sultan Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1806-56 [*q.v.*]) invited and encouraged Indian businessmen to his new domains. Although they were not much liked by the Arab settlers, Saʿīd was well aware of their role in regard to the inflow of capital and expansion of trade. Their number grew from an estimated 1,000 in 1840 to about 6,000 in 1860. The Muslims among them became permanent settlers. With them came the business acumen and the means to finance the caravans, not only on the coast but also upcountry, as in the case of Mūsā Mzuri (d. 1861), an Indian Khodja Ismāʿīlī who was the principal financier of caravans at Unyayembe. But it also meant that the coastal trade was

taken over by them, forcing the Arabs and *Wamrima* to go inland in search of markets. One of these was Matimula, a *Mrima* from Kilwa who had settled at Karema around 1870. Another was Songoro, who established his authority around the southern shore of Lake Victoria. At the same time, New England merchants and later European traders established themselves in Zanzibar. The rising demand for ivory in America, Europe and India, and by implication the higher prices paid for good quality ivory also contributed to the intensification of the contacts with the interior. The Sultan's new clove plantations and the French sugar plantations on the islands of the Indian Ocean needed labour, and this too became a lucrative trade. By 1880 the Sultan had established a military post in Mamboya some 120 miles inland from Bagamoyo to protect his interests. By this time also, there were sizeable Muslim communities at Kagei, Tabora (Kazeh) as well as at previously-named places.

Prior to the colonial period, the penetration of Muslims into the interior of Tanzania was essentially infiltrative and diffuse. It is estimated that the number of pure Arabs may have been a hundred or two, whereas the *Wamrima* may have numbered a thousand or two. At every point they were interwoven with the indigenous political and social scene. The Muslims took part in local quarrels, established themselves as local political figures, married local women. Some of the traders were accompanied by *walimu* (Ar. *muʿallim*), who introduced Islamic education and offered their amulets and prayers as an complementary source of blessing.

2. *The colonial period.* By the time the Germans began to show an interest in the area in 1884, the number of Muslims, particularly among the ethnic groups along the coast and its immediate hinterland, had grown to the point where they were able to oppose and threaten the German occupation of the area under Abushiri b. Salim al-Harthi in 1888. The strength of Islam at this time can be seen in the fact that Abushiri sought guidance from the Muslim astrologer-poet Abd Allah bin Saʿid al-Buhriy in Tanga about the outcome of the struggle. He consulted the Islamic books purporting to foretell the future (*Vita vya Wadachi*, 54 ff.). Abushiri, however, was not only opposed to the German occupation, but his family had for more than a century intrigued against the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty in Zanzibar, reflecting Arab clan rivalries, and may have hoped that the time had come to topple the rulers in Zanzibar. The situation all along the coast became so serious that the German government bad to intervene by sending Hermann von Wissmann as Imperial Commissioner. He arrived with an army of some 600 Sudanese recruited in Egypt and some 50 Somalis. As soon as Abushiri had been crushed, the Germans re-instated the Arab *liwali* at Tabora who had been deposed by Mirambo and denied the office by Mirambo's successor. When the Germans reached Speke Sound at the southern end of Lake Victoria, they were greeted by the indigenous population as liberators from their Muslim oppressors. The Muslim opposition to German rule reappeared in the hinterland of Kilwa under one Hasan bin Omari in 1894, supported by the Indian traders, but was dealt with swiftly and severely.

In spite of the Muslim opposition, the Germans realised that if they were to pacify and govern the country they would have to make use not only of their Sudanese and Somali soldiers, but would also have to use the only literate people available to them at this time, i.e. the Arabs and the *Wamrima*. Some of these were appointed as officials and agents, i.e. as *wulāt* (sing. *wālī*, Swa. *liwali* > *al-wālī*) and *ʿuḳadāʾ* (sing. *ʿaḳīd*; Swa. *akida*). Others were appointed as artisans, foremen, interpreters, teachers, etc. The Germans also encouraged the Indians, some of whom were Muslims, to settle near the new administrative centres they were establishing around the country. Swahili was adopted as the official language and initially written in Arabic script. These administrative arrangements laid a solid foundation for the growth of the Muslim community in Tanzania.

Although some *ṭuruḳ* had had a few followers in the country before the German occupation, it was during the pre-1914-18 War period that the Ṣūfī orders took root in Tanzania. The Ḳādiriyya, it is claimed, was brought from Barawa in Somalia during the 19th century by one Sayyid ʿUmar al-Ḳullatayn, whose grave is at Welezo, four miles from Zanzibar town. It was symbolised by its green flag carried in procession before adherents met for *d̲h̲ikr*. It appears under a variety of local names, e.g. D̲j̲īlāniyya, Kirāma, etc. The Uwaysiyya, founded by Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī (d. 1909), at the end of the 19th century, a sub-order of the Ḳādiriyya, listed Barg̲h̲āsh b. Saʿīd Āl Bū Saʿīd, Sultan of Zanzibar 1870-88, and Ḥamīd b. T̲h̲uwaynī b. Saʿīd, who ruled 1893-6, amongst its members, even though they belonged to the Ibāḍī *mad̲h̲hab*. The S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya were brought into the country by the Sudanese and spread rapidly. One of its best-known leaders was Muḥammad Maʿrūḍ (1853-1905). Its main symbol was a white flag. There are also the Rifāʿiyya and the ʿAlawiyya.

The *ṭuruḳ* played a considerable role in some of the anti-colonial struggles. It has been suggested that they were involved in the al-Bushiri uprising in 1888 and to some extent also in the Maji-Maji uprising in 1905-6. It is quite clear that they were involved in the uprising connected with the widely circulated so-called Mecca Letter in 1908, purporting to come from Mecca and calling the faithful to rise up against the infidels in millennial terms. The letter in fact came from Zanzibar and had been written by one Muḥammad b. K̲h̲amīs al-Barwānī, alias Rumaliza, who had fought with Mkwawa, the Hehe ruler, against the Germans between 1888 and 1898 in the Iringa region. In Tabora, the letter was circulated by the Ḳādirī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Zāhir b. Muḥammad al-D̲j̲abrī al-Barāwī.

The introduction of Western-type education during the German period, and more systematically during the British Mandate from 1919, had a detrimental effect on Muslims as non-Muslims took over more and more of the administrative positions previously held by Muslims. Whereas previously the impression had been that the colonial masters preferred Muslims, it became increasingly clear that they now preferred those who had the kind of training they considered essential for the administration of the country. The Muslims, for their part, withdrew increasingly from the colonially-controlled systems and perpetuated their own traditions through the *madāris*, institutions which the Germans had already begun to push aside. Although the period between the wars and up to independence in 1961 was a problematic one for the Muslims, a not inconsiderable amount of intellectual and literary activity took place. The most important development inspired by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī (1891-1947) of Mombasa and taken up by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Fārsī (1912-82) of Zanzibar was the Swahili rendering of the Ḳurʾān which appeared in 1984. Attempts were made by the British administration to involve at least some Muslims in the new

structures. Thus two Indians were included when the Legislative Council was set up in 1926 and one further Indian member was added in 1929. It was only with the return of some of the troops after the 1939-45 war that a new impetus was given to the community through those who had met fellow-Muslims in the various war zones, but particularly in the Middle East.

3. *Independence.* The process towards independence started to some extent with the establishment of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1929 and the Muslim Association of Tanganyika (MAT) in 1934. Its aim was to do away with all cultural, educational, ethnic, political, sectarian and other differences in order to promote a solid African brotherhood. Its aims coincided with the main teachings of Islam, and the association found much support among Muslims. Its work was re-organised in 1955 under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) with a greater stress on preparation for independence. The *ṭuruḳ* supported TANU, and Muslims were well represented in its leadership and ranks just as they had been in TAA. An illustration of the local role of the *ṭuruḳ* and its integration into national politics was Shaykh Ramiya of Bagamoyo. He was a former slave who had become a merchant and landowner. As a member of the Ḳādirī order, he undertook extensive Islamic studies and won great respect among the local people. He co-operated with the British and was appointed *liwali.* Many Africans in the area benefited from the social solidarity of the brotherhood and from their allegiance to a powerful patron. In 1938 his son and successor Shaykh Muḥammad declared that the Prophet was not an Arab but a man for all races. This was an expression of the African identity of the community. Shaykh Muḥammad encouraged his followers to join the national party and himself became a local representative. After independence, President Julius Nyerere appointed him *ḥakīm.* Arab and Indian Muslims, however, felt ill at ease, particularly with TANU's secular outlook on education and its socialist principles which they feared would impair their religious and commercial interests. As a result, they established the All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT) in 1957. AMNUT suggested that independence should be delayed until Muslims had reached the same educational levels as other groups in the country. Ultimately, their interests were taken up by the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) which had been established under the patronage of the Āgā Khān, the leader of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī community in 1945. Its outlook was transnational, pan-Islamic and more concerned with each community's interests than the national interests of TANU. After independence, EAMWS was allowed to continue its work, being regarded as a religious organisation, but due to its increasingly political activities it was proscribed in 1968. Its place was taken by the Baraza Kuu La Waislamu Tanzania (BAKWATA), which had close ties with TANU. The majority of Muslims who are Sunnī and follow the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* claimed that the principles of *ujamaa* promulgated by TANU were easily identifiable with many teachings within Islam and that the principle of self-reliance accorded with their views. Its position within TANU can be seen in that the first Vice-President, Rashidi Kawawa, was a leading member of BAKWATA, as was the leader of the Umoja wa Wanwake Tanzania (UWT), Bibi Titi Mohamedi. When the first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, retired in 1985, the party chose Ali Hassan Mwinyi from Zanzibar as his successor. The position of the Muslims had now improved to the point where BAKWATA was able to arrange a high-level visitation by an international group of leading Muslim scholars in 1987. At the same time BAKWATA requested the government to re-establish the Islamic *ḳāḍī* courts which had existed in the country in the colonial and pre-colonial period. This genuine Islamic profile came as a result of a more international outlook in the organisation which brought about economic aid from the Muslim world for the building of schools, mosques and for scholarships. Religious materials for use in primary and secondary school have been prepared under BAKWATA's auspices. In spite of this, some Muslims were dissatisfied with what they saw as BAKWATA's inadequate stand on matters Islamic. They formed the Baraza La Umoja Wa Korani Tanzania (BALUKTA) under the leadership of Shaykh Yahya Hussein in 1987 to propagate the reading of the Ḳurʾān and to promote religious and higher education for Muslims. It has also been in the forefront in organising the Pilgrimage to Mecca. BALUKTA has not confined itself to these activities. In 1992 it accused the vice-chairman of the ruling party of swindling large amounts of money which should have been used for *ʿĪd* and *Mawlid* prayers. The leaders were imprisoned, but then released, and the organisation de-registered. In 1988 the new Minister of Education, Kighoma Malima, suggested that Muslim students should receive preferential treatment in the selection process for secondary education. This and other moves were strongly supported by various groups including Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislamu (WARSHA) representing Muslims in the 20-40 age group, who broke away from BAKWATA in 1982, the Union of Muslim Youth, the Union of Muslim Students at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Union of Muslim Preachers. WARSHA is critical of the political and economic system of Tanzania. They are also involved in changing the traditional *madrasa* system of rote memorisation of the Ḳurʾān to a more varied Islamic education. The Union of Muslim Youth published a Ten-Year Development plan in 1984 in which they emphasised the need for a separate Islamic development in society. It was their insistence which made BAKWATA request the re-introduction of *ḳāḍī* courts in 1987. Beside the Union of Muslim Students at the University, there is also the University Muslim Trusteeship which stresses that the teachings of the Ḳurʾān are a complete code of life. The most recent organisation set up in 1992 is the Baraza Kuu ya Waislamu (National Muslim Conference), which is seeking to replace BAKWATA as the umbrella organisation of all Muslims in Tanzania.

The Indian Muslims representing various tendencies within Shīʿī Islam, whose numbers had continued to grow throughout the colonial period, evolved their own structures. The above-mentioned, well-organised Khodja Ismāʿīlī community has played an important role in the political life of Tanzania, particularly through the long-serving Minister of Finance Amir Jamal. The Ismāʿīlī community, although exclusivist in its nature, has made significant contributions in the fields of education, industry, medicine and social services. Wherever the community is to be found they have established *Djamāʿat Khānas*, which function as centres for their administrative, religious and social functions. Although the Āgā Khān advised them to identify totally with the new independent Tanzania, some found it prudent to leave the country in view of the attitude and tensions resulting from the indigenous perception of their business practices.

The Twelver Shīʿī Community has established itself as an educational and intellectual presence prima-

rily through the work of Sayyid Saʿid Akhtar Rizvi. Under his leadership, the Bilāl Muslim Mission was established in Dar es Salaam in 1967. It publishes among other things *The Light*, in which issues such as the Islamic concept of state and authority are discussed, as well as various Ḳurʾānic doctrines and religious practices. Through his work a number of Tanzanian Africans have accepted the Ithnā ʿAsharī tradition and have had the opportunity to study in Iran. Wherever there are sufficient numbers of the community, they have established *imāmbāras* as centres of religious and community life.

The Mustaʿlian Bohora community in Tanzania first appeared in Zanzibar in 1748 from Bombay. At the beginning of the 1950s they established the Daʾudi Bohra Jamat Corporation. They have primarily been involved in the ironmongery and watch trade. Like the Khodja Ismāʿīlīs, they have their own *Djamāʿat Khānas* and are the most exclusivist of all the Indian communities. This is particularly marked through the Seifi Foundation and Public Charity Trust, established primarily to set up members of the community in business.

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(S. von Sicard)

TANZĪL [see WAḤY].

TANẒĪM AL-NASL, TANẒĪM AL-USRA (A.), family planning, denotes the conscious planning of the occurrence of a pregnancy, including decisions on the interval between pregnancies.

Social and legal aspects.

Family planning has become a major issue of religio-political controversy over the last decades, particularly since the late 1950s and early 1960s, when several Islamic countries (first Egypt, Pakistan and Tunisia) began to respond to the dangers of rapid population growth. Governments gradually realised that growing population pressure impedes their economic development. (Egyptian economists and students of humanities had been aware of the unfavourable development since the early 1930s, and some had attempted to alert the authorities to these facts. The first *fatāwā* pro- and contra-family planning had been published at the same time. But these early efforts remained without effect.) The accelerated population growth in North Africa and Middle East, like elsewhere in the developing countries, resulted from a dramatic decrease in the mortality rate, especially since World War II, unaccompanied by a parallel decrease in birth rates. The fall in the death rate and the higher life expectancy has been caused by the expansion and improvement of medical and health facilities and sanitation infrastructure, particularly since independence. Before, deaths had cancelled out births, and the high birth rate served to reproduce a relatively stable population density.

With the exception of Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich countries which could support a growing population, most Islamic countries decided to implement national family programmes in the 1960s. These were often accompanied by legislative measures and different developmental efforts (such as health, education, rural development and industrialisation programs). The success of these measures varied, due to numerous factors, such as administrative bottlenecks; shortage of trained personnel; lack of funding and coordination between private foundations and associations and state organisations and institutions concerned with family planning services; uneven country-wide distribution of family planning assistance; regional disparities in developmental efforts; educational, information and custom's problems; non-implementation of legislation; discontinuity of family planning policy as a result of change of government or policies; short-lived attempts to control internal migration; and/or exclusively growth-oriented development policies.

Until the 1980s, only modest achievements with regard to family planning could be noted. Optimistic predictions for a favourable population development were realised to have been founded on false suppositions. In general, fertility rates can only drop slowly as they react to gradually increasing pressures from modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. Sobering results of census data and gloomy predictions for the future of the economy, drawn from demographic data, led several governments to act more strongly and effectively in order to regulate the population growth. They recognised that the rapid increase in population had nullified economic gains and that the population growth has to be brought into equilibrium with the limited national resources. Until this time, the growing rate could not be matched with economic and service development (employment, health services, transport, housing, industrialisation and agricultural productivity). It was feared that this would result in a vicious cycle of poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, overpopulation and unemployment, being compounded with social frustration and social unrest.

Constant rise of population has brought about a surplus of labour that could not be absorbed by the economy of the countries; the dependency burden is high dne to the disproportionate growth in the number of young people, and the discrepancies within the socio-economic strata are aggravated. Increased internal rural migration to large urban centres has brought a host of problems, such as rapid and disorganised growth (growing slum quarters), deficits in social, technical, and economic supplies, extremely high population density, traffic congestion, air and water

pollution, land speculation and housing problems. These problems are obvious in metropolitan areas like Karachi, Cairo or Tehran.

The population growth rate of the whole North African and Middle Eastern region averaged about 3.1% *per annum* between 1980 and 1990. Although a slight decline has been apparent over the last years, the population growth rate is still higher than the global average rate (1.7%) or the average rates for East Asia (1.7%), South Asia (1.6%) and Latin America (2.1%). Fertility appears to be highest in Ḳaṭar, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE (more than 4%) and lowest in Lebanon (less than 1%?). Moreover, the urban population of the whole region increased on an average rate of 4.7% between 1985 and 1990. The largest populous country among the states with a Muslim majority is Pakistan, with about 119 million inhabitants in 1994, Egypt, Iran and Turkey following with about 60 million each.

Sample surveys and census analysis of fertility and birth control practices in different Islamic countries suggest that the main variables of differences in regional population growth are the following: socio-economic class or mode of livelihood in a more general sense, the status of women (educational level, employment opportunities outside of agriculture, husband-wife relationship, valuation of women's role) and the family structure (patriarchal-traditional or modern), social environment (urban milieu or rural communities), and connection of family programmes with other health programs, especially those in maternal and child health.

Nonetheless, some progress in stabilising population has been made in the region due to more forcefully propagated anti-natalist policy (including media campaigns and sex education in schools) since the 1980s/early 1990s. Contraceptive use among married women of reproductive age and awareness of population issues have increased.

Economic pressures have certainly induced changes, particularly in the attitudes of urban middle class couples and the younger generations. Rising levels of individual expectations for a better standard of living and of parental aspirations, together with new systems of economic production that reduce the opportunities for unskilled workers and demand for child labour, have effected a re-evaluation of attitudes to child bearing in the urban centres. However, as long as comprehensive social security systems are not implemented, poor families, especially in rural areas and agricultural economies, will continue to view their children as potential wage earners and as a security against disability or old age.

The experiences in the past decades have proved that any fundamental solution to the problem of reducing fertility rate has to involve major social and economic structural change as well. The relatively positive effects of population policy in Tunisia and Turkey have to be seen in connection with several legal and administrative measures taken as complementary measures for decreasing the birth rate and aimed at emancipating women and creating social security institutions. Reformed Codes of Personal Law (raised marriage age, prohibition of polygamy, reform of divorce rules, full rights of citizenship, etc.) have improved the status of women. The remission of taxes for families with numerous children or family allowances has been abolished or limited. Liberal family planning laws have legalised abortion (during the first three months or 10 weeks) and sterilisation, also for social reasons (Tunisia 1973; Turkey 1983).

A recent example of the effects of a radical reversal in family planning policy owing to political change and economic pressure is Iran. Since 1970, the Iranian government embarked on a population control policy. Abortion was legalised in 1973, also as a response to the high rate of dangerous illegal abortions, particularly in Tehran. Sterilisation became legal in 1976. After the Revolution in 1979, K͟humaynī ordered family planning clinics to stop abortions and sterilisations. The new government propagated marriage. The legal marriage age has been lowered to 13 years for girls and 15 years for boys, polygamy was reinstituted, and temporary marriages [see MUTʿA] encouraged. Child-bearing was postulated as the main duty of women, and procreation of Muslims was deemed essential. Birth control opportunities became extremely limited and family programmes practically inoperable. The effect of the war, dwindling resources, and high inflation rate forced the government to reverse its position on population control. The year 1368 *s͟h*/1989-90 was declared "Birth control year". The UN Fund for Population was asked for assistance; birth control devices were purchased, and even voluntary sterilisation has been legalised.

Since the beginning, several governments and population planners have sought endorsement of their family planning policies by religious authorities for inducing people to accept birth control more readily and for legitimising their political measures. The *fatwās* [*q.v.*] sanctioned family planning in most cases by restating the historical *id͟jmāʿ*. Given the strong emphasis which Islam places upon family and the traditional role assigned to husband and wife, the rulings governing contraception and abortion appear remarkably liberal. The Ḳurʾān (XXIV, 30-5) recommends marriage and procreation for those who are physically and economically able and advises abstinence for all others. (As a result, all contemporary Muslim societies are almost totally "married societies"; "singleness" is a rare phenomenon.)

In contrast to the enduring view of the Catholic Church, in Islam the basic purpose of marriage is explicitly stated to be not only procreation but the gratification of spiritual and physical needs. This means that sexual intercourse has a positive value independent of reproduction itself. Muslim open attitudes towards sexuality have definitely encouraged the discussion and sanction of contraceptive methods. In Islamic jurisprudence, these discussions were primarily concerned with *coitus interruptus* [see ʿAZL], historically the most common contraceptive method known to men. Lacking a direct reference in the Ḳurʾān to answer the question of birth control, the jurists have turned to the number of Traditions relating to *ʿazl*, most of them being permissive, for proving their sanction of withdrawal; in the case of a free woman, her previous consent was usually demanded. This provision was required because sexual fulfilment and progeny were considered to be her rights. The ethical permissibility of *ʿazl* was extended by analogy (*ḳiyās*) to include other known contraceptive techniques (condoms; tampons; intravaginal suppositories; herbal potions; magic). The major schools of Islamic jurisprudence viewed contraception as an allowable but reprehensible (*makrūh*) practice; since procreation was a good action, abstention from it was an omission of a preferred action. Under certain conditions, birth control could become recommended. Several jurists recognised not only personal and medical reasons but also social and economic indications, and even, most generally, the fear of "bad times" (*fasād* or *sūʾ al-zaman*). The only jurist who condemned *ʿazl* absolutely was Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. He based his argument

on a *ḥadīth* which compares *ʿazl* to "hidden infanticide" (*al-waʾd al-khafī; waʾd* having been prohibited by Ḳurʾān, LXXXI, 8). Religious permission of contraception was part of the popular consciousness, and birth control information and its remedies were available, B. Musallam concluded, after extensive studies on the mediaeval Arabic discussion on contraception and abortion in Islamic jurisprudence as well as in medicine, *materia medica, belles lettres*, erotica and popular literature. Practically all contraceptive techniques used by the Europeans till the 19th century were known in the mediaeval Middle East.

Although on abortion (*idjhāḍ, isḳāṭ al-ḥaml*) the Muslim jurists failed to reach a consensus, on the whole it was religiously tolerated before "quickening", especially in case of medical reasons. All Muslim jurists agreed on the prohibition of abortion after quickening (*nafkh al-rūḥ*) of the foetus [see NAFS; RŪḤ] at the end of the fourth month.

In order to understand contemporary discussions on birth control, it is important to underscore the fact that religious permission applied to individual couples and not to government activities, and that it was essentially connected with the possibility of failure, inherent in all mediaeval techniques; the latter aspect could easily be reconciled with the concept of predestination.

With the involvement of the state, a new political dimension has been added to the issue of family planning. The positive responses of some contemporary *ʿulamāʾ* to national family planning programmes, probably also the first successes in planning and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, have brought about fierce opposition to birth control. Concerning family planning, at least three distinct attitudes in contemporary Islam can be deduced from publications, statements, and conferences on Islam and population policy. The controversy has once again come to light with regard to the World Population Conference in Cairo in Sept. 1994.

1. Religiously conservative (among them less educated local *fuḳahāʾ*) and politically radical circles, either extreme Islamists or extreme nationalists, reject birth control in any form. The dominant theological argument for pro-natalism is the belief in God's omnipotence and His active providence [see RIZḲ]. The popular *ḥadīth* "Marry and multiply so that God will be proud of you on the Day of Resurrection" (or similar versions) is often quoted to demonstrate Islam's prohibition of family planning. Opponents of birth control have never distinguished between limitation and organisation or regulation, i.e. *tanẓīm al-nasl* is tantamount to *taḥdīd* or *ḳillat al-nasl*. They believe that procreation is the principle purpose of marriage and emphasise women's "natural" role; availability of contraceptive means would contribute to a decline of social morality. Family planning is seen as an imported concept. Opponents furthermore argue that there is no need for family planning; the Muslim countries are able to support millions more of inhabitants. The question should be better utilisation of resources and skills (e.g. irrigation and cultivation of the desert), not limitation of population. Multiplicity would mean power, influence, and military strength. The adherents of this view hope for Islamic solidarity and for an economic cooperation (including labour migration) between rich and poor Islamic countries. In this context, they forget that most oil-producing countries are pursuing a pro-natalist policy in order to reduce their dependency on foreign workers.

Even among opponents (such as ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, the late founder of the Istiklāl party; ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Shaykh al-Azhar, 1973-8; Abu ʾl-Aʿlā Mawdūdī [*q.v.*]; the famous *ʿulamāʾ* Abū Zahra 1976, al-Būṭī 1976; the Azharī Ibn al-Dardīr 1990; the Saudi *muftī* Ibn Bāz 1988), some admit that contraception, including abortion and sterilisation, may be used in a restricted sense (medical and eugenic indication) in individual cases. (Some hardliners restrict birth control to the cases when there is a mortal danger to the woman in case of pregnancy.) The consent of the husband and wife and the consulting of at least one trustworthy and pious Muslim physician is required in these cases. Social motives for birth control are rejected as mere convenience. Only a few scholars have doubted the analogy of *ʿazl* to modern contraceptive methods. They differentiate between natural and artificial, unhealthy and harmless, as well as abortive and contraceptive methods. The Saudi al-Khaṭīb (1982, 135 ff.) only accepts the rhythm method and the regular practice of lactation, as also the Egyptian Muḥammad Mutawallī al-Shaʿrāwī only *ʿazl* (*al-Fatāwā*, Cairo 1982, i, 18-19).

This first major attitude comes close to the official position of the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, although even there family planning services are available in clinics. The Saudi *Madjlis hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ* (Council of the Assembly of Senior *ʿUlamāʾ*), besides the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN], called upon the Muslim countries to boycott the World Population Conference in Cairo in 1994. Consequently, Saudi Arabia, as well as ʿIrāḳ, Sudan and Lebanon for political reasons, did not participate.

2. A second group, apparently the majority, takes the position that temporary prevention of child birth is permissible, provided that this is with the mutual consent of the married couple; this provision will pose major problems because of the still dominant patriarchal family structures. By analogous reasoning, modern contraceptive methods are allowed as long as they will not destroy fecundity or the ability to procreate. In most cases, abortion and sterilisation are not viewed as acceptable forms of contraception, unless a physician deems it necessary for medical or eugenic reasons.

The word control is avoided. The terms family planning, spacing of births and responsible parenthood are used instead.

Despite this agreement, there are sometimes remarkable differences in opinion and emphasis concerning the following aspects: the role of the state in implementing family planning programmes (although they all agree that compulsion must be avoided); the difference in priority for mother and child's health and welfare ("child spacing") and for a small family and higher living standard ("family planning"); the acceptance of social motives for family planning; the legality of voluntary abortion (before quickening) and ("reversible") sterilisation. As examples for a more conservative position, the opinion of Maḥmūd Shaltūt [*q.v.*] or the official position of Algeria can be mentioned, as examples for a more open position, the statements of Aḥmad al-Sharabāṣī (1965) or the Egyptian *muftī* Muḥammad Ṭanṭāwī (1989) and the practice in Egypt.

Arguments often put forward by these Muslim scholars in countering the opponents of family planning are as follows: trust in God (*tawakkul* [*q.v.*]) should not be confused with passivity and indifference (*tawākul*); procreation is not the exclusive or principal purpose of marriage; "quality" is better than "quantity", i.e. a huge, but weak and underdeveloped nation cannot

be the subject of pride for the Prophet or God on the day of judgement.

3. A third, not very numerous group of Muslims fully agree with all methods of voluntary birth control, including abortion and sterilisation for social reasons if performed by medically qualified persons. This group consists mainly of the academic intelligentsia (physicians, lawyers, etc.) and the economic élite (e.g. in Turkey, Vehbi Koç), among them women in influential positions and feminists (e.g. Nawāl al-Saʿdāwī in Egypt). The adherents of this position are concerned with economic and social stability and progress and the improvement of the woman's status. Their view is similar to the official stances of Tunisia and Turkey.

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(ROSWITHA BADRY)

TANZĪMĀT (A.), the plural of the form II verbal noun meaning "ordering, setting in order, regulating". It is used in modern Turkish and in Western languages as a singular noun with the connotation of "reforms". In Ottoman history, *Tanzīmāt* is employed in three senses, to designate (1) the edict of 3 November 1839, the Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn [*q.v.*] or Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf of Gülkhāne; (2) the sum of reforms from that date until some time between 1871 and 1881; and (3) Ottoman history in its entirety during those years. The most convenient end for the reform period is the prorogation of the first Ottoman parliament in 1878. Some historians have chosen as the limit the death of the Grand Vizier Kečedjizāde Meḥmed Amīn ʿĀlī Pasha [see ʿĀLĪ PASHA MUḤAMMAD AMĪN] in 1871, or the exile of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1877, or one of the early years of the reign of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*], such as 1881 when the Ottoman Public Debt Administration [see DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE] was established.

1. *The* Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf *of Gülkhāne.*

In 1839 the Ottoman government faced extraordinary military and financial difficulties. The army of the rebellious governor of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] had on June 24 inflicted a major defeat on the forces of Sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*]. Maḥmūd died a week thereafter. His son, ʿAbd al-Medjīd [*q.v.*], was sixteen years old at his accession. The foreign minister, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha [*q.v.*], who had had experience as a diplomat in London and Paris and was a convinced Westerniser, persuaded the young sultan to issue the solemn proclamation, the *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf* of Gülkhāne, often called by Turks the *Tanzīmāt fermānî*. The edict was Reshīd Pasha's creation and was publicly read by him in the open space of Gülkhāne along the Ṭopḳapî palace wall, the sultan being present.

The *Khaṭṭ* built on the innovations of Maḥmūd II, in the later years of whose reign the term *Tanzīmāt-i Khayriyye* ("beneficent orderings") had already designated administrative changes. The *Khaṭṭ* repeated some earlier government statements of intent, but in a more formal manner. It made promises in three broad areas: there should be security of life, honour, and property, all classes of people to be treated alike, trials to be public, no-one to be put to death except after a regular sentence, and all confiscation abolished; a system of collecting fixed taxes should replace tax-farming; military conscription should be regularised and the term of service reduced from lifetime to four or five years. The edict further promised good administration, limits on military spending, adequate salaries for bureaucrats so that bribery would disappear, and a new penal code for all subjects. The most striking promise was that the reforms would apply without exception to "the people of Islam and other peoples among the subjects of our imperial sultanate."

The general purpose of the edict was to strengthen the Ottoman Empire. It was further designed to attract the support of the European powers, by proving that the progressive empire was worth defending. This second aim was immediately achieved as the Powers, although for their own reasons, forced Muḥammad ʿAlī to retreat. The edict also aimed at alleviating the treasury crisis by allowing the Sublime Porte [see BĀB-I ʿĀLĪ] to send its own tax collectors to the provinces. A further specific aim of Reshīd and others was achieved with the sultan's promises about security of life and abolition of confiscation. The power of the sultan to deal arbitrarily with his statesmen, such as had only recently led to the destitution and death of Reshīd's predecessor, Pertew Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], was to be limited.

The edict had a dual personality. It began platitudinously with the assertion that the empire had grown weak because of non-observance of the Ḳur'ān and of the sacred law. But it went on to propose "new institutions" and "complete renovation of the ancient usages". The assistance of God and the Prophet was then invoked for the reforms to prosper. The edict's combination of traditional Islam with new institutions foreshadowed the split personality of the entire reform period. In a second sense, the edict reflected a dualism in Ottoman society also. It laid down the principle that all subjects were equal before the law. But to proclaim that non-Muslims should be treated like Muslims contravened the view of what was right that was held by most of the Muslim people. In making a formal enunciation of this as doctrine (Maḥmūd II had done so less formally), Reshīd aimed at countering separatism among Christian minorities, such as had already led to the revolt that created an independent Greece. With this start, the reform statesmen hoped to foster an Ottoman patriotism—Ottomanism (*ʿOthmānlîlîḳ*)—that should appeal to all the empire's peoples and hold it together.

2. *The general nature of the reform period.*

The *Tanzīmāt* period is divided by the Crimean War and the issuance at peace-making time of the second great reform document, the *Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn* of 1856. The ending of the *Tanzīmāt* is marked by a third great document, the constitution of 1876, with the two-year parliamentary period that it inaugurated. These pronouncements and the reforms that followed each came about, not because the populace demanded changes, but because some of the highest officials deemed them desirable. Reform in the *Tanzīmāt* period proceeded from the top downwards. The leading statesmen overshadowed the sultans of the period—ʿAbd al-Medjīd (1839-61), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76 [*q.v.*]), and Murād V (June to August 1876 [*q.v.*]). In the first stage of the *Tanzīmāt*, the dominant reformer was Reshīd Pasha. Leadership in the second stage fell to his disciples, ʿĀlī Pasha and Fu'ād Pasha [*q.v.*]. After ʿĀlī's death and a few years of capricious government, Midḥat Pasha provided the leadership that produced the constitution. Then ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (1876-1909) reversed the roles in government. During his reign, the palace dominated the Sublime Porte and its ministers.

The reforms exhibited certain characteristics that persisted throughout the entire *Tanzīmāt* period. All of them were encompassed in the general aim of preserving the Ottoman Empire by strengthening it. For over a century, the empire had been in decline as compared to the Western European states, and most importantly, as compared to its immediate neighbours, the Austrian and Russian empires. The first response to this imbalance was the Ottoman effort to improve the armed forces. Military modernisation continued through the *Tanzīmāt* period, but was not dominant as it had been under Maḥmūd II. It was eclipsed by the effort to strengthen the central government and

to increase its control over the provinces. At the same time, the Porte embarked on the beginnings of representative government by including members of the non-Muslim minorities in some government councils. Further, government functions proliferated well beyond the traditional ones of administering justice, collecting taxes and maintaining armed forces. Matters that had traditionally been left to private hands, especially education, gradually came under government administration. In consequence of these trends, another characteristic of the period developed—a significant growth in the size of the bureaucracy.

Almost all the reforms involved a greater or less degree of Westernisation. At times, specific Western models were adopted or adapted. French institutions supplied the usual examples, except for army and navy. The French language became more widespread in the empire, especially among the leading reformers. Westernisation inevitably implied secularisation. Particularly in law and education, secular institutions developed that paralleled Muslim institutions [see IṢLĀḤ. iii]. This dualism was matched by another—the increasing tendency for the Porte to treat all the sultan's subjects simply as individuals, while at the same time preserving the corporate organisation of the non-Muslim *millets* [*q.v.*], from which individuals traditionally derived their own identity.

The path of reform was not smooth. Conservatives and groups upholding their own self-interest opposed it. Further, European powers often intervened in Ottoman domestic affairs. Sometimes the Powers pressed for changes, usually in favour of Christian minorities. At times, the Porte welcomed such diplomatic pressure if it helped to achieve a government objective. More often, the Porte tried to avoid the interference, or to lessen it by partial compliance, or to counter it entirely. Exceptionally, the Powers twice used military force to help preserve the Ottoman Empire, in 1839-41, against Muḥammad ʿAlī, and in 1854-6 when British, French, and Sardinian armies fought with the Ottomans against Russia. But when the empire was fighting to suppress a Cretan uprising in 1866-9, and then a Serbian rising in 1875-6, several powers favoured the rebels and put strong diplomatic pressure on the Porte, attempting to impose their own solutions.

The rebellions, including others, also slowed the progress of reforms. Some rebellions arose essentially over local conditions of taxes and land tenure or provincial administration, including some *Tanẓīmāt* reforms. But some rebellions gained greater significance if they turned nationalist, as was increasingly the case as time passed. Serbians, Montenegrins, Romanians and Bulgarians all harboured nationalist sentiments, and independent Greece sought to expand its territories at Ottoman expense. In the Lebanon, revolts were more over local issues, land, and sectarian differences. Various European powers were attracted to support some of these revolts; Russia, especially, was supportive of Balkan nationalist rebellions, both diplomatically and militarily.

The Porte tried to counter such interference not only by improving the armed forces but also by diplomatic means. The network of permanent Ottoman ambassadors resident in other countries, begun only in the 1830s, was greatly expanded. The diplomats learned French and the European formalities of international dealing. Also, the Porte tried at all times to keep at least one power as a supporter, and more if possible.

The most dangerous threat to Ottoman integrity arose when rebellion by members of a Christian minority was backed by one or more great powers. The outcome of such rebellions would determine whether the Ottoman Empire lived or died. Between 1839 and 1876 the empire lost no territory definitively. However, several Balkan provinces attained autonomy, and the successors of Muḥammad ʿAlī loosened Egypt's ties to Istanbul. Continuing financial problems and economic underdevelopment slowed the reform process, though the Porte tried to attack these problems. Public opinion could also be an impediment to government-led reform. In Istanbul, an independent press grew up in the 1860s, often expressing hostility to the Porte's actions [see DJARĪDA. Introd. and iii]. The Porte also coped with public opinion in Europe, which sometimes reverted to the image of the "terrible Turk." By diplomatic representations, news stories supplied to Western journals and subsidies to editors, the Porte presented the Ottoman case.

3. *The first stage, 1839-53.*

The seventeen months following the *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf*'s promulgation, until Reshīd Pasha's dismissal as Foreign Minister on 11 March 1841, were filled with new departures. The principal deliberative body, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Medjlis-i Wālā-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* [*q.v.*]), was provided with new rules that were a form of parliamentary procedure. The council could interpellate ministers, debate freely and decide by majority vote what measures to recommend to the sultan. In all provincial capitals, the Gülkhāne *khaṭṭ* was ceremonially read, after which regulations on its implementation flowed from Istanbul. An advisory council (*medjlis*) was created in 1840 for each province (*eyālet* [*q.v.*]) and sub-province (*ḳaḍāʾ*). It was intended to be a check on the wide authority of the governor and to prevent illegal acts on his part. Each council was composed of representatives of the Muslim and non-Muslim communities, indirectly elected, together with local officials, always Muslim. The most radical innovation was the abolition of tax-farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) and the appointment by the Porte of a tax-collector (*muḥaṣṣil*) with wide powers in each province. He would collect especially the tithe on agricultural production. Additionally, many customary fees collected by local officials and *ʿulemāʾ* were abolished, as was the corvée [see ḤAWĀLA]. The innovations were an effort to centralise the fiscal powers, to increase revenue for the imperial treasury and to end corruption in tax-farming. When ʿAbd al-Medjīd opened the first session of the Supreme Council in the new year (A.H. 1256), he praised the innovations and reaffirmed the parliamentary procedure. Inspectors were also sent to some provinces to check on local officials and to hear complaints. Reshīd dismissed, and even imprisoned, some officials who were not observing the new regulations. They had been levying the old fees or demanding taxes beyond the proper amount. A few of these even were *muḥaṣṣils*.

Some reforms were unsuccessful. The provincial councils did not always meet. If they did, they often fell under the control of the old notables, both Muslim and Christian, who might dominate the governor. The *status quo* was little changed in most provinces. The direct collection of taxes produced far too little revenue, so that by the end of 1841 tax-farming was reinstituted [see MĀLIYYE]. Not enough good *muḥaṣṣils* had been found. Further, opposition to the new reform was widespread, both among Muslim and Christian landowners and notables who resented losing the corvée and whose taxes would increase, and also among peasants who wanted immediate application

of their freedom from fees and from tax-farmers. In various localities there were risings of peasants. In Nish, the Bulgarian rebellion against local officials and landowners carried faint nationalist overtones, but this was not true of risings in Anatolia.

Other reforms produced better results. In the summer of 1840 the Porte, having earlier considered a foreign loan, issued debt certificates [see KĀʾIME] that were acceptable in government offices in payment of obligations. They also could circulate among private individuals like paper money. The first *ḳāʾime* carried an interest rate of 12½ per cent. Other issues followed. The *ḳāʾime* did alleviate the treasury crisis; in effect, it was a domestic loan. It aided commerce by functioning like paper money. Over-issue after 1852 led to its depreciation and to abolition in 1862. Also, a more modern penal code, still based on Muslim law, was enacted in 1840, fulfilling another promise of the *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf*. It paid special attention to punishing the misconduct of public officials. Further in 1840, a commercial court to deal with cases between Ottomans and Europeans was set up in the Ministry of Commerce. It helped to facilitate the empire's growing international trade.

The Porte in this period of two years achieved also a higher international standing. Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia combined to force Muḥammad ʿAlī out of Syria. He and his heirs were allowed to retain the governorship of Egypt. In the diplomatic arrangements preceding this action, the Ottoman Empire was accepted by the other powers as an equal partner. All signed the Convention for the Pacification of the Levant in 1840, and all plus France signed the Straits Convention of 1841, closing the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to warships. In this fashion, the Ottoman Empire was first admitted into the workings of the European state system.

When in 1841 Reshīd was replaced as Foreign Minister by more conservative statesmen, and sent off to Paris as ambassador, change continued at a slower pace. It quickened again in 1845 on his return to be Foreign Minister, followed in 1846 by his first Grand Vizierate. One promise of the Gülkhāne *khaṭṭ* was carried out in 1843 by a law limiting the term of army service to five years. It also set up five armies for separate regions of the empire. By 1845 some new lower military schools (*iʿdādī*) were established to prepare students for the higher military schools that Maḥmūd II had created. Provincial government received more attention. In 1844 and 1846, ʿAbd al-Medjīd himself went on inspection trips in nearby Anatolia and Rumelia, hearing complaints and asking about economic development. In 1845 an assembly of provincial representatives was summoned to Istanbul. They stayed for two months, expressing their wishes on tax reform and economic improvement. The number of *eyālets* was increased from 28 to 36 in 1846. The local *medjlises* continued not to be very effective. The number of able government officials remained low. Therefore, inspection commissions, five to Anatolia and five to Rumelia, were again sent out to seek out injustice and to encourage economic improvement. In 1852, in an effort to make provincial government more efficient, the powers of the governors were again broadened.

In Istanbul, several steps toward more orderly government were taken. The Sublime Porte, the office building for some of the chief ministries, was rebuilt in 1844. Reshīd had an archive building constructed in 1846. It was planned by the architect Fossati, who was soon to restore Aya Sofya. The modernised structure of government was outlined in the first government year-book (*sāl-nāme* [*q.v.*]) in 1847. In the same year, ʿAbd al-Medjīd examined the Morse telegraph, displayed to him by two Americans. He ordered a line to be built from Istanbul to Edirne, but it was not immediately constructed. The sultan also had built in 1853 the Dolma Baghče palace, planned by Balyan. It was modern, with ornate French and Italian painted ceilings and French bric-à-brac. In 1848 mixed tribunals, on which non-Muslim members sat with Muslims, were established to deal with commercial cases involving foreigners. A code of commerce of French inspiration, the first Westernised law code, was promulgated in 1850. In the same year, a system of quarantine, designed to prevent the spread of disease by pilgrims returning from Mecca, was established.

An education commission was created in 1845. Among its members were Reshīd's disciples, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād. It planned three levels of state-sponsored schools—primary, middle, and upper—as well as a university. In 1847 a Ministry of Public Education was created. The university was impractical. But in 1847 a few middle schools (*rüshdiyye*) were opened, and in the following year a teachers' training college [see MAʿĀRIF. I. i]. In 1851 an Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Endjümen-i Dānish*) was founded. Part of its mission was to prepare textbooks. Generally, it was to advance language simplification, Turkish history, and translations of European books in the sciences and arts. A Turkish grammar by Fuʾād and Aḥmed Djewdet [*q.v.*] was one of the few fruits of the Academy. Djewdet also soon began his monumental history.

A number of the reforms furthered *ʿOthmānlïlïḳ*. When ʿAbd al-Medjīd traveled in Rumelia, the equality of Ottomans of whatever religion was reaffirmed; all were compatriots. In 1850 a *fermān* opened the army to non-Muslims, but implementation was deferred. The education commission envisaged schools recognising no religious distinctions. Christians sat on the commercial court and benefited from the commercial code. But the Porte also confirmed separate religious identities in 1850 by recognising Protestants as a separate *millet*, the result of British and American pressure. Most of the Protestants were converts from the Armenian Gregorian church, and the Armenian clergy were embittered by this. The touchiest matter of all involving equality without regard to belief concerned freedom of religious conversion from Islam to another belief. There was no problem if a Christian became a Muslim. But if a Muslim apostatised and became a Christian, Islamic law stipulated the death penalty [see MURTADD]. The British ambassador Stratford Canning wrung from the Porte in 1844 a partial concession—Christians who had adopted Islam would not be put to death if they were reverting to their original religion.

Economic advance was slow. Commercial treaties with Britain in 1838 and with other states soon afterwards restricted Ottoman customs rates and banned monopolies. Monopolies in foreign trade were in fact generally eliminated, and Ottoman markets were more open to foreign goods. Some guild monopolies persisted. The empire's foreign trade increased considerably in the three decades after 1840, but state revenues were decreased by the lower customs duties as well as by the temporary elimination of the *iltizām*. Reshīd believed that prosperity would come with liberal economic and commercial policies, like those upon which Britain had embarked in the 1820s.

The monetary situation was much improved in this

period. The paper money had helped the treasury out of its financial crisis, but it circulated mostly in Istanbul alone. Silver coinage had been much debased over nearly a century. In 1844, however, the silver *meḏjīdiyye* [see SIKKA. 2] of 20 piastres was introduced, and the empire adopted a bimetallic standard, with 100 silver piastres to one gold pound. These measures stabilised the coinage.

The Porte encouraged the development of agriculture and manufacturing, with occasional successes. Foreign capital was attracted in modest amounts. The Porte established an agricultural school in 1850. In 1851 the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture collected over 3,000 articles that were sent to the great Crystal Palace Exhibition in London. Raw materials, especially silk and various handicrafts, won prizes. The Ottoman Empire participated in the Paris Exhibition of 1855 also. In addition to increasing commerce and revenue, the Porte thereby improved the international image of the empire.

The international relations of the empire were generally good during the first phase of the *Tanẓīmāt*. An 1847 agreement with Persia on their common frontier made the repetition of past wars unlikely. Rebellions in Moldavia and Wallachia [see BOGHDĀN; EFLĀḲ] were put down by invading Russian troops, but with Ottoman agreement, sealed at the convention of Balta Liman in 1849. In that year also, the Porte enhanced its image in Britain and France by admitting thousands of Hungarian and Polish fighters fleeing the failed Hungarian revolution. The Porte then refused to surrender them, and especially Louis Kossuth, on Austrian and Russian demands, Fu'ād being the principal negotiator in these matters. In 1852 the Porte was restrained by Austrian pressure from repressing a revolt in Montenegro.

4. *The Crimean War and the* Khaṭṭ *of 1856.*

The crisis of 1852-3 and the Crimean War of 1853-6 resulted from miscalculations on all sides. Beginning as a dispute between Russia and France over Greek and Latin rights in the Holy Places, the dispute embroiled the Ottomans because they were the sovereign power over Palestine. When the Russians further demanded that they be recognised as protectors of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire, the two parties failed to reach agreement. The European Concert of Powers also failed to find a solution. The Ottomans, sensing British support, declared war on Russia in October 1853. By the spring of 1854, Britain and France joined the war on the Ottoman side. The war eventuated in an allied victory, the sole Ottoman victory over Russia in the seven wars they fought between 1768 and 1917.

Times of crisis and war speed up change. Further, in the Crimean case, Britain and France urged changes on the Porte. In 1854 the *Meḏjlis-i ʿĀlī-yi Tanẓīmāt*, the Council of Reforms, was created to take over some functions, especially in drafting reform regulations, from the Supreme Council. In the same year, the first municipality in the empire was established in the sixth district of Istanbul, Ghalata and Beyoghlu, where many Christians lived [see BALADIYYA. 1]. The municipal council, set up soon after, functioned fairly effectively. To pay for war expenses more *ḳāʾimes* were issued, but they depreciated rapidly. The Porte then contracted its first foreign loan. In 1856 the Ottoman Bank, the first modern bank, was established in Istanbul, largely with British capital.

In 1855 non-Muslims were declared eligible for army service. The old exemption tax (*ḏjizye*) was abolished. But it was obvious that Christians did not want to serve, and that Muslims did not want to serve under Christian officers. A new exemption tax was then instituted, the *bedel-i ʿaskeriyye* [*q.v.*]. The war also hastened the construction of the Ottoman telegraph system. The first telegram that went out from Istanbul to Europe announced the capture of Sevastopol in September 1855. During the War, many Westerners flooded into Istanbul, where Parisian costumes and Western customs began to appeal to some elements of upper Muslim society. ʿAbd al-Meḏjīd was the first sultan ever to attend a Western social gathering. In celebration of the Crimean victory, he went to a ball given by the British Ambassador.

The Congress of Paris, where the Grand Vizier ʿĀlī Pasha represented the Porte, produced a peace treaty on 31 March 1856, that allowed the Ottoman Empire to gain back a little territory from Russia. It also neutralised the Black Sea, meaning that Russia could have no warships there. In 1870 Russia unilaterally overturned this. The treaty admitted the Ottoman Empire into the "public law and system" of Europe, which meant that the empire was now formally a member of the Concert of great powers. The treaty further, in article nine, recognised the "high value" of the recent *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn*, and declared that the communication of this decree to the powers gave them no right to interfere in Ottoman internal affairs. These two articles—membership in the Concert and non-intervention in Ottoman affairs—thereafter became the principal diplomatic implements of the Porte.

The *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn* of 18 February 1856, like the *khaṭṭ* of 1839, made many promises; in fact, some of them were in both decrees. But the decree of 1856 had a different origin and a different tone. It was drawn up not just by ʿĀlī Pasha, then the Grand Vizier, and Fu'ād Pasha, then the Foreign Minister, but in repeated meetings with the British, French and Austrian ambassadors. This *Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn* had no split personality. It did not mention the Ḳurʾān, the sacred law or ancient glories. It had a new economic emphasis, on setting up banks and drawing on European skills and capital. It again promised no tax-farming, and annual budgets and some new law codes. It put a major emphasis on the equality of all Ottoman subjects before the law, in taxes, in government positions and in military service. It reaffirmed the representative principle, specifying greater non-Muslim participation in provincial councils, and for the first time non-Muslim representation on the Supreme Council. Yet this emphasis on *ʿOthmānlïlïḳ* was paralleled by reaffirmation of the rights of non-Muslim *millets*, and by a provision for reforming the administration of each *millet* to make it more representative. Thus was the dualism of *ʿOthmānlïlïḳ* and *millet* maintained.

5. *The second stage, 1856-75.*

To many Muslims, the *khaṭṭ* appeared to be an *imtiyāz fermānï*, a decree of special concessions. They also resented the foreign influence it exhibited. Most Christians at first welcomed the edict, hoping for quick changes, but their higher clergy disliked it, fearing that *millet* reform would reduce their powers.

Change came more rapidly than before the Crimean War, partly as a result of European pressures, and partly because the two dominant statesmen pushed it. Reshīd Pasha held two brief Grand Vizierates after 1856, but died in January 1858. ʿĀlī Pasha and Fu'ād Pasha were already forging ahead of their former patron. From May 1855 to September 1871, for all but 46 months, one or the other was Grand Vizier. Almost always the other was then Foreign Minister.

Both were Westernisers. Both struggled to save the empire intact, to promote *ʿOthmānlîlîk* and to reduce separatist sentiment among minorities. In a remarkable memorandum of 1867, ʿĀlī, the more cautious of the two, and the more Muslim of the two, said that some cargo must be jettisoned to save the ship. He was not speaking of territorial withdrawal, but of absolute equality between non-Muslims and Muslims. He spoke especially of government employment and schools, as had the *khaṭṭ*, but he seemed also to be hinting at the *Code Napoléon* when he proposed a Western-style civil code. Fu'ād, more secular and more Westernised, would make slightly greater changes. Both were rather autocratic in temperament and neither believed that the empire was ready for parliamentary government, although Fu'ād might have been willing to have it at a later date.

In 1859 a conservative and Islamic conspiracy developed in opposition to the government that was preaching *ʿOthmānlîlîk*. It accused the Westernisers of violating Islamic law. The conspiracy, known as the Kuleli incident, was betrayed. The Muslim clerics and army officers in its leadership were sentenced to prison or exile to the provinces. The abortive conspiracy, however, represented a current of opposition to the *Tanẓīmāt* that never vanished.

On the death of ʿAbd al-Medjīd in 1861, his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came to the throne. The latter was less a Westerniser and less interested in reform, with one exception: he sought to build up the armed forces. In 1869 a reorganisation of the army specified a four-year term of service and 16 years in the reserves. Its theoretical strength was 700,000, but there were not enough trained officers. ʿAbd al-Azīz loved the navy especially. He sought to strengthen it with purchases of ironclads, and the Ottoman fleet became one of the world's largest; the personnel, however, were poorly trained.

As promised in the *khaṭṭ*, the three major non-Muslim *millets*—Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish—were reorganised. In each *millet* there had begun a ferment among artisans and intellectuals who wanted to get rid of the autocracy and corruption of their own dominating clergy. The latter had to be prodded by the Porte to get the reforming process done. The reforms that resulted decreased clerical control, and gave laymen for the first time a major voice in *millet* governance. The Armenian constitution of 1863 created an assembly of 140, including only 20 clergy, that would elect the Patriarch and two councils; this was the most complete constitution. A series of laws for the Greek *millet* between 1860 and 1862 also created an assembly with a lay majority to elect the Patriarch. The Jewish constitution of 1865, too, included an assembly of 100, only 20 being rabbis, to elect the Grand Rabbi of Istanbul and two councils. Because Jews were organised by congregation, there was no Patriarch or priestly hierarchy as in the other *millets*, but the Grand Rabbi of Istanbul was recognised as head of the whole *millet* for civil purposes. These were hesitant steps towards representative government. But the fact that *millets* were confirmed as separate entities did not fit with *ʿOthmānlîlîk*. Instead, a *millet* basis was preserved for the later development of nationalism. To the dismay of the Orthodox Patriarch, a *fermān* of 1870 recognised a Bulgarian Exarchate independent of the Greek Patriarch in Istanbul. Bulgarians were gratified to be out from under the Greek clergy's administration, but it also contributed to a nascent Bulgarian nationalism.

Fair and efficient governing of the provinces, while maintaining a central control in Istanbul, was always a problem for the Porte. A Balkan inspection tour by the Grand Vizier Ḳibrîslî Meḥmed Pasha in 1860 revealed no systematic oppression, as various powers had alleged, but it did find malfeasance by some Ottoman officials and Greek Orthodox clergy. During the next few years, special commissioners went out to the provinces to hear complaints, dispense justice and bolster the local administrations. Some provinces were by now semi-autonomous. Moldavia and Wallachia, semi-autonomous since 1856, combined their two legislatures into one in 1862 under one prince, and in 1866 imported Karl of Hohenzollern to take the throne; the Porte could only accept this. In semi-autonomous Serbia [see ṢIRB], the Porte was obliged to restrict its garrisons, and in 1867 to remove the last soldiers from Belgrade, leaving only an Ottoman flag flying over the fortress. North African provinces were always a special case. Algiers had been lost to France in 1830. Tunis, nearly independent, faced a similar French threat in the 1870s.

Egypt [see MIṢR] posed a unique problem. Since the days of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Egypt had acted like an independent state. Ismāʿīl Pasha, [*q.v.*] repeatedly sought more concessions from the Porte. At first, the Porte resisted. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, accompanied by Fu'ād Pasha, visited Egypt in 1863 and tried to treat Ismāʿīl as if he were just another *wālī*. But in 1866, Ismāʿīl, probably through the lavish use of money in Istanbul, secured a new *fermān* guaranteeing his right to pass on the government in direct line to his son. The next year, he secured from the sultan the exceptional title of Khedive [see KHIDĪW]. In demonstration of his near-sovereignty, Ismāʿīl presided at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and received European royalty, not ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Meanwhile, massacres in Lebanon and Syria [see LUBNĀN; AL-SHĀM. 2 (a)] prompted an international intervention, carried out by French troops, to restore order. The Porte sent Fu'ād as Special Commissioner to do the same and to forestall further French action. By 1864, a new statute for Lebanon, as agreed by the Porte and the powers, set up a Christian governorship with a fairly representative council. The influence of the clergy was diminished.

Two months after the Lebanese statute was adopted, a plan for reorganising all the empire's provinces was elaborated. Midḥat, who had been a successful governor in Nish, was called to Istanbul to work out the new system with Fu'ād, then Grand Vizier. The provinces were renamed *wilāyets*. Each *wilāyet*, larger than the former *eyālet*, was divided into *sandjaḳs* [*q.v.*], which were divided into *ḳaḍā*'s, which were divided into *nāḥiyes*, much like the French system of *départements* and subdivisions. A council at each level excepting the *nāḥiye* was to have two Muslim and two Christian members "elected" from an official list. A deliberative assembly in each *wilāyet* would also be "elected". The *wālī*, appointed by Istanbul, would have wide powers. The *wilāyet* system represented an effort to provide good government with centralised power in the *wālī*'s hands but with representation of all sects. A civil court in each unit except the *nāḥiye* was to have three Muslims and three non-Muslims.

Midḥat was sent to test the new system as *wālī* of the new Tuna *wilāyet* in Bulgaria. His success there led to the *wilāyet* system being applied in 1867 to almost all areas except Baghdād and the Yemen. Crete [see IḲRĪTISH] was added in 1868 after the rebellion of 1866 was suppressed. Baghdād [*q.v.*] was added in 1869 when Midḥat was sent there as *wālī*. There, too, his record was generally good. The *wilāyet* sys-

tem lasted until the end of the Ottoman Empire. A major problem that confronted some *wālīs* was the great influx of Turkic and other Muslim peoples fleeing Russia. Between 1856 and 1880, the Porte admitted nearly a million Crimean Tatars [see KĪRĪM] and about a million and a half Circassians [see ČERKES], all of whom had to be settled in various *wilāyets* [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

In the central government, Christian and Jewish members were appointed to the Supreme Council. The non-Muslims were the first ever to sit on a major council. They were, however, members of families with close connections to the Porte. The Council itself re-absorbed the *Tanẓīmāt* Council in 1861. In 1868 the Supreme Council was again split, this time into a *Shūrā-yi Dewlet*; a Council of State; and a Council of Justice, the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*. The Council of State was an institution widespread in Europe of the time; its best-known example was in Napoleon III's France. It was to prepare laws and regulations and to oversee state administrative functions. Its expanded membership was about 30 per cent non-Muslim. Midhat Pasha was its first president, before he went to Baghdād. Its parliamentary procedure was a little more sophisticated than that of the earlier Supreme Council. The Council of Justice, headed by Djewdet Pasha, acted like a supreme court in all cases—civil, commercial and criminal—that were brought under the new Westernised codes, but not in *Sharīʿa* matters. Its membership was 40 per cent non-Muslim. In 1869 Djewdet became Minister of Justice, a transformation of his presidency of the Council of Justice. The new ministry organised the the *nizāmiyye* courts into a hierarchy, including provincial courts. Because religious tribunals continued to exist, some confusion resulted.

Meanwhile law [see ḲĀNŪN] itself underwent transformation, both by single *fermāns* and by adoption of codes. White slavery was forbidden in 1854 and black in 1857, although implementation took forty years or more [see ʿABD]. In 1858 a new penal code, on the French model unlike the code of 1840, was drafted by a commission headed by Djewdet. He also chaired a commission that elaborated a new property law, this one based on religious law. It was an attempt to regularise the forms of land tenure, requiring registration of ownership to receive a title deed (*sened tapu*). Some customary peasant cultivators were reluctant to register in their own names, fearing increased taxation. Therefore, the opportunity for big landowners to acquire more property remained open. There is still debate about the ultimate consequences of the 1858 code for small landholders and large estate owners.

Djewdet again chaired the commission that undertook to codify a large portion of civil law, omitting matters of personal status like marriage and divorce. Between 1869 and 1876 the commission produced 16 books containing 1,851 articles on the law of transactions, contracts and civil procedure. The codification was in European style, lending clarity, but the law itself was religious. The commission selected the best among varying Ḥanafī interpretations. In essence, the *Medjelle-yi Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* was a guide to the law for judges in both *nizāmiyye* and *Sharīʿa* courts [see further, MEDJELLE].

Some laws were fashioned so as to attack the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT] and to undermine extraterritorial rights. From the time of the Congress of Paris, ʿAlī Pasha had issued several statements and memoranda pointing out to the powers the unfairness and deleterious effects of extra-territorial privileges and of the European abuses of them. Several new laws attacked those privileges. A press law in 1865 allowed foreigners to publish periodicals in the Ottoman Empire only if they accepted the control of Ottoman officials and courts. A land law of 1867 allowed foreigners to own real property in the empire if they conformed to police regulations, accepted the Ottoman courts' jurisdiction and paid Ottoman taxes. The Powers reluctantly accepted this. In 1869 a law on nationality and naturalisation, adopting secular standards instead of the previous religious ones, provided that every one domiciled in the empire was an Ottoman subject unless he could prove the contrary. The law specified further that no Ottoman subject could assume another nationality without the Porte's consent. This struck at the abuse by the Powers, who gave protective foreign nationality to members of Ottoman minorities.

Progress in education was uneven. Specialised higher schools of military science and medicine continued to function, and to these in 1859 had been added the School of Civil Administration. An Ottoman school in Paris was established about 1857 to help complete the education of selected Ottoman students. Elementary and higher elementary schools spread slowly. In 1867 the Minister of Education claimed 11,008 elementary schools, *mekteb-i ṣibyān*, and 108 higher schools, *rüshdiyye*, figures that may be inflated. After French pressure, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād worked out plans for a western-style lycée, opened in 1868. The lycée of Ghalaṭa Saray admitted boys of all creeds and languages, but even in the first year, Muslims were less than half. Instruction was almost entirely in French, and most teachers and the first headmaster were French. From the start the school was successful, combining a good education with *ʿOthmānlīlīk*. In 1869 the Council of State elaborated a comprehensive education law [see MAʿĀRIF. I. i] setting up five levels: two elementary (*ṣibyān* and *rüshdiyye*), two secondary (*iʿdādiyye* and *sulṭāniyye*), and higher technical schools and a university. On the first two levels, schools rapidly increased. Only a few *iʿdādiyye* were opened, and Ghalaṭa Saray long remained the only *sulṭāniyye*. In 1870, starting at the top, a university (*dār ül-fünūn*) was opened in Istanbul [see DJĀMIʿA]. It closed in 1871 when some lectures by Djemāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] provoked great complaints from members of the *ʿulemā*ʾ.

Economic progress was also slow. The Porte encouraged agriculture. The export of farm products and raw materials increased during the period of the rise in world prices, from the 1850s to the early 1870s. Where tribal opposition was subdued, more land came under cultivation. The Porte by an *irāde* of 1857 tried to attract foreign investment and expertise, offering free land and exemption from military service and taxes for six to ten years. Manufactures also were encouraged. But the competition of industrialised European nations hurt Ottoman manufactures, especially textiles. An Industrial Reform Commission tried in the 1860s to revive some industries in Istanbul, creating companies out of former guilds, providing some capital and lowering taxes. In the 1870s the number of small factories began to increase around Izmir, Istanbul and Salonika. Some of them were state-owned, some private, and some owned by European entrepreneurs. Steam power began to come into factories, and handwork declined.

When commercial treaties with many nations were renegotiated in 1861-2, the Porte managed to get import duties raised from 3 to 8 per cent, and export taxes lowered from 12 to 1 per cent. During the

whole period, the number of steam vessels calling at Ottoman ports increased. Railroad building began with the Crimean War. The first two lines were in the privileged provinces of Egypt and Romania. The third linked Izmir and Aydın. The Porte encouraged this and other short lines connecting interior towns to ports that were built by foreign concessionaires and technicians. The telegraph expanded much faster than the railway. By 1878 it linked all Ottoman regions, serving not only government but private individuals, businesses and entrepreneurs as well.

In further encouragement of production and export, a special commission in 1863 organised a huge exposition (*sergi-yi ʿumūmī-yi ʿot͟hmānī*) in Istanbul. About 15,000 articles, agricultural and manufactured, were displayed. The venture had grown out of the work of an imperial cotton commission, established by the Porte to encourage cotton production and export to take advantage of the world shortage of cotton during the American Civil War. In 1867 the Ottoman Empire participated in another great exposition in Paris. Sultan ʿAbd al-Azīz visited it, as part of the first trip which any sultan had ever made outside his territories in peace time. The visit helped to promote Ottoman products, but the origins of the trip were diplomatic, so that during the Cretan rebellion the sultan could represent to the powers a progressive empire. He succeeded in enhancing the Ottoman image. He also learned something about European technology and industrialisation, and came home more enthused than ever about British warships, Prussian land forces and railroad building.

The fiscal and monetary situation caused great difficulties for the Porte. In 1861, shortly after ʿAbd al-Azīz's accession, there were riots in Istanbul. The *ḳāʾime*, the only circulating money there, declined sharply by 100 per cent. Bakeries were sacked. Fuʾād Pas͟ha arranged for the first ever governmental budget to be drawn up for 1863-4. The Imperial Ottoman Bank was established in 1862 with French and English capital, and was given a monopoly of bank-note issue. Another loan was negotiated in Europe, and with its proceeds the paper money was retired. By 1863 the situation was calmer. But the loan, the fifth since the Crimean War, increased the public debt, on which the Porte had great difficulty in paying the interest. The annual budgets often bore little relation to reality. The bank, however, cautious in its issue of banknotes, was effective. In the Tuna *wilāyet*, Midḥat Pas͟ha created agricultural credit cooperatives that greatly aided peasants; from these cooperatives the modern Ziraat Bankası is derived.

Journalism developed rapidly in the 1860s and after [see ṢIḤĀFA]. Previously, there had been one official and one semi-official newspaper. Now an independent press grew up. The reaction of the Porte was to issue regulations in 1864 requiring that all newspapers and editors be officially licensed. ʿĀlī Pas͟ha explained in 1866 that the Porte's policy was to allow freedom of the press. But in the next year, harsh journalistic criticism of the government led to "ʿĀlī's decree" that allowed suspension of any paper. The influence of the press was considerable, however, despite the minuscule size of the reading public. It disseminated information. It began to use simpler language, fewer Arabic and Persian words and more Turkish and some French. It was used to shape public opinion, especially by the New Ottomans. Ibrāhīm S͟hināsī Efendi [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi [*q.v.*] represent early and late *Tanẓīmāt* journalism.

In 1861 was founded the *D̲jemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-yi ʿOt͟hmānī*, the Ottoman Scientific Society, basically the creation of the learned Meḥmed Ṭāhir Münīf Efendi. Its journal, the *Med̲jmūʿa-yi Fünūn*, published articles on many subjects, often infused with knowledge from Western sources. An increasing number of European works were translated into Turkish. One of the earliest was Fénélon's *Télémaque*, the first novel published in Turkish, and one with political overtones. Cultural life expanded to importation of European theatre, architecture with some western influence, some city planning and the creation of public parks.

Journalism was the major occupation of some of the Yeñi ʿOt͟hmānlïlar [*q.v.*]. They represented an ideological and political movement aimed at altering the government and influencing public opinion. These New Ottomans disliked ʿĀlī intensely, Fuʾād a little less, but thought both to be too secular, too autocratic and too compliant to the demands of foreign powers. They believed in freedom from tyranny and personal liberties [see ḤURRIYYA. ii]. Although one differed from another, most favoured government by consultation [see MAS͟HWARA; S͟HŪRĀ. 3], a written constitution, an elected parliament, and adoption of some Western institutions and methods. They were Ottoman patriots, resentful of giving up any territory, resentful of foreign interference in Ottoman affairs, resentful of special privileges for Christians. They supported *ʿOt͟hmānlïlïḳ* and Res͟hīd's *k͟hatt* of 1839, while detesting the *k͟hatt* of 1856. Nāmïḳ Kemāl [see KEMĀL, MEḤMED NĀMÏḲ] best expressed these views, and he also, in his play of 1873 *Waṭan* ("Motherland") infused a highly emotional content into his Ottoman patriotism.

A small secret group of these agitators was formed in Istanbul in 1865. During the next two years, they criticised the government in their newspapers. A plot in 1867 to riot and possibly to kill ʿĀlī Pas͟ha was betrayed. This led the Porte to exile several New Ottoman leaders and caused a number of them to flee to Paris. There they found support from the Egyptian prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pas͟ha who, for his own reasons, opposed the Ottoman government of the moment, and claimed to speak for what he called "jeune Turquie". He composed in early 1867 a famous public letter addressed to Sultan Abd al-ʿAzīz, urging a constitution. In exile, the New Ottomans published several newspapers, to be smuggled back into the empire and to enlighten Europe. After the death of ʿĀlī Pas͟ha, they filtered back to Istanbul, where Nāmïḳ Kemāl and Ḍiyāʾ (Ziyā) Efendi soon played important political roles.

ʿAbd al-Azīz felt freer after the death of Fuʾād Pas͟ha in 1869 and of ʿĀlī Pas͟ha in 1871. The palace again began to rival the Porte as the centre of government. The sultan changed Grand Viziers eight times in the five years 1871-5. Maḥmūd Nedīm Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], who was twice in the post for a total of 19 months, was the sultan's favorite, and shifted round provincial *wālī*s at a ridiculous rate. Popular opinion turned against Maḥmūd Nedīm, partly because of the whimsical administration, partly because he took bribes from the Khedive Ismāʿīl of Egypt, and partly because he was strongly influenced by Russia. Opinion also built up against the sultan, principally on account of his lavish spending. One aspect of the sultan's conduct did meet with considerable approval, his increasing use of the title *K͟halīfa* [*q.v.*]. Also, Pan-Islam [*q.v.*] appealed to many Ottoman Muslims, being a reaction to European pressures and an answer to the pan-Slavism that grew in the 1870s. Islamic sentiment was reinforced by calls for help from the k͟hānates of Central Asia that had recently been conquered or

were threatened by Russia. Indonesian Muslims, too, appealed for help to oppose the Dutch. The Ottoman Empire was in no position to give military aid, but developed somewhat closer relations with the Central Asian Turks, especially with Kāshghar; meanwhile, Djemāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī was preaching Islamic revival.

6. *The crisis period 1875-8 and the Constitution.*

In 1875-6, in addition to the Islamic sentiment, four major currents converged to throw the Ottoman Empire into its worst crisis since 1839. Nationalist revolt by two minorities, an economic and fiscal crisis, rising discontent with the sultan and interference by the great powers, all led to a greater unrest that seemed to reinforce the New Ottomans' desire for a constitution. A revolt broke out in Herzegovina in July 1875 and spread to Bosnia. Local problems, including tax collection, caused the revolt, but it soon became more nationalist and infected with Russian Pan-Slavism; some Serbian and Montenegrin volunteers aided the rebels. The Porte, again headed by Maḥmūd Nedīm, failed to take action vigorous enough to stop the revolt. The European powers tried, without success, to settle the conflict by diplomacy. Meanwhile, the Ottoman treasury faced its own crisis. Drought and then an extraordinarily severe winter in Anatolia in 1873-4, followed by flooding, meant that less tax revenue was received. At the same time, the Porte had accumulated an enormous debt from its loans, now harder to negotiate after the European financial panic of 1873 [see DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE]. By October 1875, the Porte could no longer meet the interest payments on the debt, and defaulted on half the interest due. The military failure and the bankruptcy brought many conservatives to oppose Maḥmūd Nedīm and to be more inclined to accept a change in government. By April 1876 the bankruptcy was total; the Porte paid no interest at all to its bondholders. In the next month, Bulgarian revolutionaries staged a rising. This time the Porte suppressed it, with cruelties that became known in Europe as the "Bulgarian massacres"; Europe forgot the Bulgarian massacre of many Turks.

On 11 May Maḥmūd Nedīm was forced out of office by the rioting of theological students. On 30 May a small group of high officials, civil and military, of which Midḥat Pasha was one, deposed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in a bloodless coup. Murād V, a liberal-minded nephew of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, succeeded to the throne. Expectations of a constitution rose. Five days after his deposition, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz committed suicide. In June 1876 autonomous Serbia and Montenegro, with aid from Russian "volunteers", openly went to war against their sovereign. Discussions of a constitution were slowed down by these events, but proceeded sporadically among the highest officials. They came to no conclusion because of Murād's health. He had a nervous breakdown, could not function as sultan, and on 31 August he was in turn deposed without incident. His place was taken by a brother, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who promised Midḥat that he would promulgate a constitution. In September, the Ottoman army began to defeat the Serbs until its further advance was stopped by a Russian ultimatum on 31 October. The Powers meanwhile planned an international conference to settle Balkan affairs.

The prospect of greater foreign intervention sped up the discussion of a constitution; Ottoman officials would show that they themselves were reorganising and needed no plans made by foreigners. A commission under Midḥat's chairmanship had been formed in October. Nāmiḳ Kemāl and Ziyā were members. Both the Belgian constitution of 1831 and the Prussian one of 1850 were influential. After many arguments in the commission and consideration of several drafts, the constitution was sent to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. He added a clause to article 113 granting the sultan powers, in a state of siege, to exile dangerous persons. Midḥat was appointed Grand Vizier on 19 December. On the 23rd, the constitution was formally promulgated, although ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd did not attend the ceremony. Midḥat, in a brief speech, said that the constitution would inaugurate a new era of enduring prosperity.

The constitution [see DUSTŪR. ii; ḤUKŪMA. i] was the last great document of the *Tanẓīmāt.* Like the *khaṭṭs* of 1839 and 1856, it served a diplomatic purpose, to convince the powers that the Ottoman Empire was reforming and should remain intact. Indeed, article one asserted that the empire was a whole, not divisible for any reason whatever. But the international conference, meeting in Istanbul, refused to accept this and made its own plans for rearranging the Balkans. More than a diplomatic document, however, the constitution was a domestic product created by reformers, including some military men, who believed that some kind of representative government was necessary, if only to curb the sultan's excesses. Others, like the New Ottomans, believed firmly in the principle of government by consultation.

The constitution created a council of ministers, an elected chamber of deputies, an appointed senate, an independent judiciary, parliamentary control of the budget and considerable provincial decentralisation. But the sultan retained important powers. He appointed the ministers and the members of the senate. His approval was required before any bill became law. He was also declared caliph, and his person to be sacred. In effect, the government was to be a limited autocracy. A bill of rights contained in the constitution was fairly comprehensive. It applied to all Ottoman subjects without distinction as to religion. All were to be called ʿOthmānlīs and to be equally eligible for public office. All would be equal before the law. This was a strong reaffirmation of *ʿOthmānlîlîḳ.*

The Constantinople Conference (*Terskhāne Ḳonferansî*), convened at the same time as the promulgation of the constitution, rejected it as the solution to the Balkan questions. Midḥat's government in turn, with approval from a great gathering of notables, rejected the conference's plans to divide the Balkans. It was possible that Russia would try to enforce the conference decisions by military action. Meanwhile, on 5 February 1877, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd exiled Midḥat, presumably relying on article 113, although there was no state of siege. The views of the sultan and the Grand Vizier were too far apart to allow them to work together. Midḥat wrote the sultan a letter saying that he could not obey imperial commands that were not in the national interest; Midḥat wanted to be a constitutional Prime Minister.

The *Tanẓīmāt* continued for a time in the parliament. Elections, although indirect, were successfully held and the Chamber of Deputies met in two sessions, from March to June 1877 and from December 1877 to February 1878. Its debates and its work were sensible. At that point, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd dissolved the parliament, fearing its criticism and its rivalry. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was a reformer intent on saving the Ottoman Empire, but he intended to be master. He also feared deposition, like his two predecessors. Under the constitution, he should have called new elections in six months. He waited, however, for thirty years, until

the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, when a new generation took over the burden of reform.

The task of the *Tanẓīmātdjīs* had been difficult. They were probing to discover how fast they could go to make reforms meaningful without provoking a conservative reaction. They needed to find out how much they could borrow from Christian Europe and still preserve the self-esteem of a people steeped in tradition. Reshīd, ʿĀlī and Fuʾād were cautious reformers, trying to institute change without disruption; Midḥat was rather less cautious.

The *Tanẓīmāt* was either a qualified failure or a qualified success. It did much in the short run to keep the empire intact, but peripheral areas were slipping away. At the end of the *Tanẓīmāt*, the Russian War of 1877-8 led to the Treaty of Berlin under which Romania, Serbia and Montenegro were given complete independence. A small Bulgaria became autonomous, Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Austria. Russia gained Bessarabia, Ḳarṣ and Ardahān. Cyprus in 1878 also fell under British administration. Greece was given Ottoman Thessaly in 1881, France occupied Tunis in 1881 and Britain occupied Egypt in 1882. Such territorial losses tore from the empire major productive areas. The Balkan and Anatolian losses caused a large inflow of Muslim refugees. The *Tanẓīmāt* initiated public borrowing abroad, and never solved the debt problem. The indemnity that the empire had to pay to Russia after the 1877-8 War made the problem worse. Only with the foreign imposition of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1881 was the financial situation brought under control. Economic development was slight. When good political systems or administrative regulations were initiated, there were not enough competent officials to administer them. Perhaps the greatest failure of the *Tanẓīmāt* was that *ʿOthmānlīlīḳ* did not take hold. It found some believers, but the minority peoples in general drifted toward nationalism and separation from the empire.

Yet the Ottoman Empire of 1878 was considerably different from what it had been in 1839. Then, the reform emphasis was on security of life and property, on fair taxation and on fair military service. By 1878 the emphasis was on equality and representative government. The *Tanẓīmāt* also was a seed-time. When the Young Turks and then the Republican régime arrived, they inherited from the *Tanẓīmāt* beginnings in many areas: a new bureaucracy in a centralised administration, a new system of provincial government, expanded areas of government activity, some modern law codes, a written constitution, an elected parliament, parliamentary procedure, an effective diplomatic establishment, modernised armed forces, a system of state schools and a trend toward secularisation of law and institutions. They inherited also from the *Tanẓīmāt* various concepts, some of which had been partly realised: equality before the law, the treatment of people as individuals and not just as members of a *millet*, individual rights and civil liberties and the separation of powers (especially in regard to the judiciary). Finally, they inherited the concept of the state as an indivisible territorial unit, not just the accumulated possessions of a sovereign monarch, and the concept of *waṭan*, Motherland, added to the traditional concepts of *dīn we dewlet*, faith and state.

Bibliography: For older bibl. and the Ottoman chroniclers of the period, see J.H. Kramers' *EI*[1] art. Of more recent works, see Pakalın, iii, 395-9; Enver Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi. Nizam-i cedit ve tanzimat devirleri, 1789-1856*, [3]Ankara 1970; idem, *Osmanlı tarihi. Islahat fermanı devri, 1856-61*, Ankara 1954; idem, *Osmanlı tarihi. Islahat fermanı devri, 1861-1876*, Ankara 1956; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 101-70; R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963; S.J. and Ezel Kurat Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976-7, ii, 55-171; C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, 151-220; *Tanzimat'tan cümhuriyet'e Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 6 vols., Istanbul 1984-5; P. Dumont, ch. *La période des Tanzîmât (1839-1878)*, in R. Mantran (ed.), *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1989, 459-522; *IA*, arts. *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* (İ.H. Uzunçarşılı) and *Tanzîmât* (A. Cevad Eren). See also the bibl. to KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN AND KHAṬṬ-Ī SHERĪF. (R.H. DAVISON)

ṬAPU (T.), a term of Ottoman fiscal administration.

Poetic texts from the 8th/14th to 10th/16th centuries give the meanings "presence, proximity, lord, highly placed personage, service, duty, reverence" (*Tarama sözlüğü*, v, 3748 ff.). In *ḳānūnnāme*s of the 9th/15th and particularly of the 10th/16th century, however, the word has a much more technical meaning, and signifies the holding of state-owned lands (*mīrī*) by a subject of the sultan, involving the mediation of an officially appointed tax-collector (holder of *tīmār*, *zeʿāmet* or *khāṣṣ*, administrator of a *waḳf*). The term has been translated as "title deed", by which an inhabitant of the Ottoman Empire could prove his right of usufruct (*ḥaḳḳ-ī taṣarruf*) to the *mīrī* land in his possession; it also appears to have been used as a shorthand version of *resm-i ṭapu*, the tax payable when *ṭapu* land was leased by the cultivator. Thus the *ḳānūnnāme* of Bāyezīd II for the *sandjaḳ* of Khüdāwendigār (Bursa) abolished the payments known as *öksüz ṭapusu* (*ṭapu* dues payable by orphans) as a blameworthy innovation. Handing over a piece of land to the would-be cultivator was known as *ṭapuya wirmek*. In many instances, the *ṭapu* dues collected were assigned to the *sipāhī*. The amount of permissible *resm-i ṭapu*, according to the *ḳanūnnāme* of Mora dated 1129/1716, was limited to maximally a year's income from the land in question, after tithes had been subtracted.

Conditions of holding a piece of land by *ṭapu* showed certain common features throughout the Ottoman Empire, while exhibiting quite a few local variations as well. *Ṭapu*-held land consisted of fields, and was in principle leased to the cultivator in perpetuity, as long as the latter cultivated the land. Land left fallow for three years (this period could be extended if the land was infertile) could be taken from the holder and turned over to another. According to the *ḳānūnnāme* of Vize, it did not matter if the original holder of the land had been the one who had first brought it under cultivation; once the land was reassigned, he had lost all rights to it. Some *ḳānūnnāmes*, such as that of Bolu, specified that the former holder of the land might re-acquire his right of possession against payment of *resm-i ṭapu*. While in most places, the peasant's house and garden or vineyard were regarded as freehold property (*mülk*), the *ḳānūnnāme* of İčel mentions a *ṭapu* called *ew ṭapusu*, graded into three categories, *aʿlā*, *ewsaṭ* and *ednā*. Certain kinds of land could not be given out as *ṭapu* lands, such as meadows, the village threshing floor and at least in the early 10th/16th century, the lands assigned to the *sipāhī* as his "home farm".

At least before the late 10th/16th century, *ṭapu* land passed to sons and brothers only; this form of inheritance, different from that applicable to *mülk*, was

known as *intiḳāl-i ʿādī*. The rights of widows were only recognised in some places; while the *ḳānūnnāme* of Khüdāwendigār specified that a woman who cultivated her holding could not be deprived of it, the *ḳānūnnāme* of Čemishgezek determined that wives and daughters possessed no rights whatsoever to the holding. From the late 16th century onwards, certain *ḳānūnnāmes*, such as that of the province of Ḳaramān, permitted daughters to take over their fathers' lands in the absence of male descendants. But while sons inherited without paying, daughters and other family members, such as brothers or grandsons, paid a due known as *resm-i ṭapu*. In some places it was specified that if brothers offered to pay the *ṭapu* due, the administrator could not hand over the land to anyone else. In 1022/1613 the Ohri *ḳānūnnāmesi* declared that the holdings known as *bashtina* would be treated in analogy to other state lands: sons inherited without payment, brothers could take over provided they paid *resm-i ṭapu*, while in this case, daughters and sisters were excluded altogether.

In the *ḳānūnnāme* of Ḳaramān, the reason given for the recognition of daughters' rights was that, a peasant having invested labour in his holding, his descendants should not be deprived of the fruits of their father's labour. In the course of time, the impact of *sherʿī* rules of inheritance was felt to an increasing degree. However, even after the law of 1274/1858 had enlarged the number of persons eligible to inherit a peasant holding, only sons, daughters, fathers and mothers fell into this category (Ö.L. Barkan, *Türk toprak hukuku tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) tarihli arazi kanunnamesi*, repr. in his *Türkiye'de toprak meselesi, toplu eserler*, Istanbul 1980, i, 291-375).

The *arāḍi ḳānūnnāmesi* of 1274/1858 reorganised the modalities of holding-state owned land, with the aim of increasing tax revenues and reasserting the rights of the state to *mīrī* land. The law thus should be viewed as part of the *Tanẓīmāt* process of state centralisation, undoing the process by which local notables had acquired *de facto* control over much of this land (Kemal Karpat, *The land regime, social structure and modernization in the Ottoman Empire*, in W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers (eds.), *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East. The nineteenth century*, Chicago and London 1968, 69-90; A. Salzmann, *An ancient régime revisited. "Privatization" and political economy in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire*, in *Politics and Society*, xxi/4, 393-423). The new legislation was not concerned with *mülk* properties. It recognised the prescriptive rights of people who had occupied a given piece of land without dispute for a period of ten years; neither a previous holder nor the state itself could evict any person after ten years' undisputed possession. In principle, the establishment of the cadaster involved recognising the tenure of the cultivators as permanent; but there were exceptions, as in the Ḥawrān, where in 1285-86/1869, *mīrī* lands hitherto farmed by peasants apparently were sold at auction.

Possession of lands was legalised by issuing a document known as the *ṭapu senedi*. A new office, known as the *Taḥrīr-i emlāk neẓāreti*, was formed in order to put together the new cadaster; every property owner was issued a document known as the *wergi nüfūs tedhkeresi*, which was to serve both as his identity card and as an indication of his future tax status. This cadaster was completed first in the *sandjaḳs* of Bursa and Yanya, and gradually applied to the entire Ottoman territory. In outlying provinces such as Baghdād, Baṣra, the Ḥidjāz and Ṭarābulus-u Gharb the cadasters were only completed at the beginning of the 20th century (S.J. Shaw, *Nineteenth-century Ottoman tax reforms and revenue system*, in *IJMES*, vi [1975], 426-7).

A major novelty of the 1274/1858 law was the fact that *ṭapu* could no longer be issued to collectivities, which in the 10th/16th century had sometimes been done when nomads were involved. Nor was it permissible to grant the lands of a single town or village to one or two persons. However, in certain provinces, such as Lower ʿIrāḳ, this rule was easily circumvented, tribal chiefs having the agricultural/grazing lands of the entire group registered in their own names (Albertine Jwaideh, *Aspects of land tenure and social change in Lower Iraq during late Ottoman times*, in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 345-7). In Lower ʿIrāḳ, tribal inhabitants were disadvantaged, as the Ottoman state maintained that between 1831 and 1869 tax farmers had received the usufruct rights normally granted through the *ṭapu senedi*; the cultivators in question thus were regarded as tenants of the tax farmers, and as such, in spite of their long-term residence in the area, could not claim the lands they worked by prescriptive right. This situation resulted in the uneasy coexistence of Ottoman and tribal landholding systems at least in lower ʿIrāḳ, and in significant tension between government officials and cultivators.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For many of the *ḳānūnnāmes* from which information has been drawn for this article, there is a new edition in Ahmed Akgündüz (ed.), *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri*, Istanbul 1990-, 8 vols. at the time of writing (1996). (SURAIYA FAROQHI)

ṬARAB (A.), a term denoting poetic and musical emotion, evoking a broad spectrum of sentiments, from the most private to the most violent: pleasure, enjoyment, emotional trauma, exaltation (Shiloah, appendix ii) and even a trance capable of resulting in death. Located in the centre of a conceptual net with multiple connections, *ṭarab* makes it possible to sketch the contours of an aesthetic.

The etymology of the word could derive from the agitation of camels, quickening their pace when returning to the encampment (*ṭirāb*). At a very early stage, *ṭarab* is associated with natural audible phenomena such as the song of birds (Imruʾ al-Ḳays, quoted in *LA*, s.v.) or the effect of the singing of camel-riders, singing which would itself originally have been a cry of anguish (al-Ibshīhī, 176).

In the classical period, the word *ṭarab* implies the notion of a more or less regular agitation: the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* describes the caliph Muʿāwiya dancing ecstatically on hearing fine verses chanted (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 18); the prophet Dāwūd is shown to be feverish and emotionally aroused when singing the Psalms (al-Ibshīhī, 176); Ibn al-Djawzī denounces *ṭarab* because "it excites the human being and induces him to lean to right and left" (quoted by Molé, 148). These phenomena of trance (described by numerous accounts in the *K. al-Aghānī*) suggest a connection with the root *ḍ-r-b*, as when al-Ghazālī describes an uncontrolled trance as *iḍṭirāb* (343).

These connotations extend to the aesthetic sphere, with the more precise sense of "vibration": "Her words are moving (*yuṭrib*) and her voice is soft/She makes me vibrate (*tuhizzu-nī*) as javelins vibrate" (Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn, Yemeni poet of the 10th/16th century). Furthermore, bees are reputed to be the creatures most responsive to song (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, 5). This association with the buzzing of the insect (as well as with the song of birds) suggests that, in its most extreme manifestations, *ṭarab* is a living metaphor—dra-

matised and ritualised—for the vibratory processes so characteristic of Arabic vocal art (Shiloah, 121-31), such as trills, leaps in vocal register and vibrations of other kinds. This applies equally to instrumental techniques: "When the plectra (of the lute) are beating, persons susceptible to *ṭarab* feel light [at heart]" (*idhā khafaḳat al-maḍārib, khaffat al-maṭārib*, see *TA*, s.v.). More generally, it seems that *ṭarab* responds to a voluntarily unified and total aesthetic of poetic and musical expression.

Ṭarab was the object of numerous denunciations on the part of the religious authorities. It was under the influence of the *fuḳahā'* that musical instruments were described by the pejorative phrase *ālāt al-ṭarab* (Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, 3rd/9th century; Robson, 19). Following controversies over musical emotion, *ṭarab* came ultimately to denote music, in particular the music of entertainment, with a negative nuance which has gradually diminished ('Abd al-Karīm 'Allāf, *al-Ṭarab 'ind al-'arab*, Baghdād 1963), but has never disappeared completely. Similarly, *taṭrīb* denoted a vocal technique (*LA*) for the cantillation of the Ḳur'ān (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, 136), playing, according to this author, the role of the sugar which makes medicines palatable. The practice of *taṭrīb* was condemned by numerous religious authorities, but according to a consensus, it was acceptable so long as it did not affect the comprehension of the verbal message.

A polysemantic concept, *ṭarab* is a symbol of cultural kinship ("He who is not moved, is not numbered among the Arabs", *alladhī lā yaṭrab laysa min al-'arab*) but also of separation ("The player on the reed pipe does not move his own tribe", *zāmir al-ḥayy lā yuṭrib*. It has local equivalents in the non-Arab or recently arabised Muslim world: in Mauritania, *ḥawl* (Guignard); among the Berbers of Morocco, *amarg* (Lortat-Jacob); among the Persians, *ḥāl* (During); and in Afghānistān, *mast* (Slobin). It may also be interpreted in association with certain marginal or unofficial aspects of Islam.

Although generally secular, *ṭarab* can be taken as related to its mystical equivalent, *wadjd*, the emotion codified by Ṣūfī practice, of which the psychological mechanisms are similar. Like *wadjd*, *ṭarab* emanates from a conception of experience and existence (*wudjūd*) which relates to transcendence (al-Ghazālī, 371-2). It is sudden awareness of an existential rending (Rouget, 409), provoked by a fortuitous encounter or an unexpected discovery (*wadjd*) of a personal sense, in the intensity of the present moment; for Hudjwīrī, "*ṭarab* does not come on demand (*ṭalab*)" (Nicholson, 413). Time also plays a role, in terms of nostalgia, often expressed in the generic poetry of *ṭarab*, and concerning individual life as well as collective destinies: "I have never had a day like the day [spent] with her/Even though other days have been great and glorious" (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 3-4).

Thus *ṭarab* constitutes a sensual rather than an intellectual aesthetic. By so doing, it seems to draw a separating line between on the one hand music, poetry and dance, and on the other, the plastic and decorative arts, often governed by more hieratical conceptions [see FANN]. In offering mediation between symbolically fundamental opposites such as emotion and reason, profane and sacred, nature and culture, the concept of *ṭarab* offers an essential clue to the understanding of Arabo-Islamic civilisation.

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(J. LAMBERT)

TARABA [see TURABA].

ṬARABĀY, a Bedouin clan of the Banū Ḥāritha tribe in northern Palestine.

Several members of the family administered the Ottoman *sandjak* of Ladjdjūn, Palestine, in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1480 a certain Ḳaradja b. Ṭarabāy was appointed by the Mamlūk sultan to guard the strategic roads through Mardj Ibn 'Āmir and act as tax-farmer of a number of villages. During his campaign in Syria and Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I established cordial relations with the Ṭarabāys and granted them the *sandjak* of Ladjdjūn. Ḳaradja was succeeded by his son Ṭarabāy, who gained the confidence of the Ottomans, especially for his opposition to the rebellious governor Djānbirdī al-Ghazzālī in 1520. In the course of the 16th century, the Ṭarabāys were more deeply drawn into the various conflicts between regional administrators and chieftains, thereby straining their relations with the central authorities. However, with some intervals they kept their *sandjak* ('Alī b. Ṭarabāy, 'Assāf b. Ṭarabāy and Ṭarabāy b. 'Alī, who died in 1601). From 1601 until 1647 the *sandjak* was in the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭarabāy, who was in almost continuous conflict with the Druze *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n [*q.v.*], who administered the neighbouring *sandjak* of Ṣafad and attempted to expand his influence in the region. Aḥmad was succeeded in 1647 by his sons Zayn (d. 1660) and Muḥammad (d. 1671), but by 1677 the family had lost its control of Ladjdjūn.

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(R. VAN LEEUWEN)

ṬĀRĀBĪ, MAḤMŪD, the leader of a revolt in the Bukhārā oasis, one with popular religious and social overtones, against Mongol domination (636/1238-9).

Maḥmūd was a sieve-maker from the village of Ṭārāb or Tārāb, four *farsakhs* from the city of Bukhārā on the Khurāsān road (see al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 5; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 114 n. 9, 117, 132), who led a movement against the financial oppression of the Mongol *basḳaḳs* or tax-collectors and also, it appears, against local landowners and other representatives of the leading secular and religious classes, including the *ṣudūr* of the Āl-i Burhān (on whom see Bosworth, *EIr*, art *Āl-e Borhān*; and see ṢADR). His ostensible shamanistic and thaumaturgic powers secured him a large following, and his force was able to occupy Bukhārā itself, killing or expelling Mongol officials, re-

placing the Burhānī *ṣadr* with another religious leader who had thrown in his lot with him, Shams al-Dīn Maḥbūbī, and proclaiming himself sultan of Bukhārā. His forces bloodily crushed a Mongol army sent from Karminiya, but Maḥmūd himself and Shams al-Dīn Maḥbūbī were killed. Maḥmūd's brothers Muḥammad and ʿAlī assumed leadership, but were decisively defeated by a Mongol army sent from Khudjand by the governor Maḥmūd Yalawač [*q.v.*]; only Yalawač's intercession with the Great Khān Ögedey [*q.v.*] saved Bukhārā from the threatened savage sacking.

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ṬARĀBULUS AL-GHARB or simply Ṭarābulus, with the local variants of Iṭrābulus, Iṭrābulus al-Gharb and Ṭrablus, the name for the city of Tripoli, of Africa or of Barbary, in Libya, a designation which is also extended to Tripolitania, a region of North Africa bordering the Mediterranean which, with Cyrenaica and the Fezzan, constitutes the State of Libya [see LĪBIYĀ; BARḲA; FAZZĀN].

1. General.

The name derives from an Arabisation of the Greek term *Tripolis* which dates back to ancient times. The qualificative al-Gharb (= "of the West") was added after the Turkish conquest in 958/1551 to distinguish it from the Syrian city of Tripoli, Ṭarābulus al-Shām [*q.v.*].

The city of Ṭarābulus is situated at lat. 32° 54' N. and long. 13° 11' E., while the region of Ṭarābulus, or Tripolitania, extends from the Tunisian frontier along the coast as far as Ḳūs/Ḳaws (Marble Arch). This arch, constructed by the Italians in 1929, some 210 km/130 miles to the east of Syrte, marks the limits of the province, which extends to the south, in the desert, along the line of latitude 28° N., and encloses an area of 250,000 km². Tripolitania under Italian rule comprised six provinces: Ṭarābulus, Sabha, Ghariyān, Miṣrāṭa, Zāwiya and Khums.

Numerous Islamic dynasties took turns in dominating the city (the Aghlabids, Zīrids and Almohads), which also experienced periods of foreign occupation (Normans from Sicily, Genoese, Sicilians, Spaniards and the Knights of Malta) before being conquered in 1551 by the Ottoman Turks. (G. OMAN)

2. In pre- and early Islamic times.

Ṭarābulus was established by the Phoenicians and was later enlarged by the Greeks and the Romans. According to G.D.B. Jones, 92, the core of the primary settlement of the Phoenicians in Oea must be located at the elevation within the triangle formed by Borg el Hahie. This place, now covered by buildings, has not been excavated.

The port of Oea—which was named Tripoli in the 3rd century A.D. (J. Desanges, *Quelques considérations sur l'usage du grec dans les ports de l'Afrique romaine*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, vi [1995], 30 ff.)—was active during the Graeco-Roman period, but because of the direction of the prevailing wind in North Africa and the difficulty in navigating across it, the main sea routes were usually those between Tripoli and the ports of Greece rather than those between Cyrenaica and Tripoli (M.G. Fulford, *To East and West. The Mediterranean trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 171). Moreover, navigation was easy from Tripoli via Pantelleria to Sicily.

Nevertheless, in Byzantine times interregional trade linking Cyrenaica with Tripoli and Carthage developed. Byzantine Tripoli was an active port from where surplus agricultural produce was exported, along with wild animals, and was also an entrepôt in the sea route from Alexandria to Carthage, and via it to Spain and England. Hagiographical works inform us that, on the eve of the Arab conquest, the Patriarchate of Alexandria financed long-run shipping activities originating along the axis Alexandria-Tripoli-Carthage. The impact of such maritime activities had a clear impact on the social structure of Tripoli and the adjacent area of Tripolitania (see V. Christides, *The conquest of Libya by the Arabs and the spread of Islam into the Maghrib*, forthcoming).

Even before the final conquest of Egypt by the Arabs (25/645), the way to Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the rest of Maghrib was open, and a series of expeditions against Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, which formed the spearhead of the Muslim conquest of North Africa, started. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, in a spectacular march moving from Alexandria (22/642), conquered Barḳa and, by-passing the fortified towns of Apollonia Sozusa (Sūs), Paraetonium (Marsā Maṭrūḥ), and Ptolemais (Ṭulmayṭa), reached Tauchira (Tukra).

The town of Tripoli was the Arabs' next target. ʿAmr soon afterwards launched a second rapid cavalry raid, later in that same year; by-passing Teuchira, where the Byzantines were still entrenched, he appeared in front of the gates of Tripoli. This town was well fortified and, according to Pseudo-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, numerous ships had moved into its port (*Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. Kaʿbī, Tunis 1968). ʿAmr did not possess any siege machines, so he applied his usual strategy of besieging the city and waited patiently. After a month, the Arabs penetrated into the city through a neglected opening and sacked it (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 171, and al-Kindi, *al-Wulāt wa 'l-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo, 10, place the final surrender of Tripoli in 22/642; al-Bakrī (tr. de Slane, *L'Afrique septentrionale*, repr. Paris 1913, 24) places it a year later in 23/643-4). The Byzantine army, along with the majority of the population, abandoned the city and embarked in their ships.

While the Arabs seemed to have secured Barḳa and even Zawīla on the threshold of Fezzān, Tripoli was reconquered by the Byzantines. In the successive Arab raids which followed, the situation in Tripoli is hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources. A. Ṭāhā has shown, basing himself on indirect evidence, that Tripoli was most probably retaken by Ibn Ḥudaydj in 47/667 (*The Moslem conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 60).

There is no concrete evidence whether Tripoli was in Arab hands when ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], avoiding the coast of North Africa, undertook his expedition to the extreme Maghrib. The Byzantines reconquered Barḳa in 71/690 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 202-3) and, most probably, Tripoli was again reoccupied by them. It was firmly secured by the Arabs only in the time of al-Ḥasan b. al-Nuʿmān, and had become an important port for the Muslims when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr completed and stabilised the conquest of North Africa (91/710).

Tripoli during the Arabo-Byzantine struggle in North Africa presents a vivid and typical example of Byzantine defence policies, i.e. concentration on the heavily-fortified coastal towns and dependence on the Byzantine navy. This policy seems to have boomeranged for the Byzantines who were always ready to abandon the city, leaving in their ships and carrying with them the Romanised inhabitants of the

coastal towns, known in Arab sources as the Afāriḳ.

The process of Arabisation and Islamisation in Tripoli in this early period is little known, and archaeological evidence is lacking. The tradition that ʿAmr built a mosque in Tripoli is legendary and has not been confirmed by any discoveries (see G.R.D. King, *Islamic archaeology in Libya, 1969-1989*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 193-208).

Bibliography: See also H.C. Leppey, *Les cités de l'Afrique romain au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1982.

(V. CHRISTIDES)

3. From ʿAbbāsid times to the Ḳaramānlīs.

The Aghlabid Amīrate. In 184/800, an Aghlabid amīrate was established in Ifrīḳiya, where it lasted more than a century, until 297/909. It was during this period, from 212/827 onwards, that the Aghlabids planned the invasion of Sicily. With the exception of an expedition launched against Tripoli in 265/878-9 by the Ṭūlūnids from Egypt under the command of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn—an expedition which ended in defeat—contacts with the East were virtually broken. See further, AGHLABIDS.

In 359/969 Djawhar al-Ṣiḳillī [*q.v.*] set out from Tripoli to conquer Egypt. Three years later, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] was to transfer the headquarters of his Fāṭimid kingdom to Egypt, leaving the Berber chieftain Buluggīn b. Zīrī as his lieutenant in Ifrīḳiya. The latter was to be the founder of the Zīrid amīrate, which included Tripoli.

The Zīrid Amīrate (the Banū Khazrūn and the Banū Hilāl). In 391/1000 the governor of Tripoli ceded the city to Yānis al-Ṣiḳillī, Fāṭimid governor of Cyrenaica. Following this decision, the Zīrid *amīr* Bādīs sent one of his generals to confront the latter. Meanwhile Falfūl, of the Banū Khazrūn, took possession of the city, which was to be governed by this family for a half-century. The refusal of the Zīrids to offer obeisance to the Fāṭimids of Egypt in 442/1950 and their recognition of the Sunnī ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād provoked, by way of punishment, the migration of tribes of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] towards the Maghrib. A branch of the latter, the Banū Zughba, occupied Tripoli. See further, ZĪRIDS.

The Normans (529-53/1135 to 1158-9). In 529/1135, the Normans of Sicily, under Roger II, occupied the island of Djarba [*q.v.*], but their attempt in 1143 to capture Tripoli was a failure. Two years later an expedition commanded by the admiral George of Antioch succeeded in taking possession of the town: this was on 17 or 18 June 1146. In 1148 the same fate befell al-Mahdiyya, Sfax and Gabès. The Norman domination of Tripoli lasted barely twelve years. In 553/1158-9, when news of the Almohad advance became widely known, the inhabitants of Tripoli rebelled and succeeded in expelling the Normans.

It was perhaps in anticipation of this occupation that the Norman kings of Sicily had minted miniature gold coins, of approximately one gram in weight, called *ṭarī* [*q.v.*], with the *shahāda* engraved on one side and on the other, in the form of a T, the cross of St. Antony.

The Almohads (*al-Muwaḥḥidūn*, 524-668/1130-1269 [*q.v.*]). In 554/1159, the Almohads occupied Mahdiyya, Sfax and Tripoli, creating for the first time a unitary state in North Africa. During the period of their domination, Tripolitania was thrown into chaos by the incursions of two adventurers, Ḳarāḳush, of Ghuzz, i.e. Turcoman origin, from Egypt, and ʿAlī al-Māyurḳī, from the family of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*] in Majorca, who had inherited Almoravid ambitions regarding the colonisation of Africa.

In 626/1229, the governors of Ifrīḳiya belonging to the family of Abū Ḥafṣ proclaimed themselves independent and inaugurated the Ḥafṣid dynasty [*q.v.*]. Later, a similar declaration in Libya was witnessed on the part of a Berber family, the Banū Thābit or Banū ʿAmmār of the Hawwāra tribe. The first to achieve quasi-independence was Muḥammad b. Thābit b. ʿAmmār in *ca.* 716/1326-7.

Filippo Doria (755/1354). In the year 755/1354, or according to other sources, the following year, the Genoese Filippo Doria succeeded, by means of a trick, in taking possession of the city of Tripoli. A few months later, the Genoese managed to sell the city for 50,000 gold *mithḳāls* to Aḥmad b. Makkī, who recognised the sovereignty of the Marīnid sultans [*q.v.*] until 766/1364-5.

Intervention by the Aragonese kings of Sicily. Towards the end of the 14th century, the Aragonese kings of Sicily took a renewed interest in North Africa and sought to recapture the island of Djarba which had been lost in 1134. In 790/1388, the Admiral of Sicily Manfredi Chiaramonte succeeded in taking the island of Djarba, but the inhabitants rose in revolt. However, five years later in 795/1392, King Martino of Sicily took possession of the island with the declared consent of the population. This occupation lasted until 801/1398, when the Ḥafṣid sultan of Tunis regained control of both Djarba and Tripoli.

The Spanish and the Knights of Malta (1510-51). On 25 July 1510 the Spanish took Tripoli by assault. Later, in 1539, Charles V offered the city to the Knights of the Sovereign Order of Malta. The latter rebuilt and enlarged the Castle; however, on 14 August 1551 they were obliged to capitulate when besieged by a formidable Turkish fleet.

The Ottoman conquest of Tripoli (958/1551). After the defeat of the Knights of Malta, the government of Tripoli was entrusted to Murād Agha, the first Turkish governor, who succeeded in inflicting another crushing defeat on the Maltese with a surprise attack on the town of Zuwāra.

In 964/1556 Murād Agha died and was succeeded by Ṭorghud (Dargut, Dragut, Dorghut, etc.) ʿAlī [*q.v.*] well-known for his privateering activities. His period of rule was marked by two memorable events: the repulse of another expedition against Tripoli sought by the Grand Master of Malta, in which 14,000 Spanish, German and Italian soldiers participated, and the assault on Malta which was threatening the Turkish conquest of Africa. Ṭorghud actually died at Malta on 23 June 1565. He was succeeded by Yaḥyā Pasha, who died the following year, or, according to other sources, by Ulugh ʿAlī (known as Lucciali in Calabrian accounts), Ṭorghud's lieutenant and a renowned corsair in his own right, who later became Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet and died in 1587. Little is known of the Turkish governors who followed; their names were Djaʿfar Muṣṭafā Pasha, and Ramaḍān Pasha, who was killed in 1584.

In 1587, according to the Maltese archives, when Ḥasan Agha was governing Tripoli, the Knights of Malta tried once again to put troops ashore in support of local insurgents against the Turkish government. The years between 1590 and 1610 saw a series of Turkish governors busily engaged in suppressing revolts in Tripoli and its environs.

Relations with the European powers. For many years, Tripoli accepted no consular representatives of European states. All matters concerning the city were handled directly by the Sublime Porte in Constantinople. During the 17th century, some consulates were estab-

lished, their primary objectives being purely commercial. Later, these consulates were to assume political importance, on account of the frequent "incidents" provoked by corsair activities and continual military interventions by the warships of the European states.

The first consul of whom anything is known was a certain Du Molin, appointed in 1630 by an emissary of Louis XIII. Some years later, in 1658, Samuel Toker was transported to the city by an English fleet, to take up his appointment as consul on behalf of England. With the Knights of Malta, on account of the objectives of their Order, there existed a permanent state of war against the unbelievers, although this was occasionally interrupted by courteous diplomatic exchanges. The ransoming of slaves, and religious aid to Christian merchants and artisans, were promoted by Redemptorist missionaries and Brothers of St. Francis sent by Propaganda Fide.

Tripoli under the Dayîs and the Turkish and Levantine Beys (17th century). The history of Tripoli in the 17th century is a succession of struggles and revolts, both within and in the neighbourhood of the city. Appointed governor of the city in 1610 was a certain ʿAlī Bek, of Genoese origin, who used to send the sum of 300 crowns and 64 aspers to his sister, living in the vicinity of Genoa.

Another individual, Sulaymān Safar Day, succeeded in gaining quasi-independence but was hanged by Khalīl Bey, Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet, for ignoring the emissaries sent by the Sublime Porte. After him, Muṣṭafā Sharīf Day also lost his life in tragic circumstances *ca.* 1631. Another chief of the local militia, Ramaḍān Day, governed from 1631 to 1633 before handing over power to a Levantine corsair, Meḥmed Pasha Saḳîzlî from Chios, who governed from 1633 to 1649, obtaining the title of Pasha from Sultan Murād IV. He also succeeded in extending his domain as far as Cyrenaica and the Fezzan. His work was continued by ʿOthmān Pasha, likewise a freedman from the Greek island of Chios, who governed until 1672 and was one of the most powerful and energetic pashas of the 17th century.

In the years that followed, Tripoli seems to have found no genuine or effective leaders, and it was not until the period between 1687 and 1701, under the rule of the Montenegrin Meḥmed Imām Pasha, that the city enjoyed stable government. His nephew, Khalīl Beg, was deposed by corsair chiefs and Janissaries towards the end of 1709. On returning from Istanbul, where he had gone in search of the aid necessary for the assertion of his rights, he found in control of Tripoli a man who showed no inclination to allow himself to be supplanted, Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, founder of the dynasty which was to govern Tripoli for the next 124 years.

Bibliography: The principal comprehensive work concerning the history of Tripoli of the West remains that of E. Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania dalla conquista araba al 1911*, Rome 1968, 398, published posthumously through the good offices of Maria Nallino. In the *Prefazione*, pp. xv-xxii, he lists in detail all the sources and the bibliography which he has used. Other bibliographical notices are to be found in *Gli studi sul Vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970. II. L'Oriente islamico*, Rome 1971, chs. by U. Rizzitano, *Gli studi di storia araba*, 61-2, and S. Bono, *Gli studi sulla storia del Maghreb dal sec. XVI al 1830*, 69-88. The most recent (1982) and apparently most complete study of the Turkish period (1510-1911) is that of S. Bono in the series *Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Tripoli*, entitled *Storiografia e fonti occidentali sulla Libia (1510-1911)*.

For information relating to numismatics and epigraphy, see G. Cimino, *La zecca di Tripoli d'Occidente sotto il dominio dei Caramanli*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, Milan (1916), 527-40; idem, *Storia e numismatica dell'Africa del Nord*, in *Libya*, Rome-Milan (1927), iii, 202-27; E. Rossi, *Le iscrizioni arabe e turche del Museo di Tripoli (Libia)*, Department of Antiquities, Tripoli 1953, 107. (G. OMAN)

4. The rule of the Ḳaramānlīs (1123-1251/1711-1835).

For this, see ḲARAMĀNLĪ.

5. From 1835 to the present day.

The Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd II's expedition of May 1835 ended the power of ʿAlī II b. Yūsuf Pasha and the Ḳaramānlī line of virtually independent governors, and the Turks were able to re-establish their power over the whole of Tripolitania as far east as the site of former Barca [see BARḲA], although most of Cyrenaica was speedily to fall under the control of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order. The town of Tripoli now became the capital of the Ottoman *pashalïḳ* of that name.

After the Italians landed on the Libyan coast in September 1911, Tripoli became the capital of the colony of Libya, and has remained that of the independent Libya proclaimed in 1951. The Italians began extensive remodelling of the old town, with a garden city to the southwest of the old Muslim town and the Jewish *ḥāra* (now that of modern administrative offices, foreign embassies, etc.), demolition of part of the town walls and restoration of other parts of them, the construction of a modern port and the building of a Roman Catholic cathedral for the influx of Italian colonists (since 1970 turned into the Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir Mosque).

The modern city of Tripoli (lat. 32° 54' N., long 13° 11' E.) has now become a centre of east-west communications along the southern Mediterranean coast, with the Tunis-Benghazi road running through it, a railway running westwards to Zuwāra and one eastwards to al-Khums, and an international airport constructed some 34 km/21 miles south of the city. The post-1955 oil boom in Libya, plus a very high birth rate in the country at large, have caused a dramatic growth in Tripoli's population, estimated at 820,000 in 1980. As well as being the national capital, Tripoli is also the chef-lieu of the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Tripoli [see LĪBIYĀ. 3-4].

Bibliography: J. Wright, *Libya, a modern history*, London 1982. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬARĀBULUS (or AṬRĀBULUS) AL-**SHĀM**, the Greek Tripolis, called "of Syria" in the Arabic sources to distinguish it from Ṭarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*] "of the West", Tripoli in Libya, an historic town of the Mediterranean coast of the Levant, to the north of Djubayl and Batrūn [*q.vv.*]. It lies partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Ḳadīsha (Arabic, Abū ʿAlī). West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the port of al-Mīnā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall.

1. History up to the Mamlūk period.

The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown; its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. In early Christian times, it soon became

a bishopric, allegedly founded by St. Peter himself, who installed there Tripoli's first bishop. The old town lay on the site of the present port. It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking water. This was shown when Muʿāwiya, in the caliphate of ʿUthmān, sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Azdī named Ṣufyān b. Mudjīb thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so, and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped. To populate the empty town, Muʿāwiya made a considerable number of Jews (al-Balādhurī; al-Yaʿḳūbī says Persians) settle there. Muʿāwiya is said to have sent there annually some troops under an *ʿāmil*, who, when the town was blockaded by sea, withdrew again except for the *ʿāmil* and a handful of men. Soon afterwards, there was a Byzantine attempt to recover Tripoli, which was repelled by the Arabs, with the Byzantine commander being chased out to sea, captured and killed (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 127-8; cf. F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 154-5, 246-7). Byzantine hopes of recovering the town continued, and in the 10th century, one of Greek resurgence, several attacks are recorded in the Greek and Arabic sources: an attack by Nicephorus Phocas in 968, destruction of the town in 975 by John Tzimisces, further attacks by the governor of Antioch and Basil II in the 990s, etc.

Al-Yaʿḳūbī in his geographical work mentions Ṭarābulus's splendid harbour as capable of holding a thousand ships (*Buldān*, 327, tr. Wiet, 178), and some fifty years later, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal speak of the great fertility of the surrounding area, with its palms and sugar-cane fields. Ṭarābulus was considered as the port for Damascus, and it was defended by garrisons (*yurābaṭu*) of troops from Damascus and other *djunds* who rallied there for offensive operations or when attack was threatened (al-Iṣṭakhrī[1], 61; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 175, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 172). An excellent description is given by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438/1047) of the town under the Fāṭimids. The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority were Shīʿīs, and many villages belonged to it. The garrison of the ruling power was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there, while the ruler himself had ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 14-15, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 12-13).

In the Crusading period, a County of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse, but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493/1101, and to isolate the town more effectively, built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Ḳadīsha, called Mons Peregrinus or the Pilgrims' Hill (by the Arabs Sandjīl, i.e. St.-Gilles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499/1105 in this fortress without having attained his goal, and it was not till 12 July 1109 that the beleaguered town capitulated. Al-Idrīsī, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sandjīl", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Ṭarābulus and of the rocky islets off the harbour (see *ZDPV*, viii, 135-6, Ar. text, 17). In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, Ṭarābulus held out for another century as an important base for the Christians, until in 688/1289 the army of the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] appeared before it and it had to surrender on 26 April. This proved a turning point in its history, for the sultan, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripoli on the Pilgrims' Hill, while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Mīnā (from the Greek λιμήν). Al-Dimashḳī, who wrote about it *ca.* A.D. 1300, describes the plentiful supply of water in the town—in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long and 70 ells high was built—and the gardens, with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Ṭarābulus, including Botrys, Buḳayʿa and the Djabal al-Nuṣayriyya (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 207, 253).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For the classical and early Islamic periods, see *PW*, vii A.1, cols. 203-7 (E. Honigmann). Further, see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 25-6; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 348-52; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyages en Syrie*, Méms. IFAO, Cairo 1913-14, i, 116-31; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927; H. Probst, *Die geographischen Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus*, 1927, i, 28-9; ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Taʾrīkh Ṭarābulus al-siyāsī wa ʾl-ḥaḍārī ʿabr al-ʿuṣūr*, i, *ʿAṣr al-ṣirāʿ al-ʿarabī al-bīzanṭī wa ʾl-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya*, Tripoli 1398/1978. For the Crusading period, see the standard histories of Grousset, Runciman, and Setton and Baldwin, i-ii.

(F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. From the Mamlūk period onwards.

As the chef-lieu of an Ottoman *sandjak* after the conquest of Syria, becoming an *eyālet* in *ca.* 1078/1570, Ṭarābulus served as a port of entry for Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt within the Syrian interior. It was twice occupied and sacked during the next century, in 1016/1607 by ʿAlī b. Djānbulāṭ, the ally of Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn, and then in 1033/1624 by Fakhr al-Dīn himself. The population declined from 1,743 families in 1545 (1,294 Muslim, 316 Christian and 178 Jewish) to 1,320 families in 1623 (749 Muslim, 432 Christian and 139 Jewish) with the town's economic importance decreasing as that of Beirut, Ṣaydā (Sidon) and ʿAkkā (Acre) rose.

The town falls into two parts on each side of the Nahr Abū ʿAlī, with the old town on one side, with its markets grouped round the Great Mosque and the Ḳubba quarter. The *sūḳ*s with their stone arcading and their old khāns (Khān al-Kharrāṭīn "of the tailors", Khān al-Ṣābūn "of soap", built in the 11th/17th century, etc.) are still very active; they open out on to the river, where stands the 8th/14th century al-Madrasa al-Burṭāsiyya mosque. The Ṭaylān mosque, from 736/1336, with two white domes, is one of the town's finest monuments, standing a little aside from the centre.

Ṭarābulus continued to decline in the 18th century, and only after 1801 did Muṣṭafā Barbar Aba, Aḥmad Djazzār Pasha's commandant of the town, establish a certain amount of order there in conjunction with the Amīr Bashīr Shihāb of Mount Lebanon. In 1861 it became the centre of a *liwāʾ* in the *wilāyet* of Beirut, and in 1876, under Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], subsequently gov-

ernor of Damascus, entered the modern age of westernisation: a road and a railway were constructed to Ḥimṣ. *Ca.* 1880, the town had six quarters, Ḥaddādīn, Nūrī, Muḥayṭira, Rummānī, Suwayḳa and Bāb al-Ḥadīd, but towards the end of the century, the population spilled out from the ancient limits. A road to Beirut was opened in 1909 and a rail link with Aleppo in 1911. At that time, the grouping of Ṭarābulus and al-Mīnā had 32,500 inhabitants, with 24,000 in the first and 8,500 in the second (comprising 24,100 Sunnī Muslims, 6,800 Greek Orthodox and 1,500 Maronites).

Tripoli was involved in the upsets of the last decades of Ottoman rule. This last was exercised through the great Sunnī families of the town who, after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, acquired a greater degree of autonomy; thus the *ʿulamāʾ* of the town were able to nominate their *muftī* directly. The Committee of Union and Progress came to power in Istanbul with the parliamentary elections when the Turkish constitution was restored, but their authority was badly received in Tripoli, nostalgic for the Ḥamīdian period. When the *amīr* Fayṣal entered Damascus on 1 October 1918, he nominated the *muftī* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāma as governor of Tripoli, but the French landed there on 12 October 1918.

With the creation of Greater Lebanon, the Mandatory power separated Tripoli from Syria, and henceforth, the French occupation represented a challenge for the town's Muslim population (over 3/4 of the whole). Karāma lost his posts as *muftī* and governor, and now became *zaʿīm* or leader of the anti-French movement. At the time of independence in 1942, Tripoli had been traumatised by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, its separation from Syria and incorporation within Lebanon. In 1945 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Karāma was nominated Prime Minister, but was unable to secure recognition as *zaʿīm* of the Sunnī community of the whole of Lebanon nor even to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Tripoli.

It was at Tripoli that the first Lebanese civil war broke out in 1958, led by Ras̲h̲īd Karāma, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's son. Against the President Camille Chamoun's attempts to attach his country to the West, the people of Tripoli were attracted to Nasserism and the ideal of Arab unity. Twelve years later, it was in the quarters of old Tripoli that the "state of those outside the law" (*dawlat al-maṭlūbīn*) saw the light of day. A few years after the beginning of the second civil war in 1975, the Movement for Islamic Unification (*ḥarakat al-tawḥīd al-islāmī*), a federation of all the Sunnī Islamist groups in the town, was formed under the leadership of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Saʿīd S̲h̲aʿbān, who then took control. In 1983 Tripoli became the refuge for Yasser Arafat and the PLO when they were ejected from Beirut, but they were dislodged by Syrian army bombardments. After Syrian repression of the town's quarters in autumn 1985, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ S̲h̲aʿbān went over to the Syrian side.

Tripoli had over 300,000 inhabitants in 1995, and has resumed its place as the second economic centre of Lebanon, based on the agricultural riches of the plain of Kūra to the south and east, with its olive groves, and those of Akkār towards the north and central Syria. The cultivation of fruit and vegetables is increasing in this well-watered region, being modernised with both internal capital and finance from outside Lebanon. Industry is also well represented, with an oil refinery to the north of the town (at the terminus of the pipe-line, at present out of service, bringing the oil of Kirkuk to the Mediterranean coast) and the biggest cement factory in Lebanon, that of Chekka, to the south.

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AL-ṬARĀBULUSĪ AL-RAFFĀʾ, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AḤMAD b. Munīr b. Aḥmad b. Mufliḥ Muhad̲h̲d̲h̲ab al-Dīn [al-Mulk], prominent poet of Syria in the time of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī and rival of S̲h̲araf al-Dīn al-Ḳaysarānī [*q.v.*]. He was born in 473/1080 in Ṭarābulus al-S̲h̲ām (Tripoli, Lebanon) and died in Aleppo on D̲j̲umādā II 548/September 1153. His father sang and recited poetry in the markets of Tripoli. Al-Ṭarābulusī was a S̲h̲īʿī Rāfiḍī, and was held in prison for a certain time because of his satires (*hid̲j̲āʾ*) against Böri b. Tug̲h̲tigin, the *amīr* of Damascus 522-6/1128-32, who even threatened to cut out his tongue. He was released after the intervention of the chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fayrūz. After that he lived in exile and was only allowed to return by Böri's son Ismāʿīl. But soon afterwards, he provoked the anger of this ruler, too, and was forced to hide. Then he lived in Ḥamāt, S̲h̲ayzar (in the fortress of the Banū Munḳid̲h̲) and Aleppo. He witnessed the second siege of Damascus under Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī, whom he praised in his most eloquent laudatory poems. His *Dīwān* has been edited.

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ṬARABZUN, the Turkish form of TREBIZOND, Greek Τραπεζοῦς, a town on the Black Sea shores of northern Anatolia.

At the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire after the Frankish-Venetian conquest of Byzantium in 600-601/1204, Ṭarabzun, which had been occupied briefly by the Sald̲j̲ūḳs at the end of the 6th/11th century, became the centre of a principality governed by a branch of the Comnene dynasty. The latter continued to use the Byzantine imperial title, and the strong walls of the Citadel and Middle City (Orta Ḥiṣār), which go back to Roman times, were supplemented by a town wall constructed by Alexius II in 724/1324. For the 9th/15th century, Clavijo and Bessarion have left descriptions of the Comnene palace, which was located in the Citadel, and presumably was also used by Selīm I and Süleymān I, who resided in Ṭarabzun as princes. Ṭarabzun's walls withstood numerous sieges, and allowed the tiny principality to survive until 865/1461. Hostilities with the Sald̲j̲ūḳs were probably caused by the commercial links of Ṭarabzun with the Crimean ports (620/1223); in the course of this war, there was fighting around Sinop, and an attack against Ṭarabzun itself. In 628/1231, after a lost battle against the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, the remnants of the defeated K̲h̲ʷārazm-

shāh's army sought refuge on Trapezuntine territory. The commercial importance of the town during the 7th/13th century was considerable, as caravans to or from Persia brought goods for trans-shipment. The Venetians having lost control over the Bosphorus following the reestablishment of the Byzantine Empire with Genoese help (659/1261), the Genoese also traded in Ṭarabzun, concentrating their attentions upon the exportation of alum. Both Genoese and Venetians lived in special town quarters. Pero Tafur, who visited Ṭarabzun in 841/1437-8, thought that the town held 4,000 inhabitants (*Travels and adventures*, tr. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 131; A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols., Washington 1985, i, 178-249).

After the Ottoman takeover of Ṭarabzun by Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, the last Comnenus ruler of the city was banished from the area. Immediately following the conquest, soldiers who had participated in the fighting (*ghāziyān-i Ṭarabzun*) and some Christian lords who had joined the Ottomans were awarded *tīmārs*. By 821/1486, most of the Christian aristocracy and the original conquerors must have been obliged to leave the area, for a *mufaṣṣal* register from the reign of Bāyezīd II shows that of 207 *tīmārs* then existing in the area, only 21 were in the hands of Christian *sipāhīs*. Among the new *tīmār*-holders there were numerous Albanians, Janissaries recently Islamised and also some Christians, including the so-called *gebrān-i wilāyet-i Torul* (Ardasa). By 924/1515, *tīmār*-holding had become a Muslim occupation (Ö.L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler*, in *İstanbul Üniv. İktisat Fak. Mecmuası*, xv [1953-4], 217-24; Heath Lowry, *Privilege and property in Ottoman Maçuka in the opening decades of the Tourkokratia: 1461-1553*, in *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Society*, ed. idem and A.A. Bryer, Birmingham and Washington 1986, 97-128). Ottoman military presence was further assured by an auxiliary cavalry consisting of *müsellems*, local Christians enjoying tax-exemptions in exchange for military service. However, by 921/1515 these men had been reclassified as *reʿāyā*.

In addition, townsmen were brought into Ṭarabzun proper from Amasya, and settled in a *maḥalle* named after their hometown. The Chrysokephalos church was transformed into a mosque by order of Meḥemmed II, and subsequently was known as the ʿAtīḳ Djāmiʿ. Tradition also claimed that the St. Eugenios church was converted into a mosque at this time. But this probably only happened around 905-6/1500; the edifice was known first as the Yeñi Djāmiʿ and later as the Yeñi Djumʿa Djāmiʿi (Lowry, *Trabzon's* Yeni Cuma Camii (*New Friday Mosque*), in *Boğaziçi Üniv. Hümaniter Bilimler Dergisi*, iii [1975], 91-102). Ṭarabzun's third major church, known as the Aya Ṣofyā and located at a distance of 3 km west of the city walls, was also converted into a mosque. After Byzantine frescoes had been uncovered there in Republican times, the building was turned into a museum in 1964.

Among the pious foundations established in Ottoman times, the most prominent was the Khātūniyye ʿImāreti, dedicated to the mother of Selīm I. An account book dated 1000-1/1591-2 lists mills and meadows in nearby Değirmenderesi, two *ḥammāms*, a sizeable number of olive trees, but also taxes such as *bād-i hawā* and tithes from various private properties, which normally should have accrued to the state treasury. The foundation also collected customs duties from some smaller ports near Ṭarabzun. The Khātūniyye ʿImāreti owned shops in the vicinity of the *bedestān* as well as the *bedestān* itself, in addition to the land on which the *sarāy-i ʿatīḳ* and the sultan's stable were located. The *ʿimāret* disbursed food to large numbers of people: the officials in charge of the storehouse needed to account for 26,253 *ūḳiyyes* of meat and 2174 *kīles* of rice, while the same document mentions 1789 live sheep in the care of the *ʿimāret* kitchen (BBA, *Maliyeden müdevver* 15996). The foundation also lent out money, at times entering into partnerships with merchants (R. Jennings, *Pious foundations in the society and economy of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565-1640*, in *JESHO*, xxxiii [1990], 313-34).

While the town of Ṭarabzun was Islamised rapidly, nearby rural *ḳaḍās* such as Mačuḳa (Maçka) retained many features inherited from the Byzantine period. The *taḥrīr* of 921/1515 shows 2623 households headed by Christian adult males residing in Mačuḳa, in addition to 188 widow households. Tax-paying Muslims numbered 51. Between 865-6/1461 and 960/1553, the period covered by the *taḥrīrs* extant for this region, the Muslim population increased to 101 households, mostly local people who had converted. While many properties held by monasteries were converted into *tīmārs* following the Ottoman conquest, the three major monasteries located in the valley of Mačuḳa itself, namely, Vazelon, Soumela and the Peristera, retained much of their property down into the 20th century. On his visit to Ṭarabzun in 1112-13/1701, Pitton de Tournefort put up in a convent building in the town proper, which was still owned by a local monastery.

For the 11th/17th century, our major source is Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited Ṭarabzun at the very beginning of his travels. Based on the account of Meḥmed ʿĀshīḳ, himself a native of Ṭarabzun, Ewliyā describes the (still surviving) fortifications along with their gates. He was especially impressed by the Khātūniyye and its food stores kept by the *ʿimāret*. There was a daily distribution of soup and bread to *medrese* students, while on Friday nights, pilav, *zerde* and meat stew were handed out. Ewliyā also was much interested in the ethnography of the area, and provides information on the goldsmiths, Ṭarabzun's most prestigious craft. He further devotes considerable space to the trade in and the preparation of anchovy, a local speciality to the present day. Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā* contains very similar information, including details on fruit and fish (Istanbul 1145/1732, 429-30).

Well into the 10th/16th century, Ṭarabzun owed much of its importance to seaborne trade; Italian merchants had visited the town frequently before the Ottoman conquest, and some of them elected to stay on as Ottoman subjects (Lowry, *The question of Trabzon's* Efrenciyan *population, 1486-1583*, in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, ii, Ankara 1981, 1493-1501). The late 9th/15th century *taḥrīr* still separates them into Venetians and Genoese. Toward the end of the 10th/16th and the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the trade of Ṭarabzun seems to have been less than prosperous. While in 952/1545-6 customs duties were farmed out for 453,333 *aḳčes* a year, the same farm in 1036/1622-3 produced only 500,000 *aḳčes*. Yet in the middle of the 10th/16th century 60 *aḳčes* had been equivalent to an Ottoman gold piece, while in 1032/1622-23, the rate was 170-200 *aḳčes* for 1 gold coin (DBŞM. 17229). This crisis must have been in part due to the Ottoman-Persian wars, which closed off the city's major trade route, and to the Djelālī rebellions, which caused many people, particularly among the non-Muslims, to leave the area. Cossack raids were also troublesome. Commercial crisis may also explain the difficulties of the *bedestān*; in 1022/1613, the building (which survives, and may at least partly go back to

pre-Ottoman times) had been lying in ruins for several years (K. Kreiser, *Bedestan-Bauten im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xxix [1979], 397-8). In order to finance repairs, the administration of the Khātūniyye *ʿimāret* gave out a long lease and demanded rent in advance. By 1042/1632-3 the *bedestān* was again ruined in a Cossack raid; however, this time the building was repaired rather more rapidly than before, and Ewliyā claimed that much business was done here.

One of Ṭarabzun's major export goods during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was wine; this came from the vineyards near the town, but also from other localities on the eastern Black Sea coast, particularly Giresun. Ewliyā Čelebi refers to the "delicately perfumed" grapes tended in the numerous vineyards around the town. The wine trade to the northern shores of the Black Sea had existed in Byzantine times, but expanded greatly when the Ottoman closure of the Black Sea largely eliminated the competition of Mediterranean wines. Both Christian Abaza and Russians purchased Ṭarabzun wine in sizeable quantities, until the opening of the Black Sea to European navigation after 1188/1774 resulted in the decline of this trade. After the mid-13th/19th century, wine was only made for local use, and following the exodus of the Pontus Christians in the population exchange of 1923, vinification ceased entirely and vineyards contracted to the point of insignificance (X. de Planhol, *Grandeur et décadence du vignoble de Trébizonde*, in *JESHO*, xxii [1979], 314-29).

In the early 13th/19th century the Trabzon region suffered much from the tension between locally powerful families, particularly the Ṭuzdju Oghullarî, and the governors appointed by Maḥmūd II; in Ramaḍān 1231/August 1816 the entire town was occupied by Ṭuzdjuoghlu Memish Agha. Sporadic unrest continued until 1834. In the 1820s, British diplomatic officials produced plans for the re-routing of British exports to and imports from Persia by way of Trabzon, and in 1826, the first goods destined for Erzurum and Tabrīz appeared in the harbour. From 1836, transport was assured by British, French, Ottoman, Austrian and Russian steamers, and trade increased in the mid-19th century. In his report on the state of the Ottoman Empire in 1861, M.B.C. Collas claimed that, after Istanbul, this was the most commercially active Ottoman city. To Trieste and Britain both Persian silk and locally grown hazelnuts were despatched, while refined sugar and textiles were sent from Britain, in addition to Belgian arms and paper. The trade in livestock was also important, as animals sent to Istanbul from eastern Anatolia often passed through Trabzon (*La Turquie en 1861*, Paris 1861, 209). In 1900 trade had grown to the point that 487 steamers carrying 522,000 tons were employed, in addition to thousands of sailing ships. However, there were constant difficulties due to the state of the Trabzon-Erzurum land route, passable only for pack animals, and Russian customs policy aimed at diverting the trade to Transcaucasia. From the early 1880s, much of the trade between Persia and Britain passed again through the Persian Gulf ports. Trabzon traffic stagnated in absolute terms, while its market share decreased (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon trade, 1830-1900. Rise and decline of a route*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 18-27). Cuinet, who described the state of Trabzon in 1890, mentions the complaints of local merchants on account of the poor state of Trabzon's port. Among commercially-significant local products, he lists silk and cotton fabrics, in addition to fruit exported to Russia, hazelnuts, tobacco and beans.

During World War I, Trabzon was in the line of fire; most market links were severed, and a large number of the town's young men perished in the Caucasus campaign of 1914. It was bombarded several times by Russian fleets; the attack of 1915 causing over 1,300 casualties and widespread destruction. In 1916, a Russian army occupied Trabzon; during this period intercommunal tensions between Turks, Pontic Greeks and Armenians dramatically increased. In the power vacuum following the withdrawal of Russian troops, fierce intercommunal fighting ensued. In 1918, Trabzon was reoccupied by Ottoman troops. The town was an important organisational centre for resistance against the partition of Anatolia. In 1923 it was the scene of the murder of Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī, a central figure of the Turkish Communist party recently founded in the Soviet Union, who was passing through Trabzon in an attempt to reach Ankara.

After the agreement concerning the Turco-Greek exchange of populations negotiated at Lausanne, the local Greek community, which had numbered 91,000 in Cuinet's time, was expelled from the area in 1923.

Throughout the Republican period, the economy of Trabzon has suffered from structural problems. Agriculture predominates, but suitable land is in short supply. Farmers working minuscule plots produce tobacco, hazelnuts and tea for the market, and depend both on the vagaries of world demand and government decisions concerning the quality and price of tea. Population densities are among the highest in Turkey, and would be even higher if it were not for emigration, especially to Istanbul. Trabzon itself possesses little industry, but a commercial tradition going back into the Ottoman period, when the town was known for its Muslim bourgeoisie, has helped Trabzon maintain its trade, though the port, modernised in 1954, handles much less traffic than nearby Samsun. In the 1980s transit trade with Iran once again became important. A technical university was founded in 1963, and expanded to a full-scale one in 1982. But since the tertiary sector generates few jobs, the town, with a population of 108,000 in 1980, has grown less than other comparable urban centres.

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ṬARAFA, a name given to a number of Arab poets, chief among whom was the pre-Islamic composer of a *Muʿallaḳa* [*q.v.*] ʿAmr b. al-ʿAbd b. Sufyān, so-called, according to some, because of his use of the participle *muṭṭarif* (although, by analogy with al-Mutalammis [*q.v.*] and similar sobriquets, we might expect him to be known as *al-Muṭṭarif*), while according to others, it is a *nomen unitatis* from *ṭarfāʾ*, a type of tamarisk (see further Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 115, and M. Seligsohn, *Dîwân Ṭarafa ibn al-ʿAbd al-Bakrî*, Paris 1901, 3-4). Ṭarafa was purportedly related to the poets Muraḳḳish the Elder and Younger [*q.vv.*] and to al-Mutalammis; his sister Khirniḳ composed verse; and his tribe, the Ḍubayʿa, belonged to the Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, a sub-sect of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], which also boasted the poets al-Aʿshā and ʿAmr b. Ḳamīʾa. It is unclear whether these familial ties were uterine or whether the poets constituted an Arabian guild of craftsmen, of the type discussed for ancient Mesopotamia by W.G. Lambert, *Ancestors, authors and canonicity*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, xi (1957), 1-14. Whether Ṭarafa was a Christian or a staunch pagan cannot be determined from his verse; no confidence should be placed on his father's name (al-ʿAbd, an indeterminate theophoric), or on the name of al-Mutalammis's father, which is variously given as ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā: see Ch. Pellat, art. AL-MUTALAMMIS.

According to Ibn Ḳutayba (*Shiʿr*, 91-2), the poet Labīd referred to Ṭarafa as *ibn al-ʿishrīn*, the one in his twenties, thereby either referring to or occasioning the legends of Ṭarafa's premature death: see also Ibn al-Sallām al-Djumaḥi, *Ṭabaḳāt fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo n.d., 45, who slots him in the fourth echelon (*ibid.*, 115).

Nothing concrete is known about Ṭarafa. Several episodes in his "life" are lovingly, albeit variously, related by the mediaeval literati, although not by Abu 'l-Faradj in the *Aghānī*, which contains no chapter devoted to him. These reconstructions show that Ṭarafa's poetry was subjected to an exhaustive philological and biographical scrutiny at a very early stage, with the episodes in his life being "corroborated" by allusions in his verse. Indeed, it can be argued that the values reflected in the Ṭarafa legend, fidelity, to the point of extinction, to regal command, a hedonistic love of life and a fierce, indomitable independence, are more appropriate to a later age, celebrating loyalty to one's monarch and exultation in the Bedouin spirit of one's ancestors, suggesting that Ṭarafa was held up as an emblematic paragon of sorts. Scrutiny of Ibn Ḳutayba's entry on Ṭarafa (*Shiʿr*, 88-96) reveals two biographies, one narrating his death (88-90), and a condensed version of his short life and gruesome death ascribed to Ibn Ḳutayba himself (90-1). A full, manifestly fabricated, account of the events leading to Ṭarafa's death is given by al-Anbārī [*q.v.*], *Sharḥ al-ḳaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ṭiwāl al-djāhiliyyāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1963, 115-28.

Standard episodes are: his precocious, proverbial, upstaging of al-Mutalammis (or al-Musayyab b. ʿAlas [*q.v.*]) upon his inappropriate application to a camel stallion of an epithet more fitting to a she-camel; the death of his father when Ṭarafa was still a child: a literal reading of v. 1 of poem 1 in Ahlwardt's edition of the *dīwān* (W. Ahlwardt, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870); banishment from his people, caused by his incessant and unregenerate profligacy; the affair of the camels, variously said to belong to his brother Maʿbad (which is also said to have been his father's name) or to Ṭarafa himself: Ṭarafa is generally represented as the culprit, preoccupied with his verse composition to the detriment of his pastoral duties, although according to al-Anbārī, the camels were confiscated by ʿAmr b. Hind, the Lakhmid ruler (A.D. 554-69) [see LAKHMIDS]; the repossession of the camels by means of poetry; Ṭarafa's participation in the revolt of ʿAmr b. Hind's brother, ʿAmr b. Umāma, and his voyage to the Yemen; the vituperative attacks on ʿAmr, his brother Ḳābūs, and ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Bishr, said by some to be Ṭarafa's cousin, which led to his death; his breach of court etiquette by his effrontery towards ʿAmr's sister; the letter of al-Mutalammis and Ṭarafa, addressed to the governor of al-Baḥrayn, ordering the death of the bearer (see A.J. Arberry, *The seven odes*, London 1957, 67-8; A.F.L. Beeston, *Background topics*, in A.F.L. Beeston

et alii, *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 22; Pellat, *art. cit.*; J.E. Montgomery, *The deserted encampment in ancient Arabic poetry: a nexus of topical comparisons*, in *JSS*, xl [1995], 292); Ṭarafa's death and burial. It can safely be maintained that no historical credence should be accorded to any of these incidents, as they are all reconstructions, based on, often with details drawn from, verses in the poet's *dīwān*. It would be foolhardy even to associate Ṭarafa with Lakhmid politics in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*].

A similar degree of scepticism has surrounded the poetic remains of the Bakrī, from the mediaeval period to the present. The *dīwān* exists in a spartan version which goes back to al-Aṣmaʿī, while the recension by Ibn al-Sikkīt, via al-Shinḳīṭī, is slightly more voluminous. It is impossible to determine which poems are authentic; which are fragmentary (Ahlwardt, poem 11, is a 14-line *nasīb* [*q.v.*]—or is it *ghazal* [*q.v.*]?—combining skillfully the amatory topics of *aṭlāl*, desert encampments, *tashbīh*, description of beloved, *aṭlāl* and *khayāl*, phantasm of the beloved); which are falsely ascribed (such as Ahlwardt, poem 3, the reminiscences of the proud leader of a noble troop of raiders now dead); and which are fabricated to provide support for the poet's legend (such as, for example, Ahlwardt, poems 6, 7 and 16: *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] of the Lakhmids and ʿAbd ʿAmr; poem 18, a verse apology addressed to ʿAmr b. Hind; poem 13, comparing Ṭarafa's devotion to Salmā with Muraḳḳish's devotion to Asmāʾ, a piece which has the playfulness and wit of an ʿAbbāsid composition, replacing the poet's desert journey with that of the *khayāl*). The majority are occasional poems, largely concerned with the themes of tribal might and generosity or with the righting of a wrong and restitution of rights (Ahlwardt, poems 1, a demand for the restoration of property, and 2, an expression of disgust and dismay upon betrayal by friends, are examples). They reveal a fluid style of composition: Ahlwardt, poem 12, is a bipartite piece commencing with an *aṭlāl* section (vv. 1-5) and culminating in a lampoon aimed at a certain ʿAbd al-Ḍallāl, of which vv. 6-13 are direct attack, whereas 14-17 are sententious reflections on honour and ignominy (not devoid of flourishes of formal rhetoric), setting the standard from which Ṭarafa's adversary has so conspicuously deviated. In three poems (Ahlwardt, 5, 10 and 17) Ṭarafa expresses his gratitude for acts of generosity towards his people in time of need. They are addressed to the Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, the Banū Saʿd b. Mālik and an individual known as Ḳatāda, respectively. Poem 5 is 76 verses in length, while 10 has 17 verses and 17 has eleven. From a generic point of view, it is impossible to decide whether these poems are *madḥ* or *fakhr* [*q.vv.*], presumably because of the close tribal ties existing between the poet and his dedicatees. Personal and tribal vaunting is an integral feature of these poems, suggesting that the service paid to the dedicatee is more a bond of fealty and loyalty than a mere poetic extolling of their greatness for posterity. As such, they are indispensable for a just appreciation of the origins and significance of the pre-Islamic panegyric. Ahlwardt, poems 8, 9 and 14, are monopartite boasts of the generosity and military prowess of Ṭarafa's tribe; 8 and 9 are of a more generalised character, of 16 and 10 verses respectively; while 14 is a 22-verse chronicle in celebration of the battle known as *Yawm Taḥlāḳ al-Limam* (the "Day of the Shaving of the Beards") and contains a splendid evocation of the tribe's splendour in war (ll. 11-22). Ahlwardt, poem 19, is a minatory tribal boast directed at an unnamed adversary, whom the commentators identify as the Taghlib, connecting the piece with the peace settlement bringing to an end the War of Basūs. This poem contains a heavily symbolic *aṭlāl*, reclaimed by nature (ll. 1-7), two sections of admonitions (ll. 8-12 and 17-21), a narrative of al-Ghallāḳ, whoever he may have been (l. 13-16), and two lines of sententiae capping the work, a technique identical with poem 12. There also exists a monothematic poem of 31 verses, treating of aphoristic and sententious moralisings, edited from a manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library by Arberry, *A poem attributed to Tarafa ibn al-ʿAbd*, in *JSS*, x (1965), 149-58.

Conspicuous in the *dīwān* is the poet's *Muʿallaḳa*. There has been much dispute over its authenticity, and, as Arberry, *The Seven Odes*, 82, remarks, "the various recensions exhibit considerable divergence in the order and contents of the poem". These versions are most probably the products of the exercise of editorial discernment on the part of the mediaeval scholars. It is of some 105 verses (the exact number is disputed) and is tripartite in structure, with a *nasīb* and an astonishing camel-description in which the animal is anatomically dissected, limb by limb, joint by joint, by the poet, from bottom to top, and in which the poet eschews the use of any extended similes involving onager, oryx or ostrich, a practice followed by many of his contemporaries. The description is not, however, static, as some scholars maintain, for Ṭarafa is at pains to remind the audience that this massive camel is engaged on a desert journey of consummate significance for the poet and his companion, a journey in which a "man-made" camel responds to the decisions of a man of action. The polythematic third section is a reflection on the poet's relationship with his family, his observations on this mortal coil, and his bitter celebration of his own identity.

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(J.E. Montgomery)

TARANČIS, a Turkic Muslim people originally from the Kāshghar oasis in southern Sinkiang [*q.v.*]/Xinjiang, where some of the original stock remained.

Most of them were displaced, at the same time as the Dungans or Tungans [*q.v.*] (T'ung-kan/Hui) towards the middle Ili valley to the northwest of Chinese Turkestan, where they were able to take advantage of this fertile region by displacing the Dzungars (also called Kalmucks), who had lived there until they were massacred in 1758 by the Ching/Qing power. Six thousand Taranči families are said to have been installed there by 1834, 4,100 on the right bank of the Ili and 1,900 on the left one (Radloff, 1893, 331). They enjoyed a certain prosperity there before becom-

ing the object of more and more frequent military requisitions by the Manchus as Muslim rebellions in Sinkiang increased, culminating under the Khodjas from 1863 onwards, setting the Tarančis at odds with the Chinese authorities (notably the general Tso Tsung-t'ang, 1812-85) as well as with their Tungan neighbours. Taranči fortunes enjoyed a short blossoming parallel with the rise of the Khokandī Yaʿkūb Beg [*q.v.*]. Under the headship of the Sultan Aʿlā Khān (or Abu 'l-Aʿlā), in the year 1865 (proclaimed as the year 1 of an "era of Islam" (*tārīkh-i Islām*) which was to last for seven years), they formed the independent sultanate of Kuldja [*q.v.*]. This region was conquered and then temporarily governed by the Russian empire 1871-82 as the "district of Kuldja". After its retrocession to China (Treaty of St. Petersburg of 12 February 1881, which gave the Russians certain commercial and consular privileges), 45,373 out of 51,000 Tarančis passed over to Russian territory and were settled in the Semireč'e *oblast'*, mainly at Djārkent, founded for this purpose in 1882, but also at Vernyi (Almati), and in the Transcaspian region around Bayram Ali (Barthold, *EI*[1] art. s.v.). Displaced on various occasions by the formation of new Cossack colonies, according to the Russian census of 1897 there were *ca.* 70,000 in Turkestan, including 56,000 in the Semireč'e, 5.87% of the total population. This did not prevent Russian influence growing in Kuldja and Kāshghar, as part of a local version of the "Great Game" involving rivalry between Britain and Russia within China, from 1884 (the date of the setting-up of the province of Sinkiang by Peking) to 1962 (the date of the closing of the Russian consulates).

The Tarančis were sedentary agriculturists. Their mosques resembled pagodas and they had numerous *madrasas* (Ujfalvy, 1879). In physical type, culture, religion and language, they were close to the Iranised sedentaries of Transoxania, the Sarts [*q.v.*] of Russian sources of the 19th and early 20th centuries, except that their womenfolk enjoyed greater liberty, not being veiled, until the conservative reaction of the Khodjas. They specialised in kitchen garden produce and trade, and one of the two bazaars in Kuldja bore their name. They spoke an eastern Turkic dialect called Karluk, close to Uzbek and belonging to the group of sedentary speech of western and eastern Turkestan (A. Samoylovitch, in *EI*[1], art. *Turks. II. Languages*). However, the Russian orientalist N. Pantusov, who discovered in 1876 at Kuldja the *Kitāb-i ghazāt dar mulk-i Čīn*, written *ca.* 1292-3/1875-7 by Molla Bilāl, who had taken part in the 1863 rebellion, found differences between the Taranči dialect and that of their original stock in Kāshghar. In this book can be found the dating of the displacement of the "Sarts of Kāshghar", who were to become the Tarančis, to the Ili valley, as occuring *ca.* 1760. This manuscript, essential for showing the historical movements and specific cultural features of the Tarančis, reveals *inter alia* peculiarities of their language: an Arabo-Persian stratum common to all the Turkic oasis dialects of Central Asia, but also a large number of Kalmuck, Mongol and Chinese loanwords which made their language intelligible only with difficulty for the speakers of other Turkic languages, including their neighbours, and this contributed to their isolation (Radloff, 1886).

Certain sources have suggested that the Tarančis are the descendants of the ancient Uyghurs or call them "Uyghurs of the Ili" (Kabirov). However, it is through their cultural and ethnic nature that the Tarančis have made themselves a sub-strain of the contemporary Uyghurs, who were in 1989 about six millions in Sinkiang and 185,000 (half a million in their own estimation) in Kazakhstan. Today, amongst these last, 150,000 call themselves of Taranči origin, which means essentially that they came from the Semireč'e, as opposed to the "Kāshgharlïk" who have come directly from Kāshghar, like the majority of the Uyghurs in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. This fact was noted by Barthold, according to whom both the Tarančis and the "Turks of Kāshghar" have misleadingly taken the name of Uyghurs. This illustrated one of the frequent misunderstandings of this part of the world regarding ethnic origins and the spread of ethnic names. From the Chinese side, 79,296 Tarančis were counted in Sinkiang still in 1945, after which date they disappear from separate mention in the censuses, at the side of 2,988,528 Uyghurs.

From the beginning of the 20th century onwards, the history of the Tarančis become mixed with that of the general populations on each side of the Chinese-Russian frontier, each of the communities being affected by events which touched their respective centres of power. The revolt of the nomads in Russian Central Asia in 1916, like the events marking the 1917 revolution in Turkestan, was the stimulus for vast movements of peoples across the frontier in the direction of China (thus close to 10,000 Tarančis out of the 16,000 residents there left Djārkent in 1917 (Barthold), who came back some decades later with the formation of the People's Republic of China. From 1924, specific Taranči nature was no longer recognised in the USSR as a criterion for ethnic differentiation. The politics of nationality amongst both Russians and Chinese after 1949 assimilated them to the Uyghurs, and they no longer figure in census reports. Henceforth, their ethnic and cultural strains have been merged into those of the Turkish-speaking Muslim minorities fragmented by the policies and the demographic pressures of the Chinese on one hand, and the affirmation of Kazakh nationality, since the independence of Kazakhstan in December 1991, on the other.

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TARANTO [see ĪTALIYA].

TARĀWĪḤ (A.), pl. of *tarwīḥa*, the term for *ṣalāts* which are performed in the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Tradition says that Muḥammad held these prayers in high esteem, with the precaution, however, that their performance should not become obligatory (al-Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ*, trad. 3). ʿUmar is said to have been the first to assemble behind one *ḳārī'* those who performed their prayers in the mosque of Medina singly or in groups (*loc. cit.*, trad. 2); he is also said to have preferred the first part of the night for these pious exercises.

The religious law recommends the performance of the *tarāwīḥ* shortly after the *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'*. They consist of 10 *taslīmas*, each containing 2 *rakʿas*; after every four *rakʿas* a pause is held, hence the name *tarāwīḥ* "pauses". In the Mālikī law school, they consist of 36 *rakʿas*. They belong to the *ṣalāts* that are *sunna* and are as popular as any rite connected with Ramaḍān [*q.v.*]. Shīʿī *fiḳh* prefers a thousand supererogatory *rakʿas* throughout the month of Ramaḍān.

In Mecca, people assemble in groups varying from 10 to 150 persons, behind one *imām*, who acts in this case unofficially, even if he should be an appointed official. The recitation of the Ḳur'ān has a prominent place in these *ṣalāts*. Certain groups abide behind their *imāms* reciting the Ḳur'ān once or several times in the nights of Ramaḍān. Even after the *tarāwīḥ*, many people stay for pious exercises.

In Atcheh, every night large crowds assemble in order to perform the *tarāwīḥ*. Usually, however, it is the *tönku* alone who takes the active part in them, the others limiting their part to a loud joining-in with the *āmīn* and the eulogies on the Prophet.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tarāwīḥ*, with the commentaries; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭa'*, *ṣalāt fī Ramaḍān* with Zurḳānī's commentary; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 27; Ramlī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1286, i, 503 ff.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, i, 205-6; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥillī, *Sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, 51; Caetani, *Annali*, A.H. 14, §§ 229-30; Juynboll, *Handleiding*, Leiden 1925, index; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 81 ff.; idem, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, no. 49; idem, *De Atjèhers*, i, 247 ff.; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 214-15 (to be used with caution); Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London and Paisley 1899, ch. XXIV, 481; K. Lech, *Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, i, *Das Ramaḍān Fasten*, Wiesbaden 1979. See also ṢALĀT. (A.J. WENSINCK)

ṬARĀZ, the Arabic name for TALAS, a river of Central Asia and a town of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times on its bank. The exact site is unknown, but was probably near the later Awliyā Atā/Aulie Ata, modern Dzhambul. This last is now just within the Kazakhstan Republic, but the old name Talas has been revived for a modern settlement some distance to the east, on the left bank of the Talas River and just within Kirghizia. The original Talas certainly lay in the river valley, between two mountain ranges which run westwards and end in the Aḳ Ḳum desert.

The valley carried an important trade route eastwards to the Ču [*q.v.*] valley and the Semireč'e [see YETI SU]. Talas was an ancient town, mentioned in the report of the Byzantine envoy Zemarchos, who travelled to the encampment of the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks in 568, and known as a commercial centre to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hüan Tsang (*ca.* 630) as Ta-lo-si. Its origin was possibly Sogdian, and as late as the 5th/11th century, Maḥmūd Kāshgharī states that both Sogdian and Turkish were spoken at Talas and the nearby towns of Isfīdjāb and Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*] (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, Tkish. tr. B. Atalay, i, 30, Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, i, 84). Recent archaeological excavations in the region have shown that various faiths were professed there in early times, including Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism, and inscriptions have been found in the Talas valley in the Old Turkish "runic" alphabet and in Uyghur script.

Talas first comes into prominence in Islamic history as the general locale of the battle fought in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 133/July 751 between the Chinese governor of Ḳuča, Kao Sien-chih, and his Turkish allies, and the Arab commander Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], a battle which checked Chinese ambitions of establishing direct control over Central Asia (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 195-6; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 170-1, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 119-20; W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the twelfth century. A brief political history*, The Hague 1964, 66-7; D.M. Dunlop, *A new source of information on the Battle of Talas or Aṭlakh*, in *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi [1965], 326-30). In 280/893 the Sāmānid Amīr Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] raided Talas, which O. Pritsak believes was now the capital of the Western Turk *Ḳaghan*, Oghulčaḳ Ḳadïr Khān, and turned the Christian church there into a mosque (*Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 288-9; Samolin, *op. cit.*, 78-9). In the next century, a local ruler (*dihḳān*) of Talas is mentioned, perhaps a tributary of the Sāmānids. Talas is now, in the 4th/10th century, described by the Islamic geographers. Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muḳaddasī state that it was strongly fortified and populous, a centre for trade with the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] Turks who lived in the steppes beyond the town; the second of these authors mentions goatskins as one of the products of Talas (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 468-7). According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, both Muslim and [infidel] Turks inhabited this haunt of merchants, the *dar-i Khallukh* (tr. 119, comm. 358).

Under the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS], Talas became of special importance. It formed part of Ḳadïr Khān Yūsuf's patrimony, which extended from Eastern Turkestan through the Semireč'e to the eastern part of the middle Sir Daryā province (of which Talas, with Isfīdjāb, was reckoned a part), and after his death in 423 or 424/1032, fell to his second son Yïghantigin Muḥammad (d. 449/1057), who now assumed the title Bughra Khān. We begin to possess Ḳarakhānid coins minted at Talas, e.g. by Tamghač Bughra Khān

Ḥasan or Hārūn b. Sulaymān b. Ḳadir Khān Yūsuf (d. 496/1103), head of the eastern branch of the family and dedicatee of the *Kutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*]. In 607/1210 there took place at Talas a battle between the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his ally the Ḳarakhānid ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm, and the pagan Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*], which was indecisive but which exhausted the Ḳara Khitay resources and paved the way for the ephemeral triumph in Central Asia of the Nayman Mongol Küčlüg (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 342-7; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 159, 358-9).

It was soon after this, in 1221, that the Taoist traveller Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the Talas River (*t'a-la-su*) on a stone bridge (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 73 and n. 185). Under the Mongols, the Talas region was ruled by governors, who minted coins there. In 1253 Rubruck passed through the Talas valley, where he mentions a Muslim town *Kinchac* = Kemdjek, a town generally mentioned together with Talas in the Persian historical sources of the period (see P. Jackson (tr.) and idem and D.O. Morgan (comm.), *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, London 1990, 143, 144-5). It was on the banks of the Talas River that the first Mongol *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*] held in Central Asia took place in spring 1269, when agreement was reached between Ögedey's descendant Ḳaydu and the Čaghatayid Baraḳ over their respective territories (Barthold, *Four studies*, i, 126; cf. J.A. Boyle, *The descendants of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 139-40).

It is in Mongol times that the name of the town of Yangī ("The New") appears alongside that of Talas, sometimes in the combination Yangī-Ṭarāz, as in Mirkhwānd (cited in Barthold, *Four studies*, ii, 95 n. 2; cf. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, London 1895, 79 n. 3); but thereafter, Talas largely disappears from mention in the historical sources.

Bibliography: Largely given in the article, but see also the indices to Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1956-62, i, and a modern study of the town, T.N. Senigova, *Srednevekoviy Taraz*, Alma Ata 1972. (C.E. Bosworth)

TARBIYA (A.), the general term in more recent Arabic for education, pedagogy (Pers. *āmūzish* wa *parwarish*; late Ottoman and Republican Turkish until roughly the early 1980s, *maarif* and *talim ve terbiye*, most recently, *eğitim*).

This topic at the elementary and pre-university or college level is dealt with in KUTTĀB; MADRASA. I. 1; PESANTREN; ṢAGHĪR, and at the university and college level in DJĀMIʿA; KULLIYYA; MADRASA. I. 2, 6.

ṬARD [see ṢAYD].

ṬARDIYYA (or *ṭaradiyya*) indicates a hunting poem; as a technical term, the word is already used in pre-modern times (e.g. by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ix, Cairo 1933, 245, l. 1; cf. also Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 34, who quotes from al-Maḳḳarī). (The hunting poems composed in the metre *radjaz* are already dealt with in the article RADJAZ; in what follows, special attention is paid to aspects not taken into consideration there.)

Arabic hunting poems are thematically self-contained, in most cases composed in the *radjaz* metre and safely attested to from the time of al-Shamardal b. Sharīk (d. after 109/728 [*q.v.*]; for two pieces of 32 and 21 lines each, both describing the hunt with birds of prey, cf. T. Seidensticker, *Die Gedichte des Šamardal ibn Šarīk*, Wiesbaden 1983, nos. 20, 39). The evolution of the genre up to al-Shamardal can be sketched as follows: 1. Already in pre-Islamic times, descriptions of sporting hunts constitute sometimes elements of the final *fakhr* of the polythematic *ḳaṣīda*. 2. Still in pre-Umayyad times, *ḳaṣīdas* began to be composed in the *radjaz* metre, and thus such hunting episodes might well have been transformed into *radjaz* as part of *ḳaṣīdas*. 3. From *ca.* 80/700 onwards, when *radjaz* poetry was experiencing its apogee, these episodes grew independent. This filiation is corroborated by al-Shamardal's introductory formula *ḳad aghtadī* and the figure of the hunting servant, both known from the *fakhr* of pre-Islamic *ḳaṣīdas* (see Seidensticker, *op. cit.*, 15-16). The second step cannot with certainty be documented from the poetic material known to us. Fragments of several *urdjūzas* ascribed to al-Shamardal's contemporary Abu 'l-Nadjm al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], however, seem to indicate that this poet composed *radjaz ḳaṣīdas* containing a *nasīb* as well as a hunting episode, though these parts are transmitted separately. In two instances, a hunter lying in wait in his hide is depicted, who manages to kill an onager (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. ʿA. Aghā, Riyāḍ 1981, nos. 25, 56; ed. J. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki 1993, nos. 30, 64). In a third instance, an ostrich is hunted and killed by a horseman, which is close to the aristocratic type of hunt known from the ancient *ḳaṣīdas* (ed. Aghā, no. 4; ed. Hämeen, no. 2): fragments of a *nasīb*, however, are not transmitted in this last case. Besides, the formula *ḳad aghtadī* is not employed by Abu 'l-Nadjm.

Pieces such as al-Shamardal's *radjaz* poem no. 20, with the formulaic *ḳad aghtadī* introduction, the mentioning of dawn as the time of departure, the devotion of the main part to the description of the hunting animal in action, and the final part relating the preparation of the hunters' meal, have determined the shape of *ṭardiyyas* of later times to a great extent. Several decades after him, a somewhat obscure *rādjiz* named Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth composed two hunting poems (cf. *Five Rağaz collections*, ed. Hämeen-Anttila, Helsinki 1995, 219-20 no. 3, 221 no. 7), the first of which seems to imitate al-Shamardal's poem no. 20 (or was contaminated with it in the course of transmission). We are first on firm ground with the *ṭardiyyāt* of Abū Nuwās (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]). He has left a large number of hunting poems, 30 pieces being undisputed in authorship, many others stemming from him with high probability (see *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, ii, Wiesbaden 1972, 176-327; ed. A.ʿA. al-Ghazālī, Beirut 1953, 624-71). Metres other than the *radjaz* are rarely employed (he has only four poems in *sarīʿ* and *madīd*); besides *ḳad aghtadī* and an introductory *lammā* (cf. already al-Shamardal, nos. 22, 26, and Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth, no. 7), he would start with *anʿatu* and *yā rubba* as opening expressions. In the final parts of his *ṭardiyyāt*, we often find an enumeration of the animals killed (cf. already al-Shamardal, no. 20, ll. 26-7), descriptions of their preparation as food and concluding expressions as, for example, *yā laka min* or *niʿma 'l-rafīḳu/'l-khalīlu*, both said in praise of the hunting animal. Introductory and concluding formulae, the mentioning of dawn and of the preparation of the meal are sometimes omitted; the length of the poems varies between one and three dozens of lines, and a great variety of hunting animals are treated (dogs, cheetahs, goshawks, tiercels, sakers, peregrines and merlins). In some cases, Persian words are employed with conspicuous frequency. Notwithstanding all these variations, Abū Nuwās's *ṭardiyyāt* seem to be strongly determined by form and contents.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]), a man of letters and caliph for one day, is the next author who has left a greater number of *ṭardiyyāt* (cf. *Dīwān*, ed.

B. Lewin, iv, Istanbul 1945, nos. 1-53; ed. M.B. Sharīf, ii, Cairo 1978. nos. 66-120). No profound changes have taken place since Abū Nuwās' days. The *radjaz* metre still predominates (only about half a dozen poems being composed in metres other than the *radjaz*, among which the *mutaḳārib* prevails), and there are no new introductory formulae. The structure of the poems follows more or less the schemes known from Abū Nuwās, with the exception perhaps of the concluding formulae, which Ibn al-Muʿtazz seems to have neglected. If there was any change, it was in characterisation and description, above all, by way of imagery. Sometimes, quite surprising similes are used, and by the choice of the *secunda comparationis* for the hunting animals, an atmosphere of luxury is given to many of the poems.

Less committed to the tradition of Abū Nuwās was Ibn al-Muʿtazz's contemporary al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906 [*q.v.*]), a well-known Muʿtazilī author. The collection of his fragments by H. Nādjī (in *al-Mawrid*, xi/1-4 [1982], and xii/1 [1983]) contains some three dozen hunting poems. Nearly half of these are composed in metres other than the *radjaz* (chiefly in *mutaḳārib, madīd, basīṭ* and *ṭawīl*). About one-third of the poems start with one of the formulae already known; concluding formulae as well as descriptions of the hunters' meal are missing. On the whole, al-Nāshiʾ tends to concentrate on depictions of the hunting animal, hence approaching the *waṣf* genre. Unique features are the hunt with the desert lynx (*ʿanāḳ al-arḍ*) and the weasel (*ibn ʿirs*) and the waiting for the lion in hides (cf. ed. Nādjī, nos. 23, 63, 116, 125).

A later poet was Kushādjim (d. *ca.* 360/971 or earlier [*q.v.*]), who has left 17 *ṭardiyyāt*. More than his two predecessors just mentioned, he closes his poems either by a summarising remark or a final formula (as, e.g., *akrim bi-*, cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Kh. M. Maḥfūẓ, Baghdād 1970, nos. 353, 467). But in doing so, he did not go beyond what was already achieved by Abū Nuwās. Around this time, a sideline had come to the fore in the *ṭardiyyāt*, sc. poetry on fishing with a net. One such piece is ascribed to al-Ṣanawbarī (d. 334/945 [*q.v.*]; *Dīwān*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, Appendix no. 72), and al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. *ca.* 362/972 [*q.v.*]), who occasionally earned a living as a fisherman, cultivated this topic particularly. Half-a-dozen *urdjuza*s are transmitted from him (cf. *Dīwān*, Cairo 1355, 6-7, 13, 146, 204, 267), one of them with a *ḳad aghtadī* introduction (10). Two pieces are composed in *ṭawīl* (157, 170). With this exception, the *ṭardiyyāt* do not seem to have developed much further after the second half of the 4th/10th century. The genre loses importance also with respect to quantity, though hunting poems were still composed until the 8th/14th century and after.

Bibliography: M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 43-5; E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, ii, Darmstadt 1988, 46-58; G.R. Smith, ch. 10, *Hunting poetry*, (ṭardiyyāt), in *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, ed. J. Ashtiany *et alii*, Cambridge, etc. 1990, 167-84; ʿA.R. al-Bāshā, *Shiʿr al-ṭarad ilā nihāyat al-ḳarn al-thālith al-hidjrī*, Beirut 1974.

(T. Seidensticker)

TARDJAMA (A., pl. *tarādjim*), verbal noun of the verb *tardjama* "to interpret, translate, write the biography of someone (*lahu*)". For the function of interpreter, see TARDJUMĀN.

1. In literature.
2. Translations from Greek and Syriac.
3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavī).
4. Modern translations into Arabic.
   (a) The 19th century.
   (b) The 20th century.
5. In modern Persian.
6. In Turkish.

1. In literature.

Here, it may form part of the title of a biography, or, especially in contemporary North Africa, the biography (or autobiography) itself. Hence *ʿilm al-tarādjim* is a branch of historical research, sometimes equated by the Twelver Shīʿa with *ʿilm al-ridjāl* [*q.v.*]. The term dates to at least the early 5th/11th century, where it appears in the titles of three works by al-Thaʿālibī (350-429/961-1038 [*q.v.*]), *Tardjamat al-shuʿarāʾ*, *Tardjamat al-kātib fī ādāb al-Ṣāḥib*, and *Tardjamat al-Mutanabbī*; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ* (e.g. i, 26-7), refers to earlier scholars who compiled *tarādjim*.

Even when autobiographical, a *tardjama* is generally written in the third person, suggesting a distancing from self and an appeal to set standards and understandings of religious and narrative authority. Its components include a genealogy, an account of formal education and—especially for North Africa—Ḳurʾānic memorisation, a list of teachers (often including close relatives, which indicates family support for religious learning), the books and subjects studied, travels, and selections from the subject's poetry, aphorisms, or other contributions to learning. A *tardjama* purports to represent words and deeds reliably and with credible witnesses, although, as quotation marks are not used in classical texts, the Arabic stylistic tag "he said to him", *ḳāla lahu*, does not clearly distinguish between speech and paraphrase. The *tardjama* records the evidence of a person's character and actions. Even modern *tarādjim* contain no speculation concerning "inner" self or motive, although the juxtaposition of anecdotes that demonstrate piety and devotion to Ḳurʾānic studies suggest intent. A *tardjama* provides dates whenever possible, since the ability to date events distinguishes the traditionally educated and the élite (North Africa, *nās khāṣṣa*) from "commoners" (*ʿawāmm*), who lack such distinction. Specific dates thus further enhance claims to authority and status.

A *tardjama* represents the actions and attributes that legitimate the piety, literary and scholarly authority of its subject. Other activities, no matter how significant for understanding the role of the individual, are not part of the reported scholarly persona. There is no mention of marriages, and female relatives generally appear only when they encourage Ḳurʾānic memorisation and recital. In most instances, the family or household contexts in which early learning occurs cannot be directly ascertained from a *tardjama* unless the father or other relatives play a direct role in Ḳurʾānic education. Thus Mukhtār al-Sūsī's (1900-63) *al-Maʿsūl* (Casablanca 1961), a compendium of biographies of men of learning from Morocco's Sūs region, contains numerous entries which suggest that many of its subjects came from households where the father or another close relative is literate and takes an active role in encouraging Ḳurʾānic recitation (e.g. ix, 35-6, 101, 168). Likewise, peer learning, a crucial element in understanding traditional education, is passed over in silence, as are most political activities. Men of learning may be landlords, politicians and shrewd entrepreneurs, but these activities fall outside the scope of the *tardjama*, which concentrates upon elements that link individuals with the sacred religious and literary centre of society.

There have always been alternative forms of biography and self-representation, many of which blend into one another. These include lives of the Prophet and others (*sīra* [*q.v.*]); *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*], alphabetical compendia of jurists, poets, and compilers of tradition; the chronicles of caliphs and rulers; the lives and miracles of saints (*manāḳib* [*q.v.*]); and pilgrimage accounts; and, since at least the early 19th century, memoirs influenced by Western methods and conceptions.

The emergence of the self, a conscious and self-reflexive "me" or "I", as an explicit subject in biographies and autobiographies, an important element of Western social thought since the 18th century, gradually entered Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Urdu literature. Thus Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's third-person representation of himself in *al-Ayyām*, the first part of which was published in 1929, sometimes assumed to be a "realistic" image of an Egyptian childhood and mosque school education, is strongly influenced by European literary forms, as is the Algerian Malek Bennabi's *Mémoires d'un témoin du siècle* (Algiers 1965), originally written in French. The Moroccan ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (d. 1974), a popular lecturer at the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque-university in Fez in the early 1930s and subsequently a key leader in Morocco's nationalist movement, spoke only Arabic, yet the style of his autobiographical writings (e.g. *al-Naḳd al-dhātī*, Cairo 1952) suggests the influence of "modern" representations of self influenced at least indirectly by European forms.

The social and political context in which *tarādjim* are written must also be considered in both traditional and contemporary exemplars of the genre. In general, a *tardjama* represents religious scholars to specific, known audiences, whether an international network of scholars or more regional and local ones. Indeed, for a younger generation of state-educated North Africans, *tardjama* implies a traditional form of biographical narrative and religious authority; the term is not used for more "modern" forms of biography and autobiography. Until the availability of printing in the 19th century for Morocco and the 1970s for the ʿUmānī interior, *tardjamas* circulated only in manuscript form through networks of religious scholars known to one another. Thus access to *tardjamas*, as well as the ability to create them, implied religious and scholarly authority. Well after the introduction of printing, *tardjamas* continued to circulate in manuscript form. For instance, al-Sūsī's *Maʿsūl*, cited above, circulated for at least two decades prior to its private printing in 1961. In the Ibāḍī interior of northern ʿUmān, several compilations of *tarādjim* continue to circulate only as manuscripts.

There are several points of resemblance between *tardjamas* in regional contexts as disparate as ʿUmān and Morocco. In the *tardjamas* of both literary traditions, genealogies link men of learning with their distinguished ancestors, and the enumeration of scholars under whom the subjects studied does the same for their claims to scholarly authority. Selections from the subjects' sayings and actions exemplify character; lists of distinguished students represent their continued authority; and the sayings of associates who admire them enhance authority.

Tardjamas are not ordered by the chronological sequence of events, although genealogical descent and the details of early studies usually come first. Anecdotes or incidents intended to show character do not distinguish between youth or maturity. Because the persona of a man (or occasionally woman) of learning is linked to fixed qualities, sequence and chronology become peripheral.

In Morocco, as in ʿUmān, it is difficult to separate a *tardjama* from its intended audience. It is almost always prepared in response to a specific request, often for inclusion in compilations that reveal complex, mutually supportive networks of patronage among men of learning. Thus al-Sūsī portrays judges, court functionaries, teachers, and others with claims to learning as regularly offering hospitality and gifts to writers of such compendia, to poets and to others who could enhance their reputations. In this respect, *tardjamas* differ according to social and political contexts and over time. They are not self-contained. For the late 19th and 20th centuries, *tardjamas* were intended for audiences with access to additional (usually word-of-mouth) complementary narratives. In the contemporary era, as in the past, their compilation is a means of securing status and a reputation for learning.

Bibliography: For an excellent contextualisation of biographical dictionaries in mediaeval Damascus, see M. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge 1994, esp. 18-21, 149-50, 154-60. For the modern era, see D.F. Eickelman, *Knowledge and power in Morocco*, Princeton 1985, and idem, *Traditional Islamic learning and ideas of the person in the twentieth century*, in *Middle Eastern lives*, ed. M. Kramer, Syracuse 1991, 35-59. On genealogical representations of self, see A. Sebti, *Au Maroc: Sharifisme citadin, charisme et historiographie*, in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, xli (1986), 433-57. M.K. Hermansen, *Interdisciplinary approaches to Islamic biographical materials*, in *Religion*, xviii (1988), 163-82, offers a comprehensive general account, as does G. Makdisi, Ṭabaqāt-*biography: law and orthodoxy in Classical Islam*, in *Islamic Studies, Occasional Papers*, viii, Islamabad 1994, for the mediaeval period. M.H. Zaidi, *Biography in modern Urdu literature*, in *South Asian Digest of Regional Writing*, v (1976), 99-120, discusses modern trends.

(D.F. Eickelman)

2. Translations from Greek and Syriac.

Tardjama (Arabic), and the Persian and Turkish forms, *tardjuma* (*kardan*) and *tercüme* (*etmek*), are the most commonly used terms for "translation" from one language to another. Two other terms used in this sense in Arabic, especially in the first few centuries of Islam, are *naḳl* and, to a lesser extent, *tafsīr* (see the references by G. Endress, in *GAP*, iii, 3).

Translation had played a crucial role in the cultural history of multilingual Near Eastern peoples ever since the beginning of the second millennium B.C., with the translations of Sumerian texts into Akkadian. The conquest of the Near East by Alexander the Great and the ensuing spread of Greek and Hellenism led to two significant developments, before the rise of Islam, in the two major indigenous linguistic and cultural groups, the Aramaic and the Persian. Among the former, considerable sections of whom had in the meantime embraced Christianity, an initial attitude of antagonism against pagan Hellenism eventually gave place to assimilation just at the time when the Muslim Arabs were moving into Syria and Palestine. Helped by their knowledge of Greek and their training in the study of the Greek church fathers, Syriac-speaking scholars were translating in the 7th century pagan Greek works, primarily in the fields of Aristotelian logic and medicine (S. Brock, in *Bibl.*, section 3). In the Sāsānid empire, the devastation of Alexander's conquests was incorporated into an imperial ideology that simultaneously glorified the Sāsānid dynasty and promoted the assimilation of Hellenism through translations from Greek into Pahlavi, which appear to have

reached their high point during the reign of Khusraw Anūshirwān (A.D. 531-78). As the *Dēnkard* IV has it, Alexander's conquest caused the books containing the Avesta and the Zand to be scattered throughout the world, but the Sāsānids, starting with their founder, Ardashīr I, took it upon themselves to collect these texts as well as other non-religious writings on science and philosophy which were conformable to Zoroastrian teachings (M. Shaki, *The Dēnkard account of the history of the Zoroastrian scriptures*, in *ArO*, xlix [1981], 119). In this fashion, philosophical and scientific writings of all cultures were seen as ultimately either derived from or conformable with the Avesta, and translation as the means to "repatriate" them into Persian. This culture of translation in late Sāsānid times, officially sponsored by the state, continued even after the fall of the Persian empire, and during the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods gave rise to numerous translations from the Pahlavi into Arabic [see the following section].

With the advent of Islam and a new political order, yet another language with universalist claims, the last in a long series, made its appearance in the Near East. The move of Arab rulers and tribesmen into areas whose populations did not speak Arabic made translation into Arabic inevitable both in government circles and in everyday life during the Umayyad period. Necessity dictated that, for reasons of continuity, the early Umayyads keep both the Greek-speaking functionaries and the Greek language in their imperial administration in Damascus. The *Fihrist* (242, ll. 25-30) mentions that Sardjūn b. Manṣūr al-Rūmī (the Byzantine), who served as secretary to the first Umayyad caliphs from Muʿāwiya to ʿAbd al-Malik, was asked by the latter to translate the administrative apparatus (*dīwān*) into Arabic. Also related to the needs of the ruling élite in Umayyad times was the translation, sponsored by Hishām's secretary Sālim Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ, of the Greek mirror for princes literature in the form of correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great (M. Grignaschi, *Le roman épistolaire classique*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxx [1967], 223, following the *Fihrist*, 117, l. 30). Similar needs must have occasioned the translation of the Syriac medical compendium (*kunnāsh*) of Ahrun [*q.v.* in Suppl.] by Māsardjawayh [*q.v.*], allegedly for Marwān I or ʿUmar II, if indeed the sources in this regard are to be relied upon. In private life, social and commercial intercourse in Syro-Palestine and Egypt, heavily Greek-speaking until well after the end of the Umayyads, made translation a quotidian reality. Bilingual Greek and Arabic papyri of deeds and contracts attest to this fact for 7th-8th century Egypt; the practice was doubtless ubiquitous. Due also to the existence of numerous Greek speakers in these areas, translation from the Greek must have been easily available on an individual basis to everybody, scholar or otherwise. Even as late as the 4th/10th century, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī relates how he asked a Greek prisoner of war and his son to translate orally for him a text on Graeco-Roman history (cited by F. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 74 n. 1). All these activities of translation during the Umayyad period are instances of random and *ad hoc* accommodation to the needs of the times, generated by Arab rule over non-Arab peoples. Deliberate and planned scholarly interest in the translation of Greek works (and Syriac works inspired by Greek) into Arabic appears not to have been present in Umayyad times. The report that the prince Khālid b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] had had Greek books on alchemy, astrology, and other sciences translated into Arabic has been demonstrated to be a later fabrication (M. Ullmann, *Ḫālid ibn Yazīd und die Alchemie. Eine Legende*, in *Isl.*, lv [1978], 181-218).

It was with the accession of the ʿAbbāsids to power and the transfer of the seat of the caliphate to Baghdād under al-Manṣūr that translation into Arabic from Greek (on occasion through Pahlavi or Syriac intermediaries) became a movement, a historically significant social phenomenon. What sets the translation movement in Baghdād apart from the incidental translation activities of Umayyad times and other periods of Islamic history is that it lasted uninterruptedly for well over two centuries, that it was commissioned by both the ʿAbbāsid aristocracy and the majority of all literate classes of Baghdādī society, that it was financially supported with an enormous outlay of funds, both public and private, and that it eventually proceeded on the basis of a scholarly methodology and philological exactitude that spanned generations and reflected, in the final analysis, a social attitude; more than any other characteristic it defines the public culture of early Baghdādī society. At the end of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, the majority of pagan Greek books on science and philosophy (high literature and pagan history were excluded) that were available in Late Antiquity throughout the eastern Byzantine empire and the Near East had been translated into Arabic. To these should be added a few other marginal genres of writings, such as Byzantine military manuals, popular collections of wisdom sayings (gnomologia), and even books on falconry (for details, see *Bibl.*, section 2). In sheer quantity of volumes translated, let alone in quality of translation, the achievement was stupendous.

Historical sources credit al-Manṣūr with having initiated the translation movement (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj* viii, 286 ff.; Ṣāʿid, *Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, 48; Ibn Khaldūn-Rosenthal, iii, 115). The ʿAbbāsids came into power as the result of a civil war, and al-Manṣūr addressed the task of reconciling the different interest groups that participated in the ʿAbbāsid cause and legitimising the rule of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in their eyes by expanding his imperial ideology to include the concerns of factions that were carriers of Sāsānid culture. These included, among others, Persianised Arabs and Aramaeans, Persian converts to Islam, and especially Zoroastrian Persians—at the time of al-Manṣūr still the majority of Persians—who, as a number of Persian revivalist insurrections of the time (like that of Sunbādh [*q.v.*]) indicates, had to be convinced that the Islamic conquests were irreversible. This was done by promulgating the view that the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, in addition to being direct descended from the Prophet, was at the same time the successor of the ancient imperial dynasties in Mesopotamia, culminating in the Sāsānids. As the most effective means for the diffusion of this ideology, al-Manṣūr incorporated the translation culture of the Sāsānids as part of his overall imperial ideology, and employed the same technique as the Zoroastrians did for spreading *their* millennarianism: astrological history (political astrology), i.e. accounts and predictions of dynastic reigns in terms of cyclical periods governed by the stars [see ḲIRĀN]. His court astrologer, Abū Sahl b. Nawbakht (see D. Pingree in *EIr*, i, 369), composed a book in which he incorporated the account of the transmission and preservation of the sciences from *Dēnkard* IV (mentioned above) and placed heavy emphasis on the role of translation in the renewal of knowledge as ordained by the stars for each people (fragment from the *K. al-Nahmaṭān*, quoted in the *Fihrist*, 238-9; see Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Maʿshar*,

London 1968, 7 ff.). Astrological history performed for al-Manṣūr and his immediate successors both a political function in that it presented the political dominion of the ʿAbbāsid state, whose cycle was just beginning, as ordained by the stars and ultimately by God, and hence inevitable, and an ideological function in that it inculcated the view of the ʿAbbāsids as the legitimate successors, in the grand astrological scheme of things, of the ancient Mesopotamian empires, something which entailed translation of ancient texts as part of the renewal of sciences incumbent upon each imperial dynasty. Al-Manṣūr's adoption of this aspect of Sāsānid ideology and its culture of translation indirectly initiated the Graeco-Arabic translation movement and gave it official sanction.

The initial translations of Greek works were made from Pahlavi intermediaries or compilations (Duneau, Nallino, Kunitzsch, in *Bibl.*, section 6), and they were preponderantly of astrological character, as ʿAbbāsid interest in political astrology required. However, the translation movement was further invigorated and its role enhanced also by other causes which uniquely combined to sustain it for well over two centuries. The exigencies of religio-political confrontation played a major role. Religious debate within Islam and polemics between Islam and other religions became particularly acute after the ʿAbbāsids came to power, both because the revolution raised expectations that were bound to be thwarted and because of the universalist claims of Islam as a religion put forth by the new imperial ideology. Under al-Mahdī, attempts to resolve the conflict were on occasion violent—like his persecution of the Manichaeans who, long suppressed under the Sāsānids, re-emerged during the Umayyad period and returned en masse to ʿIrāḳ, the place of origin of their founder, Mānī [*q.v.*]—but for the most part they rested on disputation. The need to understand better the rules of dialectical argumentation prompted al-Mahdī to commission from the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I, with whom he debated, a translation of the best handbook on the subject, Aristotle's *Topics* (H. Putman, *L'église et l'Islam sous Timothée I*, Beirut 1975, 106). Within Islam, there was injected into theological discussion a cosmological element, and in particular atomism, apparently by the Manichean sects (the Bardesanites; cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1991, i, 418 ff.; A. Dhanani, *The physical theory of Kalām*, Leiden 1994, 182 ff.). The need for an alternative cosmology occasioned the translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, a work which, like the *Topics*, was to be re-translated repeatedly. Further development of such discussions eventually led, by the middle of the 3rd/9th century, to the translation, in the circle of al-Kindī [*q.v.*], of theologically significant Aristotelian and Neoplatonic texts (G. Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 428).

By the time of the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, the ideological orientation given to the ʿAbbāsid state by al-Manṣūr had won wide acceptance and the translation movement was firmly entrenched in the cultural life of Bag̲h̲dād. Al-Maʾmūn, back in Bag̲h̲dād as both a fratricide and regicide, made use, among other things, also of the culture generated by the translation movement in order to re-establish and expand the centralised authority of the caliph. He engaged in an intensive propaganda campaign that aimed at portraying him as the champion of Islam abroad and as the final arbiter about the true interpretation of Islam at home. In order to achieve the first objective, he initiated an aggressive foreign policy against the Byzantines, who were portrayed not merely as infidels but also as culturally benighted and inferior both to their own ancestors, the ancient Greeks, and to the Muslims, who appreciated and translated ancient Greek science. The cultural superiority of the Muslims was presented as being due to Islam itself as a religion: the Byzantines had turned their back to ancient science because of Christianity, while the Muslims had welcomed it because of Islam (cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du II^e siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1975, ii, ch. 8, esp. 458-81). Anti-Byzantinism thus became pro-Hellenism. The second objective could be achieved only by divesting the criteria for religious authority from the religious and *ḥadīth̲* scholars among the common people and concentrating them in the person of the caliph; this in turn could be effected only by making the caliph's personal judgment in interpreting the religious texts, based on reason, the ultimate criterion, not the dogmatic statements of religious leaders based on transmitted authority. One of the public relations campaigns through which these policies were pursued was the dissemination, by his commander and right-hand man, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [*q.v.*], of the dream which al-Maʾmūn allegedly had about Aristotle (this version, earlier than that in the *Fihrist*, 243, l. 3, survives in Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ*, Cairo 1964, 213). According to this original version, the philosopher states that personal judgment (*raʾy*) is the ultimate criterion for the best [political and religious] speech, thereby promoting both the rationalist Ḥanafī orientation of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] as instituted by al-Maʾmūn and the philhellenism of his campaign against Byzantium. The effectiveness of the dream depended on the culture of Hellenism generated by the translation movement, which it presupposed; the dream was thus the consequence of the translation movement, not its originator, as the *Fihrist* would have it, while at the same time it provided further incentive for its more aggressive prosecution.

The impetus given to the translation movement by ʿAbbāsid ideology was further sustained by secondary causes generated by it, which continued to be active even after the original ideologies ceased to be relevant. The ideological campaigns of al-Manṣūr and his immediate successors achieved what they were designed to accomplish; those of al-Maʾmūn, which aimed to re-establish the caliph's political and religious authority, suffered a setback with the termination of the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] under al-Mutawakkil and were subsequently rendered irrelevant by the humiliation of the office of the caliph at the hands of the Turkish military. By that time, however, the translation culture had become the fashion among the élite in Bag̲h̲dād, who continued to support it well into the Būyid century (945-1055). Sponsorship was not restricted to any specific source; the sponsors came from all ethnic and religious groups that played politically and economically significant roles during the first two centuries of Bag̲h̲dād: Muslim Arab aristocrats, foremost among whom were members of the extended ʿAbbāsid family; Nestorian Arabs who converted to Islam in office, like the Wahb family: secretaries, *wazīrs*, and scholars (Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, i, 312 ff.); Zoroastrian and Buddhist Persians who converted to Islam in office, like the Nawbak̲h̲t, Munad̲j̲d̲j̲im, and Barāmika families [*q.vv.*]: astrologers, literati, theologians, secretaries and *wazīrs*; Arabised Persian Muslims, like the Ṭāhirids: generals and politicians (C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv [1969]), and like the Zayyāt family: manufacturers and merchants, secretaries (Sourdel, *op. cit.*, i, 254 ff.);

and Arabised Persian Nestorians, subsequently converted to Islam, like the al-Djarrāḥ family: secretaries (Sourdel, *op. cit.*, 520 ff.).

Equally as significant as the support of the political and social élite was the active sponsorship of scientists and scholars of all groups, who commissioned the translation of Greek texts for their practice and research. Noteworthy among them were Muslim Arab aristocrats like al-Kindī, scientist and philosopher (Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 428); the Gondēshāpūr medical heads, the Persian Nestorian families of Bukhtīshū', Māsawayh and Ṭayfūrī (J.C. Sournia and G. Troupeau, *Jean Mésué*, in *Clio Medica*, iii [1968], 109-17); and the upstart brothers, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*], of questionable pedigree (see further R. Rashed, in *Bibl.*, section 6).

The translators from Greek and Syriac themselves (see the list given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 203-5) belonged to the Christian churches dominant in the Fertile Crescent: Melkites (the Biṭrīḳ father and son, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*]), Jacobites ('Abd al-Masīḥ b. Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī, Yaḥyā b. 'Adī [*q.v.*]), and Nestorians (the family of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*]). Ethnically, they were preponderantly Aramaeans, in some cases Arabs (Ḥunayn). Called upon by their various sponsors to translate Greek works into Arabic, they had the pre- and early Islamic Graeco-Syriac translations to fall back on as models; however, this proved of limited usefulness. The Graeco-Syriac translations of non-Christian texts did not cover the wide range of subjects in demand for translation into Arabic, and, having been made for scholarly purposes in completely different circumstances than those into Arabic, they were not subject to the keen criticism and demand for precision. The translators, therefore, on the one hand improved their knowledge of Greek beyond the level of Syriac scholarship, and, on the other, developed an Arabic vocabulary and style for scientific discourse that remained standard well into the present century (see M. Ullmann, *Nicht nur*..., *sondern auch*..., in *Isl.*, lx [1983], 34-6; for details, see *Bibl.*, section 5). Throughout the various stages of the movement, the translations themselves were repeatedly revised with three objectives in mind: greater fidelity to the original, a more natural Arabic style, and greater accuracy in the technical terminology (see Endress, in *GAP*, iii, 3-23, and *Bibl.*, section 4). The translators, who worked as private individuals unaffiliated with any institution (the *Bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*] was the 'Abbāsid palace library whose chief function was to store Arabic translations of Sāsānid literature and history: Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *apud* G. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, ii, Stuttgart 1990, 308; F. Rosenthal, in *JAOS*, cxv, 109a), invested time and effort into their work because it was a lucrative profession. According to the *Fihrist* (243, ll. 18-20), Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjistānī said that the Banū Mūsā used to pay monthly 500 dīnārs "for full-time translation" (*li 'l-naḳl wa 'l-mulāzama*). Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, as a young man out to make his fortune, left his home town of Ba'albakk and went to Baghdād where he translated, for pay, some of the books he had taken with him (*Fihrist*, 243, l. 18). The high level of translation technique and philological accuracy achieved by Ḥunayn's school and other translators early in the 4th/10th century was due to the incentive provided by the munificence of their sponsors, a munificence which in turn was due to the prestige that Baghdādī society attached to the translated works and the knowledge of their contents.

The translation movement was naturally transformed during the Būyid era into the Islamic scientific and philosophical tradition (Endress, *Die Wissenschaften*, in *GAP*, iii, 24-152); by the end of the 4th/10th century, the work of scholars who wrote in Arabic far surpassed, from the point of view of the society that demanded it, the scientific and philosophical level of the translated works, and royal or wealthy sponsors commissioned original works in Arabic rather than translations of Greek works. Most of the seminal Greek works had been translated; for the little that was left untranslated there was no longer any social or scholarly need.

After the end of the translation movement there are almost no recorded instances, before the modern age, of Arabic translations from the Greek. On an individual level, it was always possible to find a Greek speaker in the Islamic world for oral translation; al-Ṣafadī's informant on Greek matters, for example, the famous scholar Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī [*q.v.*], would appear to have received his information from some such source in Damascus (see *Ghayth*, Beirut 1975, 54). The only exception is the Ottoman scholar Es'ad al-Yanyāwī who lived during the Tulip Period [see LĀLE DEVRI]. Dissatisfied with the early 'Abbāsid translations of Aristotle, he learned Greek from certain Greek functionaries in the Ottoman administration and translated anew into Arabic some Aristotelian treatises (M. Türker, *Fārābī'nin 'Şerā'iṭ ul-yaḳīn'i'*, in *Araştırma*, i [1963], 151-2, 173-4). This effort, which appears to have been short-lived, is to be seen as part of the trend for modernisation in 17th-18th century Ottoman culture through translations and compilations from European languages into Turkish (cf. V.L. Ménage, *Three Ottoman treatises on Europe*, in *Iran and Islam* [= In memoriam V. Minorsky], ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 421-33), and, within that context, in relation to the resurgent Aristotelianism among Greek intellectuals.

The particular linguistic achievement of the early 'Abbāsid Graeco-Arabic translation movement was that it produced a scientific literature with a technical vocabulary for its concepts, as well as a high *koiné* language that made Classical Arabic a fit vehicle for the intellectual achievements of Islamic scholarship; its particular historical achievement was to preserve for posterity both lost Greek texts and more reliable manuscript traditions of those extant. On a broader and more fundamental level, the translation movement made Islamic civilisation the successor to Hellenistic civilisation. As such, not only did it ensure the survival of Hellenism at a time when the Latin West was ignorant of it and the Byzantine East busy suppressing it, but proved that it can be expressed in languages and adopted in cultures other than Greek, and that it is international in scope and the common property of all mankind.

Bibliography: Fundamental for the historical and philological study of the Arabic translations from Greek and Syriac and their legacy in Islamic scholarship is the book-length article by G. Endress, *Die wissenschaftliche Literatur*, in *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie* (*GAP*), ed. H. Gätje and W. Fischer, Wiesbaden, 1987-92, ii, 400-506 and iii, 3-152, with practically exhaustive bibliography until its appearance. This to be complemented, for a study of the translations as a social phenomenon, by D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture. The Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdād and early 'Abbāsid society*, London 1998.

1. Sources. The only extant document on the Graeco-(Syro-)Arabic (and incipient Arabo-Syriac) translation movement from a leading participant is the autobibliographical letter (*Risāla*) by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ to 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Munadjdjim (d. 275/

888) on the translations of Galenic works, ed. and revised by G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, AKM XVII, 2, Leipzig 1925, and *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*, AKM XIX, 2, Leipzig 1932. On the text of Ḥunayn, see also R. Degen, *Wer übersetzte... Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der "Risāla" des Ḥunain b. Isḥāq*, in *WOr*, x (1979), 73-92; on its place in the context of Arabic philological scholarship, see F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 26-33. Only slightly less valuable than Ḥunayn's letter is the *Fihrist*, which derives its information on the translation literature from Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 974) and the Aristotelian school of Bag̲h̲dād which he headed. Valuable primary sources, insofar as they do not derive from the *Fihrist*, are also the bibliographical works by Ibn *D̲j̲uld̲j̲ul*, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.vv.*]. See further, Endress, in *GAP*, ii, 474-6. The much-discussed passage by al-Ṣafadī, *G̲h̲ayt̲h̲*, i, 46 (Cairo 1305) on translation techniques is translated, along with most of the other information on the subject, by F. Rosenthal, *The Classical heritage in Islam*, London and Berkeley 1975 (= tr. of *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich 1965), 15-23. Al-Ṣafadī's account is theoretical and does not correspond to the facts, as demonstrated by J.N. Mattock in his article in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II* (below, section 4).

2. Translated works. The bibliography of the translated Greek works has benefited from the pioneering study by J.G. Wenrich, *De auctorum graecorum versionibus et commentariis syriacis arabicis armeniacis persicisque commentatio*, Leipzig 1842, and the classic work by M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (originally in various journals, 1889-96; see *GAP*, ii, 481), repr. Graz 1960, both of which have been now superseded by more recent bibliographical works, primarily those by F. Sezgin and M. Ullmann. For the various fields, see the following (in alphabetical order): (a) Agriculture: *GAS*, iv, 301-29; Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, HO, Erg. bd. vi/2, Leiden 1972, 427-39. (b) Alchemy: *GAS*, iv, 31-119; Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 145-91 [see AL-KĪMIYĀʾ]. (c) Astrology: *GAS*, vii, 30-97; Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 277-302. (d) Astronomy: *GAS*, vi. (e) Botany: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 70-4. (f) Geography: *GAS*, x and ff., forthcoming. (g) Grammar: F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluss auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*, in *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Nova Series 2.5 (1976), 119-44, reviewed by C.H.M. Versteegh, in *BiOr*, xxvi (1979), 235-6; Versteegh, *Hellenistic education and the origin of Arabic grammar*, in *Studies in the History of Linguistics* 20, Amsterdam 1980, 333-44. (h) Literature: [i] Gnomic literature: D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom literature in Arabic translation*, New Haven 1975; F. Rosenthal, *Fortleben/Heritage*, ch. 12. [ii] Novels: T. Hägg, *The oriental reception of Greek novels. A survey with some preliminary considerations*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, lxi (1986), 99-131. [iii] The Alexander Romance: *Iskandar-nāma* [*q.v.*]; G. Endress, review of M. Brocker, *Aristoteles als Alexanders Lehrer in der Legende*, Bonn 1966, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 411-16; M. Grignaschi, *La figure d'Alexandre chez les Arabes et sa genèse*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, iii (1993), 205-34. [iv] Fables, Aesopica, popular literature: F. Rosenthal, *A small collection of Aesopic fables in Arabic translation*, in *Studia semitica necnon iranica Rudolpho Macuch... dedicata*, Wiesbaden 1989, 233-56. [v] Poetry, general: I. ʿAbbās, *Malāmiḥ yūnāniyya fi ʾl-adab al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1977. (i) Magic: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 364-82. (j) Mathematics and Geometry: *GAS*, v, review by D.A. King, *JAOS*, xcix (1979), 450-59. (k) Medicine, Pharmacology, Veterinary science: *GAS*, iii; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, HO, Erg. bd. vi/1, Leiden 1970. (l) Meteorology, astrometeorology: *GAS*, vii, 212-32, 308-21. (m) Military manuals: Cl. Cahen, art. ḤARB, at vol. III, 181; V. Christides, *Naval warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries). An Arabic translation of Leo VI's* Naumachica, in *Graeco-Arabica* (Athens), iii (1984), 137-48. (n) Mineralogy: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 95-102. (o) Music: R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, ii, Paris 1935, 257-306; H.G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, pp. xi-xii, 13-21; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979. (p) Optics: M. Blay and G. Troupeau, *Sur quelques publications récentes consacrées à l'histoire de l'optique antique et arabe*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, v (1995), 121-36. (q) Philosophy: Endress, *Die Arabisch-Islamische Philosophie. Ein Forschungsbericht*, in *ZGAIW*, v (1989), 1-47, also in *Contemporary philosophy. A new survey*, vi/2, Amsterdam 1990, 651-702; D. Gutas, *Pre-Plotinian philosophy in Arabic (other than Platonism and Aristotelianism). A review of the sources*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, Part II, xxxvi/7, 4939-73. Further bibliography in *GAP*, ii, 478-81, iii, 24. For Aristotle in particular, see the entries in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, i, Paris 1989. (r) Zoology: [i] General: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 8-18; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1991, 117-21 and *passim*. [ii] Hunting literature: Ullmann, *Geheimwiss.*, 43-45. (s) For Christian Greek works translated into Arabic, see G. Graf, *GCAL*, i, Vatican 1944, and P. Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Brussels 1950, 165-218.

3. Syriac translations. See in particular S. Brock, *From antagonism to assimilation. Syriac attitudes to Greek learning*, in *East of Byzantium. Syria and Armenia in the formative period*, ed. N. Garsoian *et al.*, Washington DC 1980, 17-34, and his other articles conveniently collected in the Variorum volume *Syriac perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London 1984; also the articles by H. Hugonnard-Roche, referred to in his study published in the volume by D. Jacquart, below, section 5. See also A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922; A.O. Whipple, *Role of the Nestorians as the connecting link between Greek and Arabic medicine*, in *Annals of Medical History*, N.S. viii (1936), 313-23; G. Klinge, Die *Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam*, in *Z. für Kirchengeschichte*, lviii (1939), 346-86; G. Troupeau, *Le rôle des syriaques dans la transmission et l'exploitation du patrimoine philosophique et scientifique grec*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 1-10.

4. Stages of the translation movement. Studies on the language and techniques of translation in its various stages: (a) To the oldest stage belongs the translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Euclid's *Elements*. The former is studied in the exhaustive commentary appended to the edition by M.C. Lyons, *Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica. The Arabic version*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1982; the latter is studied in a number of articles by S. Brentjes; see in particular *Textzeugen und Hypothesen zum arabischen Euklid*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, xlvii (1994), 53-92. (b) Similar analyses of the translations prepared in the circle of al-Kindī in the subsequent stage, which antedates that of Ḥunayn, are offered by Endress, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen von Aristoteles'*

Schrift De Caelo, diss. Frankfurt am Main 1966, and his *Proclus Arabus*, Beiruter Texte und Studien 10, Beirut 1973. (c) Ḥunayn's translations are analysed in the pioneering study by G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain b. Isḥāḳ und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913. The language of Ḥunayn's nephew and collaborator, Ḥubaysh, is studied by H.H. Biesterfeldt, *Galens Traktat dass die Kräfte der Seele*..., AKM 40.4, Wiesbaden 1973. A first attempt at a "translation grammar" (*Griechisch-arabische Übersetzungsgrammatik*) of versions prepared in this school was made by H.-J. Ruland, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Sinneswahrnehmung*, in *Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1978), no. 5, 196-202. (d) Translations of the final stage, as represented by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā's translation of Ps.-Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, are analysed by H. Daiber, *Aetius Arabus*, Wiesbaden 1980. (e) Stage of scholarly emendation, i.e. on the basis of contents rather than original texts: H. Hugonnard-Roche, *Remarques sur la tradition arabe de l'*Organon *d'après le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346*, in Ch. Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian logical texts*, London 1993, 19-28. (f) An illuminating comparison between two translations of the same Greek text, one from stage [b] and the other from stage [d], is given by J.N. Mattock, *The early translations from Greek into Arabic: an experiment in comparative assessment*, in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II*, ed. Endress, Amsterdam 1989, 73-102.

5. The language of the translations; lexicography. A survey of the language of the translations at all stages and of the development of scientific Arabic is given by Endress, *Die griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen und die Sprache der arabischen Wissenschaften*, in *Symposium Graeco-arabicum II* (section 4), 103-45, revised repr. under the title *Die Entwicklung der Fachsprache*, in *GAP*, iii, 3-23. On the significance of the Graeco-Arabic translations for Arabic syntax and vocabulary, see Ullmann, *WKAS*, ii, 2, pp. ix-xi, and the references cited there. Specific studies on the development of Arabic technical terminology, on the basis of the translation literature, in the fields of logic, philosophy, astronomy, and medicine are collected in D. Jacquart, *La formation du vocabulaire scientifique et intellectuel dans le monde arabe*, in *Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Age*, vii, Turnhout 1994. Graeco-Arabic historical glossaries are appended to a number of editions of translated Greek works. See now Endress and Gutas, *A Greek and Arabic lexicon. Materials for a dictionary of the mediaeval translations for Greek into Arabic*, Leiden 1992 ff., see especially Fasc. 1, Introduction and List of Sources.

6. The significance of the translation literature. This has been much discussed in secondary literature. Among the most important contributions are the following, listed in chronological order:

G. Flügel, *Dissertatio de arabicis scriptorum graecorum interpretibus*, in *Memoriam anniversariam*... *Scholae Regiae Afranae*... *celebrandam indicit*... *Baumgarten-Crusius*... *Rector et Professor I.*, Misenae (Meissen) 1841, 3-38; C.A. Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli arabi per trafila pehlevica*, in T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson (eds.), *A volume of Oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 345-63, repr. in Maria Nallino (ed.), *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, Rome 1948, vi, 285-303; J. Ruska, *Über das Fortleben der antiken Wissenschaften im Orient*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, x (1927), 112-35; H.H. Schaeder, *Der Orient und das griechische Erbe*, in *Die Antike*, iv (1928), 226-65, repr. in his *Der Mensch in Orient und Okzident*, Munich 1960, 107-61; W. Jaeger, *Die Antike und das Problem der Internationalität der Geisteswissenschaften*, in *Inter Nationes*, i, Berlin 1931; C.H. Becker, *Das Erbe der Antike im Orient und Okzident*, Leipzig 1931; M. Plessner, *Die Geschichte der Wissenschaften im Islam*, Philosophie und Geschichte 31, Tübingen 1931; J. Schacht, *Über den Hellenismus in Baghdad und Cairo im 11. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 526-45; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Islam and Hellenism*, in *Scientia* (*Rivista di Scienza*), lxxxv (1950), 21-7; R. Paret, *Der Islam und das griechische Bildungsgut*, Philosophie und Geschichte 70, Tübingen 1950; B. Spuler, *Hellenistisches Denken im Islam*, in *Saeculum*, v (1954), 179-93; P. Thillet, *Sagesse grecque et philosophie musulmane*, in *Les Mardis de Dar el Salam*, 1955, 55-93; R. Walzer, *On the legacy of the Classics in the Islamic world*, in *Festschrift Bruno Snell*, Munich 1956, 189-96, repr. in his *Greek Into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 29-37; Jörg Kraemer, *Das Problem der islamischen Kulturgeschichte*, Tübingen 1959; H. Gätje, *Gedanken zur Problematik der islamischen Kulturgeschicht*, in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, xx (1960), 157-67; R. Walzer, *Arabische Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, in *Miscellanea Medievalia*, ix (1962), 179-95; S.D. Goitein, *Between Hellenism and Renaissance—Islam, the intermediate civilization*, in *Islamic Studies*, ii (1963), 217-33; A. Dietrich, *Islam und Abendland*, in *Neue Sammlung, Göttinger Blätter für Kultur und Erziehung*, v (1965), 37-53; H.L. Gottschalk, *Die Rezeption der antiken Wissenschaften durch den Islam*, in *Anzeiger der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, cii/7 (1965), 111-34; J.-F. Duneau, *Quelques aspects de la pénétration de l'hellénisme dans l'empire perse sassanide* (*IV^e^-VII^e^ siècles*), in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou, Poitiers 1966, i, 13-22; M. Plessner, *Die Bedeutung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte für das Verständnis der geistigen Welt des Islams*, Philosophie und Geschichte 82, Tübingen 1966; F. Gabrieli, *Griechentum und Islam—eine Kulturbegegnung*, in *Antaios*, ix (1968), 513-32; F. Rundgren, *Arabische Literatur und orientalische Antike*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xix-xx (1970-1), 81-124; P. Kunitzsch, *Über das Frühstadium der arabischen Aneignung antiken Gutes*, in *Saeculum*, xxvi (1975), 268-82; P. Kunitzsch, *Zur Problematik und Interpretation der arabischen Übersetzungen antiker Texte*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi (1976), 116-32; S. Ṭaha, *al-Taʿrīb wa-kibār al-muʿarribīn fi 'l-Islām*, in *Sumer*, xxxii (1976), 339-89; Ch. Toll, *Arabische Wissenschaft und griechisches Erbe. Die Rezeption der griechischen Antike und die Blüte der Wissenschaften in der klassischen Periode des Islam*, in A. Mercier, *Islam und Abendland. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bern and Frankfurt 1976, 31-57; R. Arnaldez, *L'Histoire de la pensée grecque vue par les arabes*, in *Bull. de la Société Française de Philosophie*, lxxii/3 (1978), 117-68; H. Daiber, *Anfänge und Entstehung der Wissenschaft im Islam*, in *Saeculum*, xxix (1978) 356-66; F. Klein-Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt 1980, reviewed by G. Strohmaier, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, lxv (1981), 200-2; J. Fück, *Hellenismus und Islam*, in his *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. M. Fleischhammer, Weimar 1981, 272-88; A. Bausani, *L'eredità greca nel mondo musulmano*, in *Contributo*, vii/2 (1983), 3-14; L.E. Goodman, *The Greek impact on Arabic literature*, in A.F.L. Beeston et alii (eds.), *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period. The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, i, Cambridge 1983, 460-82; Daiber, *Semitische Sprachen als Kulturvermittler zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, in *ZDMG*,

cxxxvi (1986), 292-313; Ṣ.A. al-ʿAlī, *al-ʿIlm al-ighrīḳī, muḳawwimātuhu wa-naḳluhu ilā ʾl-ʿarabiyya*, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, xxxvii/4 (1986), 3-56; A.I. Sabra, *The appropriation and subsequent naturalization of Greek science in medieval Islam. A preliminary statement*, in *History of Science*, xxv (1987), 223-43; R. Rashed, *Problems of the transmission of Greek scientific thought into Arabic. Examples from mathematics and optics*, in *History of Science*, xxvii (1989), 199-209; D.J. Wasserstein, *Greek science in Islam. Islamic scholars as successors to the Greeks*, in *Hermathena*, cxlvii (1989), 57-72; Goodman, *The translation of Greek materials into Arabic*, in M.J.L. Young *et alii* (eds.) *Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period. The Cambridge history of Arabic literature*, iii, Cambridge 1990, 477-97; G. Endress, *"Der erste Lehrer." Der arabische Aristoteles und das Konzept der Philosophie im Islam*, in *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident, Festschrift für Abdoldjavad Falaturi* (ed. U. Tworuschka), Cologne-Vienna 1991, 151-81; J.L. Berggren, *Islamic acquisition of the Foreign Sciences. A cultural perspective*, in *American Jnal. of Islamic Social Studies*, ix (1992), 310-24. (D. GUTAS)

3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavī).

Translations of Middle Persian books were an important vehicle of cultural influences from Sāsānid Persia, but also from India and Greece. Two principal waves of transmission can be distinguished. For one, the translations from Middle Persian to Arabic made during the early ʿAbbāsid period, first and most famously by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (d. *ca.* 137/755 [*q.v.*]). Then, beginning about two centuries later, we find translations of Sāsānid books, either from Arabic or directly from Middle Persian, into New Persian, notably under the patronage of the Sāmānids. Although the number of books translated in both waves must have been very great indeed, only a small portion has survived till the present, and of these only a minute number have come down to us in the original language as well. The reason for this is that the Middle Persian books that have been preserved by Zoroastrians are almost entirely of religious content, while those translated by (or for) Muslims were virtually without exception of a non-religious nature. Thus the extant corpus of Middle Persian books and that of Arabic (or New Persian) translations from the Middle Persian complement one another and overlap only to a very small degree.

The largest portion of the extant Arabic translations is represented by what can broadly be called wisdom literature (Persian *andarz*), either in the form of isolated wise maxims, or else of wisdom embedded in stories of vaguely didactic content. By far the most famous work of this genre is the book of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], translated by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ from a source in Middle Persian (now lost, but largely reconstructable from an extant Syriac translation), which in turn derived for the most part from extant Sanskrit works of political science (*arthaśāstra*). Other much-read works of a similar nature are the book of *Bilawhar wa-Būdhāsaf* [*q.v.*], which derives, presumably via a lost Sāsānid work, from an Indian account of the life of the Buddha, and *Sindbād and the seven viziers* [see SINDBĀD AL-ḤAKĪM], of which the lost Sāsānid original would appear to have been influenced by, rather than translated from, Indian sources. All three of these books were put into Arabic verse already by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (d. *ca.* 200/815 [*q.v.*]), but the extant Arabic versions of the last two are anonymous and relatively late.

But wisdom can also be dispensed without an encompassing narrative, as it is, for example, in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's *Kitāb Ādāb al-kabīr*, a collection of maxims presumably taken from Persian books, but not specifically attributed. Paraenetic works attributed (rightly or wrongly) to one or another of the Sāsānid kings include a "testament" (*ʿahd*) of Ardashīr and a *Kārnāmadj* of Anūshīrwān (both preserved in Miskawayh's *Tadjārib al-umam* and translated by Grignaschi; the former has also been edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1389/1967). A *Kitāb al-Tādj fī sīrat Anūshīrwān*, attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, has likewise been edited and translated by Grignaschi. See also the article TANSAR (LETTER OF). A very large number of didactic sayings are credited either to specified ancient Persian sages, or merely to "the Persians" in the classic Arabic *adab* collections of al-Djāḥiẓ, Ibn Ḳutayba, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, al-Thaʿālibī, etc., and a small number of these dicta have been traced also to extant Middle Persian books. Of special interest is Miskawayh's Arabic *Djāwēdhān khiradh*, which, beside much other material, contains a collection of sayings by Ādhurbādh son of Māraspand, most of which occur, though in a different order, in two extant Middle Persian collections ascribed to the same sage, and a lengthy "memorandum" ascribed to Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*, though the information in the article is mostly wrong], this also extant in the original language. The same book contains at least two (unattributed) sayings found also in the extant Middle Persian *Handarz of Ōshnar.*

Sāsānid historical literature was represented most famously by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's translation of the Persian *Book of Kings*, cited in Arabic sources either with its Persian title (*Khwadhāy-nāmag*), or with the Arabic *Siyar al-mulūk.* Both the Middle Persian and the Arabic texts are now lost, but the latter is quoted frequently by Muslim authors (especially Ibn Ḳutayba) and it appears to have been the principal source for the accounts of pre-Islamic Persia that we find in the Muslim historians. Authors such as Ḥamza and al-Bīrūnī even mention various "versions" of the *Book of Kings*, but it is difficult to decide whether these were separate translations from the Middle Persian or only various reworkings and expansions of the work by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ. A Sāsānid version of the *Life of Alexander* of Pseudo-Callisthenes still survives, not in the original language, but in a Syriac translation (as Nöldeke has demonstrated), and was clearly one of the sources of the Muslim accounts of the deeds of Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn.

A third genre is what the Muslim literati call *khurafāʾ* or *asmār*, that is, prose narratives without ostensible didactic pretences, often of erotic content. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a long list of works of this nature which had been translated from (Middle) Persian to Arabic, mostly without indication of author or translator. Most are presumably lost, but the book that he calls *Hazār dāstān* ("Thousand stories"), was perhaps a remote ancestor of the surviving book of *Alf layla wa-layla* [*q.v.*].

There is also evidence for Arabic translations of Greek philosophical writings, not from Syriac, but via Middle Persian. Ibn al-Nadīm and others state that Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ composed abridgements of Aristotle's works on logic, evidently referring to the extant Arabic epitomes of three sections of the *Organon* that are ascribed in the available manuscripts not to Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ but to his son Muḥammad. In either case, the works could hardly have been translated from any language other than Middle Persian and must be the oldest surviving philosophical writings in Arabic (see in detail van Ess, ii, 27).

Translations of Sāsānid writings on astronomy and astrology must have exerted considerable influence on Muslim writers, as is evident from the numerous Mid-

dle Persian technical terms occurring in Arabic works on these subjects, and it is presumably also through Sāsānid translations that Indian astronomical and mathematical theory found its way to the Muslim world. As is known, the European term "sine", Latin *sinus* "breast", is a mistranslation of Arabic *djīb* (misread as *djayb* "breast-pocket"), a transcription, presumably via a Middle Persian intermediary, of Sanskrit *jīva* "bow-string, half chord". However, the number of extant Arabic scientific works that can reasonably be claimed to be direct translations from Middle Persian is small. These include the *Agriculture* of Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus (in Arabic, Ḳusṭūs) which, as Nallino has shown, has survived in two different versions, one made directly from the Greek, the other from a lost Middle Persian translation (see also Ullmann, 433-7), and the same scholar has demonstrated that the Arabic translation (lost, but well represented by quotations) of the astrological compendium of Vettius Valens (Arabic Wālīs) similarly derives from a lost Middle Persian translation (Ullmann, 281-2; the fragments now ed. D. Pingree, Leipzig 1986). The Arabic version of the astrological *Paranatellonta* of Teucros (Arabic Tinkalūs), again known only from quotations, also seems to derive from a Sāsānid translation (Ullmann, 278-9). A treatise on the magical qualities of various gemstones, which survives as one of the chapters in the *Pahlawī Riwāyat* (ed. and tr. A.V. Williams, Copenhagen 1990, ch. 64), exists also in an Arabic translation that was pirated by at least four different Muslim authors (see Ullmann, 102-4). On the other hand, the many books on astrology, alchemy and other pseudo-sciences ascribed in Arabic manuscripts to Zoroaster (Zardusht), Djāmāsp, Buzurgmihr and other sages from Persian history and legend appear either to derive from apocryphal "oriental" writings in Greek or else to be the composition of Muslim pseudepigraphers (Ullmann, 183-6, 294-7).

The translation of Sāsānid books into New Persian began under the Sāmānid rulers in Transoxania. The "old preface" found in many manuscripts of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* mentions a Persian prose version of the *Book of Kings* sponsored by the governor of Ṭūs, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, in 346/957, prepared with the participation of four men bearing obviously Zoroastrian names; it is thus likely that the "four men" contributed material from Middle Persian books, though it would be most surprising if the authors had not also used the then well-known Arabic offshoots of the Persian *Book of Kings* (see de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 120-2). In 339/950 the Sāmānid Nūḥ II commissioned a Persian translation of the *Book of Sindbād* by Abu 'l-Fawāris Fanārūzī; this is lost, but it was still known to the author of the oldest extant Persian *Sindbād-nāma*, Ẓahīrī Samarḳandī (*ca.* 558/1161), who claims that before that time the book had existed "in Pahlawī", apparently implying that Fanārūzī had made his translation not from Arabic but from Middle Persian; however, one must ask whether Ẓahīrī is likely to have had reliable information on this matter. In the introduction to his versification of the story of *Wīs-u Rāmīn* [*q.v.*], Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (*ca.* 441/1050) says explicitly that his source was a book "in Pahlawī". But on the whole it would seem that Sāsānid literature made its impact on Islamic Persia indirectly, via Arabic translations.

The Zoroastrians in Islamic Persia and in India translated a large number of (for the most part) still extant Middle Persian religious writings into New Persian prose and verse. None of the surviving translations seems to predate the 7th/13th century, and they have had no resonance outside of the Zoroastrian communities.

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4. Modern translations into Arabic.

(a) The 19th century.

The 19th-century translation movement in Egypt and Lebanon was to prove as significant in the Arab renaissance (*nahḍa*) as translations from Greek had been in intellectual activity in the ʿAbbāsid period. Pre-19th-century Arab society had little concrete knowledge of the West. When the Egyptian viceroy Muḥammad ʿAlī (*r.* 1805-49 [*q.v.*]), in his desire to establish a strong and viable state with a powerful military machine, created new European-style schools, he needed textbooks and manuals. Translations of European military, medical, scientific and technical works were made and published by government presses at Būlāḳ (founded *ca.* 1821) and elsewhere. Building on a limited band of competent translators, later supplemented by graduates of educational missions to Europe, the School of Languages (*Madrasat al-Alsun*) (founded 1835), was to institute the training of translators. The field of state-sponsored translation expanded to embrace travel literature, histories of the ancient world, the Middle Ages and the Kings of France, Voltaire's lives of Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden, William Robertson's history of the Emperor Charles V, and Montesquieu's finest work, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*. The peak decades of translation activity in Egypt were the 1830s and 1840s and then the 1880s and 1890s. After the educational system and the translation movement was devastated by the military and political collapse of Muḥammad ʿAlī's régime, translations were made largely on an individual initiative.

The Levant had been provided with books from Egypt and the press of the Anglican Church Missionary Society in Malta (1826-42), until the presses of the American (founded 1836) and Jesuit missionaries (founded 1848) in the Lebanon met the demand for textbooks, polemics and religious literature for the mission's schools and preaching; much of this material was translated. Much energy was devoted to the first complete translation of the Bible, accomplished by the Jesuits (1876-80) with the help of Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī, and by the Americans (1865) aided by other leading writers: Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, Nāṣīf al-Yāzidjī and the Muslim Yūsuf al-Asīr. From

the 1850s and 1860s onwards, the burgeoning private presses in Lebanon and Egypt increasingly responded to growing public demands.

From the late 1840s, imported literary forms captured the public's imagination. The first wave of new fictional writing involved a process of translation, adaptation, or imitation of mainly French novels, short stories and drama. The process of altering the text to suit an Arab milieu led to liberties being taken: passages were dropped, endings changed, the narrative interspersed with Arabic verse, and in drama with music and song. In drama, the principal early adaptations were made in Syria by members of the Nakkā̲s̲h̲ family, Adīb Isḥāḳ, the S̲h̲uhaybir brothers and Aḥmad Abū K̲h̲alīl al-Ḳabbānī, in Egypt by Yaʿḳūb Ṣanūʿ and Muḥammad ʿUt̲h̲mān D̲j̲alāl. The plays of Molière, Corneille, Racine, and the Italian Goldoni were an early source of inspiration.

Works of questionable literary value, sentimental stories, historical romances, science fiction, crime and detective stories were popular; Alexandre Dumas père, Jules Verne, Ponson du Terrail, Leblanc (his Arsène Lupin detective novels), and Eugène Sue were amongst the favourite authors. Later translators were to adapt Walter Scott, Conan Doyle, Wilkie Collins, Disraeli, Dickens and Thackeray. Translations ranged from Aesop's *Fables*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty*, Wyss' *The Swiss Family Robinson*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and the stories of Hans Christian Andersen, to the edifying literature of the Catholic priest and writer Christoph von Schmid and the Belgian Jesuit Henri Lammens. With the rise of journalism in the 1860s and 70s, newspapers and magazines in Beirut, Alexandria and Cairo, heavily dependent on translated material to fill their columns, regularly published translated western fiction.

The quality of translations showed a marked improvement early in the 20th century, when some distinguished authors with a powerful command of Arabic, but deficient in foreign languages, became involved in the process: in the free translations from French and English of Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī and the poet Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm's fine translation of Hugo's *Les Misérables*. Poetry was the genre least influenced by translation; Sulaymān al-Bustānī's rendering of Homer's *Iliad* (1904) was a rare translation of literary merit. Aside from literature, some of the most thought-provoking translations to appear were Fatḥī Zag̲h̲lūl's renderings of Jeremy Bentham's works, including his Utilitarianist *Principles of morals and legislation* and Edmond Demolins' *À quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* (1899), and S̲h̲iblī S̲h̲umayyil's translation of Ludwig Büchner's lectures on Darwin (1884).

Nuṣayr (283-84) gives a total of 804 books translated in Egypt in the 19th century: 55% from French, 21% from English and 10% from Arabic into Turkish. Of these, 677 were translations into Arabic and 113 into Turkish. Most of the translations were in the practical sciences (159), then the social sciences, pure sciences, literature (124), and geography. In Lebanon there was a different emphasis; of a total of 542 translations, with 298 in the religious sciences and 119 in literature (Khoury, 16), 223 were from French and 160 from English (Khoury, 155). In addition to the obvious impact on terminology and vocabulary, translations helped develop a new direct, concise, and intelligible style of Arabic prose, more concerned with content and meaning, and free of traditional rhetorical embellishments and rhymed prose. In literature as in many other fields, translations were an essential precursor to creative and original activity by Arab authors. Translation was one of the principal, if imperfect, means by which western techniques, ideas and values were transmitted to the Arab world.

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(b) The 20th century. [See Suppl.].

5. In modern Persian.

The modern period of translation in Persia began with the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh Ḳād̲j̲ār (1797-1834), which was contemporary with important political contacts between France and Persia and with the wars between Russia and Persia. In this period, Persians were particularly interested in learning about the military arts and weapons of war. For this purpose, they had no choice but to translate scientific and technical texts from French, English, German and Russian.

Some of the people who were assigned to translate books, reports and newspaper articles for the information of the Shah and the highest government circles, or who acted as translators in state negotiations between European powers and Persian authorities, were Armenians, and sometimes Jews, as these had learned European languages in the Ottoman Empire, in Russia and in India. Missionaries were also made use of as translators. The brothers Burgess were well-known translators from the time of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (1834-48) onwards; they took part in the translation of news reports and journalistic articles in the first printed newspapers in Iran (see C. and E. Burgess, *Letters from Persia*, ed. L.B. Schwartz, New York 1942). Among the French, Jules Richard should be mentioned. He came to Persia during the days of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh and worked as a translator and teacher; his son followed the same occupation. The first Persian to translate books from European languages into Persian seems to have been Mīrzā Riḍā Muhandis Tabrīzī, one of the five students who had been sent to Europe at the suggestion of ʿAbbās Mīrzā Nā'ib al-Salṭana (d. 1833). Among his works is a translation of a biography of Napoleon, although we do not know from which book it came. He also translated Montesquieu's famous book *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*. Manuscripts of these two works are extant.

Translating historical and geographical books gained momentum in the era of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (1848-96). In addition, the necessity of having some European journals translated in order to be informed about political events and currents led to the creation, by order of Nāṣir al-Dīn, of the "Royal House of Translation" (*Dār al-tard̲j̲uma-yi humāyūnī*) within the organisation of the court; its managing director was Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, who later received the honorific of Iʿtimād al-Salṭana (d. 1896) and studied the French language. He put a number of translators to work in that centre on the Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, and European languages. Gradually, the method and style of translating spread from that institution to others. Luckily, a large portion of the manuscripts of the translations made in that office by such translators during Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh's time is still extant in the following libraries: Salṭanatī (Gulistān), Millī,

Tehran University, Millī Malik, and ʿUmūmī Iṣfahān (collection of Ẓill al-Sulṭān); they belong to the fields of history, geography, medicine, chemistry and scientific terminology, such as that of agriculture and photography. The number of books translated into Persian in this period is probably close to two hundred titles. From among the translators of that time, the following should be mentioned by way of example: Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, Uwānis Khān, Mīrzā Raḥīm, Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿArab, Muḥammad Zakī ʿAlīʾābādī (the translator of Hammer-Purgstall's Ottoman history), ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Nadjm al-Dawla, ʿĀrif Arzurūmī and Muḥammad Kāẓim Maḥallātī.

In addition to the Royal House of Translation, the teachers at the *Madrasa-yi Dār al-Funūn* were forced, for the sake of teaching, to translate European scholarly texts; in particular, some of the lectures of the Austrian, French and Italian teachers at the *Dār al-Funūn*, which were held in German and French, were translated into Persian and printed for the benefit of the students (see Ḥusayn Maḥbūbī Ardakānī, *Tārīkh-i muʾassasāt-i tamaddunī-i djadīd dar Īrān*, i, Tehran 1354/1973).

From the time of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's rule (1896-1907), we know of translations that were made by professors at the *Madrasa-yi ʿUlūm-i Siyāsī* (founded in 1899), such as those that were made by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Furūghī and his son Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī. To that category belong books on basic rights, finance, physics, and some of the historical works of Charles Seignobos. Alongside such translations that were made for teaching on all levels, some novels by Alexandre Dumas and histories of Europe were translated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā Ḳādjār. Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī produced a fine translation of James Morier's *The adventures of Hajji Baba*, which has the form of an adaptation, and into which he admixed Persian poetry.

From the end of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's rule, and particularly after the adoption of the Constitution, translation activities became ever more widespread. Translation of philosophical inquiries, such as works of Plato and Descartes by Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, parts of the above-mentioned book of Montesquieu by Bahāʾ al-Mulk Ḳaragözlü and also by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, James Fraser's history of Nādir Shāh by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Nāṣir al-Mulk, some French novels and literary texts by Yūsuf Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, the astronomy of Camille Flamarion by Ṭālibūf [*q.v.*], and the writings of Jules Verne by Ḥasan Taḳīzāda [*q.v.*], were published. The journal *Bahār*, which was published for two years at that time under the editorship of Yūsuf Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, paid special attention to the translation of European works.

At the beginning of Riḍā Shāh's rule (1925-41), two statesmen were especially concerned with the translation of European books. One of them was Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda, who discussed translating European scientific and intellectual texts several times in the journal *Kāwa* and in other articles of his. He considered them necessary for the intellectual and social progress of Persian society. The other person was Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*], who commissioned Naṣr Allāh Falsafī to translate F. de Coulange's book *La Cité antique*, and had it published at his own expense and distributed free of charge among lovers of learning. During the period of Riḍā Shāh, the *Kumīsyun-i maʿārif*, which was formed by several public and academic persons like Muṣaddiḳ, Maḥmūd Iḥtishām al-Salṭana ʿAlāmīr, Ḥasan Mushīr al-Dawla Pīr-niyā and Mahdīḳulī Mukhbir al-Salṭana Hidāyat, showed special interest in translation. It had several history books and also some Iranistic studies translated into Persian. The history currriculum by Albert Malet is one of their major contributions.

After the Second World War, when the activities of leftist groups began, the young turned to translating the works of socialist and communist writers and poets, essentially Russian and French ones. The journal *Sukhan*, which was published from 1323/1944 under the editorship of Dr. Parwīz Nātil Khānlarī, made a remarkable attempt to translate short stories and poems from a variety of languages.

An important step forward during this period was the foundation of the "Publications of the University of Tehran" (*Instishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*) in 1326/1946. Not only did a number of translations appear in that series but, in addition to it, the "Committee for Scientific Terminology" (*Andjuman-i iṣṭilāḥāt-i ʿilmī*) was also created, which worked to harmonise technical terms coined by translators.

In 1953 the "Institute for Translation and Publication of Books" (*Bungāh-i Tardjuma wa Nashr-i Kitāb*) was founded under the supervision of Iḥsān Yārshāṭir, and this organisation promoted translation in several categories: philosophy and theosophy, novel and poetry, drama, Iranian studies, and books for children and adolescents.

At the same time, the "Franklin Organisation for Publication" (*Muʾassasa-yi intishārāt-i Frānklīn*) under the editorship of Humāyūn Ṣanʿatī was founded. Its goal was restricted to the translation or books written by American scholars and writers. This organisation, with the help of several publishers, had scholarly and literary works translated in an efficient and far-and-wide-reaching way; from among the historical works one might mention those of Will Durant.

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6. In Turkish.

The birth of modern Turkish literature in the second half of the 19th century is directly related to European influence, and translations played a central role in introducing new literary genres such as drama, novel, journalism and literary criticism. It was only in the literature of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] that translation assumed a central position and became a primary activity.

In the spirit of the times for Westernisation, organisations founded by the government played a vital role. The "Translation Chamber" at the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-ı ʿĀlī Terdjüme Odası*) (1833) taught European languages to Muslims and trained translators of official documents (see further on this, tardjumān. 2.). The

Academy (*Endjümen-i Dānish*) (1851) organised the selection, translation and production of teaching materials in science, history and literature for the university (*Dār ül-Fünūn*). The Ottoman Scientific Society (*Djemʿiyyet-i ʿIlmiyye-i ʿOthmāniyye*) (1860) produced the Turkish *Journal of Sciences* (*Medjmūʿa-yi Fünūn*) (1862-82). All the prominent translators of the time were also prominent literary figures who worked in or for these establishment, for example Münīf Pasha, Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha (known for his translations from Molière), Shināsī, Nāmiḳ Kemāl (the first translator of Montesquieu), Aḥmed Midḥat, Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.vv.*]. These people were responsible for setting the norms for translation and in original writing affected by translations.

In 1859, the first translations, mainly from French literature, introduced new genres such as western poetry, philosophical dialogue and the novel. The *Terdjüme-yi manẓūme* "Translations of verse" by Shināsī were the first Western poetry translations into Turkish. He used *ʿarūd* [*q.v.*] for his translations in order to make his translations acceptable for the Ottoman reader. Aḥmed Midḥat's translations of fiction resembled the originals in basic structure and line of action, but the stylistic features and the moral structure were supplied by him. Münīf Pasha's *Muhāwarāt-i ḥikemiyye* "Philosophical dialogues" were a selection from Voltaire, Fénélon and Fontenelle, whilst the Grand Vizier Yūsuf Kāmil Pasha's version of Fénélon's novel *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699) was published in 1862.

The role of the press [see DJARĪDA. iii] in transmitting new forms and ideas through translations is significant. Newspapers such as *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith* (1840), *Terdjümān-i Aḥwāl* (1860), *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* (1862), *Terdjümān-i Ḥaḳīkat* (1878), and many others which assumed the role of informing and educating the public, made abundant use of translated literary and non-literary material. Thus in 1862, the newspaper *Rūznāme-yi Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith* published a summary of Hugo's *Les Misérables* and later serialised a translation of the same novel, but so abridged that it was reduced to a crime story; Turkish readers were not yet familiar with the full-length European novel and its characteristic features of plot and character. In 1869, Pelicco's *Mes prisons*, Chateaubriand's *Atala*, in 1870 Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, in 1871 Voltaire's *Micromégas* and Dumas Père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* were all serialised. Many translations like this which appeared in newspapers and periodicals aided the simplification of the Ottoman syntax and the growth of new vocabulary; new terms, concepts, and styles were introduced.

During the 1870s, translations and adaptations dominated the Ottoman stage. Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha is well known for his translations/adaptations of French comedy, which made drama acceptable to Turkish audience. After 1908, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet*, and *King Lear* were translated by ʿAbdullāh Djewdet, a prominent Young Turk [see further, MASRAḤ. 3].

By the first half of the 20th century, there was abundant native literature being produced, so that the production of translations now became a secondary activity. Under the Republic, a *Telif ve Tercüme Heyeti* "Compilation and Translation Committee" was established in 1940 which until 1958 translated and published around one thousand works from world literatures. From the 1980s onwards, Departments of Translation Studies were opened at several universities. In the 1990s, contemporary works from world's literatures are readily available, published by numerous private publishers and government agencies.

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(ÇIĞDEM BALIM)

TARDJĪʿ-BAND and **TARKĪB-BAND**, name of two specifically Persian developments of the (originally Arab) *musammaṭ* [*q.v.*] form of poetry. In older literature the term *tardjīʿ-band* (and also *tardjīʿ*) is usually also applied to *tarkīb-band* (which could therefore be considered a subdivision of *tardjīʿ-band*). The plural *tardjīʿāt* is even today used to designate both *tardjīʿ-bands* and *tarkīb-bands* as well as other forms of *musammaṭ* poetry (whereas *tardjīʿ-bandhā* in modern usage would exclude *tarkīb-bands*, etc.) With Ḥāfiẓ as one notable exception, practically all *kulliyyāts* of Classical Persian poetry have a (normally quite short) *tardjīʿāt* section.

The *tardjīʿ-band* and the *tarkīb-band* can both be described as a stanzaic poem consisting of a series of short *ḳaṣīdas* separated (or perhaps rather connected) by a series of isolated verses which mark the end of each stanza. If one and the same verse is repeated after each stanza we have (in modern usage) a *tardjīʿ-band* (or "return-tie" in the words of E.G. Browne, who also refers to the repeated verses as the "refrain"). If, however, each stanza is concluded with a new/different verse, we have a *tarkīb-band* (or "composite tie"). The isolated verses follow the *mathnawī* rhyme scheme. All parts of a *tardjīʿ* or a *tarkīb-band* must follow the same rhythm.

It follows from this that the rhyme scheme of a *tardjīʿ-band* is: *aa, ax, ..., ax, BB, cc, cx, ..., cx, BB, dd, dx, ..., dx, BB, nn, nx, ..., nx, BB* (*BB* = refrain), and that the rhyme scheme of a *tarkīb-band* is: *aa, ax, ..., ax, bb, cc, cx, ..., cx, dd, ee, ex ....., ex, ff, mm, mx, ..., mx, nn*. Each single *ḳaṣīda* part is termed *khāna* and each of the single separating verses is termed *band*, but the term *band* is also used loosely to designate each complete stanza (i.e. *ḳaṣīda* plus single verse), and this usage is more common.

The length of the single stanzas exhibit a variation similar to that of the *ghazal* (and is consequently considerably shorter than the length of an ordinary *ḳaṣīda*). The total number of stanzas may be anything from two upwards, but rarely exceeds 25.

From the time of Farrukhī Sīstanī [*q.v.*] onwards, most Classical Persian lyrical poets have tried their hand at *tardjīʿāt*. As for the content, the *tardjīʿ-band* and the *tarkīb-band* are like a *ḳaṣīda*, and this form may be considered a means of extending the *ḳaṣīda* beyond the limits which its monorhyme form imposes upon the poet. Perhaps the best-known Classical Persian *tardjīʿ-band* is the one by Saʿdī with the refrain *binshīnam u ṣabr pīsh gīram, dunbāla i kār i khʷīsh gīram*. A remarkable post-classical specimen is the mystical *tardjīʿ-band* by Hātif Iṣfahānī (full text and tr. in Browne, *LHP*, iv, 284-97). Among the *tarkīb-bands*, special mention must be made of Muḥtasham Kāshānī's (d. 995/1588 [*q.v.*]) *marthiya* on the Imām Ḥusayn (Browne iv, 172-7), which has inspired numerous imitations so that *tarkīb-band* has subsequently become a favourite medium for *marthiyas*. In the *tarkīb-band* of Muḥtasham Kāshānī, each *khāna* comprises seven verses and this variety is called a *haft-band*. The *haft-band* form is particularly common in *marthiyas*.

The modern Turkish terms are *tercî-i bent* and *terkîb-i bent* (with a "spurious *iẓâfet*"). Sixteen specimens by various Ottoman poets are given in Fahir Iz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i, Istanbul 1967, 479-516. The Ottoman poets, too, show a tendency to use the *terkîb-i bent* for *mart̲h̲iyas*. *Tard̲j̲īʿāt* also occur in Classical Urdu poetry, but they are rather uncommon with the exception of one variety, namely, the *tarkīb-band* with two verses in each *k̲h̲āna* (rhyme scheme *aa, aa, bb, cc, cc, dd, ee, ee, ff, ..., mm, mm, nn*), which is invariably used for religious *mart̲h̲iyas*. In Urdu, this form is termed *musaddas* (against Persian and Arabic usage, where *musaddas* would mean a *musammaṭ* poem with the rhyme scheme *aaaaab, cccccd, eeeeef, ..., mmmmmn.*) The main representative of this form is Bābar ʿAlī Anīs (1802-74 [*q.v.*]). The Urdu *mart̲h̲iyas* are often lengthy poems. Anīs has one *mart̲h̲iya* with 243 stanzas. The well-known *musaddas-i Ḥālī* [see MUSAMMAṬ. 2], which may be called a *mart̲h̲iya* on Islam itself, runs to 300 stanzas.

Bibliography: The standard description of the *tard̲j̲īʿ-band* and *tarkīb-band* is given in D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Humāʾī, *Funūn-i balāg̲h̲at wa ṣināʿāt-i adabī*, i, Tehran 1354/1975, 180-211. ʿAlī Akbar Dihk̲h̲udā, *Lug̲h̲at-nāma*, Tehran 1946-, gives copious quotations from traditional definitions and descriptions of *tard̲j̲īʿāt* s.v. See also the *Bibl.* to MUSAMMAṬ. 2.

(F. THIESEN)

TARD̲J̲UMĀN, TURD̲J̲UMĀN (A.), pls. *tarād̲j̲im, tarād̲j̲ima*, appearing in Ottoman Turkish as TERD̲J̲ÜMAN, interpreter. The word is of Aramaic origin, and is familiar in the form *Targum* for the Aramaic translations or paraphrases or interpretations of the Hebrew Old Testament which came into use when the use of Hebrew as a living, spoken language amongst ordinary people declined. The Arabic term, and the verb *tard̲j̲ama* "to translate", was certainly in familiar usage by ʿAbbāsid times.

1. In the Arab lands in mediaeval times. We know of interpreters in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, some of whom must have been attached to the *dīwāns* with regard to financial and diplomatic matters and correspondence, from the early 3rd/9th century onwards, such as the Sallām al-Tard̲j̲umān who allegedly travelled at this time to the barrier of Gog and Magog in Inner Asia [see AL-WĀT̲H̲IK]. The near universal takeover of military power by non-Arabs, above all Turks, throughout the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world at this time, must have necessitated the employment in Islamic administrations of persons who knew Turkish. Al-Ṭabari, iii, 1539 (year 251/865), mentions a body of people in Bag̲h̲dād who knew Turkish and who could address rioting Turkish soldiery on behalf of the caliph al-Mustaʿīn and his commanders. In the time of the Būyids, Miskawayh on more than one occasion mentions one Muḥammad b. Yināl al-Tard̲j̲umān, who acted as a liaison officer between the Turkish troops and the caliph al-Mutakkī, becoming *ṣāḥib al-s̲h̲urṭa* or police chief of Bag̲h̲dād in 329/941 (see *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 12, tr. v, 12).

Interpreters must always have played an important part in the diplomatic and commercial relations of Islamic states with foreign, non-Arabophone, powers, but we only began to get information on this topic in the period of the Crusades and after. In mediaeval Spain, the Arabic term entered the language as *trujaman*, in Valencian dialect *torcimany* (R. Dozy and W.H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, ²Leiden 1869, 351; for other Latin and Romance forms, see L. de Mas Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1866, 189 ff., and Cengiz Orhonlu, *IA* art. *Tercüman*). *Torcimani* likewise appear in regard to treaties with the Muslim North African powers (see de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*). Contacts between the Muslim powers and the Crusaders in the Levant must have frequently necessitated the use of interpreters and translators. The formal oaths taken at the conclusion of a peace treaty between Baybars I and the Franks in 672/1273-4 were sworn at Cairo in the presence of translators (*bi-ḥuḍūr al-tarād̲j̲ima*) and formal witnesses (Ibn Nāẓir al-D̲j̲ays̲h̲ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Tat̲h̲kīf al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-s̲h̲arīf*, ed. R. Veselý, Cairo 1987, 170-1). The diplomatic correspondence and the trade treaties between the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria and the Italian mercantile cities and states in the later Middle Ages provide information on the role of interpreters. For the conclusion of a treaty at Florence in 1487 between Lorenzo the Magnificent and the Mamlūks, the envoy sent from Cairo by Ḳāʾit Bay as negotiator and interpreter was a certain "Malfota" (? Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ al-Mag̲h̲ribī); the text of the treaty mentions *inter alia* interpreters' fees, *[ḥuḳūḳ] al-tarād̲j̲ima* (see J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk treaty with Florence*, in S.M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 42, Arabic text of treaty 54, Eng. tr. 64). Twenty years later, a treaty was negotiated in Venice by a well-known Mamlūk envoy, the polyglot dragoman Tag̲h̲rī Berdī, described as "Ibn ʿAbd Allāh", who, despite his Turkish name, was probably a Spanish renegade, though whether of Christian, Jewish or Marrano origin is uncertain. In the document, Tag̲h̲rī Berdī's titles appear as *al-Turd̲j̲umān (li-abwābinā al-s̲h̲arīfa)/turziman de nostra Porta Sancta e la seraphi* (idem, *A Mamluk ambassador to Venice in 913/1507*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi [1963], 503 ff.).

The Mamlūk empire had, in fact, an internationally-ranging diplomatic correspondence. From al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī's manual on secretaryship, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, we get explicit information on the translation procedures in the *dīwān al-ins̲h̲āʾ* when a letter arrived from e.g. the Palaeologi emperors of Byzantium or the Italian mercantile powers. The two official *tard̲j̲umāns* there in 814/1411 (sc. the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Farad̲j̲ [*q.v.*]) are named as S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ṣonḳor and Sayf al-Dīn Sūdūn, both obviously Turks (viii, 121, 124). The staff of the chancery were able to send out letters to the Mongol K̲h̲āns in *mug̲h̲ulī* language (in Uyg̲h̲ur script?), and the clerks specifically responsible for these in the first half of the 8th/14th century are cited from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [*q.v.*] as Aytamis̲h̲ al-Muḥammadī, Ṭāyirbug̲h̲ā al-Nāṣirī and ʾ.r.g̲h̲.d.l.ḳ al-Tard̲j̲umān, these being succeeded by Ḳūṣūn al-Sāḳī (vii, 294). When a letter for the Mamlūk sultan arrived at Malatya in eastern Anatolia, on the borders of the empire, from a son of Tīmūr, written in Persian (*ʿad̲j̲amī*), the local governor himself translated it and sent the translation with the original letter on to Cairo (vii, 294). However, when an envoy arrived, via Hormuz, with a letter from the king of Ceylon (*Saylan*) in 682/1283-4, no-one in Cairo could interpret it, and the Singhalese envoy had to communicate the gist of its contents as best he could (vii, 77). See further, W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 45-6. Also, the modest genre of grammars and vocabularies of Ḳipčaḳ Turkish written in Arabic which grew up in late Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (7th-9th/13th-15th centuries) (see O. Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 74-6, and ḲĀMŪS. iii) may have been meant, *inter alia*, for the use of a body of interpreters/liaison officers between

non-Arabophone Mamlūks freshly arrived from the Ḳïpčaḳ steppe or Circassia (how the Čerkes newly-brought from the Caucasus, and who may not have known any Turkish, coped, is unknown).

Interpreters were an indispensable class of officials at seaports, such as Alexandria, which were accessible to foreign trade and where the European traders had *funduḳs* [*q.v.*] or factories. Nearly all commercial transactions necessarily took place through their intermediacy, for which they received fees, whose high level was at times a source of complaint. They seem to have been appointed by the local port authorities, and might be Muslims, Jews or Christians. In certain places, a special interpreter was appointed to oversee the interests of a particular foreign power. There were also interpreters to be found in such centres of Christian pilgrimage as Jerusalem. See, on the procedures at e.g. the Egyptian and Syrian ports, W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig 1885, i, 429 ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

2. In the Ottoman empire.

Under the Ottomans, the rôle and functions of official interpreters at the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports remained broadly the same as in earlier times, except that the Ottoman empire, through its conquests in the Balkans and its moves against Italy, was now in much closer contact, whether through war, diplomacy or trade, with the European powers than had been the case in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times. Hence there is now much more reference in the sources to interpreters and translators (Ital. *drogman, drogoman*, Fr. *truchement*).

These may have existed as aides to the sultans from the time of Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, but are attested definitely in the 10th/16th century as part of the *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]. They formed part of the staff of the Chief Secretary, the *re'īs ül-kuttāb*, responsible, within the department of the Grand Vizier, for dealing with foreign powers. From this century onwards, we have fairly full lists of interpreters (cf. von Hammer, *GOR*[1], vii, 627), the earliest of these all being converts to Islam, mostly from Europe and including Austrians, Hungarians, Poles and Greeks. A dragoman, the *su bas̲h̲ï* ʿAlī Beg, brought the peace treaty of 908-9/1502-3 from Bāyezīd II to Venice. The Greek Yūnus Beg (d. 948/1541-2) was often sent as an emissary to Venice, and was the founder of a mosque in Istanbul, the Durug̲h̲mān Mesd̲j̲idi (*Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 677; Ḥüseyin Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat ul-d̲j̲ewāmīʿ*, no. 226); his successor Aḥmed was originally a Viennese called Heinz Tulman. Another interpreter about whom we have information is the Hungarian Murād Beg, who was captured by the Turks at Mohács [*q.v.*] when he was 17, became a convert and an interpreter, wrote an apolegetical treatise for Islam and a trilingual hymn in Turkish, Latin and Magyar (published by F. Babinger, *Der Pfortendolmetsch Murad und seine Schriften*, in Babinger *et alii* (eds.), *Literaturdenkmaler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, 33-54), and translated Cicero's *De Senectute* into Turkish for presentation to Süleymān the Magnificent. Only occasionally do we hear of native-born Muslims who voluntarily learnt European languages, as opposed to learning them by mischance or misfortune or as captives. This was the case in the 11th/17th century with a Turkish cavalryman from Temes̲h̲war in Ottoman Hungary, ʿOt̲h̲mān Ag̲h̲a, who spent eleven years as a prisoner of the Austrians and learnt German in addition to the Serbian and Magyar which he already knew; after escaping, he served as interpreter to the Pas̲h̲a of Temes̲h̲war in his dealings with the Habsburgs and others (see the Ger. tr. of his memoirs by R.F. Kreutel and O. Spies, *Leben und Abenteuer des Dolmetschers ʿOsman Ağa*, Bonn 1954, and Kreutel, *Zwischen Paschas und Generalen*, Graz 1966). In the mid-17th century, in the Grand Vizierate of Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a Köprülü, two Greeks had been appointed as Chief Dragoman to the Imperial *Dīwān* (*terd̲j̲ümān-ï dīwān-ï hümāyūn*), and after this, the office became the special preserve of Christian Greek families from the Phanar/Fener quarter of Istanbul (the Phanariots), such as the Mavrogordatos, Kallimachis, Ghikas and Hypsilantis. In the course of the 18th century the function acquired a staff of several translators, whose head, the *terd̲j̲ümān bas̲h̲ï*, often rose to appointment as Voivode or governor of one of the Transdanubian principalities [see BOG̲H̲DĀN; EFLĀḲ]. It still remained rare for Turks to have any knowledge of a Western language. The first mention which we have of a Turkish diplomat with such skills seems to be that of Saʿīd Efendi, who had accompanied his father Meḥmed Efendi when the latter went as ambassador to Paris in 1721 and who apparently acquired a good facility in spoken French. Only in the early 19th century did it become reasonably common to know a European language, usually French; a forward-looking statesman like Muṣṭafā Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], who had served as ambassador in Paris and London before becoming Grand Vizier, would certainly be conversant with the Western languages used there. Hence the Porte's dependence on its Phanariot Greek dragomans for the greater part of its knowledge of the Western world continued into the early 19th century, until the outbreak of the Greek Revolt in 1821 made Maḥmūd II doubt the loyalty of the Greek Chief Dragoman, Constantine Mourouzi, so that he was dismissed and executed. His successor, Stavraki Aristarchi, was likewise dismissed in 1822, but was fortunate enough only to suffer exile; never again would a Greek translator serve in the Imperial *Dīwān*. When reports and other documents from Europe then began to pile up, the sultan had recourse (and even then still to converts, what Carter Findley has called "marginal men") to the teachers of foreign languages in the Army Engineering School, the first of these being Yaḥyā Efendi (d. 1823 or 1824), followed by Isḥāḳ Efendi. A formal Translation Bureau was now set up, the *Bāb-ï ʿAlī Terd̲j̲üme Odasï*. From the 1830s, the Translation Office grew in size and prestige, as Turkey became inexorably entangled in warfare and diplomacy with Muḥammad ʿAlī on the one hand, and the European Powers on the other, making a high level of competence in French and, later, English, vital, e.g. for the correct drawing up of treaties and agreements in parallel versions in different languages. By 1841 it had a staff of thirty, and outward-looking Muslim Turks now saw it as a path to preferment, so that such notable statesmen of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period as Meḥmed Emīn ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a (d. 1871 [see ʿALĪ PAS̲H̲A MUḤAMMAD AMĪN]) and Kečed̲j̲izāde ʿIzzet Fu'ād Pas̲h̲a (d. 1869 [see FU'ĀD PAS̲H̲A]) served in it; by the mid-century it was a vital component of the Foreign Ministry (*K̲h̲ārid̲j̲iyye Neẓāreti*) which had been formally set up in 1836. Under ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II, the Grand Vizier acquired a special translator of his own, the *terd̲j̲ümān-ï ṣadāret-i ʿuẓmā*. See C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic reform in the Ottoman empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton 1980, 91-3, 132-5, 139, 186, 243-4 and index; B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, London 1982, 77 ff., 86-7; Findley, *Ottoman civil officialdom. A social history*, Princeton 1989, 133-4, 262-3 and index.

Ottoman Turkey was not, however, alone in depending till a late date largely on renegades or even non-Muslims for their dealings with the non-Islamic outside world. Other Muslim powers seem to have relied largely on non-Muslims, some of them not even their own subjects. Thus a Moroccan ambassador to Spain at the end of the 17th century had to use an Arabic-speaking Syrian Christian who was an interpreter in the Spanish service; and as late as the early 19th century, a Persian envoy to Europe was accompanied by a Christian, probably from the Armenian community in Persia, who was his only link with an alien world (Lewis, *op. cit.*, 80).

Interpreters were also needed by the Ottoman administration in the provinces, where they were attached to the staffs of the provincial governors, and also needed, as indicated above, in the military and other technical schools established from the late 18th century onwards.

The remaining great function of dragomans in Ottoman times was as interpreters attached to foreign embassies and consulates, thus forming the channel of communication between the representatives of the European powers and the Turkish authorities, and also as interpreters and intermediaries employed by Western trading companies. The dragomans attached to foreign missions also had the function, expressly conceded in the capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT], of representing the consuls in cases before the Turkish courts in which the consul's subjects were involved. Such dragomans were expected to act as the eyes and ears of their employers, i.e. to gather intelligence. In the 16th and 17th centuries, they were usually Turkish subjects from the Levantine peoples who knew Italian, Italian being at that time the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Despite the *berāt*s or patents of protection which they held from the Ottoman state [see BERĀT], they were often maltreated by the Turkish authorities, and were accordingly reluctant to deliver strong messages from their European employers. The system was unsatisfactory, and to circumvent it the French in 1670 began to send out boys to the convents of the Capuchins in Istanbul and Izmir to acquire a knowledge of Turkish and become interpreters. At the end of this century, a few Greeks were brought to England by the Levant Company and sent to Gloucester Hall (the later Worcester College) at Oxford to learn English, but the experiment was not a success. The trading companies depended very considerably on their dragomans; in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, the English Levant Company had four dragomans at Istanbul (and later, an additional four students, *giovani di lingua*), three at Aleppo and two at Izmir (see A.C. Woods, *A history of the Levant Company*, Oxford 1935, 225-8). It must be remembered that until the early 19th century, the British minister in Istanbul was indeed the representative of his sovereign, but had his salary paid by the Levant Company, so that merchants trading in the Ottoman empire regarded the ambassador as equally charged with their interests, if not more so. In any case, after 1804 when the British minister was instructed by the government in London to give his whole attention to political and diplomatic affairs, dependence on Levantine dragomans continued for the next three-quarters of a century; a family like the Pisanis served the British Crown almost hereditarily from the early 18th century till 1882. Some British diplomats had long wished to reduce or even end dependence on local Levantine or British dragomans in what was often highly sensitive diplomatic business (though others felt that these dragomans often gave loyal and valuable service). But it was not till the later 19th century, when it was seen that powers like Russia, French and Austria were successfully training their own people at home for service in Turkey, that Britain began to follow suit; only from 1877 were interpreters recruited from British subjects only and by civil service competitive examination in London. See A. Cunningham, "*Dragomania*". *The dragomans of the British embassy in Turkey*, in *St. Anthony's Papers*, no. 11 (1961), 81-100, repr. in his *Eastern questions in the nineteenth century. Collected essays*, ed. E. Ingram, London 1993, ii, 1-22.

By the opening of the 19th century, the issuing to Ottoman citizens of protective *berāt*s by foreign embassies and consulates, bestowing the status and privileges of dragoman, was becoming an abuse, especially as dragomans traditionally enjoyed a commission from successful petitioners for consular protection. Being a *berātlï* or *barataire* meant that D̲h̲immī subjects of the Porte were taken under consular protection and thus avoided payment of the *d̲j̲izya* and other taxes for which the *reʿāyā* were liable. Selīm III protested, and the sale of *berāt*s to Jewish and Armenian merchants by the British ambassador was stopped by the Treaty of the Dardanelles of 1809. However, the numbers of dragomans under the capitulations was now vastly exceeded, as traders and others sought dragoman status; by *ca.* 1808 the Russians were said to have enrolled 120,000 Greeks as "protected persons" [see IMTIYĀZĀT. ii, at vol. III, p. 1187]. Ottoman government restiveness again grew in face of the number of its citizens abstracted from its control and its fiscal net, and in 1863 an agreement with foreign missions was achieved by which the powers of foreign embassies and consulates to appoint dragomans were restricted. When, on the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman government unilaterally abolished the capitulations in September 1914 (they were only briefly revived 1920-3), it refused henceforth to recognise foreign diplomatic or consular officials with the title of dragoman [see *ibid.*, at vol. III, 1188b], which thereafter died out.

However, as noted above, by the later 19th century most foreign powers had begun to introduce schemes for training their own interpreters. In Britain this was done by training student-interpreters recruited to the Levant Consular Service, who studied languages at Cambridge University and then went out into the field. When the young Reader Bullard, subsequently British Minister in Tehran, went out to Istanbul in 1908, he had studied under the great Persian scholar E.G. Browne. At the Istanbul embassy, he first served as Third Dragoman under the first or Chief Dragoman G.H. Fitzmaurice and the Second Dragoman Andrew Ryan (later to publish his autobiography, Sir Andrew Ryan, *The last of the Dragomans*, London 1951). At that time, the Chief Dragoman accompanied the Ambassador on important interviews and acted as the chief intermediary with the Turkish government (see Sir Reader Bullard, *The camels must go. An autobiography*, London 1961, 44 ff.).

Bibliography: See references given in the article, including *IA* art. *Tercüman* (Cengiz Orhonlu).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬARĪ, the Arabic orthography for *tari*, a term used by Western sources together with Latin *tarenus* and Greek ταρίον, to indicate a gold coin called in Arabic *rubʿ*, *rubāʿī*, struck in Sicily by the Fāṭimids and the Kalbids, who acknowledged formally their authority. The name—deriving from the Arabic adjective *ṭarī* "fresh, new"—may have described the grade of preservation of the coins, that is "uncirculated *rubāʿī*",

with the noun dropped in the language of the native speakers. This explanation can be connected with the circulation of sealed purses containing *taris* whose weight and fine gold content had been previously verified by the minter.

A first attempt made by the Aghlabid *amīrs* to introduce the dīnār [*q.v.*], a gold coin of 4.25 g, in Sicily failed, and the quarter-dīnār, i.e. the *rubāʿī*, became the only gold coin in use. Under the Fāṭimids many *taris* were issued from the Palermo mint, but only at the time of the third Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr does the mint name appear on the coins. The analyses of fine gold content present in the *taris* issued by the Arab authorities in Palermo show an average from 80% to 100%, with a reduction in the last years of Arab domination that could be attributed, according to Paul Balog, to provincial mints in Sicily.

The weakening of the central power and the consequent birth of several independent principalities was followed by the Norman invasion of Sicily. During the long struggle between Arabs and Normans (444-57/1052-64), the Palermo mint kept on striking Fāṭimid coins in the name of the nominal ruler, the caliph of Egypt al-Mustanṣir. After 1064, the Kalbī *amīrs* ceased regularly issuing coins. Certain *taris*, which seemed to be an official product of the Palermo mint, may have been issued by the ruling rebel *amīrs* of Sicily; they show a marked diminution of the gold content (only 53%). According to P. Balog, an anonymous quarter-dīnār, on which he reads the mint name *Sīrakūsā*, could have been issued by the rebel *amīr* of Syracuse, Ibn Thumna. A further support to the existence of the provincial issues of the Arab rebel *amīrs* comes from N. Lowick's description of two anonymous quarter-dīnārs bearing the legend: "struck in Ḳalʿat Dj.rdj.nt (Girgent) in the year 468".

At first the Normans used the Arabic coinage or produced a currency resembling the stellate *taris* of al-Mustanṣir, of pale gold and with an imitation of the original legends in Kūfic script. After the conquest of Palermo in January 1072, Robert Guiscard issued two *taris*. In the issue of 466/1073-4, his name and titles are written in the centre of reverse: *bi-amr Abārt al-dūḳa al-adjall malik Ṣiḳilliyya.* In these first years of the Norman rule, Palermo recognised two chiefs, Robert and Roger, each one issuing coins in his name in the same mint. Their titles show the complex feudal relationship existing between the two brothers. The title *al-dūḳa Rudjār/Rudjdjār*, should be attributed to Robert's son, Roger Borsa, as his uncle, the Count Roger, used the title of "Comes" in its Arabic transliteration (*ḳūmis bi-Ṣiḳilliyya*, 481/1088-9) or translating it with an Arabic equivalent (*sulṭān Ṣiḳilliyya*, after 1090). Later, the Normans moulded their regal titles upon those of the Fāṭimid caliphs. After these early issues, Roger struck a series of anonymous *taris* with a capital T (= the Cross of St. Anthony; see ṬARĀBULUS AL-GHARB. 3.) in the centre of the obverse and the Muslim credo on the reverse. After 1081, when he received the investiture of *Magnus Comes*, his name and title were added in the obverse margin. L. Travaini has argued that the anonymous T *tari* could have been struck until 1105, when his elder son Simon died, or even during Roger II's minority. He changed the capital T into a small tree and distinguished his name with the adjective *al-thānī* "the second". After his coronation in 524/1030, his name was directly followed by the title *al-malik* "the King", and the Muslim credo was dropped in favour of the Christian cross with the Greek legend IC/XP/NI/KA on the reverse.

A group of *taris* of this type have Roger's protocol in three horizontal lines on the obverse: *al-malik Rudjdjār al-muʿazzam al-muʿtazz bi-llāh.* It is likely that a new type of *tari*, bearing a circular Arabic legend on the obverse and a cross on a long staff similar to the Latin cross on the reverse, was introduced after the monetary reform (1140). The large amount of coins, and the presence of brocages (i.e. the sticking of a coin to the upper die after striking, thereby producing an impression on the reverse of the next blank, making the reverse a mirror image of the obverse) in this period, seem to prove a quick production and careless striking due perhaps to the increase of commercial activity and the need of *taris* of the new type. A new mint was opened in Messina and it was at the apex of its activity during the reign of William I.

The Norman Kings as well as the Hohenstaufen Emperors continued to strike *taris* resembling in their main features the second type issued by Roger II, with some variations according to the rulers.

The last *taris* following as the Arab coinage are dated 1278, when Charles I of Anjou reformed the monetary system and adopted the *carlino d'oro.* The word *tari* indicated then a weight of account, the so-called *trappeso*, and only during the reign of the Aragonese dynasty in Sicily was it used for a silver coin. Later, it was another name for the *doppio carlino* in the Kingdom of Naples.

From the metrological point of view, the average weight till the reign of William I (1154-66) conforms to 1 g, that is, the standard weight of the quarter-dīnār and not the *trappeso* of 0.88 g, which was introduced later. The presence of heavy (the so-called multiples) or cut *ṭarīs* gives evidence that their circulation was by weight and not by number.

As regards the coinage of the mainland, the southwestern part of Italy adopted the "Sicilian *tari*" since the beginning of the 10th century. The issues in the name of several Fāṭimid caliphs are bigger in size than the quarter-dīnārs, and show that the die-engravers were not familiar with Arabic writing. The attribution of the coins lacking the mint-date legend remain still uncertain. Many coins bear the name or initials of Norman sovereigns, who could have minted either at Salerno or at Amalfi.

The Salerno mint was closed by Henry VI, while the mint of Amalfi was active till 1222, when the Amalfitan *taris* stopped circulating.

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TAʿRĪB (A.), verbal noun of the form II verb *ʿarraba*, literally, Arabisation or Arabicisation.

It is used primarily as a grammatical term, in reference to the method or process by which foreign words are incorporated into Arabic; more broadly and loosely, it means the translation of foreign scientific, literary and scholarly works into Arabic.

1. In the sense of the rendering of foreign notions or words in Arabic.

Like most languages, Arabic was subject, since pre-Islamic times, to the impact of interference by other idioms, spoken by peoples with whom the Arabs had contacts. Persian and Aramaic provided the largest number of foreign words borrowed by Arabic, along with other languages such as Greek, Geʿez, Hebrew, and Coptic. Reflecting this phenomenon, the Ḳurʾān contains quite a few words of non-Arabic origin, some of which are readily identifiable while others, having been morphologically assimilated, are more difficult to trace. Islam and the Ḳurʾān rendered the Arabic language holy, with the result that Arab writers became highly sensitive to the existence of alien intruders in it. Arab philologists in the early centuries of Islam often addressed the problem, among them Sībawayhi (died *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]), who devoted several chapters to the matter in his great grammar, *al-Kitāb*, and Abū Manṣūr al-Djawālīḳī (d. 539/1144 [*q.v.*]), whose *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿdjamī* seems to have been the first systematic and comprehensive study of alien words in Arabic, both in the Ḳurʾān and elsewhere.

Classical and mediaeval Arab grammarians and writers concerned with *taʿrīb* dealt with the identification of foreign words, discussion of their standing in Arabic and of the criteria by which that standing should be determined. Purists, worried about the contamination of the language by foreign elements—e.g. al-Djawharī, author of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* (d. 393/1002 [*q.v.*]), and al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*])—were prepared to admit only those non-Arabic words that had entered Arabic in pre-Islamic or early Islamic times, namely, in the first two centuries of Islam. Moreover, in their view such words were admissible only when compatible with the paradigms (*awzān*) of the language, that is, assimilated morphologically and phonetically. Such words, identified as *muʿarrabāt* ("Arabicised"), could be treated on equal footing with "native" Arabic words, and new terms could in turn be derived from them. They were distinguished from words which entered the language at a later stage and did not conform to the paradigms; these last came to be known as *muwalladāt* ("bastardised" [see MUWALLAD. 2.]), and could not be considered as part of the Arabic lexicon. More liberal philologists, most notably Sībawayhi, were inclined to accept foreign words even without such restricting conditions. But it was the purists who won the day in defending the rigid standards in respect of borrowing, and literary Arabic thus remained largely impervious to alien intruders until the modern era. Words which became part of popular Arabic usage during centuries of contacts with other peoples and Ottoman rule remained outside the canon of the language and outside its standard lexicons.

The encounter with modernity since the early 19th century generated a need for rapid linguistic adaptation so as to permit the expression of hitherto unknown notions, in science and technology as well as in social matters. *Taʿrīb* at first seemed to be a convenient and practical response to the challenge and was employed frequently. Arabic now borrowed from French and Italian, to a lesser extent from English, either directly or via Turkish, which had faced a similar challenge somewhat earlier. Such mass resort to *taʿrīb*, dangerously amplified by another product of modernity, printing, alarmed the guardians of the language. A vivid debate developed among writers in the late 19th century and afterwards over the benefits and perils of *taʿrīb*, echoing the debates of their predecessors but with greater zeal. The leading protagonist of borrowing during the first half of the 20th century was ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Maghribī, one of the founders of the Arab Academy of Damascus, although he too advocated caution and selectivity. With the foundation of language academies in Syria, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, these institutions became the main arenas for such debates. On the whole, Arabic displayed remarkable resilience and creativity even in the face of these formidable modern challenges, drawing linguistic solutions from its own rich resources, most typically through *ishtiḳāḳ* ("derivation" [*q.v.*]). Many of these solutions came to replace words previously adopted in haste through *taʿrīb*.

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(A. AYALON)

2. Arabisation as a weapon of modern political policy. [See Suppl.].

TA'RĪF (A.), lit. "making known", hence "definition".

1. As a term in logic.

Ibn Sīnā appears to have been the first philosopher to use the word *ta'rīf* as a general term for definition that encompasses both "Aristotelian definition" (*ḥadd* [*q.v.*]) and descriptive definition, *rasm*, Gr. ὑπογραφή. Ibn Sīnā defines *ta'rīf* more generally as "an intentional act, by means of speech or sign, that causes the person perceiving it to conceive of the thing defined" *huwa an yaḳṣida fi'l al-shay' idhā sha'ara bihi shā'ir taṣawwara shay'an-mā huwa 'l-mu'arraf wa-dhālika 'l-fi'l kad yakūn kalām wa-kad yakūn ishāra* (*Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, 29). In logic, *ta'rīf* refers either to a word (*ism*), or to a statement (*ḳawl*) that is a definition (*ḥadd*), or to a statement that is a descriptive definition (*ibid.*, 34). Elsewhere, Ibn Sīnā describes three basic types of *ta'rīf*: 1. *t. ḥaddī* from the genus and specific differences (*fuṣūl*), e.g. man is a rational animal; 2. *t.* by means of genus and proprium (*khāṣṣa*), e.g. man is an animal capable of laughter; 3. *t.* by means of incidental properties (*a'rāḍ*) and propria, e.g. man is a biped, wide-nailed, capable of laughter by nature (*al-Djadal*, 214). The latter two are examples of descriptive definition (*rasm*), while the first is definition proper (*ḥadd*). Later authors of both logical and theological works, and their commentators, such as Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, al-Urmawī, al-Īdjī and al-Taftazānī devoted chapters of their treatises to discussions of definitions (*ta'rīfāt*), using or adapting Ibn Sīnā's basic distinctions and adding scholastic nuances of their own.

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(L.B. MILLER)

2. As a term of grammar.

Here it is the fact or process of making a word grammatically definite (*ma'rifa*, contrast *nakira*, *tankīr* "indefinite, indefinition"). Definition is (i) formal, with prefixed *alif-lām* or annexation to another definite element; or (ii) semantic, i.e. proper names and pronouns. Analysis of *al-alif wa 'l-lām*, as the definite article is termed, into a phonological component (*hamzat al-waṣl*) and the defining element /l/ has led to the alternative name *lām al-ta'rīf* for this item, whose functions are further distinguished between generic (*lām al-djins*, subdivided into literal and figurative meanings, see al-Shirbīnī, § 11.741, for terminology and Simon, 166 ff., for rhetorical implications) and particularising, *lām al-'ahd* "the *lām* of familiarity". Definition is also conferred by the vocative particle *yā* and the categorical negative *lā*, though the latter is not treated as such by the Arab grammarians.

Definition (or a weaker type, *takhṣīṣ* "specialisation", cf. al-Shirbīnī, § 19.71; Gätje, 30 ff.) is a necessary property of the subject of a nominal sentence, though not of the agent of a verb; with indefinite subjects inversion must occur, e.g. *fī 'l-dāri radjul^{un}*. A hierarchy of definite elements has been established: for theological reasons the name of God and pronouns referring to Him take first place, followed by personal pronouns (in the order 1st, 2nd, 3rd person), demonstratives and vocatives together, then words bearing the article and relative nouns (both pairs regarded as equally definite), and finally, nouns annexed to definite elements. The place of proper names in this sequence was disputed between Baṣrans and Kūfans (*al-Inṣāf*, problem 101).

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(M.G. CARTER)

ṬARĪFA, a place in the south of the Iberian peninsula, now in the province of Cadiz, and the most southerly point of Europe, only 13 km/8 miles from the African coast.

Its name appears to come from that of Ṭarīf Abū Zur'a, a client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], the master of Ifrīḳiya, who decided on 91/709-10 to explore the territory on the other side of the straits before embarking on its conquest. According to the *Akhbār madjmū'a*, ed. and tr. Lafuente y Alcántara, 506/18-20, and 'Arīb b. Sa'd, Mūsā accordingly sent Ṭarīf with 100 cavalry and 400 infantry on a reconnaissance trip. They crossed and touched land opposite Tangier in a place thereafter known as *djazīrat Ṭarīf*, the later Ṭarīfa, and from there undertook their incursions into nearby territory, returning with plunder and captives. Although al-Maḳḳarī, ed. 'Abbās, i, 229-30, following al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān amongst others, make much of this personage, it is strange that the eastern sources do not generally mention him. According to J. Vallvé, however (*Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989), the true etymology may lie in Ar. *ṭaraf*/*ṭarf*, meaning *inter alia* "point, cape". This agrees with the tradition of Orosius, known to Muslim historians and geographers, and would agree with the above-mentioned fact of its being the southernmost point of the European continent.

According to al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 118, the western part of this "peninsula" touches the Atlantic, the "Sea of Darkness", and there was there a small town, i.e. Ṭarīfa, with an earth wall and with markets and baths. According to al-Zuhrī, *Dja'rāfiya*, ed. Hadj-Sadok, in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 187-8, tunny fishing was practised there, these fish being abundant in that part of the straits.

Ṭarīfa was thus the first part of Andalusian territory to be occupied by the Muslims. From its nearness to the Maghrib coast, it was on many occasions, together with Algeciras and Gibraltar, a point of embarkation and disembarkation for troops, traders and travellers between the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib and rest of the Islamic world. It was taken in 1292 by the Castilian king Sancho IV, temporarily recaptured by the Muslims but definitively conquered by Guzman the Good in 1294.

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(FÁTIMA ROLDÁN CASTRO)

TARIFIYT, the Berber language of the Rīf [*q.v.*], the northeastern part of Morocco, generally comprising an area from the west of Elhoceima to the Algerian border in the east, and from the coast of the Mediterranean in the north to the plains that separate the Rīf mountains from the Middle Atlas range in the south. In this region live also groups that speak Arabic, like the Oulad Settout and the Ahl Angad. The language of the Senhaja of Sraïr (Ketama region) differs considerably from other northeastern dialects and cannot be included in Tarifiyt. It is rather arbitrary to establish linguistic boundaries with some of the dialects bordering it to the south (Ait Ouarain) and to the east (Beni Snous). The main towns where Tarifiyt is spoken are Nador and Elhoceima. Many speakers of Tarifiyt have now emigrated to the Netherlands and Belgium.

Tarifiyt shows considerable dialectal variation, and mutual understanding between different variants can be difficult. Typical for most Tarifiyt forms of speech are phonetical developments like spirantisation of stops, the turning into a vowel of postvocalic *r* (*ṯammurṯ* → *ṯammuaṯ* "land"), *l* → *ṛ* (different from *r*) and *ll* → *dž*, e.g. the Arabic noun *l-lila* "night" has been borrowed as *džiṛəṯ*.

Tarifiyt is to be included in the "Zenatic" group of Berber dialects, and shares many grammatical features with dialects like Chaouia, Ouargli and Mzabite. The connections with important Berber dialects like Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*], Kabyle or Touareg [see ṬAWĀRIḲ] are much less pronounced.

Tarifiyt has a rich traditional oral literature, featuring short songs (*izṛan*), fairy tales (*ṯiḥuža*) and many other genres. Moreover, there is a rich culture of modern song-writing. Written literature has been slowly emerging since 1990. Poetry written in the Arabic or Latin alphabet has been published in Morocco and in the Netherlands.

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(M.G. KOSSMANN)

ṬĀRIḲ B. ZIYĀD, Berber commander of the Muslim troops who undertook the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 92/711; his birth and death dates are uncertain. At this time, he was residing in Tangier, exercising the role of governor on behalf of the *wālī* of Ifrīḳiya Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*].

As in all issues concerning the early stages of the Muslim presence in al-Andalus, it is no simple matter, considering the mass of contradictory data supplied by the Arab sources, either to draw conclusions regarding the personality of Ṭāriḳ, or to determine with any precision the circumstances of his entry into al-Andalus. The question is so tangled, that even an interpretation of events as far removed from classical conceptions as that of J. Vallvé (*Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989), who maintains that the Muslim disembarkation took place at Cartagena, to the south-east of the Peninsula, while apparently difficult to accept in its entirety nevertheless demonstrates the existence of various obscure points necessitating a revision of certain received ideas relating to the conquest of al-Andalus.

The difficulties facing the historian of the conquest of al-Andalus result essentially from the absence not only of contemporary texts, but even of those of a period reasonably close to the events described (with the exception, however, of two Christian sources, the *Chronica byzantia-arabica* of 741 and the *Continuatio Hispana* of 754, both extremely brief). The earliest surviving sources, the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of the Egyptian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and the *Taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḥabīb in al-Maghāmī's edition, both from the 3rd/9th century, unfortunately demonstrate a marked propensity to accept legendary accounts, or to exaggerate the quantities of booty subsequently amassed in the country. The sources available are often late works, juxtaposing material of very diverse provenance and uneven worth, the utilisation of which merits a thorough historiographical analysis, a project yet to be undertaken. Such is the case, significantly, of two anonymous texts which are fundamental for the history of the first century of the Muslim presence in al-Andalus, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* and the *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, on which contemporary criticism is in disarray, with opinions ranging from those who believe that these involve the embryonic written version of ancient oral traditions, to those who maintain that these are simply late compilations based on summaries of earlier texts (P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, 50; L. Molina, *Los Akhbār madjmūʿa y la historiografía árabe sobre el periodo omeya en al-Andalus*, in *al-Qanṭara*, x [1989], 513-42, and the *Estudio* of his edition of the *Fatḥ*). All of this should not obscure the fact that the general lines of the historical record remain clearly established, and that it is appropriate to take account of them.

According to the opinion most widely held among chroniclers, Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād was a Berber client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], having participated under the latter's orders in the conquest of the Maghrib, as commander of the vanguard. When Mūsā returned to Ifrīḳiya, he left Ṭāriḳ in charge of a contingent of troops, most of them Berber, based in Tangier. From there, he made contact with the governor of Ceuta, the legendary Count Julian. This individual, probably a Visigoth—information concerning one of his descendants gives the *nisba* al-Ḳūṭī—but at all events a dependant of the Visigothic king of Toledo, incited Ṭāriḳ to invade the Peninsula. Some versions allege that Julian's representative was none other than Mūsā himself, and that the latter succeeded in obtaining authorisation from the caliph in Damascus, but considering the later course of events, it seems more likely that Ṭāriḳ acted on his own initiative without waiting for the explicit consent of his superior. Before Ṭāriḳ's expedition, there had been one or several minor incur-

sions into the coastal region of al-Andalus, the most significant—and according to many authors, the only one—having been led by Ṭarīf, another Berber, with a small contingent of five hundred men, in 91/710. Finally, in the spring of the following year (Radjab 92/April 711), with forces virtually exclusively Berber, Ṭāriḳ crossed the Strait on boats supplied by Julian, and disembarked at the foot of a mountain which was henceforward to bear his name, Gibraltar (Djabal Ṭāriḳ). Numerous Arab sources agree in fixing the number of ships at four, and the strength of the commando force—in one or several waves—at 12,000. These figures cannot be verified absolutely, but they are probably not far from the truth, since it is unlikely that the fleet available for crossing the Strait could have been much larger, or that Ṭāriḳ's forces could have been reduced to a few hundreds, if their later successes are anything to judge by. This indicates that the crossing must have taken place at a leisurely pace, with dozens of trips for each boat, and over several days, and all of this without any serious resistance from the majority of the local inhabitants. With prompt action, the latter could have foiled the invasion with ease. In the event, the landings took place either with the connivance or the indifference of the indigenous people.

The Visigothic king Roderic, whose principal concern at this time was fighting the Basques, hastily led out his army to confront the Muslims, who in the meantime had built fortresses in Gibraltar, from where they conducted minor raids into the surrounding countryside to obtain provisions. The encounter took place at the end of Ramaḍān and the beginning of Shawwāl (July) near a river which may legitimately be identified with the Guadalete or the Barbate—not far from the lagoon of La Janda—but, in any case, in a place near to the point of landing. This means that in three months or thereabouts, the Muslims had scarcely moved at all, giving the Spanish troops time to coalesce into a powerful army, rather than exploiting the element of surprise. From a strategic perspective, this decision was ill-advised. There can be little doubt that the defeat inflicted on Roderic's army was largely due to the fact that a large contingent of his troops, traditionally identified with supporters of the family of the previous king, Witiza, contributed actively or passively to the rout and death of Roderic. Bearing in mind the behaviour of the Muslims before the battle, and of Witiza's supporters during it, it is to be doubted whether any of the protagonists could have imagined that the entire Peninsula was to fall into the hands of the Muslims: neither Ṭāriḳ's soldiers, who had just spent three months on a scrap of land with no clear idea of what to do next, nor the traitors of the Visigothic army whose sole objective was to regain power and eliminate Roderic. Nevertheless, as the result of an unexpected and uninspiring victory, Ṭāriḳ was made aware that the Visigothic state had suffered a heavy blow and that its internal cohesion was vastly inferior to what he had imagined. He now understood that he held a unique opportunity to make himself master of the country, or simply to transform what had begun as a coastal raiding expedition into a profitable campaign against the affluent cities of the interior.

The next stage of Ṭāriḳ's itinerary was Écija, where the remnants of the Visigothic army, including Witiza's supporters, had taken refuge. The battle was as hard-fought as that of Guadalete, and again, victory fell to the Muslims, who this time, according to some sources, were helped by Julian himself. The defeated army took refuge in the town of Écija, and capitulated soon after. From this time onwards, there was nothing to impede Ṭāriḳ's advance; he divided his forces into four groups, setting out for Málaga, Granada, Cordova (under Mughīth al-Rūmī) and Toledo (under Ṭāriḳ in person). The capital of the Visigothic kingdom, abandoned by its dignitaries, fell without resistance into the hands of Ṭāriḳ, who according to various sources, continued his march towards the north, reaching Guadalajara and then Astorga. The encounter between Ṭāriḳ and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who had in the meantime arrived in the Peninsula with a predominantly Arab army, took place at Toledo or in its vicinity. Mūsā seems to have been intent on punishing his subordinate severely, but ultimately confined himself to a harsh reprimand. From this time onwards, as a personality Ṭāriḳ fell into obscurity, decidedly overshadowed by his patron, with whom he returned to the east in 95/714. His last known action was involvement in a trial against Mūsā; still resenting the humiliation inflicted on him at Toledo, he readily joined the accusers.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 204-11; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Aguadé, 136-49; *Akhbār madjmūʿa*, ed. and tr. E. Lafuente, 3-20; *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, ed. L. Molina, 11-37; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ii, 4-23; al-Raḳīḳ, *Taʾrīkh Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. Zaydān and Mūsā, 38-56; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, *Ṣilat al-simṭ*, ed. al-ʿAbbādī, 131-62; *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. Molina, i, 97-100; Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Taʾrīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, 2-12; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, i, 229-90.

2. Studies. To the classic works by Dozy and Lévi-Provençal should be added those of J. Vallvé, *Nuevas ideas sobre la conquista árabe de España*, Madrid 1989, and P. Chalmeta, *Invasión e islamización*, Madrid 1994; on the itinerary of the Muslim forces, C. Sanchez Albornoz, *El itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes*, in *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, x (1948), 21-74, and E. de Santiago, *Los itinerarios de la conquista musulmana*, in *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, iii (1971), 51-65. (L. Molina)

ṬARĪḲA.

Ṭarīḳa (Ar., pls. *ṭuruḳ*, *ṭarāʾiḳ*) is a term which can signify the "manner of behaving" (*sīra*); it thus qualifies the "method" (*madhhab*) of a person, the conduct which is typical of him and which should generally be imitated. These definitions supplied by the *LʿA* (Beirut 1988, viii, 155) accord with Ḳurʾānic usages of *ṭarīḳa* (cf. in particular, XX, 63, 104). The Ṣūfīs adapted these conceptions, viewing them from a spiritual perspective, but they were careful first of all to relate the term to its most concrete sense: that of "way" or "path". In this context, *ṭarīḳa* is synonymous with *ṭarīḳ*, and the Ṣūfīs often use either term indis-

criminately (cf. for example al-Hudjwīrī, *Kas͟hf al-maḥdjūb*, Beirut 1980 (Arabic tr.), in numerous instances; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1351/1932, ii, 282; Ibn al-ʿArabī opts for the word *ṭarīḳ*, cf. *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329, in particular ii, 382-4). The assimilation of the two terms is apparent in the plural *ṭuruḳ*, which the Ṣūfīs give to *ṭarīḳa* as well as to *ṭarīḳ*; only a few writers use *ṭarāʾiḳ*, cf. e.g. Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, *al-Salsabīl al-maʿīn fi 'l-ṭarāʾiḳ al-arbaʿīn* and *al-Manhal al-rawī fī asānīd al-ʿulūm wa-uṣūl al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, both Beirut 1968.

I. The Nature and Development of the Term in Ṣūfism

1. The Way. In Muslim mysticism, the *ṭarīḳa* thus denotes the way which guides man from the manifest Law (*S͟harīʿa*) to the divine Reality (*Ḥaḳīḳa*), i.e. to God Himself (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*). While *Ḥaḳīḳa* represents the destination of the journey, all Ṣūfīs agree in declaring that the only means of achieving this consists in passing through the various stages of the initiatory process (*sulūk al-ṭarīḳa*); the latter were sketched by the early masters, and treatises on Ṣūfism refer to them according to different gradation [see sulūk]. For those travelling towards God (*al-sālikūn*), the *ṭarīḳa* consists in traversing the various spiritual abodes and stations (*manāzil, maḳāmāt*); this definition from ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳās͟hānī (*Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 65) has been widely adopted, notably by al-Djurdjānī in his *Taʿrīfāt* (Beirut 1991, 154). The *ṭarīḳa* is thus not only internal perception of the hidden meaning of the Law (e.g. Isfarāyinī, *Le révélateur des mystères*, tr. H. Landolt, Lagrasse 1986, Persian text, 120); it also purports to be a total discipline aimed towards the progressive purification of the soul. While the *sālik* proceeds along the way in a manner of relative lucidity, the *madjd͟hūb* or "one enraptured by God" is no less required to pass through various gradations in condensed form, with the fulguration that characterises his state (al-S͟haʿrānī, *Durar al-g͟hawwāṣ fī fatāwī al-K͟hawwāṣ*, Cairo 1985, 139); it is in this context that the majority of writers include the *aḥwāl* or "spiritual states" among the markers of the Way [see ḥāl]. The *ṭarīḳa* thus constitutes the "foundation" (*uṣūl*) of all spiritual progress in Islam, as is underlined by Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (quoted by Ibn al-ʿArabī in *Rūḥ al-ḳuds*, Cairo 1989); it alone epitomises the experience lived in Ṣūfism (H. al-S͟harḳāwī, *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1987, 201, and S. al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 722, both using the word *ṭarīḳ*). In practice, it includes all the means (doctrines, rituals, techniques of meditation, etc.) which enable man to comprehend the profound identity of the *S͟harīʿa* and the *Ḥaḳīḳa*.

2. The method. In the first centuries of Islam, the *ṭarīḳa* denotes the spiritual modality peculiar to one or other Muslim personality (for example, al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 270, referring to ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb). This original sense never disappeared completely; thus Ibn K͟haldūn states that the "People of the Bench" (*Ahl al-ṣuffa* [*q.v.*]) who had chosen to reside in the mosque of the Prophet "did not worship God in a particular manner (*ṭarīḳa*)" (cf. his *S͟hifāʾ al-sāʾil li-tahd͟hīb al-masāʾil*, Tunis 1991, 182), while Nadjm al-Dīn al-G͟hazzī, a biographer of the 10th/16th century, uses the word to describe the spiritual temperament of Abu 'l-Suʿūd al-Djāriḥī of Cairo (*al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿās͟hira*, Beirut 1945, i, 48). Where it is a case of a master who has formed a school, *ṭarīḳa* abandons its aspect of individual progress to become a veritable method (al-Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 420; and mostly with the word *ṭarīḳ*: 419, 426, 442, etc.). Furthermore, the term is also used in this sense (close to that of *mad͟hhab*) both in the context of Islamic law (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI^e^ siècle*, Damascus 1963, 197) and in theology (L. Massignon, *La passion de Ḥallâj*, ²Paris 1975, iii, 95). It may be noted that, in symmetrical fashion, Abū Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī writes *mad͟hhab* instead of *ṭarīḳa* to denote the Ṣūfī Way (*Ādāb al-murīdīn*, Cairo n.d., 37). The acceptance of *ṭarīḳa* as meaning a spiritual method persisted in subsequent centuries, coexisting with the connotations later to be attributed to the word. When the *s͟hayk͟h*s of the Ṣūfī orders wished to summarise the teaching of their Way, they grouped together under this term various principles and precepts regarded as essential for the guidance of disciples (for the S͟hād͟hilīs, see e.g. ʿAlī ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-S͟hād͟hilī*, Cairo 1952, ii, 43). In the works of the Persian master Nūr ʿAlī S͟hāh, from the end of the 12th/18th century, the *ṭarīḳa* becomes a complete initiatory doctrine, encompassing numerous facets (M. de Miras, *La méthode spirituelle d'un maître du Soufisme iranien*, Paris 1973, chs. 17-18).

3. The Ṣūfī order. In the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, aspirants towards progress on the Way became ever more numerous; they were also more prone to attaching themselves to a particular master than was previously the case. Numerous spiritual families were constituted then, most of them still in existence today. These major *ṭarīḳa*s progressively gave birth to multiple branches sometimes called *ṭāʾifa*s [*q.v.*]. However, it was to remain the prerogative of the *s͟hayk͟h*s to dispense initiatory instruction outside the framework of the *ṭuruḳ*. For the Ṣūfīs, the latter responded to the need to redress the loss of spirituality occasioned by the length of time that had elapsed since the Prophetic period; the role of the *s͟hayk͟h* was thus to alleviate the deficiencies of individual guidance. On the historical plane, there are certain factors which explain, if not the emergence of these communities, at least the acceleration in the progress of their formation. The Mongol invasions had shattered the complacency engendered among Muslims by what was seen as a relatively homogeneous and powerful Sunnī universe. The decline and subsequent disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate led to the collapse of traditional religious structures. The authority of the Ṣūfī *s͟hayk͟h*s was strengthened, at the expense of the temporal authority and the *ʿulamāʾ* class. In this atmosphere, the *ṭarīḳa* supplied an area of solidarity as well as the vision of a coherent world transcending the vicissitudes of history. Furthermore, the emergence of *ṭuruḳ* cannot be dissociated from the Sunnī revival inaugurated by the Saldjūḳs in the Middle East and later by the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks in the Syro-Egyptian region. These various régimes sought to borrow the charisma of the *s͟hayk͟h*s, henceforward to be more of a unifying force than the majority of the *ʿulamāʾ*; by building *k͟hānḳāh*s, *ribāṭ*s and *zāwiya*s [*q.vv.*] they gave to the mystical life a material foundation greatly to the advantage of the nascent orders.

In common with other Ṣūfīs, the eponymous masters of these orders were above all the trustees of an initiatory heritage. They certainly imbued the latter with the force of their personalities, thus creating the schools of spirituality which claim association with them. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases they had no intention of founding an order or even a method. This accounts for the fact that the term *ṭarīḳa* is often given as a synonym of *silsila* [*q.v.*] (cf. e.g. M. al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-asfiyāʾ bi-rafʿ salāsil al-awliyāʾ*, ms. dated

1339 A.H., private collection, fol. 2): this "chain" dating back to the Prophet guaranteed for the Ṣūfīs the authenticity of their initiatory filiation, in a culture where genealogy played a predominant role. After the manner of other Islamic sciences, Ṣūfism had recourse to "supportive lineages" (*isnād* [*q.v.*]) in order to legitimise its Muḥammadan origin. Indeed, al-Sanūsī went so far as to compare the criteria for the evaluation of initiatory transmission with those of *ḥadīth* (*Salsabīl*, 6). This perception of the *ṭarīḳa* is observed in the expression *ṭarīḳat al-khawādjagān* ("way of the masters"): it denotes a line of *shaykhs* of Central Asia in the 7th/13th century—reckoned to be the initiators of the Naḳshbandiyya—and not a constituted order (J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 62-3; L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, London-New York 1992, 312 ff.).

The true foundation of the *ṭuruḳ* is in fact to be traced back to the successors—immediate or more distant—of these eponyms. Raising their masters to the status of exemplars, they finalised or developed their teaching. Over a period stretching, in general terms, from the 7th/13th to the 10th/16th century, there was a transition from fairly casual methods reflecting the spiritual temperaments of the initiators to precise rules and exercises. A spirit of teamwork was then constituted, in varying degrees; it could be defined as the awareness of belonging to a specific group possessing its own doctrines and most of all its own rituals. The hagiographical literature [see MANĀḲIB] internal to each *ṭarīḳa* plays a predominant role in this process. In certain cases, it emanates from masters who have succeeded the eponymous *shaykh*, a factor which confers on their work the status of a founding text (e.g. the *Laṭāʾif al-minan* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, third *shaykh* of the Shādhilī order). Such veneration for the initial masters, developed to varying degrees within each *ṭarīḳa*, constituted one of the grievances of the Islamic jurists (*fuḳahāʾ*) against the Ṣūfīs. In the hagiographical literature it is often evident that the initiatory lineage is henceforward perceived as a *ṭarīḳa*, in other words an organism in which members share the same spiritual references. This onset of awareness could take place several centuries after the death of the eponym (cf. D. DeWeese, *Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions*, in *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, 121-57).

The disciples (*murīd*, "aspirants on the Way" [*q.v.*], or *ikhwān*) sometimes led a communal way of life (*al-muʿāshara*). Besides supererogatory practices not confined to the Ṣūfīs, they applied themselves twice a day to the *wird* [*q.v.*], which comprised various forms of prayer. The latter have similar forms from one order to another, but certain very specific *awrād* (sing. *wird*) are presented as having been dictated to the master by the Prophet in the course of visions (e.g. the *awrād fatḥiyya* of ʿAlī al-Hamadānī; cf. *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira*, i, 107). The disciples also recite litanies (*aḥzāb*, sing. *ḥizb*), composed by the eponym of the Way or one of his successors (cf. the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* of al-Shādhilī, well known outside Shādhilī circles). The *waẓīfa* comprises various elements of prayer which are to be said daily, but in certain cases the term refers to the session of *dhikr* [*q.v.*] of the Ṣūfīs. This session is also known as *ḥaḍra* (or "presence" [of the Prophet]), *ʿimāra* or simply *madjlis*. It takes place once or several times a week. Also practised in the mediaeval period was the *samāʿ* [*q.v.*] "collective spiritual hearing", in the course of which those attending would listen to poetry chanted with or without instruments. Spiritual retreat (*khalwa* [*q.v.*]) is exercised in varying fashion according to the orders. It is one of the mainstays of the Khalwatiyya (which takes its name from this term), while other *ṭuruḳ* advocate it without much enthusiasm and only for short periods.

The followers of a *ṭarīḳa* often congregated in a place regarded as their own, such as the *zāwiya* or the *ribāṭ*, constructed at the initiative of the *shaykh* or of a benefactor. However, certain *ṭuruḳ*, particularly those the members of which belonged to the world of the *ʿulamāʾ*, pursued their practices in any kind of religious establishment. From the 7th/13th century onwards, Ṣūfism was to an ever-increasing extent integrated into the Muslim city. *Shaykhs* and their disciples were admitted to the mosques, and sometimes even constructed mosques of their own. They held major sessions of *dhikr*, similar to those still performed today in certain Muslim countries.

The masters sometimes gave specific instructions to their disciples: to perform a certain rite at a particular time, to perform a certain task rather than another, etc. On occasion, they even proscribed a practice allowed within the community of Believers (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī provides numerous examples of these directives in his *Adjwiba marḍiyya ʿan aʾimmat al-fuḳahāʾ wa ʾl-ṣūfiyya*, ms. Cairo) For this reason, the *fuḳahāʾ* accused the Ṣūfīs of instituting a law reserved for a spiritual élite and of somehow setting themselves above the *Sharīʿa*; Ibn Khaldūn refutes this accusation in his *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil*, 237.

4. Modes and rites of affiliation. Although the terminology varies with periods and regions of the Muslim world, two overall types of affiliation to a *ṭarīḳa* may be mentioned: in the first instance, association through *irāda* ("willingness" to pass through the stages of the Way; hence the term *murīd*); the aspirant then puts himself under total obedience to a master, who takes charge of his spiritual education (*tarbiya*). The second mode (al-Zabīdī specifically uses the word *ṭarīḳa*, in the sense of "modality", to denote each of these forms of affiliation; cf. *ʿIḳd al-djumān al-thamīn fi ʾl-dhikr wa-ṭuruḳ al-ilbās wa ʾl-talḳīn*, ms. dated 1339 A.H., private collection, fol. 52) consists in the simple reception of *baraka* conveyed by an initiatory lineage; this constitutes *tabarruk*, a more casual and less exacting means in terms of initiation. This type of affiliation thereby affects not only the Ṣūfiyya but also numerous individuals from the most diverse backgrounds: under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, the sultan and the humble artisan are likewise associated, closely or distantly, with a *ṭarīḳa* (cf. E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1995, ch. viii). It then becomes possible to speak of a mass phenomenon. The juxtaposition of spheres of association around a single initiatory source appears clearly in the case of the Shādhiliyya; in fact, while its masters advocate a close relationship between master and disciple, they also assert that only the reading of their *awrād* and *aḥzāb* admits the faithful to their spiritual family (ʿAlī ʿAmmār, *Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1952, ii, 31). The modality of *tabarruk* allows and explains the practice of multiple affiliation, or in other words the action, on the part of a *murīd*, of "taking the Way" of several *shaykhs*, certain associations being of greater value in his eyes than others. Such an accumulation is justified by the desire to multiply ways of access to the *baraka*, "the Muḥammadan influx" mentioned above. Although multiple affiliation reached its zenith at the end of the mediaeval period, it is a constant feature of Ṣūfism; in fact, the earliest mystics of Islam used to go from one master to another, seeking "the freshest

source", as was suggested by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī (Ibn al-Ṣabbāg̲h̲, *Durrat al-asrār*, Cairo 1993, 176).

Attachment to a *ṭarīḳa* is realised by the performance of initiatory rites which, in this case also, take on different meanings according to differences in space and time. The most important of these rites, at least in the Ṣūfism of the Mas̲h̲riḳ, consists in the presentation of the "cloak" (*k̲h̲irḳa* [*q.v.*]) by the master to the disciple. Also worth mentioning are the sealing of the pact (*ak̲h̲d̲h̲ al-ʿahd, bayʿa*), the teaching of sometimes personalised formulas of invocation (*talḳīn al-d̲h̲ikr*, or the practice of letting the tassel of the disciple's turban hang down (*irk̲h̲ā' al-ʿad̲h̲aba*).

5. Towards "fraternalism". The material configuration of Ṣūfism in *ṭuruḳ* and in their various decentralised networks did not come about until the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and in very uneven fashion. In the Persian domain, for example, the pyramidal delegation of spiritual authority appeared earlier than in the Arab zone; there, masters appointed representatives (*k̲h̲ulafā'*) in regions where their authority was established (in Arab countries, use was also made of the word *muḳaddam* "one sent in advance" by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, or *ma'd̲h̲ūn* "one authorised" by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* to initiate others). More generally, the structuring of Ṣūfism into what are commonly called "fraternities" or "brotherhoods" did not emerge until a later stage; in the 12th/18th century, the attacks of nascent Wahhābism were not unconnected with a certain stiffening of the *ṭuruḳ*, which was to be further augmented during the 19th century. The Ottoman sovereigns attempted to institutionalise Ṣūfism by associating themselves systematically with one or with several orders, and in particular by installing a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-ṭuruḳ* in every mayor city of the empire [see S̲H̲AYK̲H̲]. In 20th-century Egypt, this was to lead to the legal recognition of the *ṭuruḳ*, and to the inauguration of a Council elected by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of different orders, with a senior figure presiding.

Later Ṣūfism is characterised by a relative exclusivism of ways, in their relations with one another, by a willingness to display initiatory affiliation (notably through the wearing of a particular colour: black for the Rifāʿīs, red for the Aḥmadīs, etc.), or by the hereditary transmission of the function of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*, a fact which often reflects shortcomings in the initiatory system.

6. The universal Way. At no time, however, has the mystical practice of Islam been reduced to "fraternalism". The term "fraternity" or "brotherhood" is in any case a misnomer, since it takes account only of the horizontal dimension of the *ṭarīḳa*, while the latter is essentially a vertical way. It should be stressed here that the proliferation of "particular initiatory ways" (the correct translation of *ṭuruḳ*) is founded on the Ṣūfī adage according to which "there exist as many paths [leading to God] as there are human beings". Thus al-Suhrawardī devotes the fourth chapter of his *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* to the various means employed by the Ṣūfīs for the accomplishment of the Way. The *ṭuruḳ* are thus one, as al-Sanūsī asserts, "since they have a single objective" (*Salsabīl*, 6). This is not simply a case of *petitio principii*. The Ṣūfīs have generally maintained a spiritual frame of reference broader than that of their order; this is furthermore attested by the practice of multiple affiliation, still functioning in certain circles. They have thus been willing, by minimising specific features, to subsume their own way within a universal Way. The expression *had̲h̲ihi 'l-ṭarīḳa* which is familiar in their writings, denotes this Way as well as those who travel by it; the *sālikūn* thus constitute a major spiritual community (cf. al-Ḳus̲h̲ayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1957, 2-3; al-Hud̲j̲wīrī, 269, 419, 426; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. O. Yahia, Cairo, i, 341, iii, 368; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *S̲h̲ifā' al-sā'il*, 182-3). In the final analysis, *ṭarīḳa* has meaning for the Ṣūfīs only in terms of the relationship which it establishes with the Prophet. In fact, the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* of a *ṭarīḳa*, irrespective of its importance, never does more than represent him; he cannot guide others on the Way, let alone found an order, without the Messenger's authorisation. Besides an abstract allegiance to the latter, certain masters have claimed to have no spiritual guide other than the Prophet. In such cases, Muḥammad has initiated them in nocturnal or in waking visions. This modality is correctly called "the Muḥammadan Way" (*al-ṭarīḳ* or *al-ṭarīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*; cf. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *ʿIḳd al-d̲j̲umān al-t̲h̲amīn*, fol. 74), although the expression is used to cover a wide range of meanings (*ṭarīḳa muṣṭafawī* is also found, al-Muṣṭafā being one of the sobriquets of the Prophet; cf. Isfarāyinī, *Le révélateur des mystères*, Persian text, 120). Furthermore, *ṭarīḳa*, even in its sense of "particular way", is not invariably indicative of a materialised order; it often simply evokes the beneficial effect of a *spiritual influence* traversing time. This is the correct understanding of the phrase *ṭarīḳa ḥallād̲j̲iyya* (referring to al-Ḥallād̲j̲; e.g. Massignon, *Passion*, i, 84) or indeed *ṭarīḳa akbariyya*: the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī is not confined to a specific order, but has experienced numerous modes of diffusion (see Geoffroy, *Soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie*, 222-3). Similarly in the *ṭarīḳa uwaysiyya*, initiation is transmitted through the intermediary of the "spiritual form" (*rūḥāniyya* [*q.v.*] of deceased prophets or saints, thus beyond the normal parameters of space and time (al-Sanūsī, *Salsabīl*, 31; J. ter Haar, *The Importance of the spiritual guide in the Naqshbandi Order*, in *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism*, 312-18; J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims*, London-New York 1993; and see UWAYSIYYA).

It should be noted in conclusion that the various meanings of the term *ṭarīḳa* evoked in this article (spiritual temperament, method, the Way in general, initiatory lineage, a particular Ṣūfī order) very often occur side-by-side in the work of a single author.

Bibliography: Given in the text. It should be noted that each major *ṭarīḳa* is the object of an article in *EI*². For an overall perspective on the *ṭuruḳ*, reference may be made to J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, and to the collective work entitled *Les Voies d'Allâh. Les ordres mystiques dans le monde musulman des origines à aujourd'hui*, ed. G. Veinstein and A. Popovic, Paris 1996.

(E. GEOFFROY)

II. THE TERM CONSIDERED GEOGRAPHICALLY

1. In the central Arab and Persian lands of the Middle East.

See the separate articles on the various Ṣūfī orders, and TAṢAWWUF. 2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after, 3. In 19th and 20th century Egypt, and 4. In Persia.

2. In North Africa.

The emergence of fraternities or brotherhoods, as properly defined, in North Africa was preceded by two associated phenomena. On the one hand *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*], where communities of volunteers subjected themselves to devotional or ascetic practices, were proliferating; on the other, a number of solitary ascetics, plebeian or educated, adopted the mystical life on an individual basis and took responsibility for the spiritual education of close disciples. Among the most renowned of these early mystics, in the 6th/12th century, were the following Andalusians of the Almeria school: Ibn

al-ʿArīf, Ibn Barradjān and Ibn Ḳasī [*q.vv.*]. As for the Maghrib proper, still in the 6th/12th century, worthy of mention are Abū Yaʿzā, Ibn Ḥirzihim and in particular their direct disciple Abū Madyan [*q.vv.*]. Ibn al-ʿArabī, among others, was to give an account of the burgeoning of this form of the mystical life (*The Sufis of Andalusia*, tr. R.W.J. Austin, London 1971, French tr. G. Lecomte, *Les Soufis d'Andalousie*, Paris 1979; also C. Addas, *Ibn ʿArabi ou la quête du Soufre rouge*, Paris 1989, Eng. tr., *The quest for the Red Sulphur. The life of Ibn ʿArabī*, Cambridge 1993).

Little is known of the initial evolution of brotherhoods *stricto sensu*, which took place from the 8th/14th century onwards. Ṣūfism, organised around *zāwiyas* or in looser networks, became numerous in the towns, where it attracted adherents from very diverse backgrounds, including numerous scholars. It became progressively integrated into the religious culture, especially in Morocco: *taṣawwuf* was often taught there in the *madrasas*, and conversely, *fiḳh* was a part of the instruction given in *zāwiyas*. In the countryside, the *ṭuruḳ* reinforced Islamisation while introducing communal rites into which popular practices, often of magical nature, could be integrated. A "Ṣūfism of the masses" took shape there from the 9th/15th century onwards, playing the role of a powerful factor in social cohesion. Relationships between the brotherhoods and the political authorities were ambiguous and variable. The sultans usually approved of the establishment of *zāwiyas*, which effectively performed a stabilising role, a function of social centralisation which enhanced the administrative coherence of a kingdom. The strict Sunnism of the brotherhoods, their insistence on respect for the Law and their social discretion, often created a climate of confidence, while their participation in the military struggle against foreign invasions (contribution of the Shādhiliyya-Djazūliyya to the war against the Portuguese in the 15th-16th centuries) underlined the total integration of Ṣūfī affiliates into the social order of their country. Nevertheless, central authorities sometimes mistrusted the autonomous tendencies of certain *zāwiyas*, which had become rich and militarily powerful. In the 11th/17th century, the Moroccan Shādhilī *zāwiya* of Dilāʾ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] defeated the last of the Saʿdians and all but succeeded in taking control of the sultanate (see M. Ḥadjdjī, *al-Zāwiya al-Dilāʾiyya*, Rabat 1964).

By far the most popular and widespread fraternal movement in North Africa belongs to the Shādhilī tradition [see SHĀDHILIYYA]. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī was a native of northern Morocco, where he was a disciple of ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh [*q.v.*], in his turn a disciple of Abū Madyan. He began his preaching activities in Ifrīḳiya, then settled in Egypt where he died in 656/1252. He did not found an order as such, but his successors Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) and then ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī [*q.v.*] organised and revitalised the Shādhilī liturgical and spiritual tradition. The latter spread in continuous fashion in Egypt and Ifrīḳiya and, in a more spectacular manner, in Morocco. The orders emanating from the Shādhiliyya do not constitute an organisation or even a clearly defined mystical current, but rather a multiplicity of sub-orders, some of them quite substantial, acknowledging the spiritual authority of Abu 'l-Ḥasan. Among the most widespread, mention should be made of the Shādhiliyya-Zarrūḳiyya, arising from the reformist activities of Aḥmad al-Burnusī, known as al-Zarrūḳ (d. 899/1494), a Moroccan scholar who toured Egypt and North Africa and gave a new impetus to the Shādhilī tradition (cf. A.F. Khushaim, *Zarruq the Sufi*, Tripoli 1976); numerous more recent brotherhoods lay claim to his spiritual heritage, including the Rashīdiyya (= Yūsufiyya, 10th/16th century) and its derivative branches, the Nāṣiriyya in Morocco, Shaykhiyya in Algeria and Shabbiyya in Tunisia (on these sub-groups, emerging in the 11th/17th century, see C. Depont and O. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1884, repr. Paris 1987; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc. Confréries et zaouias*, Paris 1951). The Djazūliyya, arising from the preaching of the saint and charismatic hermit al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], enjoyed great success on account of the simplicity of its ritual, based around the recitation of a manual of litany prayers, the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*. It did not require any particularly rigorous personalised initiation, but simple allegiance to the *shaykh* (*tabarruk*); it marked the start of what has been referred to above as a "Ṣūfism of the masses". Several more recent brotherhoods were to claim association with the spirituality of al-Djazūlī, such as the Ṭayyibiyya, arising in the 11th/17th century and spreading through Morocco and Algeria, and the Hanṣaliyya, emerging in the 12th/18th century in Morocco ([*q.v.*]; and see also M. Morsy, *Les Ahansala: examen du role historique d'une famille maraboutique de l'Atlas marocain du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris-The Hague 1972). The Shādhilī movement continued to operate over the centuries, some branches disappearing, other more dynamic ones coming to light. Among the latter, worth mentioning is the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], founded by the Moroccan Abū Ḥāmid al-ʿArabī al-Darḳāwī (d. 1823). Schooled in the tradition of al-Zarrūḳ, al-Darḳāwī launched a movement designed to revive the original purity of Ṣūfism, which he reckoned had been corrupted by maraboutism and superstitions. His preaching was widely disseminated, provoking the emergence of new sub-brotherhoods such as the Būzīdiyya, which included among its members the great neo-Ṣūfī master Aḥmad Ibn ʿAdjība ([*q.v.*]; see also J.-L. Michon, *Le Soufi marocain Aḥmad ibn ʿAjība et son Miʿrāj*, Paris 1973). In the 20th century, Aḥmad Ibn ʿAlīwa ([*q.v.*], also known as Ibn ʿAlawī) a product of the Darḳāwī-Būzīdī tendency, attempted in turn to revive the fraternal spirit and fraternal activities. His personal charisma and his thought attracted numerous disciples, including several Europeans (cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century: Shaikh Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī*, London 1961, French tr. *Un saint musulman du 20^e siècle, le cheikh Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī*) and his ʿAlawiyya *ṭarīḳa* spread far beyond the frontiers of the Maghrib.

Among the major brotherhoods present in the Maghrib, one of the most prominent is the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*]. The hagiographical account attributing its establishment in the West to two of the sons of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] is not entirely plausible, but its diffusion nevertheless seems to have been both ancient and extensive. Locally, it has lost ground to rather more dynamic tendencies, but significant groups continue even today to claim lines of initiatory descent traced back to al-Djīlānī. In Morocco, communities claiming inspiration by al-Djīlānī, known as Djīlāla, remain active, although this inspiration is sometimes rather vague; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī may be invoked as a great saint and intercessor, without any specific affiliation to a Ḳādirī *silsila*. The Khalwatiyya is also firmly implanted in North Africa, largely through the influence of the important Raḥmāniyya order [*q.v.*] which spread from Kabylia to cover the entire Algero-Tunisian region from the end of the 18th century onwards. Finally, to be noted are orders situated at the confluence of several major traditions. ʿAbd al-

Salām al-Asmar (late 18th century), the renewer of the ʿArūsiyya brotherhood, diffused principally in Ifrīḳiya, had visited Shādhilī and Ḳādirī masters, although he did not personally adopt any specific *ṭarīḳa*. More striking still is the example of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī (d. 1815), who received a Ḳādirī, Shādhilī-Ṭayyibī and Khalwatī spiritual education, but felt a vocation to propagate a new way in 1781. A proselytising organisation allowing its members no association with any other brotherhood, the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] is a fine example of an autonomous and original *ṭarīḳa*. Originating in southern Algeria, it spread principally in Morocco, in the western Sahara and in Sudanese Africa (cf. J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tidjaniyya, a Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965).

Mention should also be made of various popular brotherhoods, owing as much to shamanistic sources as to the spirit of the *ṭarīḳa*. Their approach is often twofold, as in the case of the ʿĪsāwiyya [*q.v.*]: its founder, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Mukhtār (d. 931/1524), was a pious Moroccan ascetic brought up in the Shādhilī-Djazūlī tradition, but ʿĪsāwī adherents added to the usual practices of *dhikr* rites involving spectacular trances and contacts with spirits, usually with the objective of securing recovery from illness (cf. R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie des Aissaouas au Maroc*, Paris 1926). Similar observations apply to the related Moroccan order of the Ḥamdūshiyya, which emerged in the 11th/17th century (cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha. A study in Moroccan ethnopsychology*, Berkeley, etc. 1973) or to certain Moroccan Djīlāla. More marginal still are the Gnāwa, whose rites of trance for therapeutic purposes are explicitly related to a Black African tradition. They are not usually considered mystics, their objective being not union with the divine but conciliation with the world of djinns (V. Pâques, *La religion des esclaves. Recherches sur la confrérie marocaine des Gnawa*, Paris 1991).

The spirituality of the Maghribī brotherhoods is profoundly Sunnī and firmly rooted in orthodox Islam. The obligation to observe conventional cultic practice is stressed by all the great masters, and access to elevated mystical experiences does not absolve the aspirant from his fundamental duties. Severe asceticism is not encouraged, the emphasis being rather on interior detachment and spiritual effort within the framework of secular life. A frequent and fundamental element of the rituals of the brotherhoods consists in the recitation of litanies (*ḥizb*, pl. *aḥzāb*) like those composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Generally, the pursuit of miracles and of states of trance is denounced, although this does not discourage the ecstatic ceremonies performed by the ʿĪsāwiyya and the Ḥamdūshiyya. Furthermore, even the generally "sober" tradition of the Shādhiliyya has embraced numerous ecstatic saints such as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb (cf. A.-L. de Prémare, *Sidi ʿAbd-er-Raḥmān El-Medjdūb*, Paris 1985). Moreover, the multiplication of practices of a magical nature in the context of the brotherhoods is widespread. It is, in fact, very difficult to distinguish between the value attributed to a certain *ḥizb* or formula, to the presence of a living or deceased *shaykh*, and an attitude relating to pure magic. Visiting the tombs of saints is the occasion for multiple practices involving conjuration, healing of the sick, divination, etc. (cf. E. Dermenghem, *Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, repr. 1982; F. Reysoo, *Pèlerinages au Maroc*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1991).

The situation of the *ṭuruḳ* in the contemporary period is far from easy. While the accusation of collaboration with the French occupier is untenable in the majority of cases (cf. e.g. the role of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Algeria), the brotherhoods have nonetheless remained a favourite target for the Salafī movements (which denounce them as one of the principal causes of the decadence of North African Islam) and for those of Marxist leanings (who consider them centres of obscurantism and social regression). The position of the *ṭuruḳ* in secular Tunisia or in Algeria is therefore somewhat delicate. On a more global scale, modernisation of attitudes and behaviour have weakened the appeal exerted by traditional brotherhoods. But it would be a mistake to conclude that the latter must be on the verge of disappearance: their attendances remain considerable, and in view of current disillusionment both with Western modernity and with political Islam, their role in the future is likely to be augmented.

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3. In northeastern and eastern Africa.

Before the 18th century, most Ṣūfī affiliations, mainly Ḳādiriyya and Shādhiliyya [*q.vv.*], in northeastern and eastern Africa were lineage or family-based. Towards the end of the century, new supra-lineage *ṭarīḳa*s began to appear in the region that are sometimes labelled "neo-Ṣūfī". The new orders transcended lineage or ethnic boundaries, were more hierarchical in structure, and maintained themselves more self-consciously as organisations, centred on the families of their founders (see R.S. O'Fahey and B. Radtke, *Neo-Sufism reconsidered*, in *Isl.*, lxx [1993], 52-87).

The first of these new orders to appear in the region was the Sammāniyya, originating with the Medinan scholar and Ṣūfī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1130-89/1718-75; see on his life and writings, *Arabic literature of Africa*, ed. J.O. Hunwick and O'Fahey, i, *The writings of Eastern Sudanic Africa*, Leiden 1994, 91-4; hereafter *ALA*, i). The Sammāniyya was brought to the Nilotic Sudan by the Sudanese Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib wad [= b.] al-Bashīr (1155-1239/1742-1824). The Sammāniyya, which also spread into western Ethiopia, in the Sudan split into several branches, but has been characterised until the present day (1997) by a tradition of scholarship and writing, particularly on history. The *ṭarīḳa* played a very important part in the events leading to the establishment of the Mahdist state in the Sudan under the leadership of Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh (1844-85 [*q.v.*]; see further *ALA*, i, 304-41), who began his career as a Sammānī *murīd* and then *shaykh*. The present outstanding representative of the tradition is Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ Ḳarīb Allāh, former Vice-

Chancellor of the Omdurman Islamic University (see *ALA*, i, 94-122, for his and other Sammānī writings).

The 19th century was Muslim Africa's Ṣūfī century and, as such, was dominated by two men, Aḥmad al-Tid̲j̲ānī (1150-1230/1737-1815) and Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1163-1253/1750-1837 [*q.v.*]). Al-Tid̲j̲ānī's way, which was dominant in Islamic West Africa, was taken to the Sudan first by the Mauritanian missionary and merchant, Muḥammad b. al-Muk̲h̲tār al-S̲h̲inḳīṭī (*ca.* 1820-82; see *ALA*, i, 287-8). Since his time, the Tid̲j̲āniyya have spread widely in the Sudan, especially that branch associated with the Senegalese Ibrāhīm Niasse (1900-75; see *ALA*, i, 286-303). The Tid̲j̲āniyya have spread in recent years in various parts of the Oromo country in Ethiopia, through the agency of such figures as Maḥmūd b. Sulaymān al-Tid̲j̲ānī (early 20th century), a nephew of the Oromo ruler, Abbā D̲j̲ifār II.

Aḥmad b. Idrīs was born near al-ʿArāʾis̲h̲ on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Despite his importance in the history of the 19th-century Muslim world, little is known of his life (see O'Fahey, *Enigmatic saint. Aḥmad ibn Idrīs and the Idrīsī tradition*, London 1990, and Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Madrasat Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Mag̲h̲ribī*, Beirut 1993). After studying at the Ḳarawiyyīn [*q.v.*] in Fez, where he learnt from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī, a student of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāg̲h̲, he moved to the East, spending time in Upper Egypt, Mecca and Medina and ʿAsīr, where he died in 1837. Ibn Idrīs himself wrote relatively little (see *ALA*, i, 124-38; see further *The letters of Aḥmad ibn Idrīs*, ed. E. Thomassen and Radtke, London 1993) and seemingly made no effort to organise an order. His importance lies in his students and their impact on northeastern and eastern Africa.

Among Ibn Idrīs's many students was the North African Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1202-76/1787-1859), who established the Sanūsiyya order in Cyrenaica and the central Sahara (see K.S. Vikør, *Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī and his brotherhood*, London 1995); Muḥammad ʿUt̲h̲mān al-Mīrg̲h̲anī (1208-68/1794-1852), from an old-established Ḥid̲j̲āzī family who propagated the K̲h̲atmiyya in Egypt, the Sudan, the Yemen and parts of Ethiopia and Eritrea (see J.O. Voll, *A history of the Khatmiyyah Tariqah in the Sudan*, Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University 1969); and Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ras̲h̲īd al-Duwayhī (1813-74 [*q.v.*]), from whom, in turn, stemmed a series of orders, the Ras̲h̲īdiyya, Ṣāliḥiyya [*q.v.*] and Dandarāwiyya that spread in Egypt, Somalia and Southeast Asia (mainly Malaysia). Although there were disputes among the various orders of the Idrīsī tradition (see further M. Sedgwick, *Succession and inheritance in a Sufi order: the case of Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, in *Islam et sociétés au sud du Sahara*, ii, Paris 1997, 149-62, and Hamdan Hassan, *Tarikat Ahmadiyyah di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur 1990), they kept a common heritage in Ibn Idrīs's prayers (*awrād*) and litanies (*aḥzāb*). A more modern offshoot of the Idrīsī tradition is the D̲j̲aʿfariyya, established in Upper Egypt and Cairo by Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-D̲j̲aʿfarī (1910-79, on whose writings, see *ALA*, i, 162-5).

In addition to these major orders, there are a number of smaller local orders, such as the Ismāʿīliyya established in Kordofan [*q.v.*] in the Sudan by a one-time student of al-Mīrg̲h̲anī Ismāʿīl al-Walī (1793-1863; see Mahmoud Abdalla Ibrahim, *The history of the Ismaʿiliyya Tariqa in the Sudan, 1792-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London 1980). Another Sudanese tradition is associated with the Mad̲j̲ād̲h̲īb clan of al-Dāmar, foremost of whom was Muḥammad Mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb (1795-1831; see A. Hofheinz, *Internalizing Islam. Shaykh Muḥammad Majdhūb, scriptural Islam and local context in nineteenth-century Islam*, dr. philos. thesis, Univ. of Bergen 1996). In East Africa likewise, a number of smaller orders were established in the 19th century: a *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* from Brava (Barāwa) in southern Somalia, Uways b. Muḥammad al-Barāwī (1847-1909), propagated a branch of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] with links to ʿIrāḳ. Two other examples are the spread of the Yas̲h̲rūṭiyya (on whom, see J. van Ess, *Libanesische Miszellen. 6. Die Yashrūṭiyya*, in *WI*, xvi, 1-103), a Lebanese order that was taken to the Comoro Islands (D̲j̲azīrat al-Ḳamar) and northern Mozambique, and the Nūrāniyya, an offshoot of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya established in Zanzibar by the *ḳāḍī* and scholar, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Amawī (1834-96; see further, O'Fahey and Ann Biersteker, *The writings of the Muslim peoples of Eastern Africa*, = vol. iii of *ALA* [forthcoming]). Another Ṣūfī tradition, that of the ʿAlawiyya of the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], was also active on the East African coast and islands.

As noted above, the 19th century was Africa's Ṣūfī one. This manifested itself in two ways; one was the resistence to imperialist occupation led by such figures as Aḥmad al-S̲h̲arīf al-Sanūsī in Libya against the Italians, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D̲j̲azāʾirī [*q.v.*] of Algeria against the French and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasan (d. 1922) of Somalia, a Ṣāliḥī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* who fought against the Ethiopians, Italians and British. A longer term and, perhaps more important aspect, was the role of the brotherhoods in the Islamisation of nominal Muslims in the region through education, the writing of popular litanies and simple works of dogmatics (written increasingly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in vernacular languages, Swahili, Fulfulde or Hausa), and *daʿwa* activities.

The new orders spread spectacularly. There were two main ways; one, characteristic of the K̲h̲atmiyya and the revived Ḳādirī orders, was the incorporation of pre-existing holy lineages into the new supra-ethnic orders, where often elaborate hierarchies of *k̲h̲alīfas*, *muḳaddams*, *amīns*, down to the *ḥuwārāt*, female attendants who received the donations of the female devotees, were created, where distinctions between those who administered and those who initiated were maintained. The K̲h̲atmiyya hierarchy, for example, includes a *nāʾib* who was the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*'s personal assistant, while the senior *k̲h̲alīfa*, the *k̲h̲alīfat al-k̲h̲ulafāʾ*, had his assistant, *al-nāʾib al-ʿāmm*. The local *k̲h̲alīfa*s were known as *k̲h̲alīfat al-balad* or *k̲h̲alīfat al-nāḥiya* (see further, Ali Salih Karrar, *The Sufi brotherhoods of the Sudan*, London 1992, 130-6). The orders maintained Ḳurʾānic schools (in Sudanese Ar., *k̲h̲alwa* or *masīd* [= *masd̲j̲id*]), organised the weekly *d̲h̲ikr* (usually on a Thursday), had their own distinctive flags, musical instruments and regalia, and maintained the tombs of the founders of the *ṭarīḳa*s and their kin.

The other model was the implantation into hitherto infertile ground of quasi-missionary institutions that acted as foci for new economic and intellectual activity—the classic examples are the Sanūsiyya in Cyrenaica and the Ṣāliḥiyya in Somalia. The basic institution of both orders were socio-religious centres or *zāwiya*s (Somali, *cammaa*), exploiting new agricultural and commercial possibilities, appealing to new groups, offering a new kind of Islamic education and, generally, internationalising African Islam. The Ṣāliḥiyya centres in Somalia were often built on clay soil, previously not utilised by the Somalis, and attracted ex-slaves and other outcaste groups, while the Sanūsī *zāwiya*s were often sited on the boundaries between two tribes or along Saharan trade-routes.

In recent times the tendency, especially in urban areas, has been for the emergence of individual preachers, using cassettes and the like. How the *ṭarīḳa*s will fare in the new dispensation remains unclear.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les voies d'Allah*, Paris 1996, which provides a very full bibliographical coverage. (R.S. O'Fahey)

4. In sub-Saharan Africa.

See for this TAṢAWWUF. 9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

5. In the Turkish lands, from Anatolia to Eastern Turkestan.

i. Orders indigenous to the Turkish lands.

(a) *The Yasawiyya (Central Asia, Khʷārazm, the Kazakh steppe, the Tatar realm, Eastern Turkestan and Turkey)*

The Yasawiyya played an important role from the 12th century onwards in the Islamisation of the Turkish peoples and the sovereigns of the Golden Horde, having Yasî (or Ḥaḍrat, what is today Turkistān in modern Kazakhistān) as its centre. Certain traditions maintain that the founder, Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1162 [*q.v.*]), was probably a disciple of Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140); he in turn was the successor to a tradition, which started with Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 234/857), as the founder of the *ṭarīḳa-yi khʷādjagān* (with its centre at Marw and Khʷārazm). However, recent works show that the Yasawiyya is much more in keeping with the sect of the Mubayyiḍiyya, a group comprising the followers of Abū Muslim (A. Muminov, *Mübeyyidiyye-Yeseviyye alâkası hakkında*, in *Bir*, Istanbul, i [1994]).

The representatives and disciples of Aḥmad Yasawī, such as Ḥakīm Atā (d. 582/1183) and Saʿīd Atā (d. 615/1218), mainly preached in the regions of the Sîr Daryā, the Volga, Khʷārazm, and as far as eastern Turkestan. The expansion of the order is connected with the concerns for Islamisation (cf. Fuat Köprülü, *Türk edebiyyatında ilk mutaṣavvıflar*, Istanbul 1919, and the works of Devin DeWeese). From the 13th century onwards, the *shaykh*s of this order arrived in Anatolia fleeing from the Mongols. They disappeared from there in the 16th century. In Anatolia the Yasawiyya are associated with an order of *Ḳalandar*s called Ḥaydariyya, established by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-Zāwayī (d. 1221), who appears to have been a disciple of Aḥmad Yasawī.

From the 16th century onwards in Central Asia, the Yasawiyya (also called Sulṭāniyya) lost its influence to the Naḳshbandiyya, with which it has often been associated, primarily with a particular sub-group of this order which was not opposed to the oral, *djahrī*, *dhikr*. At that time it was identified with the order called Djahriyya (i.e. with the Ḳādiriyya).

The principal branch of the Yasawiyya, established in the 16th century by Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAzīzān (d. 912/1507) and located in the region of Samarḳand, was known by the name of ʿAzīziyya (Muḥammad ʿĀlim al-Ṣiddīḳī al-ʿAlawī, *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-Ḳuds*, Tashkent 1909). On the other hand, the Yasawiyya gained more popular support, and this distanced it from the system of brotherhoods, now leaving its *shaykh*s only in charge of the devotions performed at the tombs of their masters. Today it is represented by the lines of *īshān*s, who possess genealogical documentation (*shadjara*) and even sometimes seals (*muhr*), who are considered the descendants of the founder or of his disciples and who mostly live in the south of Kazakhistān (Dasht-i Ḳîpčaḳ, Turkistān, Čimkent) and in some regions of Turkmenistān (see the studies of S.M. Demidov and A. Muminov).

(b) *The Naḳshbandiyya (Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, the Tatar realm, Ādharbāydjān, the Caucasus, Khurāsān and Turkey)*

Under Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389) one branch of the movement of the Khʷādjagān adopted the name *ṭarīḳa-yi Naḳshbandiyya*, having the town of Bukhārā as its centre. The second great figure in this order was Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who settled in Tashkent and Samarḳand. He strengthened the *ṭarīḳa* and enabled its expansion beyond Central Asia by sending out many disciples into the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul and Amasya), to Harāt, and to Ādharbāydjān (Tabrīz and Ḳazwīn; see the studies of H. Algar and of Jo-Ann Gross).

The third great representative of the order in Central Asia was Mawlānā Khʷādjagī Ḳāʾānī Dakhbidī, known as Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam (d. 949/1542) at Samarḳand (see the studies of B. Babazanov). His disciple, Khʷādja Muḥammad Islām Djūybārī (d. 971/1563), founded the dynasty of the *shaykh*s called the Djūybārī, which was established in Bukhārā. This group was influential in the Khānate of Bukhārā, and maintained its position in the forefront of religious power until the end of the 19th century.

It was a pupil of Islām Djūybārī who introduced the Naḳshbandiyya to Eastern Turkestan (Yārkand and Kāshghar). It was known there as the ʿIshḳiyya and Āfāḳiyya (see the studies of J. Fletcher and Niẓamüddin Ḥüsäyin, *3. Ḳabahät ʿäḳidä. yäʿni bir ḳätim Appaḳ Khodja Toghrisida*, in *Shindjang Mädäniyati* (Urumči) [1989], 113-54). In the 19th century the order was represented in the principal cities of Central Asia and in particular at Bukhārā, in Farghānā, and in Afghān Turkestan. The order was introduced to the Tatars of the Volga (Ḳāzān, Ufā) at Astrakhān, and into Siberia from Bukhārā and Afghānistān, and also from the Caucasus, where it had existed since the 18th century, and from Turkey (Muḥammad Murād al-Ramzī, *Talfīḳ al-akhbār wa-talḳīḥ al-āthār fī Ḳāzān wa-Bulghār wa-mulūk al-Tātār*, Orenburg 1908).

After the direct introduction of the order into Central Asia in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottoman empire welcomed two further branches of the brotherhood. The first was introduced to Istanbul from Mecca and India and was called the Indian Naḳshbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya. The second, which was of Kurdish and Indian origins, was the Khālidiyya, founded by Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1243/1827). It was first of all established in the Kurdish provinces, then at Istanbul (see the works of H. Algar, I. Gündüz, and B. Abu Manneh). At the end of the 19th century the dominant branch of the Naḳshbandiyya in the Ottoman empire was the Khālidiyya, but in Istanbul and some towns in Anatolia there were also some *tekke*s; these were encouraged by the pilgrims originating from Central Asia, who were associated with a Naḳshbandiyya which was strongly pervaded by Ḳalandarī and Yasawī practices (Th. Zarcone, *Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul*, in *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu* (Paris-Istanbul), ii [1991], 137-200). Despite the prohibitions by Atatürk and the persecutions of the Soviets and the Chinese, the Naḳshbandiyya is still represented in the different regions of the Turkish world; for Turkey see idem, *Les Naḳşibendi et la République turque de la persécution au repositionnement théologique, politique et social (1925-1991)*, in *Turcica*, xxiv [1992], 133-51; also in Central Asia (in Uzbekistān, to the south of Ḳazakhistān, and in Tādjīkistān) and also Sinkiang (Yārkand, Urumči, Turfān and Kuča) and Afghān Turkestan.

(c) *The Ḳalandariyya (Central Asia, Khurāsān, the Kazakh steppe, Eastern Turkestan and Turkey)*

There has been evidence of wandering dervishes called *ḳalandar*s in Central Asia and Anatolia from the 12th and the 13th centuries. Despite the fact that several orders of Ḳalandarīs were formed between the 12th and the 17th centuries, a large number of *ḳalandar*s remained with no administrative ties but nevertheless abided by precise rules. This movement was well represented in Eastern Turkestan, for example, in the 18th century (*Ẓālilili divanī*, ed. Imīn Tursun, Peking 1405/1985). The *ḳalandar*s were known by several names (*dj̲awlakī*, *ḥaydarī*, etc.) and existed in Anatolia and Istanbul until the 16th century (see A.Y. Ocak, *Kalenderîler* (*XIV-XVII. yüzyıllar*), Ankara 1992). From this date onwards, the Ḳalandariyya disappeared from the western Turkish world, but they remained in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan until the beginning of the 20th century.

There were four separate orders of Ḳalandarīs. The first was founded in the 13th century in Persia by D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī (630/1232-3). The second originated in about the same period and was founded by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-Zāwayī (d. 618/1221), as cited previously, and was based at the town of Zāwa [*q.v.*] (or Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya) in K̲h̲urāsān. The third, which was founded in the 15th century by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar Tūnī (d. 830/1426), was located at Tabrīz (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, *Rawḍāt al-dj̲inān wa-dj̲annāt al-dj̲anān*, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 467). The fourth and last was founded by Bābā Ḥādj̲dj̲ī Ṣafā (d. 1153/1740-1) and was centred on Samarḳand (Abū Ṭāhir K̲h̲ʷādja-yi Samarḳandī, *Samariyya*, in *Du risāla dar tārīk̲h̲-i mazārāt wa dj̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Samarḳand*, Tehran 1367 *s̲h̲*./1982, 192) but it also had authority over other groups which were established in other towns of Transoxiana, such as Tas̲h̲kent, Buk̲h̲ārā, K̲h̲īwa, Ura-T'ube and Ḳattaḳurg̲h̲ān (A.L. Troitskaya, *Iz proshlogo Kalandarov i Maddakhov v Uzbekistane*, in *Domusul'manskie verovaniya i obryadï ve Sredney Azii*, Moscow 1975, 192-223).

(d) *The Kubrawiyya (K̲h̲ʷārazm, Central Asia, the Kazak̲h̲ steppe and Turkey)*

The principal town of the Kubrawiyya is Kuhna Urgenč [see URGENČ], where the mausoleum of the founder of the order, Nadj̲m al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/12221), is preserved. Next in order of importance is Buk̲h̲ārā, where a disciple of Kubrā, Sayf al-Dīn Bāk̲h̲arzī (d. 659/1261), formed a *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* and converted a Mongol sovereign to Islam. Another pupil of his, Bābā Kamāl D̲j̲andī (d. 672/1273), propagated Islam and the brotherhood among the nomadic Turks of the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳïpčaḳ. Later in the Tīmūrid period, ʿAlī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385) and his disciples introduced the order into Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and into the north of Afg̲h̲ānistān. The last link of the spiritual lineage of Bābā Kamāl D̲j̲andī, Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn K̲h̲ʷārazmī (d. 958/1551), was active at the time of the S̲h̲aybānids in K̲h̲ʷārazm and in Samarḳand. Despite the fact that the Kubrawiyya declined perceptibly from the 16th century onwards, with the rise of the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya it maintained a feeble presence in Central Asia until the 19th century through certain *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s such as Mawlānā S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Pāyanday Sāktarī (or Sātaragī) in the neighbourhood of Buk̲h̲ārā, and in particular at Samarḳand around Tas̲h̲kent, at Ḥiṣār and in the Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān (see the work of DeWeese). Finally, some disciples who were separated from Kubrā fled from the Mongol invasion towards Saldj̲ūḳ Anatolia (Cl. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul 1988, 218).

(e) *Other* ṭarīḳa*s*

The Zayniyya, which originated in K̲h̲urāsān (at the beginning of the 15th century), existed at Bursa and then at Istanbul in the second half of the 15th century, before being absorbed by the other orders in the 18th century. At the end of the 14th century the Kāzarūniyya, which originated in S̲h̲īrāz, was welcomed to Bursa by the Ottoman Sultan Bāyezīd I, but it was also to be found at Edirne and also at Erzurūm.

ii. New orders appearing in Anatolia.

(a) *The Bektās̲h̲iyya (Turkey)*

This order took its name from Ḥādj̲dj̲ī Bektās̲h̲ Walī (d. 669/1270-1) and originated in the heterodox religious movements of Anatolia (Bābāʾī, Abdāl, etc.) which were related to the Malāmatiyya of K̲h̲urāsān and remained under the influence of the Central Asian Yasawiyya and Ḳalandariyya. The history of the Bektās̲h̲iyya before the 19th century is not well known. It was established in the form of an order in the 15th and 16th centuries by Bālîm Sulṭān (d. 922/1516) on the basis of the ideas of its eponymous founder. Its centre was in the village of Hacıbektaş in Anatolia (see the studies of J.K. Birge, S. Faroqi and I. Mélikoff). The running of the centre was bicephalous and strongly centralised. The *čelebī* represented the ʿAlawīs (a rural and tribal form of this order); the *dede* the Bektās̲h̲īs. Although banned in 1825, the order re-established itself quietly and was very well represented at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, particularly in Istanbul; there a *tekke*, that of Merdivenköy, rivalled the mother house of Hacıbektaş (see N. Vatin and T. Zarcone on the *tekke*s of Istanbul, in *Le tekke bektachi de Merdivenköy*, in *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu*, ii (1991), and in *Etudes sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Istanbul 1995). At the beginning of this century the principal *tekke*s of the order (except for the Arab and the Balkan provinces) were in certain towns in Turkey; the most important were Hacıbektaş, and Istanbul, and the others were Bursa, Çanakkale, Elmalı, Izmir, Sinop, Tire, etc.

(b) *The Mawlawiyya (Turkey and Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān)*

The Mawlawiyya was founded in the Saldj̲ūḳ period by Mawlānā D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonya [*q.v.*]. It was organised by his son Sulṭān Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad [*q.v.*], who determined the rituals to be performed by the order. At its beginning, the Mawlawiyya brotherhood, like several *ṭarīḳa*s in Turkey, was marked by the strain of *ḳalandar*s. From them the order inherited two contrary attitudes (*mes̲h̲reb*) but these have never resulted in separate constituent branches: the S̲h̲amsī (heterodox-ʿAlawī) attitude and the Waladī (orthodox) attitude. At the outset, the brotherhood was essentially concentrated on Ḳonya before spreading out in Anatolia. But there was among them from the start a *mawlawī-k̲h̲āna* at Sulṭāniyya in Ād̲h̲arbāydj̲ān (Ahmet Eflâkî, *Ariflerin menkibeleri*, tr. T. Yazıcı, Istanbul 1973, ii, 274-98). The expansion into Anatolia and the rest of the empire took place at the time of Ulū ʿĀrif Čelebī (d. 720/1320), and especially of Dīwāna Maḥmūd Čelebī (d. 935/1529), though it never crossed the eastern borders.

The Mawlawiyya was introduced into Istanbul at the beginning of the 16th century (in the convent in Galata). Given that Ḳonya was the most important of the *mawlawī-k̲h̲āna*s, the next in order of importance were those of Ḳaraḥiṣār, of Kütahya, and of Manisa (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, repr. Istanbul 1983, 330-40). At the end of the 19th century, almost all the cities of the empire possessed a *mawlawī-k̲h̲āna* (see S̲h̲erīf-zāde Sayyid Meḥmed Fāḍil Pas̲h̲a, *S̲h̲arḥ-i ḥaḳāʾiḳ-i ad̲h̲kār-i Mawlānā*, Istanbul 1283/1882, 420-1; on the history of the *mawlawī-*

k͟hānas, see *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, xix [1994]). The order was very centralised and nomination was always made from Ḳonya, but the *mawlawī-k͟hānas* also had great prestige and strongly influenced the history of the order.

(c) *The K͟halwatiyya (Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, the Caucasus and Turkey)*

The *k͟halwatiyya* appeared in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān between the 14th and the 15th centuries and took its name from ʿUmar al-K͟halwatī (d. 800/1397). But its true organiser was a Caucasian, Yaḥyā S͟hirwānī (d. 868 or 869/1463-5). The order was originally established in the Caucasus (S͟hirwān) and in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān (Tabrīz and Bākū), with its centre at Bākū. But then it moved to Amasya (Anatolia) and Harāt (K͟hurāsān), though it did not remain in this last-mentioned place (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S͟hāh, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ii, 366-7). The K͟halwatiyya disappeared from the town of its origin after the 16th century and firmly settled in Amasya, where it obtained the favour of the future Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II, who then had it transferred to Istanbul (B.G. Martin, *A short history of the Khalwati order of dervishes*, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie, Berkeley etc. 1972, 275-305). Although at Amasya it was called D͟jamāliyya, it was subsequently known in the Ottoman capital as Sünbüliyya. Despite it being divided into multiple branches, the K͟halwatiyya preserved a certain unity and demanded recognition as one of the most powerful Ottoman brotherhoods. It was to gain an introduction into most of the provinces of the empire. At the end of the 19th century in Istanbul, it dominated all the brotherhoods because of the number of its *tekkes*. Certain of its branches, such as the D͟jerrāḥiyya, the Sinānīyya, and the ʿUs͟hs͟hāḳiyya still exist today.

(d) *The Bayrāmiyya and Melāmīlik (Turkey)*

The Bayrāmiyya was instituted in the 15th century at Ankara by Ḥad͟jd͟jī Bayrām Walī (d. 833/1429-30) and was the successor to a Ṣūfī tradition of Ād͟harbāyd͟jānī origin, which claimed a connection with the Malāmatiyya of K͟hurāsān. The order spread out into all of central Anatolia (Aḳsaray, Göynük) but was poorly represented in Istanbul and did not enjoy the success of the other brotherhoods. More or less connected with the Bayrāmiyya were the Ḥamzawīs, the messianic revolutionary movement which took its name from Ḥamza Bālī (d. 981/1573). It developed clandestinely in Istanbul where it continued until the beginning of the 20th century. Another movement called Melāmīlik, established by Meḥmed Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1305/1888), and a product of the circle of Ḥamzawīs in the Balkans, made its appearance in Istanbul and Izmir at the end of the 19th century (Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul 1931; *Melamî et Bayramî*, ed. N. Clayer, A. Popovic and Th. Zarcone, Istanbul-Paris 1997). The Melāmīlik and the Ḥamzawiyya did not suffer banning under Atatürk in 1925, and their members continued to spread their teaching throughout the Republican period.

iii. Turkish borrowings from the Arab world.

(a) *The Rifāʿiyya (Turkey and Caucasia)*

Founded in ʿIrāḳ by Aḥmad Rifāʿī (d. 578/1182), this brotherhood was attested between the 13th and the 14th centuries throughout the whole of Mongol Anatolia; there it was first known as Aḥmedilik or Baṭāʾiḥiyya (according to Eflākī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Its main centre was in the neighbourhood of Amasya, but there were others at Izmir and Balıkesir. The Rifāʿiyya was introduced somewhat later to Istanbul in the 18th century by Muḥammad Ḥadīdī (d. 1169/1756; Ekrem Işın, *Rıfaîlik*, in *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vi, 325-30). It was marked by the practices of the *ak͟hīs* [*q.v.*] and was often associated with the orders which were quite consonant with regard to the *s͟harīʿa*; in the beginning, it could be observed together with the Mawlawiyya and the Bektās͟hiyya, and in the 20th century with the Melāmīlik of Meḥmed Nūr al-ʿArabī (cf. the work of Gölpınarlı). It should be noted that like the Ottoman Ḳādiriyya (see further below), the Rifāʿiyya evolved without any administrative connection with the mother-house of the order situated at Wāsiṭ in ʿIrāḳ. The Rifāʿiyya were absent from the eastern Turkish world, but in the mid-14th century Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted that a successor of the founder was leading a *k͟hānaḳāh* in the northern Caucasus (Mād͟jar). When invited by the Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II, Abu ʾl-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, a Rifāʿī *s͟hayk͟h*, came directly from Syria and, as the representative of a very orthodox branch of the order, established a *tekke* in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century, giving a new direction to this order (B. Abu-Manneh, *Sultan Abdulhamid II and Shaikh Abulhuda al-Sayyadi*, in *Middle Eastern Review*, xv [1979], 131-53). Today the Rifāʿiyya exist in Istanbul (see e.g. the *tekke* of ʿAlī Bābā in the Kasımpaşa quarter) and all over Anatolia.

(b) *The Ḳādiriyya (Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, the Caucasus and Turkey)*

The presence of members of this order, which traced itself back to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-D͟jīlānī (d. 561/1165-6 [*q.v.*]), is attested in Turkey (e.g. at Kastamonu) well before the Es͟hrafiyya branch was established at Iznīḳ. This was the first organised Turkish form of the Ḳādiriyya to be introduced from Ḥamā in Syria by Es͟hrafog͟hlu ʿAbd Allāh Rūmī (d. 874/1469). A second wave called Rūmiyya, introduced from Bag͟hdād in the 17th century by Ismāʿīl Rūmī (d. 1041/1631-2), was to absorb the Es͟hrafiyya. The Ḳādiriyya-Rūmiyya, then well settled in numerous towns of Anatolia, had at its disposal a mother-house in Tusya, later removed to Istanbul. The *tekke* established by Ismāʿīl Rūmī in this town is today still the centre of the Turkish Ḳādiriyya, but it no longer preserves any connection with its mother-house in Bag͟hdād (Seyyid Sırrı Ali, *Tuhfe-i Rûmî. Kâdiriler asitanesi'nin manzum tarihçesi. Tuhfe-i Rûmî*, Istanbul 1992; for a bibliography on the Ḳādiriyya, see Zarcone, *Un document inédit sur les tekke ḳadiri de l'Empire ottoman et du monde musulmane au XIX^e^ siècle*, in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, Paris 1992, 275-83). In the middle of the 16th century the Ḳādiriyya was introduced into the Crimea from Ḥamāt (Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Rifʿat, *al-Riyāʾ al-ʿaliyya fī beyān ṭarīḳat al-Ḳādiriyya*, ms. Millet, Istanbul no. 1127, fols. 283b-284a). It was only in the 19th century that the order appeared in the Caucasus, where it still continues today. It is not known whether the Ḳādiriyya was introduced into Central Asia before the 19th century. It appeared next from India in Farg͟hānā (the Niẓāmiyya branch) and in Eastern Turkestan (*S͟had͟jara-yi Ḳādiriyya Niẓāmiyya*, ms. no. 3960, Institut Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR, Tas͟hkent; Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī, *Tārīk͟h-i Āminiyya*, repr. Urumči, S͟hind͟jang K͟hālḳ N. 1988, 362-2).

(c) *Other* ṭarīḳas

The Badawiyya appeared in Istanbul in the 19th century; the S͟hād͟hiliyya were introduced into Istanbul in the 19th century; the Saʿdiyya were introduced into Istanbul in the 18th century; and the Tid͟jāniyya were introduced into Turkey in the 20th century.

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(Th. Zarcone)

6. In the Balkans.

i. *Early times and the Ottoman period.* The establishment of mystical Muslim brotherhoods in the Balkan Peninsula only really began with the Ottoman conquest of these regions. Before the arrival of the Ottomans in Europe, all that is recorded is the presence, in the 7th/13th century, of one Turkish warrior saint, a more or less mythical figure named Ṣarî Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*], who settled in Dobrudja [*q.v.*], with Turkish tribes originally from Sinūb, thus forming a buffer between the Byzantine Empire and the Golden Horde. Long after his death, Ṣarî Ṣalṭuḳ became the symbol of the Islamisation of the Peninsula, exploited for this purpose particularly by the brotherhood of the Bektāshīs.

If an overall view is taken of the diffusion of Ṣūfī networks in the Balkan region and the role of their members in Rumelian society, it is appropriate to divide the Ottoman era into three major periods.

(a) The period of the first conquests (14th-15th centuries) is also that of the installation of the "colonising dervishes", to borrow the expression of Ömer Lutfi Barkan: dervishes mostly of heterodox origin (Ḳalandarīs, Bektāshīs or others) who emigrated towards the newly-conquered territories and established themselves in regions deserted by Christian populations or at strategic points along the communications routes; dervishes who cultivated the land themselves, worked for the diffusion of Muslim religion and culture, participated in military campaigns or sent contingents of believers to fight on their behalf. In the eastern sector of the territories then under Ottoman control (Thrace, Deli Orman and Dobrudja), the two figures most emblematic of this intensely heterodox Ṣūfism were Sheykh Badr al-Dīn of Samāwnā [*q.v.*] (hanged at Serres in 819/1416) and ʿOthmān Baba (d. 883/1478-9), founder of a *tekke* near Khāṣṣköy (currently Haskovo, in Bulgaria). Both left a lasting imprint upon the populations known today as Ḳîzîlbāsh-Alevis, of Dobrudja, of Deli Orman, of the eastern Rhodope chain and of eastern Thrace. In the 15th century, other brotherhoods began to extend their networks as far as the Balkans, including the Bayrāmiyya (second quarter of the 15th century), the Naḳshbandiyya and the Khalwatiyya (second half of the 15th century).

(b) In the early 16th century, another period begins, characterised in particular by a policy of "Sunnitisation" of the Ottoman empire, to counter the external menace of the Ṣafawids and the heterodoxy of various ethnic groups within the empire. The reign of Selīm I (1512-20) constitutes, in this regard, a "turning-point in political and religious life" in the Balkans, as in the rest of the empire, as has been shown by I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr (*Le règne de Selīm I^er: tournant dans la vie politique et religieuse de l'Empire*, in *Turcica*, vi [1975], 34-48). These changes were to result in a structuring and a renewal of control of certain heterodox groups within a reorganised Bektāshiyya, and in particular, the increase of politically and religiously more orthodox brotherhoods. Among the latter, especially worthy of mention are certain branches of the Khalwatiyya (Djamāliyya, Sunbuliyya) and the Djalwatiyya, which numbered among their adherents *sheykh*s such as Sofyalî Bālī Efendi (d. 1553 in Sofia), Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Nūr al-Dīn-zāde (d. 1574) and ʿAzīz Maḥmūd Hudāʾī (d. 1628), who denounced before the most senior authorities of the empire the heterodoxy of, among others, the followers of Sheykh Badr al-Dīn and the Ḳîzîlbāsh of Deli Orman. There was thus a development of new and essentially urban Ṣūfī networks, in most cases fuelled by foundations on the part of eminent individuals, this extending to the new frontier regions. In the latter, it is important to stress the support and even the active participation contributed by the *sheykh*s to numerous campaigns of

"holy war" against the "unbelievers". Alongside the various Khalwatī networks which became extremely close-knit at this time in the Balkan Peninsula, other ṭuruḳ proliferated in these regions: the afore-mentioned Djalwatiyya; the Ḳādiriyya from the early 17th century onwards, following the journey undertaken by Ismāʿīl Rūmī, founder of a new Ḳādirī network, the two principal centres of diffusion being situated in Istanbul (*āsitāne* of Ṭopkhāne) and Edirne; the Mawlawiyya, who were established only in certain important urban centres (Pečuy/Pecs, Sarajevo, Salonica, Serres, Elbasan, Plovdiv, etc.); and probably also the Rifāʿiyya. The *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebī testifies to this presence of the orders in practically all the Balkan urban centres in the mid-17th century. It should be noted that, despite the efforts of the Ottoman authorities, heterodox Ṣūfism was far from eradicated in the Peninsula; there was even the expansion of a new heterodox movement, originating in Anatolia, in the 16th century, that of the Malāmī-Bayramīs (later the Ḥamzawīs), which had adherents especially in Thrace, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the region of Belgrade and perhaps as far as Hungary.

(c) The defeat of the Ottoman armies under the walls of Vienna in 1683, followed by the Austrian and Venetian reconquests, resulted in substantial upheavals for European Turkey: a loss of territories, auguring further and even more significant losses, and a permanent fear of uprisings on the part of Christian populations. It was probably for these reasons that the Ottoman authorities undertook in the Balkans, from the mid-18th century onwards, a policy of reinforcing the Muslim element, either by means of more energetic colonisation or by encouraging the Islamisation of local populations. Although the sources make few explicit references to the role of the *ṭuruḳ* in the process, it is a fact that this was accompanied by the expansion of new networks, which contributed to the cohesiveness of the Muslim populations, both the recently-converted and the recent arrivals in these regions. These new Ṣūfī networks supplanted to some extent the older ones in the towns, but also enjoyed an unprecedented expansion in rural zones, particularly in the regions which currently comprise Albania, Macedonia, Kosovo, northern Greece and Bulgaria. New *ṭuruḳ*, or new confraternal branches, grew extensively in Rumelia at this time, and sometimes at a much later stage, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus there were the Saʿdiyya from the beginning of the 18th century (in the western sector of the Peninsula); the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, founded in Macedonia by Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1888); the Shādhiliyya, with a few exceptional *tekkes* founded at Kosovo and in Bulgarian territory; the Tidjāniyya, who expanded *ca.* 1900 in northern Albania; also numerous branches of the Khalwatiyya, several of which were born in the Balkans (in particular the Djarrāḥiyya, members of which played an active role in the reconquest and recolonisation of the Peloponnese after 1715, the Gulshaniyya-Sezāʾiyya which came into existence at Edirne in the early 18th century, and the Ḥayātiyya, founded at Ohrid during the second half of the 18th century); and two new Naḳshbandī branches (the Mudjaddidiyya, and especially the Khālidiyya in the 19th century). Older orders also consolidated their position, including the Rifāʿiyya from the early 19th century onwards, and the Bektāshiyya who, from the second half of the 19th century, experienced a very significant expansion in southern and central Albanian territories, where they played a dominant role in the Albanian national awakening.

As in the remainder of the Ottoman empire, *ṭuruḳ* were numerous and active in the Balkan lands under Ottoman domination. They played a role there in religious life, representing more or less orthodox (or more or less heterodox) tendencies, but also on the economic and social level (through the influence of *waḳfs*) as well as in cultural, artistic and political domains.

ii. *The post-Ottoman period.* Of the fifteen or so Muslim mystical orders which were implanted during the Ottoman period in the Balkans (and in South-Eastern Europe in general) eleven were to survive (in an organised and structured form, centred around their establishments, i.e. *tekkes* and *zawāyā*) for varying periods of time after the departure of Ottoman troops. Those concerned are the Bektāshiyya, the Ḳādiriyya, the Khalwatiyya, the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, the Mawlawiyya, the Naḳshbandiyya, the Rifāʿiyya, the Saʿdiyya, the Shādhiliyya, the Sināniyya (a branch of the Khalwatiyya) and the Tidjāniyya. There would seem to be no more than ten existing today, since the Mawlawiyya disappeared in their turn, while the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya, the Shādhiliyya and the Sināniyya have gradually declined.

For various reasons, dictated primarily by the numerical scale of the Muslim populations remaining on the ground, their survival has not been uniform in all the six countries of South-Eastern Europe, these eleven *ṭuruḳ* not having everywhere displayed the same resilience. Account must also be taken of another highly important phenomenon, the fact that the beginnings of the "post-Ottoman" period are located, according to the different regions, at dates between 1699 and 1912. From an overall perspective, the *ṭuruḳ* have survived primarily in the western sector of the Peninsula (Albania and Yugoslavia), to a lesser extent in eastern and southern regions (Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece), and not at all in the northern sector (Hungary, Croatia). This continued existence is owed to nothing other than a twofold struggle: on the one hand against, or at least on the fringes of the newly-created or reconstructed states of which these brotherhoods were henceforward to form a part (particularly during the Communist period), on the other, against or at best on the fringes of the official authorities of local Muslim communities, often hostile to the *ṭuruḳ*. In this last case, account should be taken of various attempts on the part of orders to liberate themselves from the tutelage of the official Muslim authorities by means of creating more or less independent structures, or on the contrary, through the formation of structures of the same type, but by the official Muslim community, designed to control the *ṭuruḳ* (in Yugoslavia, in the 1970s, the creation of the *ZIDRA* in Kosovo, and of the *Tarikatski Centar* in Sarajevo; in Albania, the formation of two organisations of this type in the 1930s, *Drita Hyjnore* and *Kryesija e Sekteve Alevijan*, and, especially, in an exceptional case for this region, the creation of a Bektāshi community which became an independent religious community with the same status as that of the Sunnī Muslims).

The principal items of information regarding the history of this survival, regarding the organisation and functioning of these eleven brotherhoods during the period in question, as well as thorough bibliographies, are to be found in the works and articles cited below, but the situation could be illustrated in terms of three groups of brotherhoods which functioned with varying degrees of activity in accordance with temporal and regional variations. The first group is that of the two "great" orders, comprising the Bektāshiyya (present

especially in Albania, in Kosovo and in Macedonia; also, but only for a short time, in Greece, in Thessaly and western Thrace) and the Khalwatiyya (present almost everywhere, but established most strongly in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina). Then there are the six "medium" orders: the Ḳādiriyya (especially in Albania, in Kosovo, in Macedonia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina; also, to a lesser extent, in Deli Orman in Bulgaria); the Malāmiyya-Nūriyya (especially in Kosovo and in Macedonia and possibly also, in smaller numbers, in Deli Orman); the Mawlawiyya (which survived for a considerable time in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Kosovo and Macedonia and apparently also, to a lesser degree, in Bulgaria); the Naḳshbandiyya (mostly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to a lesser degree in Kosovo, in Macedonia, in Deli Orman and in the Bulgarian and Rumanian Dodrudja); the Rifāʿiyya (especially in Kosovo, in Macedonia and Albania and also to a small extent in Bulgaria, as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina, this last case principally involving Albanians from Kosovo established in the city of Sarajevo); and the Saʿdiyya (mainly in Kosovo, in Macedonia and Albania). Finally, there is the group of three "minor" orders: the Shādhiliyya (in Bulgaria and Kosovo), the Sināniyya (in Macedonia and Kosovo) and the Tidjāniyya (presence recorded only in Albania). It is to be noted that the networks of these brotherhoods are in general divided into regional and even ethnic sub-networks, meaning that it is possible to observe, within a single *ṭarīḳa*, Turkish, Albanian, and Slav "networks", and even, since several decades and especially in Macedonia, Gypsy ones. As for the worship of saints, which constitutes in certain cases the only evidence for the presence of the brotherhoods in the past, this often unites the Muslim and Christian populations.

After the decline which followed the end of the Ottoman period, and that which later accompanied the arrival of the Communist régimes, a revival of certain *ṭuruḳ* has been observed in Yugoslav territories, beginning in the 1970s (in particular under the influence of the Rifāʿī *sheykh* of Prizren and his organisation known as *ZIDRA*). Another renewal has taken place since 1990, in the wake of changes to the political landscape of the Balkans. In particular, in Albania, where all forms of religious activity had been banned, the local Bektāshīs, who held their Sixth Congress in July 1993 (the previous congress had taken place in 1950), have begun to rebuild some of their *tekke*s, while other Albanian *ṭuruḳ* (Khalwatīs, Rifāʿīs, Ḳādirīs, Tidjānīs and Saʿdīs) have reappeared and have attempted to organise themselves, with varying degrees of difficulty. It is currently quite impossible to say what will remain of the mystical Muslim brotherhoods in Bosnia-Herzegovina (where the last of the great *sheykh*s died some years ago), following the end of the civil war which raged between 1992 and 1995, and the partitioning of the region into "ethnic zones" which has ensued. But here as elsewhere, it is not known precisely what kind of evolution is being experienced and is yet to be experienced by the brotherhoods, nor what may be the potential symbiosis between the two existing dynamics: revival of the ancient networks and the diffusion of new ones, emanating in particular from Turkey, a country with which the Balkan Muslims are currently in the process of renewing their links.

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(NATHALIE CLAYER-A. POPOVIC)

7. In Muslim India.

Here, different terms—*ṭarīḳa, maslak, sulūk, khānwāda, silsila, dāʾira, ṭāʾifa, ḥalḳa*—are used for mystic ways and brotherhoods, with slight variations of nuance. *Ṭarīḳa* signifies (a) any mystic path, practice or method (e.g. *ṭarīḳa-yi mudjāhada* (method of striving along the mystical path), *ṭarīḳa-yi mushāhada* (method of contemplation leading to vision)); (b) any mystic school, system or organisation (e.g. the Čishtī *silsila*, the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Khʷādjagān*, the *dāʾira* of Shāh ʿĀlam Allāh of Rae Bareili, etc.); and (c) any minor trend in a major mystic order (e.g. the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya*, the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Zubayriyya*, etc., in the Naḳshbandī *silsila*).

The following main *ṭarīḳas* have been active in India: Čishtī, Suhrawardī, Ḳādirī, Shaṭṭārī, Naḳshbandī, Kubrawī, Madārī, Ḳalandarī and ʿAydarūsī. As these *ṭarīḳas* developed, sub-branches sprouted up, e.g. in the Čishtī order there rose the Niẓāmī, the Ṣābirī, the Gīsūdarāzī, the Ḥusāmī, the Mīnāʾī and the Fakhrī branches; the Kubrawī *ṭarīḳa* gave birth to the Hamadānī *silsila* of Kashmīr and the Firdawsī *silsila* of Dihlī and Bihār; the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* gave rise to the *silsila-yi Bāḳiyya, ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya, ṭarīḳa-yi Zubayriyya, ṭarīḳa-i Maẓhariyya*, etc.

There were some regional dimensions also of the growth of these *ṭarīḳas*. The Čishtī and the Naḳshbandī orders spread out all over the country; the Suhrawardīs worked mainly in the Pandjāb and Sind; the Shaṭṭārīs thrived mainly in Mandū, Gwāliyār and Aḥmadabād; the Firdawsī *ṭarīḳa* worked mostly in Bihār; the ʿAydarūsī order found its adherents in Gudjarāt and the Deccan; and the Madārī and Ḳalandarī orders developed mainly in parts of the Pandjāb and Awadh.

The Čishtī and the Suhrawardī *ṭarīḳas* were the first to reach India. Introduced by Khʷādja Muʿīn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī (d. 1236), the Čishtī order [*q.v.*] developed under Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ of Dihlī [*q.v.*] who gave it an all-India status, with his disciples setting up Čishtī centres all over the country. The Suhrawardī *ṭarīḳa*, introduced by Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 1262 [*q.v.*]), reached its highest watermark under Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ (d. 1334) and Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 1386). Though both these *ṭarīḳas* looked to the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] as their guide, they differed in their organisation of *khānaḳāh* life and relations with the state. Subsequently, the Firdawsī *ṭarīḳa* was introduced into India by Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Samarḳand. Initially, its saints worked in Dihlī, but later moved to Bihār where the order enjoyed great popularity under Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 1371).

The Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa* was established in India by Sayyid Muḥammad Makhdūm Gīlānī (d. 1517), and flourished under Shaykh Dāwūd Kirmānī (d. 1574), Shāh

Ḳumayṣ Gīlānī (d. 1584), Miyān Mīr (d. 1635) and Mullā S̲h̲āh (d. 1661).

The S̲h̲aṭṭārī ṭarīḳa was introduced into India by S̲h̲āh ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1485), who undertook a lightning tour of the country with his disciples wearing military garb, with he himself clad in royal dress. Ultimately he settled at Manḍū. Under S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad G̲h̲awt̲h̲ of Gwāliyār (d. 1562), the ṭarīḳa attained great influence. Its ideology was based on *daʿwat-i samāʾ* (control of heavenly bodies which influenced human destiny) and recommended interiorisation of religious rites.

Late in the 15th century, Sayyid Muḥammad of D̲j̲awnpūr became the centre of the Mahdawī movement and its *dāʾiras* sprang up in Gud̲j̲arāt and other places (see Niẓamī, *Akbar and religion*, Dihlī 1989, 42-51).

In the 16th century, the Naḳs̲h̲bandī ṭarīḳa was introduced by K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Bāḳī Billāh (d. 1603) and reached its high watermark under his chief disciple, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī, popularly known as Mud̲j̲addid-i Alf-i t̲h̲ānī (d. 1624 [*q.v.*]). For about two centuries it was the most influential and popular ṭarīḳa in India and many of the eminent figures of the time like S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh, Mīrzā Maẓhar D̲j̲ān-i D̲j̲ānān, S̲h̲āh G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī and others, belonged to it. K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Mīr Nāṣir (d. 1758), though associated with the Naḳs̲h̲bandī *silsila*, founded a new order called *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadī*. Sayyid Aḥmad S̲h̲ahīd of Rai Bareili (d. 1831), who also belonged to the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order, introduced a new way of mystic discipline, known as *Ṭarīḳa-yi Nubuwwat*. Under S̲h̲āh G̲h̲ulām ʿAlī, the influence of the Indian branch of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī order reached many other Islamic countries (Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, *Āt̲h̲ār al-ṣanādīd*, Karachi 1966, 209); thus his disciple K̲h̲ālid Kurdī played an important role in popularising the ṭarīḳa in Syria.

Apart from these *ṭarīḳas* which were the main spearheads of mysticism in India, some minor *silsilas* with limited impact also appeared, e.g. the Mag̲h̲ribī ṭarīḳa represented by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Khattū Mag̲h̲ribī of Aḥmadabād (d. 1447) (Nizami, *Shaykh Ahmad Maghribi as a great historical personality of medieval Gujarat*, in *Medieval India—a miscellany*, Aligarh, iii, 234-59) and the Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲ī order of Kas̲h̲mīr (M. S̲h̲afīʿ, *Firḳa Nūr Bak̲h̲s̲h̲ī*, in *Oriental College Magazine* [Feb. 1925-Aug. 1926]).

The *ṭarīḳas* thrived in India with remarkable speed. According to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī's *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲a* (Eng. tr. O. Spies, 29), there were about 2,000 *rubuṭ* and *k̲h̲ānaḳāhs* in Dihlī and its surroundings during the 15th century; S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz refers to 22 eminent figures of every *k̲h̲ānwāda* in Dihlī during the time of the Mug̲h̲al Emperor Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (*Malfūẓāt*, Meerut 1314, 106).

These *ṭarīḳas* has some distinguishing features: (a) Except the Naḳs̲h̲bandī, almost all the *ṭarīḳas* were believers in *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-S̲H̲UHŪD AND WAḤDAT AL-WUD̲J̲ŪD]. The Naḳs̲h̲bandīs propounded the doctrine of *waḥdat al-s̲h̲uhūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). (2) Except for the Čis̲h̲tīs, all other *ṭarīḳas* had some contact with the rulers and the bureaucracy; the Čis̲h̲tīs considered state service an impediment in spiritual progress. (3) The Naḳs̲h̲bandī practices, according to S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh, were very rigorous, while the Čis̲h̲tī and Suhrawardī ones, which aimed at developing the cosmic emotion, were comparatively mild. S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz compared the rigour of the Naḳs̲h̲bandī practices to the discipline of the British Army (*Malfūẓāt*, 18). (4) The Čis̲h̲tīs used *malfūẓāt* (table talk of saints) for the propagation of their teachings; the Naḳs̲h̲bandīs used *maktūbāt* (letters) and the Ḳādirīs, poetry to propagate their ideology. (5) The Čis̲h̲tī ṭarīḳa believed in community living, and constructed *d̲j̲amāʿat k̲h̲ānas*; other *ṭarīḳas* constructed *k̲h̲ānaḳāhs* and hospices with provision for individual accommodation. (6) The Čis̲h̲tīs looked upon efforts for social welfare (*ṭāʿat-i mutaʿaddī*, see *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 13-14) as a means to spiritual progress; other *ṭarīḳas*, particularly the Naḳs̲h̲bandīs, believed in rigorous individual discipline and exercises to reach God. The Čis̲h̲tīs went from Man to God; the Naḳs̲h̲bandīs came from God to Man. (7) The Ḳādirīs emphasised both *d̲h̲ikr-i d̲j̲ahr* (reciting loudly the names of Allāh) and *d̲h̲ikr-i k̲h̲afī* (quiet recitation of the names of Allāh). (8) The S̲h̲aṭṭārīs interiorised mystic discipline and tried to work out an ideological integration of Hindu and Muslim mystic traditions. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad G̲h̲awt̲h̲'s translation of the *Amritkund* as *Baḥr al-ḥayāt* paved the way for such an integration. (9) In the beginning, an individual belonged to a single ṭarīḳa and integrated his spiritual personality according to its principles. "Hold one door and hold it fast" was the motto of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ, approvingly quoted by Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 29). In subsequent centuries, entrants to the mystic path started joining several *ṭarīḳas* at a time, a practice which impaired the stability and impact of the *ṭarīḳas*. Sometimes attempts were made at reconciling conflicting points of teachings and practice. Amīr Abu 'l-ʿUlā Akbarābādī Naḳs̲h̲bandī tried to combine the practices of the Čis̲h̲tīs and the Naḳs̲h̲bandīs (ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *al-T̲h̲aḳāfa al-Islāmiyya fi 'l-Hind*, Damascus 1958, 183); and S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh considered the difference between *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* and *waḥdat al-s̲h̲uhūd* as merely a difference of simile and metaphor.

The spiritual practices of different *ṭarīḳas* in India were discussed in a comparative framework by S̲h̲āh Walī Allāh in his *al-Intibāh fī salāsil awliyāʾ Allāh* (Dihlī 1311) and *al-Ḳawl al-d̲j̲amīl* (Kānpur 1307). Almost every ṭarīḳa had one central book on which its ideology was based: the *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād* for the Čis̲h̲tīs, the *Maktūbāt-i Imām Rabbānī* for the Naḳs̲h̲bandīs; the *D̲j̲awāhir-i K̲h̲amsa* for the S̲h̲aṭṭārīs; and the *Maktūbāt* of S̲h̲araf al-Dīn Yaḥyā Manērī for the Firdawsīs.

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8. In Indonesia.

The first concrete examples of *ṭarīḳa* practices in Indonesia are attested in the sources from the late 16th century, hence at least three centuries after the coming of Islam to this part of the world.

The three oldest known mystics from Indonesia were all influenced by mystical ideas from India and were active in North Sumatra: Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (second half of the 16th century [*q.v.*]), his pupil Shams al-Dīn al-Samatrāʾī (d. 1040/1630 [*q.v.*]), both belonging to the Wudjūdiyya school of thought which was very much influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*]; and, finally, their opponent, the orthodox theologian Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658 [see INDONESIA. vi]). Although the first two seem to have been affiliated to a *ṭarīḳa*, the Ḳādiriyya and the Shaṭṭāriyya [*q.vv.*] respectively, only of the last-mentioned is it beyond doubt that he was an adept of a *ṭarīḳa*, the Rifāʿiyya [*q.v.*].

From the 17th century onwards, the orders in Indonesia developed under the influence of teachers in Arabia, such as the Medinan scholars Aḥmad al-Ḳushāshī (d. 1071/1660 [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1102/1691 [*q.v.*]), and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775). In the Ḥidjāz, many Indonesian pupils, such as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Sinkilī (d. end of the 11th/17th century [*q.v.*]), Yūsuf al-Makassarī (d. 1111/1699) and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. 1190/1776 [*q.v.*]), were initiated into a number of *ṭarīḳas* which they then spread to Indonesia.

Initially, the followers of the various *ṭarīḳas* in Indonesia seem to have been restricted to court circles, where certain mystical concepts, like that of the Perfect Man (*al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*]), were used by the rulers to legitimate their power. Only from the 18th, or perhaps the 19th century onwards do the *ṭarīḳas* seem to have acquired more adherents among the common people.

Although in themselves not politically oriented, in the 19th century the *ṭarīḳas* sometimes provided the organisational networks for anti-colonial rebellions. As a result of this, in the 19th century the mystical orders were much feared by the Dutch colonial administration. However, this political function of the *ṭarīḳas* disappeared with the rise of the nationalist movements at the beginning of the 20th century.

By the turn of the century, the *ṭarīḳas* came under pressure of reformist-oriented Muslims in Indonesia, which led to fierce debates, for instance between adherents and opponents of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. Despite these anti-*ṭarīḳa* attitudes, around 1930 new orders were introduced into the Archipelago, sc. the Tidjāniyya and the Idrīsiyya, which were regarded as being compatible with reformism.

In addition to the *ṭarīḳas* which are known throughout the entire Muslim world, in Indonesia there are also a number of indigenous orders, which have sometimes included pre-Islamic and non-Islamic practices. This led to the establishment of the *Jam'iyyah Ahli Tarekat Mu'tabarah* in 1957. This association unites all brotherhoods in Indonesia of which the *silsila* or chain of affiliation is regarded as sound, and which do not advocate anti-*Sharīʿa* practices. This association, which has been less active in recent years, states that a person can no longer be regarded a Muslim if he participates in an order which is not officially recognised.

In present-day Indonesia, some *ṭarīḳas* have assumed new functions to provide for contemporary needs: among the most well known are the use of *ṭarīḳa* practices to overcome drug addiction and to cure certain mental diseases. Furthermore, the *ṭarīḳas* may serve as the replacement of the traditional social networks which have disappeared through migration to the cities. Although no quantitative data are available, nowadays, possibly as a result of these new functions, the orders seem to have gained a new vitality.

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9. In Chinese Islam.

See for this TAṢAWWUF. 6. In Chinese Islam.

TAʾRĪKH (A.) "date, dating, chronology, era", then also "annals, history".

I. DATES AND ERAS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD
1. In the sense of "date, dating", etc.
2. Era chronology in astronomical handbooks.

II. HISTORICAL WRITING
1. In the Arab world.
   (a) Origins to *ca.* 950.
   (b) The central and eastern lands 950-1500.
   (c) The period 1500 to 1800.
   (d) The 19th and 20th centuries.
   (e) North Africa.
   (f) Muslim Spain.
2. In Persian.
3. In Ottoman and modern Turkish.
4. In Muslim India.
5. In West and Central Africa.
6. In East Africa.
7. In Indonesia and Malaysia.

III. IN THE SENSE OF "CHRONOGRAM"

I. DATES AND ERAS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

1. In the sense of "date, dating", etc.

i. *Etymology.*

The non-Arabic origin of this word was recognised by the mediaeval philologists, but the often-cited derivation of the participle *mu'arrakh* "dated", from a supposed Persian compound *māh-rōz* "month-day", is naturally fanciful. In fact, it clearly belongs to the common Semitic root for "moon" and "month"; cf. Akkadian (*w*)*arḫu*, Sabaic *wrḫ*, Ethiopic *wärḫ*, Mehri *warkh*, or, with the usual Northwest Semitic soundshifts, Hebrew *yāreᵃḥ* (moon), *yeraḥ* (month), Aramaic *yarḥā*. The root is strikingly absent in Arabic (where the meaning "month" is taken over by *shahr*, cognate with the South Arabian term for "new crescent") except in the words for "date", the consonantism of which indicates that they must have been borrowed from the South, not the North. Of the various Arabic forms, the oldest is perhaps the plural *tawārīkh*, which might be a borrowing of an (unattested) South Arabian word for "datings (to particular months)", from which the singular *ta'rīkh* (also, and perhaps older, *tārīkh*) and the verb *arrakha* ("to date") would be back-formations. The lexicographers also adduce a form *tawrīkh*. Ethiopic *tārīk*, "era, history, chronicle", which has occasionally been cited as the etymon of Arabic *ta'rīkh*, is, in fact, borrowed from Arabic.

ii. *Definitions.*

Calendars are basically of two types: lunar or non-lunar. Lunar calendars have months based on the cycle of the phases of the moon (the synodic month, *ca.* 29.53 days). In the Near East the beginning of the month is reckoned from the first visibility of the new crescent in the evening sky, just after sunset, and it continues until the next sighting of a new crescent, generally 29 or 30 evenings later. Provided the length of the synodic month is known, it is not difficult to construct a mathematically calculated calendar with a regulated succession of "full" (30-day) and "defective" (29-day) months (the Greeks did this in ancient times), but in fact it is impossible to say exactly when the next crescent will be visible, as this depends, among other things, on the weather. In the long run, it makes no difference whether timekeeping is based on the actual sighting of the crescent or on calculation, since the average number of days per month is in both cases the same, but in the short term there is likely to be discrepancy of a day or so between an empirical and a calculated calendar.

Twelve lunar months will total an average of about 354 days and are thus roughly 11 days short of the solar (tropical or sidereal) year. The Muslim calendar ignores this difference with the result that the months move forward fairly rapidly through all the seasons. But most of the nations of the ancient world used luni-solar calendars, where the difference between the lunar and the solar year is compensated by intercalating a thirteenth month every two to three years. (For "intercalation" Arabic uses the Aramaic loanword *kabīsa*.)

Non-lunar calendars are based on notional "months" with a fixed number of days and make no attempt to keep pace with the phases of the moon. The oldest, and probably most elegant, calendar of this type is that of the ancient Egyptians, with twelve months of exactly 30 days each and five monthless days (epagomenai), making a vague year of exactly 365 days, with months moving forward very slowly against the solar year (about one day every four years). The Julian (reformed Roman, or "Old Style") calendar had months of a fixed length of 30 or 31 days, apart from February, which had 28 days normally, and 29 every four years. The Gregorian ("New Style") calendar, introduced in 1582 (at first only in the Roman Catholic countries) and now used throughout the world, differs from the Julian only by omitting three leap-days every 400 years.

Calendars that count years from a fixed date are said to operate with an era, the notional starting-point of the counting being the "epoch" of that era. Thus the epoch of the Christian era is 1 January A.D. 1. Here, as often, the epoch is not identical with the date at which the era was actually introduced.

iii. *The Muslim calendar.*

For determining their religious festivals and for the dating of official documents, Muslims use a pure lunar calendar, without any intercalation and thus independent of the seasons; but for the particularities of everyday life (agriculture, taxation, etc.) they have always relied on the solar or quasi-solar calendars described in the remaining sections of this article. The months of the Muslim year are:

1. (al-)Muḥarram
2. Ṣafar
3. Rabīʿ al-Awwal
4. Rabīʿ al-Ākhir (or al-Thānī)
5. Djumādā 'l-Ūlā
6. Djumādā 'l-Ākhira
7. Radjab
8. Shaʿbān
9. Ramaḍān
10. Shawwāl
11. Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda
12. Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja

For the supposed meanings of the names, see below, iv.

All schools of law (apart from the Ismāʿīlīs) agree that every month begins in principle with the actual local sighting of the new crescent and that consequently the duration of any given month cannot be predicted in advance. The only concession to calculation is the generally admitted norm (enshrined in a *ḥadīth*) that if, due to adverse weather conditions, the moon has still not been sighted on the thirtieth evening after the beginning of Ramaḍān, one is still entitled to assume that the fast has ended. In other words, Ramaḍān cannot last for more than 30 days. This is not necessarily true of the other months, and indeed texts occasionally attest months of as many as 31 days. Only the Ismāʿīlīs assigned (and still assign) a fixed length to each of the months and dispense with ocular observation of the moon, but this is rejected by all the other schools [see in detail HILĀL].

Of course, Muslim scientists were aware of the true length of the lunar cycle, and for the purposes of calendrical and astronomical computations they fixed the duration of the odd months (Muḥarram, Rabīʿ I, etc.) at 30 days and that of the even months at 29 days, and added an extra day to Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja eleven times in 30 years to keep the average length of the months in agreement with the true synodic month. They were, however, not in complete agreement as to which years of the 30-year cycle are to be treated in this way (the various possibilities are played through, from a purely mathematical point of view, in Schram). The years with one extra day are called (as al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, section 271, explains) "the leap years (*kabā'is*) of the Arabs, not that the Arabs ever actually used or use them, but the authors of astronomical tables need them when they construct tables on the basis

of the years of the Arabs". In other words, the regulated calendar is a convenient mathematical fiction and does not correspond to actual practice. There exist a large number of mediaeval and modern tables for converting Muslim into Julian or Gregorian dates and various computer programs are now available to carry out the same task, and all of these are based, as is inevitable, on this same convention. However, it is important to remember that the real calendar was based on the observation of the moon and that the conversions given in the tables are only approximate. As a rule, the dates mentioned in Islamic sources can only be converted exactly to another calendar if the source gives the day of the week as well, in which case the rough equivalent indicated by the tables can be corrected. When, for example, an author writes that he did something on Friday 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 437, and our tables equate this date with Saturday 17 May 1046 Julian, then we must assume that the author observed the new crescent one day earlier than the date given in our tables for the beginning of the month and correct the conversion to Friday 16 May. In cases like this, where the day of the week is indicated, it can be observed that the conversions given in the tables are likely to be wrong (rarely by more than one day in either direction) about half of the time, and modern historians should correct them tacitly (there is no need to call attention to the fact). Where the day of the week is not indicated we must normally content ourselves with a rough conversion.

Since the month begins with the sighting of the moon in the evening sky the Muslims reckon the civil day to begin at sunset. Thus, in the above-cited example, Friday 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da actually begins at sunset on what we would call Thursday 15 May and continues until sunset on Friday 16 May. Or at least that is how it is in theory. In practice, mediaeval Muslims, like people elsewhere, normally thought of the day as beginning at sunrise, as can be observed from the fact that in the canonical religious texts dealing with the times of prayer the liturgical day is, as a rule, reckoned to begin with the midday prayer (*ẓuhr*), the first prayer after the rising of the sun, and not with *maghrib*, the first prayer after sunset (see MĪḲĀT, where this fact is not, however, specifically mentioned).

The days (or nights) of the month can be counted consecutively from the first to the last, but in the second half of the month the Muslims (like the ancient Greeks and Romans) also counted backwards, dating events by the number of nights supposedly remaining in the month. Thus, assuming a "complete" 30-day month, typical dating formulae might be:

1st: *li-ghurrati Radjab*
2nd: *li-laylatayni khalatā min Radjab*
3rd: *li-thalāthi layāl*^{in} *khalat* (or *khalawna*) *min Radjab* (etc.)
15th: *li 'l-nisfi min Radjab*
16th: *li-arba'a 'ashrata laylat*^{an} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
17th: *li-thalātha 'ashrata laylat*^{an} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
18th: *li-'thnatay 'ashrata laylat*^{an} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
19th: *li-iḥdā 'ashrata laylat*^{an} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
20th: *li-'ashri layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
21st: *li-tis'i layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
22nd: *li-thamānī layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
23rd: *li-sab'i layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
24th: *li-sitti layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
25th: *li-khamsi layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
26th: *li-arba'i layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
27th: *li-thalāthi layāl*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
28th: *li-laylatayni baḳiyatā min Radjab*
29th: *li-laylat*^{in} *baḳiyat* (or *baḳīna*) *min Radjab*
30th: *li-salkhi Radjab*

But since it is not actually known in advance how many nights the current month will have, this backward-dating is purely conventional. This is noted quite clearly by mediaeval authors, for example by al-Ṣūlī (*Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo 1341/1922-3, 183), when he writes that "careful people" avoid dating in this way "because they do not know how many nights remain, owing to the fact that the month can be either defective or complete", i.e. it can have either 29 or 30 days. See also al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, vi, 237-8, who says that some authorities forbid backward-dating, while others permit it only on the assumption that it implies the unspoken proviso "if the month be complete". In other words, *salkh* always means "the thirtieth day"; if the crescent is sighted after 29 days, then the day "when one night remains" is followed immediately by the first of the next month. It must be stressed again that with backward-dating, as with forward-dating, a precise conversion of Muslim dates is normally only possible if the day of the week is indicated in the source.

Sometimes the month is divided into three segments of (notionally) ten nights each (*al-'ashr al-uwal*, *al-wusaṭ* and *al-ukhar*), whereby we must assume that in "defective" months the last "ten nights" were really only nine. The month can also be divided into ten segments of (notionally) three nights, each segment having a special name [see LAYL AND NAHĀR]. For the contrived Ottoman system of dating by fractions, see the articles by Ritter and Dietrich.

Years are counted according to the era of the Hidjra, which is supposed to have been introduced by the caliph 'Umar in A.H. 17/638. The notional epoch of this era (1 Muḥarram A.H. 1) falls in July A.D. 622, but there is disagreement about the precise date, the Muslim authorities fluctuating between Thursday 15 July and Friday 16 July (see, for example, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 30, 330); the latter date is the point of departure of the printed conversion tables. Some modern scholars have made a great fuss about this question and claim that the uncertainties involved in the conversion of Muslim dates result from the parallel use of a "scientific" and a "popular" era beginning on 15 and 16 July respectively, but this is without any foundation. It should be clear that if the beginning of *every* month depends on the sighting of the crescent, then the question of whether the first month of the era begins on a Thursday or a Friday makes no difference for the conversion of dates.

iv. *Pre-Islamic and agricultural calendars of the Arabian peninsula.*

The ancient South Arabian inscriptions reveal the use of a number of local calendars, but for most of these it has not been possible to reconstruct a complete series of months. It does, however, seem that at least some of these calendars followed the luni-solar principle. Thus in Ḳatabān we find mentioned in one text the month *dbrm*, in another "former *dbrm*" and in a third "latter *dbrm*", from which one can deduce that the normal year had a single month called *dbrm*, but the intercalated 13-month year two months with this name. For the Sabaean calendar we have at least 13 different month-names, among them a "former" and a "latter" *dns'wr*, but it is not yet pos-

sible to determine their order. On the other hand, the names of Ḥimyarite months of the period immediately before Islam are not only attested in inscriptions, but were also still known to Yamanī authors of the mediaeval period, who list them in Arabicised forms (with variants and for the most part not vocalised, and thus cited below in Arabic script) and give a Julian equivalent for each. Some scholars have suspected that these equivalents are only approximate, but it is certainly possible that the Ḥimyarites of the monotheistic period did indeed adopt the Christian (Julian) calendar, assigning indigenous names to each of the Julian months; the fact that the inscriptions using these names have not revealed any evidence for intercalary months might be seen to support the latter hypothesis. One of these names (Mabkar for May) has survived in Yemen until today, though for the other Julian/Gregorian months the Latin or Syro-Macedonian names (see below, v) are now used. We give here the spellings found in the Ḥimyarite inscriptions (transliteration according to the system used by Sabaicists) with a specimen of the Arabicised forms and with the Julian equivalents according to the mediaeval texts; the year began (as Robin has demonstrated) with April:

1. *d̲ ṯ b t n*	ذو الثابة	(April)
2. *d̲ m b k r n*	ذو المبكر	(May)
3. *d̲ q y ẓ n*	ذو القياظ	(June)
4. *d̲ m d̲ r ʾ n*	ذو المذران	(July)
5. *d̲ ḫ r f n*	ذو الخراف	(August)
6. *d̲ ʿ l n*	ذو علان	(September)
7. *d̲ ṣ r b n*	ذو الصراب	(October)
8. *d̲ m h l t n*	ذو المهلة	(November)
9. *d̲ ʾ l n*	ذو الآل	(December)
10. *d̲ d ʾ w n*	ذو الدثاء	(January)
11. *d̲ ḥ l t n*	ذو الحلة	(February)
12. *d̲ m ʿ n*	ذو معون	(March)

In early South Arabian texts, years are not counted according to an era, but rather each year bears the name of a specifically appointed official (eponym); but from the later periods several different eras are attested, the best known of which is the so-called Ḥimyarite era, with a nominal epoch (according to the short chronology proposed by present author) in the spring of 110 B.C., though some have favoured a long chronology with an epoch in 115 B.C.

The pre-Islamic calendar in central Arabia, and specifically at Mecca, is not attested epigraphically, but is discussed in some detail by Muslim authors of the ʿAbbāsid period, whose testimony, however, requires critical scrutiny. These state that the ancient Arabs used the same month-names as the Muslims, though they also record special *d̲j̲āhilī* names (see al-Bīrūnī, *Āt̲h̲ār*, 61-2; an entirely different list is given by al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iii, 423 = § 1311). The philologists proposed etymologies for all of these, but it must be said that, apart from obvious cases like Muḥarram and D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a, the meanings of most of them can hardly be regarded as certain. For example, if D̲j̲umādā really comes from *d̲j̲amd* and Ramaḍān from *ramaḍ*, then one might ask why only two months intervene between the time of "freezing" and of "burning", and indeed the whole question of whether the central Arabian months were ever fixed to particular seasons is a vexed one.

The Muslim tradition is unanimous in stating that the Arabs of the Ḥid̲j̲āz distinguished between "permitted" (*ḥalāl*) and "forbidden" (*ḥarām*) months, i.e. months during which fighting is or is not permitted, the "forbidden" months being Rad̲j̲ab and then three months around the time of the pilgrimage (D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda, D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a and Muḥarram). A similar (if perhaps not identical) practice is attested for North-Eastern Arabia by Procopius (*De bello persico* ii, 16, 18) when he writes that the Byzantines were confident that the Lak̲h̲mid al-Mund̲h̲ir would not attack in the summer of A.D. 541 owing to the fact that the Arabs respected an armistice of two months at the time of the summer solstice; the Muslim historians, however, do not link the "forbidden" months to particular seasons. Ḳur'ān IX, 36 says that the months are twelve, of which four are "forbidden", and the next verse states that postponement (*nasīʾ*) "is an increase in unbelief, in which are led astray those who disbelieved, in that they declare it permissible one year, and declare it forbidden one year, so as to equalise the number of what God has forbidden, and so they declare permissible what God has forbidden". Muslim authors have disagreed over the interpretation of this difficult verse. Some maintain that *nasīʾ* was a procedure by which an official (the *nāsiʾ*) connected with the Kaʿba cult at Mecca altered the distribution of "forbidden" and "permitted" months within a given year (or within two successive years), but say nothing to imply that this involved actual manipulation of the calendar. Others claim that the "postponement" of the forbidden months was the result of the fact that the pagan Arabs intercalated a thirteenth month every two years; *nasīʾ* is thus in effect the old Arabic word for "intercalation" (*kabīsa*), a practice which was abolished with the revelation of the above-cited verse. The latter interpretation has generally been accepted by Muslim astronomers (first, it seems, by the astrologer and charlatan Abū Maʿs̲h̲ar al-Balk̲h̲ī) and has been favoured by modern scholars since Moberg (who summarises his views above, s.v. NASĪʾ), but it is doubtful whether it reflects anything more than learned speculation by the ʿAbbāsid authors. The former (non-calendrical) interpretation was accepted, and the "evidence" for intercalation rejected, with arguments that still seem largely valid, by Mahmoud Effendi and Sprenger, and it is in our opinion supported by an early Sabaic inscription from Haram (CIH 547), not precisely datable, but surely from well before the Christian era. Here the authors offer their excuses to the god Ḥlfn for the fact that they had not performed a certain ritual in the month *d̲mwṣbm*, when war had forced them to flee their country, but "postponed" (*nsʾʾw*) it until the month *d̲ʿṯtr*. As a result of this impiety, the god withheld the waters during the winter and summer growing seasons, whereupon the authors promised not to repeat their transgression in future. It is quite clear from the context that in Haram, at least, the verb *nsʾʾ* has nothing to do with intercalation, but only with the moving of cultic occurrences within the calendar itself. The rather striking similarity between the religious conceptions in this ancient inscription and in Ḳur'ān IX, 37 ("postponement" is in both cases something of which the deity disapproves) makes it seem likely that this is also the meaning of Ḳur'ānic *nasīʾ*.

For the observation of the passing of the seasons the Arabs used (if the evidence of pre-Islamic poetry is regarded) not the months of their calendar, but rather the system of lunar mansions [see ANWĀʾ and MANĀZIL]. This consists of dividing the ecliptic into 28 equal segments corresponding roughly to the location of the moon on each successive night of the sidereal (not the synodic) month. The observation of the positions of the stars belonging to each lunar mansion relative to the horizon at sunset or sunrise is a simple and accurate method of charting the passage

of the year, and it continues to form the principal basis for a large number of traditional agricultural calendars in the Arabian peninsula.

v. *The Julian calendar in the Islamic world.*

The Julian calendar was introduced throughout the Roman Empire and continued to be the basis for practical timekeeping in most parts of the Islamic world. From a chronological point of view, the principal difference between the various forms of this calendar concerns the point where the year begins. In the Maghrib and al-Andalus, as in Western Europe, the year commences with January, and in modern times this form has, under Western influence, become generally accepted in the Muslim countries. The Melkite Christians (mainly in Palestine and Egypt) followed the Byzantines in beginning the year in September, while the Jacobites and Nestorians followed the Macedonian custom of beginning the year in October. Moreover, instead of borrowing the Latin names, the last-mentioned communities retained most of the month-names of the ancient Babylonian lunisolar calendar (still used, with some modification, as the religious calendar of the Jews), but they redefined these to make each one correspond to a Julian month. Thus, while Babylonian Nisannu (Jewish Nīsān) is the month beginning with the sighting of the crescent at about the time of the spring equinox, in the Christianised calendar it has become equated with April. These "Syro-Macedonian" names are still used (now for the Gregorian months) in Western Asia, but in North Africa various versions of the Latin names have been employed. We give here those found in mediaeval texts from Spain and the Maghrib, which apparently go back to an archaic Romance dialect. The Ottoman and modern Turkish forms derive in part from the Syro-Macedonian, in part from the Latin names.

Syro-Macedonian	*Maghribī*	*Modern Turkish*
Kānūn al-thānī	Yannayr	ikinci kânun (January)
Shubāṭ	Fibrayr	şubat (February)
Ādhār	Māris	mart (March)
Nīsān	Abrīl	nisan (April)
Ayyār	Māyuh	mayıs (May)
Ḥazīrān	Yūnyuh	haziran (June)
Tammūz	Yūlyuh	temmuz (July)
Āb	Aghusht	ağustos (August)
Aylūl	Shutanbir	eylûl (September)
Tishrīn al-Awwal	Uktūbar	teşrinievvel (October)
Tishrīn al-Thānī	Nuwanbar	teşrinisani (November)
Kānūn al-Awwal	Dudjanbir	birinci kânun (December)

The Eastern Christian counted years according to the Seleucid era, in the East generally, but wrongly, called the "era of Alexander" (Arabic: *ta'rīkh Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn*), with an epoch of 1 October 312 B.C. In Egypt and North Africa, years are often reckoned according to the Byzantine fifteen-year cycle of indictions, the "first indiction" beginning in (for example) A.D. 612, 627, 642, etc. The Byzantine indictions begin on 1 September, but the cycle is used also in connection with other methods of determining the New Year. In al-Andalus we find the Spanish era (*ta'rīkh al-ṣufr*; for the name, see AṢFAR), with its epoch on 1 January 38 B.C. It should be mentioned that the so-called Christian era of Western Europe was unknown both to Christians and Muslims in the mediaeval Near East.

vi. *The Coptic calendar.*

The ancient Egyptian vague year (see above, ii) was known to Muslim astronomers from its use in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and they not rarely employed this beautifully simple calendar for their own calculations, but for everyday timekeeping it had been replaced in Egypt, long before Islam, by the so-called Coptic calendar, which is exactly identical with that of the ancient Egyptians apart from the fact that it adds a sixth epagomene every four years (more precisely, at the end of a Coptic year immediately preceding a Julian leap year), with the result that the Coptic calendar is permanently synchronised with the Julian. Thus al-Bīrūnī distinguishes between the "intercalated" (*makbūsa*) year of his Egyptian contemporaries and the "non-intercalated" year that he knew from the *Almagest.* The Arabic spellings of the Coptic month-names vary somewhat, but are in any case fairly accurate representations of the names used in the Ṣaʿīdī dialect of Coptic; the latter are transliterated in the first column of the following table, while the last column gives the Julian equivalent of the first day of each Coptic month in a common year:

1. Thoout	30 days	begins	29 August (Julian)
2. Paape	30 days		28 September
3. Hatōr	30 days		28 October
4. Kiahk	30 days		27 November
5. Tōbe	30 days		27 December
6. Mshir	30 days		26 January
7. Paremhat	30 days		25 February
8. Parmoute	30 days		27 March
9. Pashons	30 days		26 April
10. Paōne	30 days		26 May
11. Epep	30 days		25 June
12. Mesōrē	30 days		25 July
Epagomenai	5/6 days		24 August

If a Coptic year begins in the August preceding a Julian leap year, the extra epagomene immediately before the Coptic New Year means that the first seven months all begin one day later than the dates given in the table (i.e. 30 August, etc.); from Parmoute onwards the Julian equivalents are as given. The Coptic Christians express years according to the era of Diocletian, which they call the "era of the martyrs", with its epoch on 29 August A.D. 284.

vii. *In Persia.*

Islamic Persia inherited from the Sāsānids a calendar which is functionally identical with that of the ancient Egyptians: it had a vague year of 365 days, divided between 12 months of 30 days each plus five epagomenai, in Persian generally known as the "five Gāthās" (*pandj gāh*), or as the "stolen" (*mustaraḳa, duzdīdha*) days. In the early Islamic period these stood after the eighth month, but in A.D. 1007 the Zoroastrians in Western Persia moved the epagomenai to the end of the last month, a reform which was adopted, not at once but eventually, in Eastern Persia as well. The early New Persian forms of the month names are:

1. Farwardīn	30 days	
2. Urdībihisht	30 days	
3. Khurdādh	30 days	
4. Tīr	30 days	
5. Murdādh	30 days	
6. Shahrīwar	30 days	
7. Mihr	30 days	
8. Ābān	30 days	
(Epagomenai	5 days)	before *ca.* 1007
9. Ādhar	30 days	
10. Day	30 days	
11. Bahman	30 days	

12. Isfandārmudh 30 days
(Epagomenai 5 days) after *ca.* 1007

Each of the thirty days of the month had its own special name, but these are not much used by Muslim authors, who generally count the days instead. The five "stolen" days also have, at least among the Zoroastrians, names of their own. The Zoroastrians employ this calendar to determine their religious feasts, several of which continued to be celebrated by Persian Muslims, in particular Nawrōz or Nawrūz [*q.v.*] (the Persian New Year, on 1 Farwardīn), which in late Sāsānid times fell at about the beginning of summer, but by the end of the 10th century had moved forward to about the time of the spring equinox. In the early Islamic period, other festivals such as Mihragān [*q.v.*] (16 Mihr) were much observed, but later these fell into disuse among Muslims.

Different forms of the Zoroastrian calendar were current in early Islamic times in Sogdiana (around Bukhārā and Samarḳand), Khwārazm, Sīstān and Ṭukhāristān; each of these had not only its own month-names, but the first two, at least, began their year five days later than the Persians (i.e. their New Year's day fell on the Persian 6 Farwardīn) and had the epagomenai after the twelfth month (not the eighth).

In Sāsānid times, years were counted from Nawrōz of the accession year of the reigning monarch; in Islamic times the Zoroastrians either continued to count the regnal years of Yazdigird III, the last Sāsānid (era of Yazdigird, begins 16 June 632), or from the year of his death (post-Yazdigird era, or "era of the Magians", begins 11 June 652). Both of these eras are used on the "Arabo-Sasanian" coins of the early Umayyad period, and the post-Yazdigird era was employed by the Zoroastrian rulers in Ṭabaristān, but the Zoroastrians of the present day have retained only the era of Yazdigird.

The Persian year, like the Egyptian, moves forwards against the solar year by about one day every four years, its first day corresponding always to 1 Choiak of the old Egyptian calendar. Muslim sources, from al-Masʿūdī onwards, claim that in pre-Islamic times the Persians used to correct their calendar by intercalating one whole month (30 days) every 120 (or 116) years, but there is no evidence that such a correction was ever actually carried out and the present author has attempted to demonstrate that this supposed intercalation is a myth invented by the Zoroastrian clergy during the Islamic period. In any event, it is uncontested that no intercalations took place after the Arab conquest. Since the beginning of the tax-year (*iftitāḥ al-kharādj*) in Persia still fell on 1 Farwardīn, the problem arose that the landholders were soon being asked to pay their taxes before their fruits had ripened and various attempts were made to rectify the situation. Thus the caliph al-Mutawakkil proposed delaying Nawrōz by 57 days, but the reform does not seem to have been carried out. Half a century later, al-Muʿtaḍid ordered that from the year 282/895 the New Year was to be delayed by 60 days until 1 Khurdādh (corresponding then to 11 June) and, moreover, that the Persian calendar was to be aligned permanently to the Julian by inserting a sixth epagomene every four years. Historians mention the celebration of "al-Muʿtaḍid's Nawrōz" for a century or so after the reform, but otherwise this calendar had little resonance. A similar, but more memorable reform was the Djalālī [*q.v.*] calendar instituted by the Saldjūḳid Djalāl al-Dīn Malik Shāh in 471/1079: Nawrōz was fixed to the vernal equinox (defined as the point when the sun enters Aries), then 15 March Julian, which date is the epoch of the Djalālī era. The months had 30 days each and retained their traditional Persian names (some sources cite special fancy names for the months and days, but it is doubtful whether these were ever used), with Farwardīn beginning at the spring equinox, and five epagomenai at the end of the year (after Isfandārmudh), but a sixth epagomene was added if the sun had not yet entered Aries by noon on the 366th day from the previous New Year. Although the Djalālī era is not often used for datings, the spring Nawrōz has been accepted universally by Persian-speaking Muslims and the Djalālī months formed the basis for agricultural calendars in Persia until the recent past.

Historians of the Mongol period say that Ghazan Khān instituted an Īlkhānī era, but give us no reliable information about its particulars. The modern Persian solar *hidjrī* calendar was introduced in 1925. The year begins at the spring equinox and the months have modernised forms of the traditional Persian names (cited above); the first six months have 31 days each, the next five have 30 and the last (Isfand) has 29 in an ordinary year and 30 in a leap year, giving 365 or 366 days altogether. However, the rule for determining which years are leap years is complicated. The New Year's day (1 Farwardīn) falls in principle on 20 or 21 March Gregorian, but the discrepancy between the Persian and Gregorian systems of calculating the leap years means that some fluctuation occurs (for a table of leap years, see ʿAbd Allāhī, 373-5; Spuler's one is wrong). The same calendar was adopted in Afghānistān in 1957, but instead of the Persian month-names the Arabic names for the roughly corresponding zodiacal signs (beginning with Ḥamal/Aries) are used.

In modern Persia (and Afghānistān) years are counted according to solar years since the Hidjra and can easily be converted to *anni domini* by adding 621 or (in the last two and a half months) 622. Thus the Persian year 1376 *hidjrī shamsī* begins on 21 March 1997 Gregorian, corresponding to *ca.* 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1417 *hidjrī ḳamarī*. For a few years at the end of the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, this was replaced by an "imperial" (*shāhanshāhī*) era dating from the accession of Cyrus the Great (559 B.C.), but the *hidjrī shamsī* year has been re-established in the Islamic Republic.

Although the Zoroastrian vague year appears to have gone out of circulation among Persian Muslims by around the end of the 5th/11th century, it lived on, rather surprisingly, as the basis for the navigational calendar of the Arab seafarers in the Indian Ocean. This did not use the Persian month-names but simply counted the days (from 1 to 365), beginning at Nawrōz. For the moment, the oldest known attestation of this calendar is in the almanac of the Yemeni crown prince ʿUmar b. Yūsuf (later al-Malik al-Ashraf), which puts Nawrōz at 8 January (correct for A.D. 1269-72), and it is found also in Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*], who says (again correctly) that in his time Nawrōz fell on a Friday in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 893 (14 November 1488) and in later authors. It seems that this navigational calendar was still in use until the very recent past, but European observers state (correctly?) that the point of departure of the day-count became fixed at the beginning of the sailing season and thus ceased to regress with the Persian New Year.

viii. *The tax year.*

In the ʿAbbāsid chancery, tax collection was regulated by the Persian calendar, with tax years begin-

ning at Nawrōz, but counted not according to one of the Zoroastrian eras, but by years of the Hidjra. Since the Islamic year is shorter than the Persian vague year, the counting of taxational (*kharādjī*) years lagged behind the years of the religious calendar and had to be corrected from time to time. For example, in the year of the Hidjra 241 (May 855 to May 856) Nawrōz fell on 21 April, that is to say, almost at the end of the religious year. Consequently, the authorities decided to call the tax year beginning on that date not "241" but "242", thus dropping one year from the taxational calendar; this is called *taḥwīl* ("changing" one tax year to another). We have information of several other adjustments of the same type, but also of adjustments that were not carried out when due, and of times when two years had to be omitted from the *kharādjī* calendar to make up for an earlier oversight. It is thus clear that the reconciliation of the tax year with the religious year was not automatic or regular, but sporadic and by specific order of the authorities.

In Egypt, the tax year began with the Coptic New Year (29 or 30 August) and similar attempts were made to keep the counting of tax years roughly in line with the years of the Hidjra. The Ottomans based their financial year on the Julian calendar and at first retained the Byzantine New Year on 1 September, but they moved the beginning of the year to 1 March in 1088/1677. After this time each financial (*māliyye*) year had, in theory, the same number as the *hidjrī* year during which it began, with the omission of one year in every 33, i.e. whenever the 1st of March did not fall within the religious year, the Turkish technical term for the omission being *ṣïwïsh*. Problems, however, arose from the fact that the Ottomans collected taxes according to the Julian year but paid salaries according to the lunar year, which led to difficulties with the bookkeeping whenever *ṣïwïsh* became necessary. Eventually the system broke down: the *māliyye* year 1287/1871-2 should have been followed by *māliyye* 1289/1872-3, but for some reason the year 1288 was not left out, with the result that for the remainder of its history the *māliyye* calendar was out of step with the religious year. It was officially abolished with the adoption of the Western-style Christian era in 1927.

ix. *The Turco-Mongolian calendar.*

Before entering the *dār al-Islām*, the ancient Turks adopted a form of the Chinese luni-solar calendar, either directly from China or via the Sogdians. Later, this passed from the Uyghur Turks to the Mongols, who in turn introduced it in their empire in Persia, where it was quite widely used, alongside the Islamic and Djalālī calendars. The Chinese lunar months begin not with the sighting of the new crescent, as in the Near East, but one or two days earlier with the calculated time of conjunction between the sun and the moon (the true New Moon), the year beginning with the New Moon occurring while the sun is in Aquarius. The year is kept in pace with the solar year by the periodic intercalation of a thirteenth month, which is inserted whenever two New Moons fall during the time that the sun is in one and the same zodiacal sign. The Turkish names for the first and last months derive from Sanskrit or Iranian; the other months have no proper names but are merely counted, as in Chinese ("second moon", etc.). Early Turkish forms, subsequently borrowed both into Mongolian and Persian, with their approximate Julian equivalents, are:

1. aram ay (Jan./Feb.)
2. ekinti ay (Feb./March)
3. üčünč ay (March/April)
4. törtünč ay (April/May)
5. beshinč ay (May/June)
6. altïnč ay (June/July)
7. yetinč ay (July/Aug.)
8. sekkizinč ay (Aug./Sept.)
9. tokuzunč ay (Sept./Oct.)
10. onunč ay (Oct./Nov.)
11. bir yigirminč ay (Nov./Dec.)
12. djakhshapat ay (Dec./Jan.)

The intercalary month is called *shün ay*, a borrowing from Chinese *rùn*.

Years were counted according to the twelve-year cycle of Chinese astrology, where each year of the cycle takes the name of an animal. The Mongols translated the Turkish animal names into their own language, in many cases (nos. 3-5, 8-10) using words that are, in fact, borrowed from Turkish (where, in turn, some of the names derive from Iranian or Chinese); in Persian texts the Turkish and the Mongolian names are used interchangeably (with inevitable variations in the Persian spelling); we quote the underlying Turkish and Mongolian forms.

	Turkish	*Mongolian*	*meaning*
Year 1	ṣïčghan	ḳulughana	rat
Year 2	udh	üker	ox
Year 3	bars	bars	tiger
Year 4	tawïshghan	tawlay	hare
Year 5	lu	luu	dragon
Year 6	yïlan	moghay	snake
Year 7	yunt	morin	horse
Year 8	ḳoñ	ḳonin	sheep
Year 9	bečin	bečin	monkey
Year 10	taḳïghu	takiya	cock
Year 11	ït	noḳay	dog
Year 12	toŋuz	ghaḳay	pig

The animal cycle continued to be used in Persia until the beginning of the twentieth century, generally in conjunction with the months of the Djalālī calendar.

x. *Muslim India.*

It would fall outside the scope of this article to discuss the many local calendars and eras used in the Indian subcontinent; for the Muslim scholarly reception of Indian chronological theory (not practice), we refer to the extensive discussion in al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*. The Muslim rulers in India used the Islamic calendar for official datings, but, like their counterparts further west, employed the local calendars as a basis for tax-collecting, with the ambiguous term *faṣlī* (seasonal) designating not one, but a variety of indigenous calendars. The Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], as part of his religious innovations, officially replaced the Muslim calendar by his own Ilāhī era [*q.v.* in Suppl.], with its epoch at the spring equinox following his accession, i.e. Wednesday 28 Rabīʿ II 963/11 March 1556 Julian, though the new calendar was not actually introduced until the beginning of the 29th year of his reign, when the sun entered Aries (according to the *Akbar-nāma*, tr., iii, 644) on Wednesday 8 Rabīʿ I 992 (11 March Julian = 21 March Gregorian 1584). The year began with the spring equinox, the months (and days) had the same names as the Persian (Zoroastrian and Djalālī) ones (see above, vii), but there were no epagomenai; instead, the duration of each month was fixed at 29, 30, 31 or 32 days (the details are not quite clear, but it seems that the longer months were in the spring and summer). Also, the years were counted in cycles of twelve, with the same names as the months. Thus Akbar's twelfth year is "year Isfandārmudh of the first

cycle", his thirteenth "year Farwardīn of the second cycle". The later Mughals abandoned the Ilāhī calendar, but continued to use datings according to their own regnal years, alongside the Islamic calendar.

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2. Etymology. F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, ²Leiden 1968, 11-17.

3. Muslim calendar. Bīrūnī, *passim*; Ginzel, i, 238-74; H.-P.-J. Renaud, *Sur les lunes du Ramadan*, in *Hespéris*, xxxii (1945), 51-68; H. Ritter, *Philologika XII. Datierung durch Brüche*, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 237-47; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie*, Leiden-Cologne 1966 (full of serious mistakes); A. Dietrich, *Zur Datierung durch Brüche in arabischen Handschriften*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen* (1961), 27-33; F. de Blois, *Contributions to the chronology and textual criticism of the Safarnāma of Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (forthcoming).

4. Arabian calendars. Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 34-5, 60-4; Mahmoud Effendi, *Mémoire sur le calendrier arabe avant l'islamisme*, in *JA*, série v, tome xi (1858), 109-92 (with text and tr. of the passage from Abū Maʿshar); A. Sprenger, *Ueber den Kalender der Araber vor Mohammed*, *ZDMG*, xiii (1859), 134-75; Ginzel, i, 239-52; A. Moberg, *An-nasīʾ (Koran 9, 37) in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund 1931; R.B. Serjeant, *Star calendars and an almanac from South-West Arabia*, in *Anthropos*, xlix (1954), 433-59; A.F.L. Beeston, *Epigraphic South Arabian calendars and dating*, London 1956; idem, *New light on the Himyaritic calendar*, in *Arabian Studies*, i (1974), 1-6; Chr. Robin, *Le calendrier himyarite: nouvelles suggestions*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, xi (1981), 43-53; F. de Blois, *The date of the "martyrs of Nagrān"*, in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, i (1990), 110-28; D.M. Varisco, *Medieval agriculture and Islamic science. The almanac of a Yemeni sultan*, Seattle and London 1994 (with text and tr. of an extract from *al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-nudjūm* by al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar b. Yūsuf).

5. Julian-based eras. Ginzel, iii, 175-6.

6. Persian calendars. S.Ḥ. Taḳīzāda (Taqizadeh), *Gāh-shumārī dar Īrān-i ḳadīm*, Tehran 1316 sh./1937; idem, *Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1939), 903-22, x (1940-2), 107-32; R. ʿAbd Allāhī, *Tārīkh-i tārīkh dar Īrān*, Tehran 1366 sh./1987; F. de Blois, *The Persian calendar*, in *Iran*, xxxiv (1996), 39-54; the older literature (mostly speculative and out of date) is listed in *EIr*, iv, art. *Calendars*.

7. Indian Ocean navigational calendar. G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 360-4; Varisco, *op. cit.*, 73-4.

8. Tax year. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 388-90, xiii, 54-79 (with several interesting documents from the ʿAbbāsid chancery); Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pacha, *La réforme du calendrier*, Leiden 1893; Ginzel, i, 264-6; Taqizadeh, in *BSOS*, ix (1939), 904-16; J. Mayr, *Das türkische Finanzjahr*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1961), 264-8; H. Sahillioğlu, *Sıvış year crises in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook, London 1970, 230-52 (also in Turkish in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xxvii [1969]).

9. Turco-Mongolian calendars. L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*, Budapest and Paris 1991; Ch. Melville, *The Chinese-Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period*, in *Iran*, xxxii (1994), 83-98.

10. India. Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1897-1921, ii, 15-24, with the translator's notes; Ginzel, i, 393-5 (not correct concerning the Ilāhī era). (F.C. de Blois)

2. Era chronology in astronomical handbooks.

Practically all *zīdj*s [*q.v.*], mediaeval Islamic astronomical handbooks with tables and explanatory text, include an extensive chapter on chronology. This chapter, usually to be found at the very beginning of the *zīdj*, contains the chronological information needed for the calculation and evaluation of planetary positions and other astronomical data from the whole mediaeval period. Thus various calendars and eras are described and methods for converting dates from one calendar into another explained. For each calendar at least the following are given: a list of the names and lengths of the months, a method to compute from a given date the number of days elapsed since the epoch and vice-versa, and a rule for calculating the week day (*madkhal*). A set of numerical tables facilitates the calculations involved. In addition, many *zīdj*s contain lists of festivals in various calendars, mathematical tables for determining the dates of the movable Christian feasts, and regnal lists of caliphs, kings and emperors.

This article describes the aspects of era chronology that are typically found in *zīdj*s and explains the conversion of dates from one calendar into another step by step. More general aspects of calendars used in the Islamic world, including their historical development and the names and lengths of the months, are discussed in 1. above. Depending on the context, the word *ta'rīkh* as it is used in *zīdj*s can be translated into English as "era", "epoch", "calendar" or "date".

a. Calendars and eras. Table 1 shows which calendars are described in detail in a number of important *zīdj*s. For more information about the authors of these works, the reader is referred to the respective articles in this encyclopaedia or the *Dictionary of scientific biography*, New York 1970-80. It can be noted that three calendars occur in practically all *zīdj*s: the purely lunar Muslim ("Arabic" or "Hidjra") calendar, the Byzantine (*Rūmī*) calendar which is essentially equivalent to the Julian, and the Persian Yazdigird calendar with a constant year length of 365 days. The use of most other calendars discussed below is restricted to particular geographical regions or historical periods.

Table 2 displays the precise dates of the most important epochs used in *zīdj*s as well as the differences in days between these epochs, which are needed for the conversion of dates from one calendar into another as described below. Note that, except in the

TABLE 1

Calendars described in detail in some important zīdjs.

Author	*Title*	*Place*	*Year*[a]	Arabic[b]	Byzantine[c]	Persian[d]	Coptic[e]	Jewish	Djalālī	Uighur	various[f]
Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr	al-Zīdj al-Mumtaḥan	Baghdād	215/830	A	A	E	D	×[1]			FE[1]
al-Khwārazmī[2]	al-Zīdj al-Sindhind	Baghdād	215/830	A	A[3]	E	D				
Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib	al-Zīdj al-Mumtaḥan (?)	Baghdād	225/840	C[4]	A	E	P/A/D				K, Egyptian
al-Battānī	al-Zīdj al-Ṣābi'	Rakka	285/900	A	A[5]	E	P/A				K
Kūshyār b. Labbān	al-Zīdj al-Djāmiʿ	Persia	390/1000	A	A	E/L					FE
Ibn Yūnus	al-Zīdj al-Ḥākimī	Cairo	395/1005	A	A	E	D				E
al-Bīrūnī	al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī	Ghazna	420/1030	C	A	E	A/D	×			KFE, Egyptian, Indian, Sogdian, Muʿtaḍid
al-Khāzinī	al-Zīdj al-Sandjarī	Marw	515/1120	C	A	E/L					KFE
al-Ṭūsī	Zīdj-i Īlkhānī	Marāgha	660/1262	A	A	L		×	×	×	FE
al-Baghdādī	al-Zīdj al-Waḳibiya (?)	Baghdād	685/1285	C	A	E	A/D	×	×		KFE, Egyptian, Muʿtaḍid
al-Kāshī	Zīdj-i Khāḳānī	Samarḳand	825/1420	A	A	L			×	×	F
Ulugh Beg	Zīdj-i Sulṭānī	Samarḳand	850/1445	A	A	L			×	×	F

[a] Since most of the *zīdjs* listed here cannot be dated precisely, this column contains approximate dates of compilation. [b] A: astronomical (epoch Thursday, 15 July 622), C: civil (epoch Friday, 16 July 622) [c] A: Alexander (Seleucid era) [d] E: early variant (extra days inserted after Ābān), L: late variant (extra days inserted at the end of the year) [e] P: Philip, A: Augustus, D: Diocletian [f] Besides the names of less common calendars this column contains the following abbreviations: K: regnal list of kings and caliphs, F: list of feasts and festivals, E: material on the calculation of Easter or the Great Lent.

[1] This material may not have been part of the original work. [2] Based on the Latin translation of the revision by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī. [3] The leap day is inserted at the end of December. [4] Based on an accurate value for the length of a lunation and an intercalation scheme very different from the usual ones. [5] The year starts with Aylūl (September), the tables with Ādhār (March). [6] Djamāl al-Dīn Abi 'l-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Munadjdjim al-Baghdādī reworked in his *zīdj* (extant in the unique Paris ms. B.N. 2486) material of early Muslim astronomers such as Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib, Kūshyār b. Labbān, and Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzdjānī. It seems plausible that, for his extensive chapter on chronology, he borrowed from al-Bīrūnī, but this has not yet been investigated.

TABLE 2

Epochs occurring in zīd̲j̲s and the differences between them in days.

Epoch	Date in Julian calendar	Differences between the epochs in days (sexagesimal/decimal)								
Flood	Fr 18 Feb. 3102 B.C.	**Flood**	860 172	1 014 932	1 019 273	1 122 241	1 236 564	1 359 973	1 363 597	1 526 770
Nabonassar	We 26 Feb. 747 B.C.	3, 58, 56, 12	**Nabonassar**	154 760	159 101	262 069	376 392	499 801	503 425	666 598
Philip	Su 12 Nov. 324 B.C.	4, 41, 55, 32	42, 59, 20	**Philip**	4 341	107 309	221 632	345 041	348 665	511 838
Alexander	Mo 1 Oct. 312 B.C.	4, 43, 7, 53	44, 11, 41	1, 12, 21	**Alexander**	102 968	217 291	340 700	344 324	507 497
Augustus	Sa 30 Aug. 30 B.C.	5, 11, 44, 1	1, 12, 47, 49	29, 48, 29	28, 36, 8	**Augustus**	114 323	237 732	241 356	404 529
Diocletian	Fr 29 Aug. 284 A.D.	5, 43, 29, 24	1, 44, 33, 12	1, 1, 33, 52	1, 0, 21, 31	31, 45, 23	**Diocletian**	123 409	127 033	290 206
Hid̲j̲ra (A)	Th 15 July 622 A.D.	6, 17, 46, 13	2, 18, 50, 1	1, 35, 50, 41	1, 34, 38, 20	1, 6, 2, 12	34, 16, 49	**Hid̲j̲ra (A)**	3 624	166 797
Yazdigird	Tu 16 June 632 A.D.	6, 18, 46, 37	2, 19, 50, 25	1, 36, 51, 5	1, 35, 38, 44	1, 7, 2, 36	35, 17, 13	1, 0, 24	**Yazdigird**	163 173
Malik-S̲h̲āh	Fr 15 Mar. 1079 A.D.	7, 4, 6, 10	3, 5, 9, 58	2, 22, 10, 38	2, 20, 58, 17	1, 52, 22, 9	1, 20, 36, 46	46, 19, 57	45, 19, 33	**Malik-S̲h̲āh**

Hid̲j̲ra (A) indicates the "astronomical" Hid̲j̲ra epoch. In the sexagesimal numbers under the diagonal, the digits are separated by commas, e.g. 42, 59, 20 denotes $42 \times 60^2 + 59 \times 60 + 20$.

Most important variants: The above date for the epoch of Augustus, signifying his year of accession, is only found in the *zīd̲j̲s* of Ḥabas̲h̲ al-Ḥāsib. Kūs̲h̲yār b. Labbān, Ibn Yūnus and al-Bag̲h̲dādī give the epoch as 13 November 30 B.C., based on the assumption that New Year in the ancient Egyptian and the Coptic calendar coincided in the time of Philip instead of Augustus. Al-Battānī uses 29 Augustus 25 B.C., possibly indicating the year of introduction of the calendar. The data in al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* are inconsistent and point to both the earlier epoch and the later one.

The above date for the epoch of Diocletian is given by Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr and Ibn Yūnus, whereas the Berlin manuscript of the *zīd̲j̲* of Ḥabas̲h̲ al-Ḥāsib and Kūs̲h̲yār b. Labbān use 12 November 284 A.D. A Philip epoch for the Coptic calendar is employed by Ḥabas̲h̲ al-Ḥāsib and al-Battānī.

examples of date conversions, the Hidjra dates given in this article are the common "civil" dates rather than the "astronomical" ones applied in most *zīdjs*. The names of calendars and epochs used in this article are literal translations of the names occurring in *zīdjs*, which in some cases may not be the historically or linguistically most correct ones.

Arabic or Hidjra calendar. Whereas in civil usage the beginnings of the Arabic months are determined by actual observations of the lunar crescent after new moon [see 1. above and RU'YAT AL-HILĀL], most mediaeval astronomers used the schematic calendar with nineteen ordinary years of 354 days and eleven leap years of 355 days in a thirty-year cycle. The number of days in the first *n* years of this cycle is determined by multiplying *n* by the average year length of 354 11/30 days and rounding the result to the nearest whole number. If for *n* = 15 the resulting half of a day is truncated, this leads to the set of leap years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26 and 29. If it is rounded upwards, the fifteenth year of each cycle becomes a leap year rather than the sixteenth. The first variant seems to be more common in early *zīdjs*, the second one in later Persian *zīdjs*.

Whereas most Muslim astronomers used the "astronomical" Hidjra era based on the mean new moon of Thursday, 15 July 622 A.D., al-Bīrūnī and some others adopted the "civil" epoch determined by the first visibility of the lunar crescent on Friday, 16 July [see HIDJRA]. The early ʿAbbāsid astronomer Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib based his rules and tables for the Hidjra calendar on the actual time of the above-mentioned new moon and the traditional Babylonian value for the length of a lunation, which is slightly different from that implicit in the schematic lunar calendar. Thus he arrived at a highly unusual intercalation scheme, in which the years 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 22, 25, 28 and 30 in the thirty-year cycle were leap years.

Persian or Yazdigird calendar. Because of its constant year length of 365 days, the Persian calendar is very convenient for calculating planetary motions during long periods of time. For this reason, it was adopted as the base calendar in many *zīdjs*. The five extra days of the Persian year are usually called *andardja* (from the Persian *andar gāh(ān)*, "intermediate times"), *mustaraka* ("stolen days") or *lawāḥiḳ* ("appendages"). Various *zīdjs* describe the type of intercalation supposedly carried out in the ancient Persian calendar (see 1. above, section vii, and F. de Blois, *The Persian calendar*, in *Iran*, xxxiv [1996], 39-54), as a result of which the extra days were inserted after the eighth month, Ābān, until approximately the year 397/1007. Starting with Kūshyār b. Labbān, more and more Muslim astronomers moved the extra days back to the end of the year (cf. Table 1). In all *zīdjs* the epoch of the Persian calendar is the beginning of the year of accession of the last Persian king Yazdigird III [see SĀSĀNIDS]; in only a few cases are the Sogdian and Khwarazmian forms of the Persian calendar described. In most *zīdjs* the names of the 30 days of the Persian months and the five extra days are listed.

Byzantine (rūmī) *or Syrian calendar.* This calendar is essentially the same as the Julian, but counts the years according to the Seleucid era, which is mistakenly named after Alexander the Great [see AL-ISKANDAR]. In *zīdjs* it usually employs the Syro-Macedonian month names listed in 1. above, section v, and has Tishrīn I (October) as the first month of the year. Once every four years a leap day is inserted at the end of Shubāṭ (February), leap years being those Alexander years which leave a remainder equal to three when divided by four. Most deviations from these basic characteristics were incidental, e.g. al-Battānī started the year with Aylūl (September), the Latin version of the *Zīdj* of al-Khwārazmī inserted the leap day at the end of Kānūn II (December), and in some tables the months were reckoned from Ādhār (March). Occasionally transliterations of the Latin month names were given.

Egyptian or Coptic calendar (ta'rīkh al-ḳibṭ). In some *zīdjs* this designation stands for the ancient Egyptian calendar as used by Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], which occurs with the Nabonassar (*Bukhtanaṣṣar*), Philip (*bylbs*, usually unvocalised in the manuscripts) and Antoninus (*'ntnns*) epochs. Mostly, however, it is used for the Alexandrian or Coptic variant of this calendar introduced by the Roman emperor Augustus (*'ghsts*), which runs parallel to the Julian calendar. The five extra days of the Coptic year (six in a leap year) are called *nasī* or epagomenai (*'bwghmn'*). As epochs we find the beginning of the year of accession of Augustus and that of Diocletian (*dḳlṭy'nws*). In the first case, leap years are those which leave a remainder zero after division by four, in the second case those which leave a remainder three. Al-Battānī used a Philip era for the Coptic calendar (Tuesday, 29 August 324 B.C.), which he mistook for the epoch of Ptolemy's *Handy tables*.

It may be noted that New Year in the ancient Egyptian calendar coincides with that in the Coptic calendar around the time of introduction of the latter, sc. 25 B.C. However, in a number of *zīdjs* we find rules based on the assumption that New Year in both calendars coincides at the time of the Philip epoch, 324 B.C. As a result, the Augustus and Diocletian epochs in these *zīdjs* are 75 days later than the dates shown in Table 2.

Djalālī calendar. Whereas Islamic religious life was governed by the purely lunar Hidjra calendar, for agricultural and taxation purposes a true solar calendar was found to be indispensable. In *zīdjs* the most extensive descriptions of such calendars concern the Djalālī [*q.v.*] (also called Malikī), which was introduced in the late 5th/11th century by the Great Saldjūḳ Sultan Djalāl al-Dawla Malik-Shāh I [*q.v.*]. New Year in this calendar is defined as the day (from noon till noon) on which the sun reaches the vernal equinoctial point, to be determined by astronomical calculation rather than by a straightforward intercalation scheme. Here the method varies from *zīdj* to *zīdj* depending on solar theory and parameter values. In most cases, the times of successive vernal equinoxes are computed by repeatedly adding a constant length of the solar year to the time of the equinox of the epoch. A more accurate theory is contained in the Khāḳānī Zīdj by the 9th/15th-century computational genius al-Kāshī, who took into account the influence of the motion of the solar apogee on the solar equation and hence correctly obtained varying time spans between consecutive equinoxes. Al-Kāshī constructed his sophisticated table for the computation of vernal equinoxes on the basis of intervals of 33 Djalālī years, practically equal to an integer number of days, and used parabolic interpolation to calculate the equinoxes within these intervals.

Independent of the precise method of computing the vernal equinox, in all *zīdjs* the Djalālī year ordinarily has 365 days, every fourth or incidentally fifth year being a leap year of 366 days. In some *zīdjs* the leap year following four ordinary years occurs alternately after 25 or 29 years, in others after 29 or 33 years. The beginnings of the Djalālī months are said to be defined by the entry of the sun into the

zodiacal signs, but in practice the traditional Persian months of 30 days are used, "*djalālī*" being appended to the original names and a sixth extra day being added in a leap year. The epoch of the Djalālī calendar generally is the vernal equinox of the year 471/1079. Other epochs in use for true solar calendars based on the vernal equinox are the Īlkhān era of Ghāzān Khān [*q.v.*] mentioned by al-Kāshī (Tuesday, 12 Radjab 701/13 March 1302) and the era of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] used in the *zīdj* of al-Sandjufīnī, written in Tibet in 1366 (Wednesday, 12 Shaʿbān 603/14 March 1207).

Chinese-Uighur (Turco-Mongolian) calendar. Under the Mongol Īlkhān dynasty [*q.v.*] the so-called Chinese-Uighur calendar was the commonly used one in Persia. It is prominently described in a number of *zīdjs*, mostly in Persian, the earliest of which is the Īlkhānī Zīdj by al-Ṭūsī. The calendar is a luni-solar one and is very similar to the *Revised Ta Ming li*, the calendar of the Chinese Chin Dynasty, which was adopted by Čingiz Khān after the Mongol conquest of northern China in 1215. With the *Ta Ming li*, the Chinese-Uighur calendar shares the underlying solar and lunar parameters, the era of the creation, and the general rules for determining the beginnings of years and months and the position of the leap month. Different from official Chinese calendars, in the Uighur calendar the solar and lunar equations, required for the computation of the true new moons, are calculated as parabolic functions. The determination of the lunar equation involves a period relation of ultimately Babylonian origin, which equates nine lunar anomalistic cycles to 248 days.

In the Chinese-Uighur calendar, days are counted either from the beginning of the current month or in the Chinese sexagesimal cycle. Years are grouped into three consecutive cycles of 60 years which are called by Chinese words Shang-yüan, Chung-yüan, and Hsia-yüan. In the Īlkhānī Zīdj, the epoch of the Chinese-Uighur calendar is Thursday, 30 Rabīʿ I 662/31 January 1264.

(Various technical, philological and historical aspects of the Chinese-Uighur calendar have been discussed in E.S. Kennedy, *The Chinese-Uighur calendar as described in the Islamic sources*, in *Isis*, lv [1964], 435-43*; R.P. Mercier, *The Greek "Persian Syntaxis" and the Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, xxxiv [1984], 35-60; and C. Melville, *The Chinese Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period*, in *Iran*, xxxii [1994], 83-98. The complete method of computing Uighur dates as found in the Īlkhānī Zīdj has been laid out in B. van Dalen, E.S. Kennedy and Mustafa K. Saiyid, *The Chinese-Uighur calendar in Ṭūsī's Zīdj-i Īlkhānī*, in *ZGAIW*, xi [1997], 111-52.)

Others. A number of *zīdjs* contain descriptions of the Jewish luni-solar calendar. These range from simple listings of month names and elementary properties to complete sets of rules and tables for the computation of the Tishri new moon, which determines the beginning of the Jewish year. (The material on the Jewish calendar in the unique manuscript copy of the Mumtaḥan Zīdj has been published in J. Vernet, *Un antiguo tratado sobre el calendario judío en las "Tabulae Probatae"*, in *Sefarad*, xiv [1954], 59-78, repr. in Vernet, *Estudios sobre historia de la ciencia medieval*, Barcelona-Bellaterra 1979, 213-32. A treatise on the Jewish calendar by al-Khʷārazmī has been analysed in: E.S. Kennedy, *Al-Khwārizmī on the Jewish Calendar*, in *Scripta Mathematica*, xxvii [1964], 55-9*.)

A couple of *zīdjs* mention the calendar of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtaḍid [*q.v.*], a modification of the Persian calendar which fixes New Year in June and inserts a leap day once every four years. Its epoch is Wednesday, 13 Rabīʿ II 282/11 June 895. Like his monumental *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya* (tr. C.E. Sachau, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, repr. Frankfurt 1969), al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* contains a wealth of chronological material, which has not yet been properly investigated (cf. Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Masudic Canon*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv [1971], 59-81*). Besides the common calendars discussed above, al-Bīrūnī includes details of the calendar reform by al-Muʿtaḍid and of the Jewish, Sogdian/Khwarazmian and Indian calendars (on the last, see Kennedy, S. Engle and J. Wamstad, *The Hindu calendar as described in Al-Bīrūnī's Masudic Canon*, in *JNES*, xxiv [1965], 274-84*).

b. Days since the epoch (*aṣl*). In order to convert dates from one calendar into another, it is necessary to calculate the number of days between the epoch and a given date. This is done by summing the days of the completed (*tāmm*) years, the days of the completed months of the current (*nāḳiṣ* "incomplete" or *munkasir* "broken") year, and the day of the current month. Conversely, it will be necessary to convert a given number of days since the epoch into the corresponding date, which is done by first computing the number of completed years and then distributing the remaining days over the months of the current year.

In many *zīdjs*, the number of days in a given number of completed years is called the *aṣl* ("bases"). The computation of the *aṣl* and, conversely, of the number of completed years from a given number of days since the epoch, are discussed below, examples being given in section c., *Conversions*. Whereas in *zīdjs* all calculations are written out in words, here the following modern notation will be used: a denotes the *aṣl*, c the number of days that have elapsed in the current year (including the current day), d the total number of days that have elapsed since the epoch (including the current day), and C the number of completed years. The following subscripts will be appended to these symbols: H for Hidjra, A for Alexander (Seleucid era), and Y for Yazdigird. All divisions operate with whole numbers, usually discarding a possible remainder. When the remainder is used it will be denoted by r.

Now, for a given number of completed years C, the *aṣl* a is calculated in the following way:

Arabic calendar:

$$a_H = (C_H \times 10631 + 14)/30 \quad (1)$$

Persian calendar:

$$a_Y = C_Y \times 365 \quad (2)$$

Byzantine calendar:

$$a_A = (C_A \times 1461 + 1)/4 \quad (3)$$

It can be noted that all three operations are roughly a multiplication by the average year length. The constants 14 and 1 which are added in the calculations for the Arabic and Byzantine calendars are required in order to have the result increase by an extra day precisely when a leap year is encountered. To obtain the variant of the Arabic calendar in which the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year instead of the sixteenth, the constant 14 should be replaced by 15. Note that, instead of adding a constant and then discarding the remainder of the division, one may define a rounding rule for the remainder. For instance, equivalent to the above, the Arabic *aṣl* can be found as $(C_H \times 10631)/30$, where a remainder from 1 to 15 (14 if the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year) is discarded and a remainder from 16 (15) to 29 is made into an extra day. For the Byzantine cal-

endar, the remainder of the division ($C_H \times 1461$)/4 should be discarded if it is equal to 1 or 2 and made into an extra day if it is 3.

In most *zīdjs* the rules for the calculation of the *aṣl* are not exact. Often the addition of a constant for the Arabic and Byzantine calendar is disregarded or the rounding rule presented is ambiguous, producing results which may be off by a day. Of the *zīdjs* listed in Table 1 only those by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and al-Bīrūnī take extra care to present exact rules.

After the *aṣl* has been determined, the total number of days since the epoch, *d*, can be computed by adding the lengths of the respective completed months of the current year and the day of the current month.

Conversely, in order to calculate the number *C* of years that have been completed on day *d* reckoned from the epoch, the following rules can be used:

Arabic calendar:

$$C_H = (30 \times d_H - 15)/10631 \quad (4)$$

Persian calendar:

$$C_Y = (d_Y - 1)/365 \quad (5)$$

Byzantine calendar:

$$C_A = (4 \times d_A - 2)/1461 \quad (6)$$

In this case, the operations are roughly a division by the average year length and constants are subtracted in all three calculations in order to obtain the correct answer also for the first and last day of every year. For the variant of the Arabic calendar in which the fifteenth year of each cycle is a leap year instead of the sixteenth, 16 should be subtracted instead of 15. The remaining days of the current year, *c*, can be found from the remainder *r* of the above divisions in the following way:

Arabic calendar: $c_H = r_H/30 + 1 \quad (7)$

Persian calendar: $c_Y = r_Y + 1 \quad (8)$

Byzantine calendar: $c_A = r_A/4 + 1 \quad (9)$

(the remainders of the divisions by 30 and 4 are discarded). Note that the results are equal to $d - a$ if *a* denotes the *aṣl* corresponding to the number of completed years *C* obtained above. The rules found in *zīdjs* for the calculation of the number of completed years and the day of the current year from the number of days since the epoch generally appear to be even less exact than those for the *aṣl*.

c. Conversions. The explanation in *zīdjs* of the conversion of dates from one calendar into another varies from convenient shortcuts for particular problems, especially in early *zīdjs*, via extensive theoretical expositions as found, for instance, with Ibn Yūnus, to brief general explanations supplementing the rules for using the tables, in particular in later Persian *zīdjs*.

Using the rules presented in the previous section the conversion of dates can be performed in a general and straightforward way. First calculate the number of days from the epoch of the given calendar to the given date. Then add or substract the number of days between the given epoch and the desired epoch (Table 2) to obtain the number of days from the epoch of the desired calendar to the given date. Finally, transform these into completed years, completed months and the day of the current month in the desired calendar.

Example: Convert 24 Ramaḍān 254 Hidjra into the corresponding Byzantine date.

[1] According to formula (1), the *aṣl* of 253 completed Arabic years is (253 × 10631 + 14)/30 = 89655. (As usual, the remainder of the division is discarded.) (The same result can be obtained by taking 8 × 10631 days for the eight completed cycles of thirty Arabic years and then adding 13 × 354 for the remaining thirteen completed years plus 5 for the leap days accumulated during these thirteen years.) Since Ramaḍān is the ninth month of the Arabic year and each two months number 59 days, the given date is the (4 × 59 + 24 =) 260th day of the year 254 Hidjra. Adding this number to the *aṣl*, we obtain 89915 for d_H, the total number of days since the Hidjra epoch (including the given day).

[2] Now d_A, the total number of days from the Alexander epoch up to (and including) the given date, is determined by adding the difference in days between the two epochs as found in Table 2 to d_H: $d_A = 89915 + 340700 = 430615$. (We thus assume that the given Hidjra date is astronomical; in practice, this will have to be verified on the basis of the week day.)

[3] The number of completed Byzantine years is obtained according to formula (6): $C_A = (4 \times 430615 - 2)/1461 = 1178$ ($r = 1400$), and the remaining days of the current year 1179 Alexander using formula (9): $c_A = r/4 + 1 = 351$. Because 1179 leaves a remainder three when divided by four, the current year is a leap year and Shubāṭ has 29 days. By noting that the first eleven months of a Byzantine leap year number 336 days (simply add the numbers of days or subtract the length of the last month Aylūl from 366), we find that the desired date is the (351 − 336)th day of the twelfth month, i.e. 15 Aylūl 1179 Alexander.

In early *zīdjs* in particular, actual date conversions were not usually carried out by the above general rule, which may involve very large numbers, but by shortcuts based on expressions for the differences between the epochs in years and days. Examples of such expressions are:

– The (astronomical) Hidjra epoch falls 932 Byzantine years and 287 days after the Alexander epoch.

– The Yazdigirdī epoch occurs 259 days after the beginning of 943 Alexander or 989 days after the beginning of 941 Alexander. Since reckoning from 943 Alexander the 1st, 5th, 9th, ... years are leap years instead of the 3rd, 7th, 11th, ..., the constant in formula (6) has to be changed to −4 in order to produce the correct number of completed Byzantine years since the beginning of 943 Alexander. When the beginning of the year 941 is used, the formula need not be changed.

Example: Convert 2 Kānūn II 1168 Alexander into the corresponding Hidjra date.

[1] The Byzantine New Year just preceding the Hidjra epoch is that of the year 933 Alexander. According to formula (3), the number of days of the Byzantine years completed since the beginning of this year is (1168 − 933) × 1461 + 1)/4 = 85834. Adding to this the number of days in the current year, 31 + 30 + 31 + 2 = 94, we obtain 85928 days from the beginning of 933 Alexander until the given date.

[2] The number of days from the (astronomical) Hidjra epoch to the given date is 287 less, i.e. 85641.

[3] The number of completed Arabic years is now found by formula (4): $C_H = (30 \times 85641 - 15)/10631 = 241$ ($r = 7144$). The days of the current year are then obtained using formula (7): $c_H = r/30 + 1 = 239$. These fill up 8 completed months (4 × 59 = 236 days), leaving 3 days in the ninth month. Thus the desired Arabic date is 3 Ramaḍān 242 Hidjra.

As we have seen above, the rules used for date conversions in *zīdjs* are often not exactly formulated. Therefore it is necessary to check the result by means of the week day of the given and the calculated date (see below, d.). Note that, in order to facilitate the conversion of historical dates, many *zīdjs* contain extensive regnal lists of caliphs and other rulers indicating the beginning and duration of their reigns.

d. Madākhil. A *madkhal* (pl. *madākhil*, literally "entrance", translated as *feria, nota* or *signum*) is the week day of the first day of a year or month or of a particular date, represented by a number from 1 (Sunday), 2 (Monday), till 7 (Saturday). In some *zīdjs*, the number is given a separate name, *'alāma* ("indicator"). Most *zīdjs* contain both rules and tables for the calculation of *madākhil*, which, as we have seen, are particularly important for checking the results of date conversions.

Most simply, the *madkhal* of a given year is calculated by adding the *aṣl* of the completed years C to the *madkhal* of the epoch (cf. Table 2) and casting off multiples of seven. For example, for the Hidjra year 254 we add the *aṣl* of the completed years found above, 89655, to 5 (Thursday), the *madkhal* of the astronomical epoch. Discarding multiples of seven we obtain 4, signifying that 1 Muḥarram 254 Hidjra was a Wednesday.

For the Persian and Byzantine calendars we find direct methods for calculating the *madkhal* based on the fact that the number of days of an (ordinary) year is $52 \times 7 + 1$. Thus the *madkhal* of a Persian year is simply found as $(3 + C_Y) \bmod 7$ ($m \bmod n$ denotes the remainder of the division m/n; note that 3 is the *madkhal* of the Yazdigird epoch). Similarly, the *madkhal* of a Byzantine year is obtained as $(2 + C_A + (C_A + 1)/4) \bmod 7$, where the remainder of the division by 4 is discarded.

In order to obtain the *madākhil* of the following months, two and one are added alternately in the case of the Arabic calendar, two for each month and five for the extra days in the case of the Persian calendar, and the respective month lengths minus 28 in the case of the Byzantine calendar. To obtain the *madkhal* of the current date, the day of the current month minus one should be added to the *madkhal* of the current month. After each addition multiples of seven are discarded.

e. Tables. In practically all *zīdjs*, the chronological chapter contains a set of mathematical tables which facilitate the calculations described above. Among these tables the following appear to be standard:

(1) *Tables for the calculation of the* aṣl. Such tables display in three subtables, either in sexagesimal or in decimal notation, the number of days corresponding to groups of years (*al-sinūn al-madjmū'a*), individual years (*al-sinūn al-mabsūṭa*), and months. For instance, for the Arabic calendar the number of days in multiples of 30 years and in 1, 2, ..., 30 single years will be given. Some authors of *zīdjs* combine more than one calendar in a single table by using a sexagesimal set-up with groups of 60 years. In each case, the number of days from the epoch to a given date is obtained by adding the day of the current month to the sum of the appropriate values from the three subtables.

(2) *Direct conversion tables.* From this type of table the dates in one or more calendars corresponding to a set of (often equidistant) beginnings of years in a base calendar can be read off directly. Intermediate dates can then be found readily by adding the years and days in the desired calendar corresponding to the remaining single years and months in the base calendar, which are tabulated in separate subtables, as well as the elapsed days of the current month. For instance, when converting 24 Ramaḍān 254 Hidjra into the corresponding Byzantine date, one may read directly from the table that 1 Muḥarram 241 Hidjra corresponds to the 233rd day of the year 1166 Alexander. Furthermore, one finds that the first thirteen years of the cycle of thirty Arabic years are equal to 12 Byzantine years plus 224 days, and the Arabic months before Ramaḍān to 236 days. Together with the elapsed days of the current month $(24 - 1)$ this yields the $(233 + 224 + 236 + 23 =)$ 716th day since the beginning of the year 1178 Alexander, i.e. the 351st day or 15 Aylūl of 1179 Alexander.

(3) *Tables for the calculation of* madākhil. Tables for *madākhil* make use of the fact that the same dates recur on the same week days after 210 years in the Arabic calendar, 7 in the Persian, and 28 in the Byzantine. The first step in the determination of a *madkhal* is therefore to cast off multiples of the length of the cycle concerned from the given year. For the Persian and Byzantine calendars, most *zīdjs* contain a double-argument table from which the initial week day can be read off directly for every month of every year within the respective cycles. In the case of the Arabic calendar, the initial week days of years 1, 2, ..., 210 are displayed together with a constant for every month which should be added to the initial week day of the given year. In early *zīdjs*, this type of table is often found under the name *al-djadwal al-mudjarrad.*

Besides the types discussed here, many *zīdjs* contain special tables for more complicated calendars such as the Djalālī and the Chinese-Uighur, and tables of feasts and fasts in various calendars. Islamic tables for the determination of the Great Lent and Easter have been analysed in G.A. Saliba, *Easter computation in medieval astronomical handbooks*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiii (1970), 179-212*.

f. Various. In early *zīdjs* in particular, we find approximate methods for chronological calculations, such as tables for Arabic *madākhil* based on a cycle of eight years. In the manuscript of the *zīdj* of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib extant in Berlin, some problems are discussed of the types "Find a date for which the Alexander year is equal to the Hidjra year" or "Find an Alexander year in which Farwardīn occurs twice", whereas al-Bīrūnī presents solutions for problems of "mixed dates", in which day, month, and year are given in three different calendars.

Bibliography: Much of the information contained in this article has been obtained from an inspection of primary sources and has not previously been published. The publications already mentioned deal with specific topics related to era chronology in *zīdjs*. General literature concerning calendars in the Islamic world has been listed at the end of 1. above; the *Bibl.* below presents some additions and various works particularly useful in relation to era chronology in *zīdjs*. Entries with an asterisk were reprinted in E.S. Kennedy *et al., Studies in the Islamic exact sciences* (*SIES*), Beirut 1983.

For more information about *zīdjs*, the reader is referred to ZĪDJ and to Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. lxvi/2 (1956), 123-77 (repr. 1989). Many important investigations of parts of *zīdjs* are contained in *SIES.*

The standard work on general mathematical chronology is still F.K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, 3 vols. Leipzig 1906-14, repr. Leipzig 1958. A valuable overview of era chronology in the Islamic world is presented in S.H. Taqizadeh, *Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 903-27, and x (1939-42), 107-32. Additions to Sachau's edition of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology* can be found in K. Garbers, *Eine Ergänzung zur Sachauschen Ausgabe von al-Bīrūnīs Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 39-80.

Conversions of dates have traditionally been performed with the *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungstabellen*, revised B. Spuler and J. Mayr, Wiesbaden 1961, or with R. Schram, *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig 1908. Now programs for various types of computers are available, partially from the Internet. The DOS programme *CALH* by B. van Dalen (version 1.2, 1997) includes most of the calendars and epochs described in this article.

(B. VAN DALEN)

II. HISTORICAL WRITING

1. In the Arab world.

Ta'rīkh is the most common Arabic word (widely used in New Persian and the Turkic languages as well) for "history, historiography", in the sense of an ordered account of actual events. The word is certainly not archaic and is only clearly attested by the mid-2nd/8th century, when it first appears in the titles of works recounting past events. By the late 3rd/9th century, *ta'rīkh* had become the most common word for this genre of writing. Other terms for historiography were also current, however. Indeed, *akhbār* ("reports, narratives") may be older and in any case was very widely used down to early modern times. Until the mid-3rd/9th century, in fact, works of history were as likely to be identified by their subject matter—e.g. *sīra* (biography), *maghāzī* [*q.vv.*] (campaigns of the Prophet), *futūḥ* (conquests)—as by a word naming the literary genre or class of knowledge to which they belonged. Before the late 19th century, *ta'rīkh* seems to refer only to a kind of writing or knowledge, but in modern Arabic *ta'rīkh* (like English "history", German *Geschichte*, etc.) is equivocal, comprising both events *per se* and the verbal representation of these events.

The etymology of *ta'rīkh* is uncertain, since it is not found in other Semitic languages. Rosenthal relates it to South Arabian *wrkh* "moon" and "month", with a hypothetical derivation *tawrīkh* "determining dates by observing the moon" (it should be also noted that the *Sabaic dictionary* of A.R.L. Beeston *et alii*, 162, further gives the meaning "date" for *wrḫ*, and that the Arabic lexicographers list *tawrīkh* as a variant of *ta'rīkh*, see e.g. *LʿA*, s.v. *'-r-kh* and *w-r-kh*). The original denotation of *ta'rīkh* is in fact "date" or "dating" [see I. 1, above]. When it is attached to literary compositions, then, it should denote a chronologically-ordered account of events. The latter does, in fact, represent the earliest usage (occasionally in the expanded form *al-ta'rīkh ʿalā 'l-sinīn*), but the word was rapidly extended to include any record of events or persons, however organised; e.g. by the mid-3rd/9th century we have al-Bukhārī's *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, an alphabetically-arranged dictionary of *ḥadīth* transmitters which contains very few dates. In view of this fluidity in language, no effort will be made in what follows to distinguish between *ta'rīkh*, *akhbār*, and other words used for historical writing.

(a) Origins to *ca.* 950.

The bulk of early Arabic historical texts (or more precisely, texts which claim to be early) have not come down to us in their original form but are only preserved as citations and paraphrases in a corpus of digests and compilations assembled between the mid-3rd/9th century and the early 4th/10th century. (The earliest biographies of the Prophet form an important exception, since they were written or redacted in their present form by the early 3rd/9th century—i.e. about half to three-quarters of a century before extant historical texts on other subjects.) It is true that much apparently archaic material can be dug out of the encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries of later centuries, but this does not alter the nature of the problem. Given the present state of the evidence, then, we can determine what Arabic historiography had become by the end of Islam's first three centuries, but recovering the earlier phases of historical thought and writing has proved an extremely elusive problem. A mountain of research on this issue has yet to produce results which command general assent.

The historical works of the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries represent the culmination of historical writing in early Islam in two respects. First, they synthesised a vast corpus of narratives which had been collected and put into circulation over the previous 200 years. Second, they defined the religious and political meaning of these narratives in a manner that later Muslims found nearly definitive for many centuries. The syntheses composed around the beginning of the 4th/10th century attained such prestige that few later historians made any effort to investigate anew the first 200 years of Islamic history; they were usually content to copy and abridge the "classical" syntheses, in particular the vast chronicle of Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923 [*q.v.*]). As a result, most of the older sources ceased to be copied or read in any systematic way, though many of them were still extant and consulted (rather haphazardly) down into Mamlūk times.

There is a second reason for the "fossilisation" of historiography dealing with the first two centuries of Islam: after the mid-4th/10th century, the issues and topics (and hence the texts which embodied them) which had long been the focus of historiographic concern no longer seemed highly relevant. Since 132/750 the crucial issue for every historian had been the stance he ought to take toward the ʿAbbāsids. Should they be presented as usurpers of ʿAlid (or even Umayyad) rights, as legitimate successors to an unbroken caliphal succession stretching back to Abū Bakr, or as the restorers of the purity of Muḥammad's *umma*? On one's resolution of this problem rested his interpretation of Islamic history for the century and a half before the ʿAbbāsid Revolution.

On a deeper level, the debate about the ʿAbbāsids was a debate about the religious meaning of the whole history of the *umma* [*q.v.*]. This debate was framed in terms of a paradigm of covenant, betrayal and redemption—a paradigm which had its roots in the Ḳur'ān's oft-repeated prophet narratives, whose guiding motif is the challenge by a prophet to his people to accept the worship of the one true God and to follow his commandments. This challenge represents God's offer of a covenant (Ar. *ʿahd, mīthāḳ* [*q.vv.*]), sc. obedience to His commandments in return for prosperity in this world and the next. The covenant is most often scornfully rejected, quickly followed by an outpouring of divine wrath. Even when it is accepted, as with the Jews and Christians, these communities quickly fall from wholehearted obedience and corrupt their religion. As the 3rd/9th-century historians understood the matter, Muḥammad's people had been offered just such a covenant in the Ḳur'ān. They had accepted it (not always without a struggle) and had been rewarded as no people before them. But soon even the Muslims had fallen prey to man's innate heedlessness (*ghafla*) and ingratitude (*kufr*); they had betrayed their covenant and now were rent by schism and bloodshed. This fall from grace compelled thoughtful Muslims to ask whether the betrayal could be repaired and the *umma* be redeemed. If so, how and at whose hands could such a redemption be won? Historians also had to ask how the betrayal of the Muḥammadan covenant had occurred and who was responsible.

The official interpretation propounded by the 'Abbāsid régime—which had to justify its claim to rule as kin of the Prophet, while preserving the legitimacy of the first three caliphs—laid the blame for the *umma*'s sufferings on the corrupt and tyrannical Umayyads. But most historians, even those with close ties to the 'Abbāsid court, concurred that the original crisis had occurred in the reign of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (24-35/644-56), though they disagreed bitterly about which persons and groups bore the guilt for the catastrophe.

The paradigm of covenant, betrayal and redemption was clearly formulated by late Umayyad times and was highly productive for nearly two centuries. But as 'Abbāsid authority was subverted in the late 3rd/9th century and collapsed in the 320s/930s, this paradigm lost much of its power. It could not bestow meaning and value on the sordid intrigues of petty dynasts and warlords. The historians of the 4th/10th century and later focused more and more on recent and contemporary events, and sought new ways of constructing and interpreting these.

Some of the late 3rd/9th-century syntheses are best characterised as digests. Key examples would be three nearly contemporary works: the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ya'kūbī (d. 283/897), *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 281/894), and the *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* of Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889). Late examples of this group would be the *Murūdj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-djawhar* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf* of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956). The authors of the digests refine the disparate materials bequeathed them by earlier collectors into a single narrative line, with the intention of offering a clear and unambiguous interpretation of Islamic history. Even so, their works preserve the historical writing of earlier generations because they present their accounts in the form of (highly selective) quotation and paraphrase of their sources.

Of these digests the most original and interesting are the works of al-Ya'kūbī and al-Mas'ūdī. Al-Ya'kūbī composed the first true universal history in the Arabic language. He draws on a wide array of materials (many clearly non-Islamic) to give a culturally and intellectually oriented tableau of the pre-Islamic nations. Then with the coming of Muḥammad he narrows his focus to the political history of Islam, organised by caliphal reign and told from a markedly pro-'Alid perspective. In its overall structure al-Ya'kūbī's digest provided the model for the universal histories of al-Ṭabarī and al-Mas'ūdī, though there is no evidence that either of these scholars used his work. Al-Mas'ūdī's two digests are late works, abridgements or adaptations of a series of far larger and more systematic histories (all now lost) which he claims to have composed earlier in his career. They combine, in a manner never successfully imitated by any other historian, serious information with the arts and graces of *adab*. Al-Mas'ūdī's Islamic history is similar in many ways to al-Ya'kūbī's, but his non-Islamic materials are far wider-ranging and clearly draw on a much richer array of sources. He is, for example, the only Muslim author to give us a serious précis of Byzantine history since the rise of Islam. It is noteworthy that Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), so severe in his judgments on many historians, identified al-Mas'ūdī as his true precursor.

Without doubt the crucial historical works of this era are the massive compilations of al-Balādhurī (d. 279/893) and Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). It is these which preserve for us the broadest cross-section of early Arab-Islamic historical writing, and hence they are our fundamental sources for the origins and early development of Islamic historiography. Al-Balādhurī left us two major histories, both dealing wholly with Islamic times: *Futūḥ al-buldān*, an account of the Arab-Islamic conquests (coming down into 'Abbāsid times), organised by region and oriented toward legal-administrative issues; and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, a vast collection of political biographies of the caliphs and other notable figures of Islamic history, with the biographies grouped according to lineage. Al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk* is an enormous chronicle stretching from the Creation down to the last years of al-Ṭabarī's life. It is arranged by nation or people before the rise of Islam, with an emphasis on the Israelites and Persians; with the *hidjra* it follows a strict annalistic framework. It represents only one facet of the *œuvre* (in effect the retirement project) of a scholar who regarded himself chiefly as a Ḳur'ān commentator, *faḳīh* and *muḥaddith*.

In principle, the compilations of al-Balādhurī (especially the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*) and al-Ṭabarī aimed to assemble all well-attested accounts pertaining to the major events and actors in Islamic history. Both scholars used the *muḥaddith*'s tool of the *isnād* to show the provenance of each account, thereby allowing the informed reader to assess its authenticity and religious soundness. Al-Ṭabarī indeed deploys the *isnād* technique very rigorously; this and other indications suggest that he hoped to raise history to the full dignity of a religious science. But that turned out to be impossible, due at least in part to the highly disparate and uncontrollable sources which historians had to use.

In contrast to the digests, these vast compilations make no effort to construct a unified narrative of events. On the contrary, they consist of a series of discrete reports (Ar. *khabar*, pl. *akhbār*) varying in length from a line to several pages. These *akhbār* are not linked by a narrative thread; they are simply juxtaposed end to end, each being marked off from the others by its own *isnād*. A compiler might select several reports pertaining to a given event, and these could variously repeat, overlap, or contradict one another. The criteria for including some *akhbār* and omitting others are almost never spelled out explicitly; one must simply infer such criteria through context, literary structure, etc. In general, it was proper for a historian to abridge or paraphrase the *akhbār* which he found in his sources; he might even blend several accounts together into a "collective tradition" so long as he did no violence to their contents. Al-Balādhurī paraphrases quite freely; al-Ṭabarī follows the wording of his sources closely, albeit with considerable abridgment. Al-Ṭabarī also chops up what were originally extended narratives into short segments, so as to juxtapose these with contrasting or parallel versions of the events being presented.

None of the historians surveyed above ever intervenes in the narrative to explain its overall significance or to pass judgment on the actors. The reason for this reticence is partly grounded in early Islamic concepts of knowledge (*'ilm*). In this perspective, historical knowledge was constituted by statements which could be traced back to reliable authorities—ideally, to eyewitnesses of known veracity, but in any case to reputable persons who had obtained their information from good sources. The historian's task was thus simply to determine which *akhbār* were acceptable and to arrange these in a usable order. On another level, the events recorded by early Muslim historians were intensely controversial. Hence if they discussed these in their own words, they would inevitably be regarded as mere propagandists for one or another faction. Scholarly authority required a talent for self-effacement.

Insofar as they deal with the middle and later decades of the 3rd/9th century, the digests and compilations reviewed above drew, with varying skill and perceptiveness, on a variety of contemporary sources as well as personal observation. For the reigns of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from al-Mahdī (775-85) until al-Maʾmūn (813-33), they seem to have used an official court historiography as redacted under al-Maʾmūn, supplemented by personal memoirs and other non-official accounts. The provenance of their information on these two periods raises many difficult issues, but there is no real question about the authenticity of the sources they used. That is, these sources do date from the periods which they recount, and they were composed by the authors to whom they are ascribed.

As we move into their sources for earlier periods, however, we can have progressively less confidence on this point. For the century and a half stretching between Muḥammad's call and the consolidation of ʿAbbāsid power under al-Manṣūr (*r.* 136-68/754-75), the direct sources for the "classical" syntheses were a series of *akhbār* collections (now mostly lost) compiled between *ca.* 750 and 850 by a number of scholars, of whom the most widely cited are Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767), Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/774), Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. *ca.* 180/796), al-Haytham b. ʿAdī (207/822), Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāḳidī (d. 207/822), Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840). The works of the earlier collectors in this group were certainly heavily redacted in the early 3rd/9th century, and it is in this form that the classical syntheses had access to them. Even so, the essential authenticity of these collections seems uncontestable; they are, as they claim to be, substantially works compiled and edited by Abū Mikhnaf, Sayf b. ʿUmar *et al.*

The early 3rd/9th century also witnessed the emergence of two new genres which would have a very long lifespan in Islamic historiography: the earliest biographical compilations, in the form of *ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*] or "generations" of notable Muslims (chiefly transmitters of *ḥadīth* and other religious knowledge) from the time of the Prophet; and the annalistic chronicle, which strove to place each known event in the precise Hidjrī year in which it occurred. The first extant biographical compilations already display a considerable range of subjects and emphases: the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr* of Ibn Saʿd, the terse *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt* of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī (d. 241/855), and the *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ al-djāhiliyyīn wa 'l-islāmiyyīn* by Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Djumaḥī (231/846). The biographical dictionary immediately met a critical need in a religious and literary culture which was based on the transmission of knowledge from one person to another, and which needed to determine the biographical data, religious acceptability, and reliability of each transmitter. The new form quickly branched off in many directions, and by the end of the 3rd/9th century it was producing works as diverse as al-Bukhārī's *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf.*

Until the mid-3rd/9th century, the favoured organisational scheme for general histories was by caliphal reign; this regnal or dynastic schema continued to be very widely used as well. After Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (*al-Taʾrīkh*), al-Ṭabarī was the next extant historian to use the annalistic structure; much of the confusion in his volumes on the earliest decades of Islam comes from the fact that his source material was not originally dated by year, and could only be located in the "right" year by context. But after al-Ṭabarī, the annalistic mode became and remained the most widely used organisational framework, at least among Arabic-language historians, down into the 13th/19th century.

The *akhbār* collections of the early 3rd/9th century differ from one another in many ways: subject matter, sources, organisation and handling of material, religio-political stance, etc. Nevertheless, they do have some important features in common. First, they all reflect the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm, thus demonstrating that this paradigm was already fully articulated by this era. Second, they embody predominantly ʿIrāḳī (and for the earliest decades, Ḥidjāzī) perspectives; only fragments of a Syrian or Egyptian tradition have found their way into them. This seems natural enough for ʿAbbāsid times, but obviously it implies serious distortions in their treatment of the Umayyads. Third, they are assemblages of *akhbār* relating to a given set of events rather than integrated narratives of those events. Fourth, most of them are monographic rather than synthetic—i.e. they bring together reports concerning discrete events (such as the Battle of the Camel) or topics (the Ridda wars or the conquests in Syria). (Note, however, that the earliest synthetic history of early Islamic political history was probably Ibn Isḥāḳ's *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, probably a digest rather than a detailed compilation, now lost except for a few citations in al-Ṭabarī and possibly a papyrus fragment.) Finally, these works use *isnāds* (not necessarily in a rigorous way) to link their narratives to the original reporters of the events they include. In spite of the formal structure of these collections, which implies that they are merely transmitting well-attested reports by persons close to the events in question, there is ample evidence of a strong authorial (or at least editorial) hand in many of them. For example, Sayf b. ʿUmar explicitly blends reports from several different transmitters into a single version, while al-Wāḳidī gives a level of detail and narrative elaboration which we seldom find in older accounts of the same events.

Too much attention to questions of form, structure, transmission, accuracy, etc. can be very misleading, for many works from this period exhibit a very strong folkloric tendency—an emphasis on storytelling for its own sake, the heroic, the colourful, the supernatural and fantastic. Folkloric elements were assuredly present in the very origins of Islamic historical narrative, but the early ʿAbbāsid period produced a number of larger works which are thoroughly imbued with folklore. The most notable of these is the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (who probably flourished *ca.* 200/815, *pace* M.A. Shaban). But this period must also have seen the origins of the widely copied *Futūḥ al-Shām* sagas ascribed to al-Wāḳidī, though these emerged in their present form only during the Crusades. The narratives collected and redacted by Sayf b. ʿUmar display a distinctive combination of serious purpose and folkloric storytelling. In fact there is no clear line separating "serious history" from folklore in the materials that have come down to us; we must take both as original and integral aspects in the understanding and articulation of their past by early Muslims.

It is precisely this unmistakable editorial/authorial presence which gives us pause about the way in which the late 2nd/8th century collectors used their sources, for we have no way of checking the accuracy or good faith of these collectors. It is true that the problem differs as between two distinct periods: (a) the life of the Prophet and the first seven decades of Islam, down to the end of the great civil war of 680-92; (b)

the Umayyad domination between 692 and the 'Abbāsid Revolution (747-50). In regard to the latter period, no one contends that the late 2nd/8th-century *akhbār* collectors simply invented the stories they tell, if only because the events of late Umayyad times were too recent. On the other hand, the collectors do report these events in an intensely partisan manner—not only because some (not all by any means) had close ties to the 'Abbāsid court, which actively sought to poison the memory of its predecessors, but also because their informants were themselves the survivors of many bitter conflicts in Umayyad times. We simply cannot say how far or in what ways the *akhbār* collectors of early 'Abbāsid times may have reshaped or elaborated the stories which they gathered. The major events at least are certainly not invented out of whole cloth, but how accurately do they reflect the original accounts of those who were involved in them? We can only guess. It is not even clear how much contemporary history was actually written down under the Umayyads; the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*] gives us only a few titles dealing with the period 700-50, and these were probably composed in the early decades of 'Abbāsid rule. On the other hand, the Umayyad court was clearly intensely interested in the decades before the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, since the events of that period were clearly essential to its claims to legitimacy. Rather than a developed (or even emerging) Umayyad historical literature, then, we have been given a very disparate body of recollections and statements, some originating within the Umayyad court, many put into circulation by its opponents.

If we may assume that narratives about events under the Umayyads, however reshaped for partisan and ideological purposes, are ultimately grounded in reality and can be linked to contemporary reporters, we can be far less confident about the nature of Umayyad-era historiography on the 1st/7th century. Existing evidence indicates that formal historical study and writing began in the decades following the second civil war (680-92), and was no doubt associated with the need to recover an authentic and authoritative past from the chaos and violence of those years. Moreover, at least some of this historical work was owed to Umayyad prompting and patronage, in particular the biographical materials on the Prophet collected by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā b. 'Uḳba (d. after 141/758) [*q.vv.*]. It is undeniable that the Umayyad caliphs from 'Abd al-Malik on took an intense interest in emerging theological issues, in law, and in investigating and defining the early past of the Islamic community. In the light of the unrelenting challenges to their legitimacy from every quarter, they had no choice. It is now quite clear that the Umayyad caliphs claimed final (though perhaps not infallible) authority in matters of the faith. They could hardly take a slighter interest in the historical process through which they had risen to supreme authority over the community.

There was of course a counter-history of early Islam, and this clearly survives much more fully than the Umayyad version, due to the 'Abbāsid victory and their systematic purge of elements favourable to the old order. In both the pro-Umayyad and anti-Umayyad versions of Islam's beginnings, there are already clear traces of the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm. Having said all this, however, we simply do not know what the historical works of Umayyad-era historians looked like; we have fragments which may be more or less authentic, but these give us no idea of the whole collections from which they were drawn. Nor can we trace even these fragments back to the earlier authorities on which they based their statements with any confidence. A coherent body of historical tradition quite suddenly emerges under the Umayyads, but we cannot identify the raw materials out of which it was formed.

The primitive historiography (if we may call these accounts anything so formal as historiography) composed during the eight decades between Muḥammad's call and 'Abd al-Malik's consolidation of power poses problems which are not only far more severe but entirely different in nature. Both the accuracy and authenticity of every report attributed to this period are open to credible challenge. The problem is not that our texts are biased or partisan; it is a truism that every narrative represents events from some perspective, and hence encodes a complex body of ideologies, values, conceptual structures and cultural practices. But it is normally quite easy to decode these aspects of our texts, as Ignaz Goldziher demonstrated a century ago. The problem is rather that we do not know to what degree any given narrative transmits usable (albeit incomplete) information about the events which it claims to report—or sometimes, whether these events ever happened at all. A related problem is that of authenticity, i.e., quite apart from the issue of factuality, whether a given narrative actually goes back to its purported original reporter or whether it was first framed and circulated in a much later period. The parallels between archaic historical *akhbār* and the origins of *ḥadīth* are obvious, even though the structures and purposes of the two genres differ in many fundamental ways.

In short, we can only offer conjectural reconstructions of archaic historiography. The following comments should be taken in that light. We cannot speak of formal historical research—the systematic collecting and redacting of reports about events and persons—during the first eighty years of Islam. But Muslims must have been deeply aware of the titanic events through which they were passing, and of the profound changes in political institutions and patterns of life which these events represented. 1st/7th-century Muslims had to try to make sense of all this, and inevitably they did so through the genres of verbal expression familiar to them. First of all, they could draw on the kind of oral narrative practised among the tribes of ancient Arabia: prose recitals about memorable events, embellished and interpreted by verse (satirical, boasting or elegiac as the case might be). The point of these recitals was of course not meticulous accuracy but the values of manliness and tribal honour which they encoded. Particularly effective poetry often liberated itself from the events which had originally inspired it, and would henceforth stand on its own or be re-attached to new events. In another milieu, as Islamic practice became established among the newly converted tribesmen (and a few non-Arab converts), the mosque sermon quickly emerged as a vehicle for the interpretation of crucial events as well as a means of exhorting people to act. The themes of formal sermons were supplemented and reinforced by pious tales about the prophets and other religious heroes delivered by the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (sing. *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*]), both officially appointed and "self-employed". The templates for historical narrative in the mid-1st/7th century were thus provided by the *ayyām al-'arab, ḳiṣṣa, wa'z* and *khuṭba*, and (deployed not to narrate events but to interprete them) various genres of *shi'r*.

Such oral expression flowed spontaneously from those who had experienced the life of the Prophet,

the great conquests and the bitter civil strife of those decades. It could not be monopolised by the caliphs or any other central authorities, though these latter certainly tried to make their voice heard in the cacophony and to exert what little control they could. Some narratives seem to have been carefully composed from the outset, such as the pious exempla that demonstrate the stern morality and ardent faith of early Muslim heroes, or dramatic tableaux of confrontations between Muslim and infidel leaders. Precisely because these were effective moral tales, of course, they readily became *topoi* which could be attached to many different events by altering the protagonists and *mises-en-scène*. But even as details of fact were modified, the stereotyped plots, the lofty stylised language and the underlying religio-moral lessons would remain the same.

However, even apparently sober reportage about the conquests and civil wars is full of problems. Much of this material must have been remembered and passed on by participants in these events, but there was never a unified, official record of it; on the contrary, the original accounts were generated by thousands of men caught up in confusing situations and scattered across vast areas. Hence their stories about what they had seen or heard began to disintegrate almost as soon as they were told. By ʿAbd al-Malik's consolidation of power after 72/692, only scraps of authentic memory remained about the early conquests or the first civil war a half-century earlier. No doubt a few well-informed collectors could name the crucial events of that period, but no one could date them accurately or even specify the order in which they had occurred. As to minor or local events, it was impossible to separate fact from fiction. Often reporters could not even agree on which tribes or commanders had participated in which battles.

(It must be said that these remarks are far less applicable to the life of Muḥammad than to the events following his death. The Prophet was a uniquely significant subject, of course, but just as important, his memory was preserved among a highly self-conscious and relatively stable group—sc. the *Ṣaḥāba* or Companions and their successors in Medina—and at least in principle these could generate and transmit a coherent, reliable story about his life and teaching. Whether they actually did so is, of course, very much in dispute.)

We have so far focused on oral materials—battle stories, poetry, sermons, pious tales—as the stuff of 1st/7th century historiography. Was there any historical *writing* in this period? There is no unambiguous evidence of it, but we cannot completely exclude the possibility of informal efforts to record local or tribal accounts of major events. We can imagine but cannot confirm efforts to collect the narrative tradition of Ḥimṣ or Medina or Kūfa or Baṣra, or of the tribes of Tamīm or Kinda. It is probable in any case that efforts to build a written record (insofar as they existed) focused on the life and words of the Prophet. On the other hand, we do find some written materials (letters, treaties, administrative decrees) incorporated within the historical tradition, and a few documents (e.g. the famous "Constitution of Medina", the Ṣiffīn arbitration agreement, the substance if not the exact words of many peace treaties) are likely to be authentic. Likewise, our texts on the plan of Kūfa or the *dīwān* of ʿUmar seem to reflect real administrative arrangements from Islam's earliest decades. But in the final analysis we can say only this much. There was by the second civil war (62-72/683-92) a real and widely shared historical consciousness, including the kernel of the covenant-betrayal-redemption paradigm. However, there was as yet no coherent history of Islam's first decades nor any orderly effort to construct such a history. It would be, as we have seen, the work of Marwānid and early ʿAbbāsid times to collect and sift through accounts of Islam's beginnings, and to turn these disconnected bits and pieces into a coherent and persuasive whole.

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(b) The central and eastern lands 950-1500. The death of al-Ṭabarī does not quite spell the end of the "ancient" tradition of Arabic historiography; in the following centuries we find a few scholars who still understand and employ it, most notably the Andalusian Ibn Ḥubaysh (504-84/1110-88), who restudied the traditions on the 1st/7th-century conquests, and the Cairene (albeit of Andalusian ancestry) Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (671-734/1273-1334 [*q.v.*]), who was able to add important archaic materials to the lives of the Prophet composed by Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī. But on the whole, the middle periods witness a sea change in the ways in which the past was imagined and constructed, and even in those aspects of the past which were thought to be appropriate objects of original study.

First, by the mid-4th/10th century history was beginning to be written in two languages, Persian as well as Arabic. The difference between the two is not merely linguistic; almost from the beginning each language embodies a distinctive cultural tradition and body of historiographic practices. In particular, Persian-language writers tend to draw far more heavily than their Arabic-writing counterparts on neo-Sāsānid themes, not only for rhetorical ornament or exemplary tales but for the underlying paradigms and narrative patterns which govern their accounts. Persian-language historians also focus on building a long, unified narrative, and pay relatively little attention to precisely dated chronological sequences of events (see further, 2. below). In contrast, the majority of Arabic-language writers deploy (either explicitly or very close to the surface) an annalistic framework. They are typically concerned to place each event in the right year, ideally with a precise day and month; their goal is thus a chronologically-ordered repertory of discrete and often very disparate events. In order to maintain a degree of continuity and coherence as they move from one year to the next, they rely chiefly on a few simple rhetorical devices, e.g., "as we said under the events of the preceding year. . . ."

Having noted these contrasts in approach and structure, however, we must recognise that both Arabic and Persian-writing historians were affected by the cultural changes and grave political convulsions of the early 4th/10th century. After al-Ṭabarī, only a few historians are still interested in seeking out new materials on the first 250 years of Islamic history. The crucial question confronting 3rd/9th-century historians had been the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate— and more broadly, the fundamental legitimacy of the religious and political evolution of the *umma* as a whole. After the political catastrophes of the caliphate of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), however, these issues no longer seemed urgent and compelling. Henceforth, early Islamic history was typically covered through paraphrases or abridgments of al-Ṭabarī, though a few writers would supplement his compilation with other sources. For example, ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (555-630/1160-1233 [*q.v.*]) drew on al-Azdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, but both of these were roughly contemporaneous with al-Ṭabarī. Even though many of al-Ṭabarī's early sources were still extant in substantial part, Ibn al-Athīr made no effort to use them.

Rather, historians more and more turned their attention to political and moral admonition through the recounting of recent and contemporary events; history was to be philosophy teaching by example. This was, of course, the view of Classical Antiquity, but the possibility of any direct influence is problematical at best, though it should not be dismissed without examination. Clearly Arab-Muslim historians never read Thucydides, Polybius or Plutarch; on the other hand, by the mid-4th/10th century the Greek ethical-political tradition which underlay Classical historiography was well known among philosophical circles in Baghdād and elsewhere. In this regard it is pertinent to recall that the historian Miskawayh (d. 421/1030 [*q.v.*]) was also the author of a very Aristotelian treatise on ethics, the *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, amongst a

number of other Aristotelian treatises, such as his answers to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Hawāmil wa 'l-shawāmil*.

Typically, a historian would now copy or paraphrase (sometimes with attribution, more often without) one or a few already existing chronicles for his account of events down to the most recent decades. Once he reached his own lifetime, he would complete his source or sources by composing a "continuation" (*dhayl* [see ṢILA]). This segment would be based on direct observation recorded in a personal journal, oral information gathered from friends, official reports, or even somebody else's contemporary chronicle; the exact mix of sources would, of course, vary according to the writer's profession and social standing. In this way, the *dhayl* became the real focus of the historian's efforts. Historians who composed large-scale works might draw on a number of older chronicles for the earlier sections of their work, but as a rule they would cite these in sequence rather than trying to blend them into a unified synthesis. Good examples of this procedure are the *Mir'āt al-zamān* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (582-654/1182-1256 [*q.v.*]) and the *Ta'rīkh al-duwal wa 'l-mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt (735-807/1334-1405 [*q.v.*]). When carefully done (and both Sibṭ and Ibn al-Furāt were conscientious scholars) works of this sort can be invaluable, since they preserve almost verbatim major texts that are otherwise lost.

A few historians did create real syntheses, however, i.e, integrated narratives which draw on a wide variety of sources, and which reflect a consistent perspective, interpretation, and literary style—in short, an authentic authorial voice. As examples, we can cite the universal chronicles of Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil fi 'l-ta'rīkh*) and Ibn Khaldūn (732-808/1332-1406, *K. al-'Ibar*), the dynastic history of Ibn Wāṣil (604-97/1208-98 [*q.v.*], *Mufarridj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*), or the remarkable compilations of Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī (765-845/1363-1442 [*q.v.*]) on the history of Islamic Egypt. These and some other examples are outstanding achievements of historianship on many levels, but the very skill of their authors in blending a variety of sources into a unified text often makes it very difficult to determine the provenance of their information. Moreover, their very stylistic unity may lead to serious anachronisms in administrative terminology, titles, etc. This is a particularly acute problem in al-Maḳrīzī's account of the Ayyūbids and early Mamlūks (where we can correct his anachronisms, since so many of his sources survive) and the Fāṭimids (where for the most part we cannot).

The new emphases and methods of middle-period historians led to the development of new genres. They retained the "universal chronicle" of the preceding period, but to this they added the political biography, the dynastic chronicle and local history. The former two are of course closely related in structure and approach, since both focus on the deeds of rulers, portrayed as outsized figures who dominate the political stage. On the other hand, such works are hardly cookie-cutter productions; they vary enormously in terms of size, scope, organisation, rhetoric (from a simple, almost colloquial style to an extremely florid one), and political stance (some are sycophantic, others highly critical). Naturally enough, works of this kind were often composed by bureaucrats, who both regarded dynasties as a self-evident object of inquiry and had privileged access to the sources of information needed to write about them effectively. Some of these court historians had high office in the régimes they served, like 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (519-97/1125-1201) and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (620-92/1223-92), privy secretaries to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Baybars respectively. Others like Miskawayh were men of middling rank. In Mamlūk Egypt and Syria, a number of important dynastic histories were composed by men who had spent their careers as members of the military élite or were at least closely affiliated with it—key examples would be the retired *amīr* Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) and Ibn Taghrībirdī (812-74/1409-70 [*q.v.*]), son of the *atābak al-'asākir* (supreme general of the army) under the sultan al-Nāṣir Faradj—but there are many others. Since these ex-soldiers were typically Turks rather than native speakers of Arabic, their literary efforts were often regarded with some disdain by the indigenous *'ulamā'* and literati; even so, their writings are richly detailed and informed by real political acumen. It must be admitted that some of the best dynastic chroniclers were *'ulamā'* by profession rather than bureaucrats, though they normally had close ties to the courts about which they wrote; here the names Ibn al-Athīr (the *Ta'rīkh al-bāhir*, on the Zangids of al-Mawṣil), Ibn Wāṣil and al-Maḳrīzī may be cited yet again.

Local history is not a genre but a focus of concern—the region (sometimes a single city and its immediate hinterland, sometimes a broad province) where a given author lived, and normally where his family had sunk roots for many generations past. The rise of local history obviously reflects a world where the fate of the *umma* as a whole, as that fate is embodied in and symbolised by the universal caliphate, is no longer the only way or most important way of envisioning things. For the writers of local history, the *umma* is most immediately embodied in the hundreds of communities that constitute it. The rise of local history had multiple causes; most fundamentally, however, it must have reflected the progress of conversion to Islam outside the few metropolitan centres where it had been established since the early caliphate, a process that was well advanced in most regions by the mid-4th/10th century.

Local history often takes the form of a political chronicle. The events recounted may stretch back into the remote pre-Islamic past, but the author's emphasis tends to be on more recent decades. Local chronicles of this sort are typically written in simple, rather conversational prose—not surprising, since they were produced outside the pomp and ceremony of the princely courts and did not aim to flatter the pretensions of dynasts. They were typically composed in cities and regions with a strong sense of identity and a tradition of local autonomy, in particular the cities of northern 'Irāḳ, the Djazīra and Syria. An important early example would be the *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil* of al-Azdī (d. 334/946), but the most impressive work in this form may well be the *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashk* of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī (465-555/1073-1160 [*q.v.*]), a richly detailed and wonderfully partisan account of Saldjūḳid Damascus, with its turbulent court, factions of local notables, and popular militias. The decades after the death of the *atābak* Ṭughtigin (522/1127 [*q.v.*]) have almost the immediacy of a journal. Some decades later the Aleppan notable Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm [see IBN AL-'ADĪM] (588-660/1192-1262) composed a similar work on his native city, *Zubdat al-ḥalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, though it embodies a more respectful, almost semi-official stance toward the Ayyūbid princes who governed the city during his lifetime. A work conceived as a regional history, but on a scale which links this modest genre to the universal chronicle, is *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira* of Ibn

Taghrībirdī, a vast survey of Islamic Egypt which begins with the Arab conquest and comes down to the mid-9th/15th century.

Apart from the chronicle form, the perspectives of local history were also embodied in the biographical dictionary. Such compilations would normally focus on the noted men of religion (with a smattering of sultans and *amīrs*) who had resided in a given city; in several cases these works are prefaced with a substantial topographical description. This genre of local history did not necessarily reflect a tradition of political autonomy but was rooted in local loyalties, the desire of urban notables to demonstrate that their native cities were major centres of Islamic piety and learning. The model for this genre was the immense *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463/1002-71 [*q.v.*]), which contains some 7,800 biographical entries. His example was followed closely about a century later by Ibn ʿAsākir (499-571/1105-76 [*q.v.*]) in the *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashk*, a work which deals with a far smaller city but on an even larger scale, with more than 8,000 entries. Ibn ʿAsākir clearly knew al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's work intimately, and drew on it extensively though not slavishly for his entries on scholars who had come to Damascus from ʿIrāḳ. Apart from Muslim men of religion and rulers, Ibn ʿAsākir's work includes a number of pre-Islamic prophets; taken as a whole, it is thus a kind of sacred history of Syria, a register of those persons through whom God's revelation had been manifested and upheld in that land since the Creation.

Both Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Khaṭīb were primarily *fuḳahā'* and *muḥaddithūn*, and their compilations are narrowly focused on men of religion, with a very sparse number of entries for rulers and generals. Moreover, their entries are highly formulaic; they deal chiefly with a subject's teachers and students, the *ḥadīth*s he transmitted, and the barest facts of his life, sc. his countries of residence and date of death. Only in passing do they give us information on his career, and they contain a minimum of anecdotes (though some of those which they include are very telling). In partial compensation, Ibn ʿAsākir's dictionary does contain a substantial volume (some 800 entries) devoted to women, and from these we can glean some notion of the mode and extent of women's participation in the formal religious life of their society. In brief, these vast collections tell us a great deal about the academic life and intellectual traditions of their respective cities but give indirect testimony at best on politics and social structures. In contrast, Ibn al-ʿAdīm (a bureaucrat as well as a scholar) drew not only on biographical sources but also on a very rich body of political chronicles and geographical-administrative texts in composing his *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta'rīkh Ḥalab* (only partly extant). His work is thus an invaluable mirror of the political and social history of North Syria during the first six centuries of Islam. Moreover, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's habit of citing his sources by author and title gives us some sense of the extraordinary riches of Aleppo's libraries before the Mongol invasions. Ibn al-ʿAdīm's model was followed, on an equally vast scale, by al-Maḳrīzī in his *K. al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, an unfinished biographical dictionary of prominent Egyptians since the rise of the Fāṭimids.

Local history produced an intriguing and very original hybrid in the urban topography, which used a systematic catalogue of a city's important sites and monuments as the framework for the presentation of a wide variety of historical and biographical materials. Typically, an urban topography would proceed site by site, describing the circumstances under which a particular edifice was erected, then appending biographical sketches of the key persons associated with that monument. In this way the physical fabric of the city is linked to the men and women who created and sustained it, and embodies their purposes, values, and acts. The origins of the urban topography can be traced to the *faḍā'il al-madīna* literature (which first appears in the 4th/10th century) and to the topographical surveys attached by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn ʿAsākir to their biographical dictionaries. Only in the Mamlūk period, however, do we see the shaping of a fully developed genre. The earliest example (though in many ways still a transitional work) is found in the sections on Damascus and Aleppo of the administrative-geographical survey of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād (d. 684/1285 [see IBN SHADDĀD]), *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa 'l-Djazīra*. The new genre culminated in the 9th/15th century with a group of systematic and remarkably rich works on Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo and Jerusalem. Particularly impressive is ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), *Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris fī mā fī Dimashk min al-djawāmiʿ wa 'l-madāris*, a meticulously assembled compendium of Damascene historical scholarship in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk eras. More idiosyncratic is the famous *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār* (universally referred as *al-Khiṭaṭ*) of al-Maḳrīzī, which covers all of Egypt but inevitably concentrates on the city of Cairo, whose history and monuments fill at least two-thirds of the book. The *Khiṭaṭ* really transcends its genre; its immense fund of information on architecture and urban topography, administrative and military institutions, and economic life makes it as close to a "total history" of Egypt as mediaeval Islamic historiography knew how to produce.

The wealth of texts devoted to specific dynasties or regions should not obscure the continuing vitality of the "universal chronicle" throughout the Middle Periods. Indeed, many of the most characteristic and impressive works composed during these centuries fall in this category; the names of al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*], in many ways a transitional figure), Miskawayh, Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201), Ibn al-Athīr, al-Dhahabī (673-748/1274-1348), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn Khaldūn suffice to make the point. However, middle-period works of this kind depart from the model established by al-Ṭabarī in several ways. Many make no effort to go back before the rise of Islam, and those which do generally deal with pre-Islamic antiquity in a far more summary fashion than al-Ṭabarī had. (Al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-djawhar* and *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa 'l-ishrāf*, written only a generation after al-Ṭabarī, are marked exceptions to this generalisation.) None of the middle-period chroniclers deploys al-Ṭabarī's rigorous *ḥadīth* methodology, and few cite their sources even in a general way. On the contrary, even the most scrupulous are content to paraphrase al-Ṭabarī until they reach the late 3rd/9th century, sometimes supplemented by whatever additional materials lay conveniently at hand. This practice reflects not so much intellectual laziness as a consensus (among Sunnīs if not Shīʿīs) that the crucial issues concerning the *umma*'s early history had been settled and need not be re-examined in any systematic way.

If these chroniclers bring little original content to their accounts of early Islamic history, however, they do display some important formal innovations. Ibn Khaldūn, as always *sui generis*, abandons the usual annalistic framework in favour of an analytic survey

organised by dynastic "clusters": the Caliphate; North Africa and Andalus before the Almoravids; Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia before the Saldjūḳids; the Saldjūḳids and their successors, including the Mamlūks; finally, the Berber polities of the Maghrib. This organisation undeniably makes his chronicle repetitious and confusing to use, but it also shows his grasp of the underlying structures of mediaeval Islamic political life. On what might seem a more mechanical level, Ibn al-Djawzī [*q.v.*] (*al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa 'l-umam*) tried to integrate the very disparate approaches represented by the annalistic chronicle and the biographical dictionary by appending alphabetically-arranged obituaries of notable figures (including scholars) to the events of each year. Ibn al-Djawzī's innovation clearly met a strongly felt need and was very widely used; al-Dhahabī's immense *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* and Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, to name only two examples, are perhaps as valuable for their biographical materials as for their narratives of events, important and well-crafted as these are. Formally, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī 'l-ta'rīkh* is perhaps the most conservative of all the major universal chronicles, but it is also a superbly balanced and highly detailed survey of the history of all the lands and peoples of Islam, from the Atlantic coast to Central Asia. Ibn al-Athīr combines vast range with lucid organisation, direct and concrete diction, political astuteness and more than a touch of wit and irony. His work is certainly one of the most impressive achievements of premodern historiography in any culture.

The universal chronicle in Islam stretched back to the 3rd/9th century; the universal biographical dictionary was an innovation of the 7th/13th century, and in particular of Ibn Khallikān (d. 673/1274 [*q.v.*]). His *Wafayāt al-a'yān fī anbā' abnā' al-zamān* follows the formal conventions of the vast Arabic biographical literature that already existed by his day, but he departs from his models in many ways. First, although his documentation is very rich, he eschews the rigorous method of the registers of *'ulamā'* and *muḥaddithūn* that had been and would remain so important in the religious sciences, i.e. the kind of biography that ensured the integrity of religious knowledge by placing every scholar within a chain of masters and disciples reaching from the present back to the first generations of Islam. On the contrary, he favours snatches of verse and clever anecdotes which situate his subjects within the universe of mediaeval Islamic religious, moral, and aesthetic values. Second, he does not restrict himself to a single class of subjects, e.g. *'ulamā'* or poets or Ṣūfīs; rather, he hoped to include men of high distinction (there are no separate entries for women in his compilation) in every field which conferred cultural prestige in the 7th/13th century Islamic world: politics and war, *fiḳh*, Ṣūfism, poetry and literature. Third, he is highly selective (855 major entries in the 'Abbās edition), but he tries to include people from all corners of the Muslim world; there is inevitably some bias in favour of men from Syria and 'Irāḳ, but it is not for lack of trying. In the end, he gives us a wonderfully varied tableau of mediaeval Islamic culture as this culture was understood by one of its most characteristic figures.

Ibn Khallikān had many admirers but no real followers, in that no one else attempted his mix of solid scholarship, literary appeal, breadth and selectivity, but there were several "continuations" of his work in the 8th/14th century. Among these was Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, but perhaps the most remarkable is *al-Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696-764/1297-1363 [*q.v.*], the son of a Mamlūk *amīr* who made his career as a government clerk). This immense work aspires to give a biography of everyone worth remembering in the history of Islam, from the Prophet down to al-Ṣafadī's own day. Most biographical compilations have more modest goals. Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa 'l-mustawfī ba'd al-Wāfī* contains some 2,500 lives of prominent Mamlūk *amīrs* and bureaucrats. With *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a al-thāmina*, Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī (773-852/1372-1449 [*q.v.*]) created a new form, the "centenary dictionary" devoted to notables throughout the Mamlūk Sultanate who had died during a given Hidjrī century. This innovation was quickly picked up by Ibn Ḥadjar's student al-Sakhāwī (830-902/1427-97 [*q.v.*])—who flavoured it with his own pungent judgments about his contemporaries—and it continued to flourish in the Arab lands up to and during Ottoman times. These centenary works were on no small scale: al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-ḳarn al-tāsi'* contains almost 12,000 entries (including a volume devoted to women).

We have so far labelled the writers of historical works as historians, and it is thus important to recognise that, until well into Ottoman times at least, there was no historical profession in Islam. That is, history was not recognised as a formal science with a specific subject matter, method and technique which could be taught and transmitted; nor was there any institutionalised way for a would-be historian to acquire the knowledge and skills of his craft; nor did anyone actually expect to make a living by working as a historian. History was neither a subject in the schools nor an element in any regular curriculum. History was the work of self-taught amateurs, whose regular professions (as noted above) lay elsewhere.

It is hard to explain why history did not become a recognised science, either secular or religious, in view of the immense body of literature produced by Muslim historians and the solid religious and intellectual reputations which these enjoyed. But that is the case; many scholars regarded history as a vain and trivial pursuit, "no more than information about... occurrences of the remote past, elegantly presented and spiced with proverbs," as Ibn Khaldūn ruefully said (Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Rosenthal, i, 6). As noted above, al-Ṭabarī had tried to show that history could be studied with the same methodological tools and rigour as *ḥadīth*. But insofar as he tried to make history one of the religious sciences, he failed, or at least no one else took up the challenge after him.

Only in the late 8th/14th century did Ibn Khaldūn argue (this time from an Aristotelian perspective) that history could be treated as a valid science based on philosophical premises and methods. Historical knowledge, he asserted, was not the mere compiling of factual data about the past; rather, it should be a systematic account of the principles governing human society. These principles were not knowable *a priori* but had to be elicited from factual data by a complex process of induction and deduction. For this reason, an accurate body of fact was the precondition for historical knowledge, even though facts *per se* were not the object of historical inquiry. The problem of obtaining and evaluating factual knowledge was thus crucial to the whole enterprise, and to this problem Ibn Khaldūn devoted some very interesting though ultimately inconclusive arguments.

Ibn Khaldūn's effort to create a science of history foundered, not because of questions left unanswered by his theory, but because no one else really felt like

taking up such issues. On a practical level, however, he had a considerable impact; he was highly esteemed by 9th/15th-century Egyptian historians, who show a far greater awareness of social processes and the interactions of élite politics and society at large than had their predecessors. And in a later age, Ottoman historians turned to him for insight on the causes of the rise and decline of empires. By the time of the Ottoman conquest, then, Arabic historiography continued to be a dynamic field of study and form of literary expression. This is so not only because of the continuing volume of historical production, but even more because Arab-Islamic culture was continuing to generate new and innovative ways of perceiving and constructing its past.

Bibliography: In addition to the general references given in section (a) above (Rosenthal, Lewis and Holt, Auchterlonie, T. Khalidi), see the following: Shākir Muṣṭafā, *al-Ta'rīkh al-ʿarabī wa 'l-mu'arrikhūn*, ii, Beirut 1978; Cl. Cahen, *History and historians*, in *Camb. hist. Ar. lit.*, iii, 188-233; Humphreys, *Islamic history: a framework for inquiry*, Princeton 1991, chs. 5, 8, *et passim*. Many of the most useful surveys and critical assessments are found in monographs dealing with other topics: see esp. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionnaliste*, Damascus 1963; N. Elisséeff, *Nur al-Din*, i, Damascus 1967; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977; C.F. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1981. Studies on the historiography of particular periods are still rare. On the Fāṭimids, see A. Hamdani, *Fatimid history and historians*, in *Camb. hist. Ar. lit.*, iii, 234-47. On the Ayyūbids, D. Morray, *An Ayyūbid notable and his world: Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Aleppo*, Leiden 1994. Mamlūk historians have received more attention: U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1970; D.P. Little, *Introduction to Mamluk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970; Li Guo, *Mamluk historiographic studies: the state of the art*, in *Mamluk Studies Review*, i (1997). Understanding the cultural and political meanings of Middle-Period historical writing requires going beyond historiographic studies in the narrow sense. On the biographical dictionary, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus*, Cambridge 1994. On the political language of Miskawayh and his contemporaries, R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, Princeton 1980. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide*, 2 vols., Damascus 1986-9, provides a "close reading" or "explication du texte" of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn ʿAsākir and al-Maḳrīzī. Editions of the works of particular historians, along with studies devoted to them, are given under the appropriate entries.

(R.S. Humphreys)

(c) The period 1500 to 1800. [See Suppl.].

(d) The 19th and 20th centuries.

By the 1840s the now-traditional forms and perspectives of Arabic-Islamic historiography, rich and varied as they were, no longer seemed adequate in face of the radical challenges posed by Europe to every aspect of life in the Islamic world. By the beginning of the 20th century, a few historians were beginning to model their work (with mixed but not inconsiderable success) on European approaches and research methods. The early 1900s witnessed the founding of universities on the European model, and as an inevitable consequence, a growing professionalisation of history. That movement has continued down to the present, so that now (as in Europe and America) the writing of history has become largely an academic enterprise, with all the gains and losses that this implies.

A. The 19th century.

The challenge of Europe was, of course, felt most immediately in political and economic life, but that in itself might have compelled few changes in historical vision; Muslim intellectuals had faced any number of equally acute crises on this plane over the centuries, and the deeply rooted but still flexible conceptual tools and cultural resources of their societies had permitted them to address these quite effectively. The European cultural challenge cut deeper, however. Felt only by a tiny minority as late as the mid-19th century, it had become inescapable to almost everyone (at least in the major urban centres) by the beginning of the 20th. It not only threatened the political independence and economic autonomy of Muslim societies but assailed the very foundations of Muslim identity.

The rapid intellectual readjustments of the late 19th century, of course, affected historical writing as well, although the works produced in this genre do not reach the level of the political and cultural essays of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-73 [*q.v.*]), Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97 [*q.v.*]), or Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]). This is due in large part no doubt to the fact that history continued to be (as it always had been in Muslim countries) the work of amateurs, and was seldom attempted moreover by the leading intellectuals of the age. As one might expect, the shift toward new forms and approaches began in Cairo and Istanbul, the two largest cities in the region, the seats of the most ambitiously reformist régimes, and the places which were most directly and profoundly exposed to Western pressures.

As in so many spheres during the 19th century, Cairo was the first and most important centre of a changing historiography. Cairo had, in fact, produced the last great work in a traditional mould, the *ʿAdjā'ib al-āthār* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī (1753-1826 [*q.v.*]). Al-Djabartī witnessed the catastrophic self-destruction of the Mamlūk beylicate in the late 18th century, the shock of the French occupation in 1798-1801, and the tumultuous changes forced on the country by Muḥammad ʿAlī (*r.* 1805-48 [*q.v.*]). He was an acute observer, but he regarded none of this as progress, and he was content to work within the chronicle/biographical dictionary framework bequeathed to him by the great Egyptian historians of the Mamlūk Sultanate.

Though an illiterate soldier, Muḥammad ʿAlī had much to do with the rise of an altered historical consciousness. Quite apart from his radical military, administrative and economic innovations, he took the risk of sending student missions to study in France, thereby exposing at least a few of his subjects to the thought and culture of contemporary Europe. No less important was his founding of the Translation Bureau (under the directorship of al-Ṭahṭāwī), which in spite of its many vicissitudes rendered many works of medicine, engineering, geography and even history into Turkish and Arabic. To be sure, the few historical works chosen for translation (e.g. Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Voltaire's lives of Charles XII and Peter the Great) represented the Enlightenment, not the new scientific history of Ranke or the romantic nationalism of Michelet. Even so, they suggested fundamentally new ways of imagining and representing the past.

The first major history in Arabic to reflect new possibilities and tensions was *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-*

djadīda (20 vols., Cairo 1886-8) by ʿAlī Mubārak (1824-93), the engineer who oversaw the Khedive Ismāʿīl's ambitious revamping of Cairo. Modelled to some degree on the classic work by Taḳī al-Dīn al-Maḳrīzī, it is a remarkably rich miscellany of historical-biographical information, geographical description, and administrative data. Conceptually and structurally conservative (like al-Maḳrīzī's work, it is organised by toponym), its contents nevertheless reflect many aspects of the new order created by the Khedive and his talented director of public works. A hybrid work of this kind could not generate many successors, though the *Taḳwīm al-Nīl* (6 vols., Cairo 1916-36) of Amīn al-Sāmī (*ca.* 1860-1941) comes closest in spirit and content. Like al-Ṭahṭāwī and ʿAlī Mubārak, al-Sāmī spent his life in loyal service to the régime, chiefly as an educator. He was director of the government teachers' college (Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*]) under Tawfīḳ and ʿAbbās II, and was appointed to the Senate by King Fu'ād I.

In Egypt, the political and ideological crisis of the ʿUrābī period proved to be, in the long run, a turning point, but for a time one sees only limited results, due in large part to the stifling of political life under Lord Cromer until almost the turn of the century. An exception to this generalisation would be Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh's passionate, richly detailed, but still little studied history of the ʿUrābī Revolt, *Miṣr li 'l-Miṣriyyīn* (6 vols., Alexandria 1884), based heavily on government documents and trial proceedings. By the end of the century we can perceive a marked shift from neo-traditional to contemporary European models of historiography. Of the new historians, by far the most successful and widely read was the staggeringly prolific Syrian immigrant Djurdjī Zaydān (1861-1914 [*q.v.*]). He edited several journals and wrote in many genres; among his works the most significant in the present context is his *Ta'rīkh al-tamaddun al-islāmī* (5 vols., Cairo 1902-6). This is less an original work of scholarship than a popular synthesis derived in large part from European Orientalist scholarship. Even so, it is a very competent job, and earned the accolade of an English translation of one volume (*Umayyads and Abbasids*, London 1907) by the formidable D.S. Margoliouth. Zaydān's was thus the first Arabic work in "modern" style to address mediaeval Islamic history. It was widely read but not much emulated, perhaps because as a Christian committed to a Westernising approach, Zaydān could not address adequately the deeper issues raised by his subject for modern Muslims. Nor could he really share the aspirations and frustrations of Egyptian nationalist writers. He was, in fact, offered the position in Islamic history at the new Egyptian University in 1910, but outrage in politically-engaged circles compelled the offer to be withdrawn.

B. The Interwar period 1919-45.

World War I was the turning point in almost every aspect of Middle Eastern life; indeed, this titanic event really laid down the agenda for the entire 20th century within the region. It created vast new hopes and possibilities, and, of course, even more bitter disappointments and insoluble problems. But it is no surprise that it ushered in a new era of historical writing, one marked by several characteristics: growing, if far from complete, professionalisation (with several scholars getting doctorates in Europe, especially from Paris), with an institutional basis within the new universities of Cairo and Alexandria; a much closer approximation in form and methodology to the kinds of historical writing practiced in Europe; a definition of core subjects of inquiry. One apparently odd product of the period was a marked bilingualism among the new generation of historians, who often wrote in French or English for European audiences and in Arabic for their own countrymen, in which the cultural agendas and conflicts of their native countries came to the fore. This is a phenomenon which continues no less strongly in the present.

It would be incorrect to assume that all traces of traditional literary-historical culture disappeared during these two decades. On the contrary, some of the most significant and useful historical compositions adhered to long-established genres. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953 [*q.v.*]), the founder of the Arab Academy of Damascus and a prolific man of letters, composed a monumental history of Syria, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (6 vols., Damascus 1925-9).

Although Kurd ʿAlī was well acquainted with the critical methods of Western Orientalism, this is the last great work of historical topography, a Syrian tradition that went back to Ibn ʿAsākir and flourished at least until the 18th century.

Works of more "modern" style tended to reflect in quite direct ways the central contemporary political-cultural debates of the countries in which they were written. This was, of course, true not only of works on recent history but of those dealing with the more remote past. Indeed, the segments of the past chosen for discussion provide an excellent index of these debates. In Egypt, attention was focused equally on the 19th century (especially Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ismāʿīl, and the ʿUrābī Revolt) and on the beginnings of Islamic history. On the former topic, the key works produced in this period were probably those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī (1889-1966), Muḥammad Ṣabrī (1894-1978) and Shafīḳ Ghurbāl (1894-1961). Al-Rāfiʿī, an ardent partisan of the old National Party founded by Muṣṭafā Kāmil at the turn of the century and deeply immersed in Egypt's political struggles, was self-taught as a historian and wrote exclusively in Arabic. Ṣabrī and Ghurbāl, in contrast, were professional academics; both took doctorates from the Sorbonne, held chairs at Cairo University, and published much of their major work in French or English.

In regard to early Islamic history, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī* (Cairo 1926), Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (Cairo 1934), and Aḥmad Amīn's three books on early Islamic history (*Fadjr al-Islām*, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*, Cairo 1928-53) are certainly landmarks in their various ways. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] had taken a Sorbonne doctorate with a thesis on Ibn Khaldūn; his attack on the authenticity of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry was an effort (almost disastrous for him and Cairo University) to apply European text criticism to a culturally sanctified body of literature. The works of Haykal and Amīn, in contrast, were attempts to synthesise Islamic piety and "scientific" historical method. Haykal's use of modern critical methods is open to question on a variety of grounds, but his biography of the Prophet was a literary *tour de force*, a superbly integrated portrait infused with a distinctively 20th-century sensibility. Aḥmad Amīn's studies, though less accessible, have commanded broad respect since their first publication. Although he was a graduate of the School for *Ḳāḍī*s and was largely self-taught as a historian, his European colleagues at Cairo University formally recommended him for a professorial chair on the strength of his publications.

The leading historians of this period did not simply toe the official line. On the contrary, many of them were often in trouble with their governments. Nor is their work merely a coded statement of their own

ideological predilections, for the work of every writer mentioned above has proved of enduring value. Al-Rāfiʿī's books, for example, were regularly reprinted down through the 1960s. But it remains the case that all these works were shaped in the context of the political struggles of their day, including the struggle for cultural identity.

C. The Cold War and the apogee of Middle Eastern nationalisms 1945-1970.

World War II marked another watershed, as the domination of the region by Great Britain and France collapsed, to be replaced by a bi-polar world of American-Soviet rivalry. Down at least to the early 1970s, and in some arenas down to the present, intellectuals in the Arab lands and Persia tended to interpret their past within a single broad framework, as a struggle against foreign domination—England and France in the modern period, of course, but often fellow-Muslims (Mamlūk *amīrs*, Arab invaders, *et alii*) in the mediaeval past. In the revolutionary age beginning in the mid-1950s, it was inevitable that many would also begin to look seriously at Marxism [see MĀRK(I)SIYYA] as an intellectual tradition, and thus to link issues of internal class struggle with long-established concerns about imperialism.

The inevitable engagement of historians in the political struggles of the post-war years did not prevent the increasing professionalisation of historical writing. The process was rooted in the rapid growth of higher education in Middle Eastern countries: a flood of new students into the universities required more professors, and professors, of course, had to have advanced research degrees. Down to the early 1970s, credible Ph.D.s could only be obtained abroad, preferably in Paris or London (the old imperial capitals, ironically), but many students found themselves in newer and less prestigious institutions in the north of England or the American Middle West. In any case, the bilingual nature of historical research among Middle Eastern scholars continued and even increased; many of the major French and English monographs published during these years had begun life as their doctoral theses at the Sorbonne and the University of London.

Again, it would be extremely misleading to interpret scholarly production simply as a reflection of ideology and political conflict. If a test for the "pure scholarship" of a work is its usability by scholars of highly disparate political-ideological commitments, then much produced in this era must rank very high indeed. It is, for example, hard to imagine early Islamic history without the contributions of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī and colleagues of the Universities of Baghdād and Baṣra. For the more recent centuries of Ayyūbid, Mamlūk and Ottoman domination in Greater Syria (i.e. Syria, Lebanon and Palestine), we are much indebted to scholars like Kamāl Ṣalībī and Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, with flourishing centres of historical studies at the American University of Beirut and the University of Damascus and major publications of texts and studies emanating from them. In spite of political controls placed on Egyptian scholars under the Nasser régime, the students of Muḥammad Anīs at Cairo University initiated a major body of scholarship on the social and economic history of 19th and 20th-century Egypt. And for an earlier but hardly less contested era, that of the Crusaders, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks, Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (b. 1922) and his many students produced (and continue to do so) a major corpus of texts and studies still too little consulted among Western scholars. Even so, the free play of historical research was undeniably constrained by political pressures which far exceeded the partisanship of the previous era.

D. Since 1970.

Several of the underlying trends established during the 1950s and 60s have continued apace, in particular the burgeoning of universities and research institutes throughout the Middle East. In spite of chronic underfunding and a strong emphasis on scientific-technical training, this trend has led to an expansion of academic history. Particularly important, especially for the Ottoman period in Turkey and the Arab lands, has been a great improvement in the organisation of archives and documentation centres of all kinds. Another trend, already discernible before 1970 but much stronger since, has been the growing number of historians from the Middle East who hold permanent academic appointments in Europe and the United States. Admittedly, most of these completed their graduate studies in Western universities, but even so they bring a perspective rooted in the cultures and historical experience of the Middle East. The causes for this phenomenon are complex, but it does represent a highly significant inversion of the time-honoured pattern of student missions from the Middle East to the West.

The political climate in which historians must try to work has been variable but never easy. Apart from the pressures exerted by security-conscious régimes, the Islamic movement everywhere has increasingly affected historical inquiry and writing, as it has intellectual life in general. For example, a trend seen in the Arab world during the early 1970s, a radical critique of the nature of early Islamic society and even of the soundness of the sources, has been silenced or at least driven underground. There has been no real progress in Arabic-language works on the life of Muḥammad since Haykal's famous biography was published more than sixty years ago.

In spite of such official and cultural pressures, however, many periods and topics seem to be politically and religiously neutral, in the sense that historians are relatively free to construct their accounts of them in accordance with their own purposes and outlooks, rather than in accordance with externally dictated agendas. The Middle Periods of Islamic history (*ca.* 950-1500) have long fallen in this category, with the partial exception of the Crusades and the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and we can now add the early ʿAbbāsids and Ottomans, who no longer make a useful target for Arab nationalist polemics. The social and economic history of the late 18th and 19th centuries in particular has attracted a great deal of first-rate work during the past two decades. As regards pre-modern times, the early ʿAbbāsids, the Saldjūḳids and the Mamlūks have continued to be the subject of valuable and sometimes ground-breaking studies. To name individual scholars for the last two decades is invidious, since there are now so many historians at work, and it is hardly possible as yet to identify those whose contributions will prove seminal or enduring. What can be said is that the Arab countries now possess a substantial corps of professional academic historians writing chiefly in Arabic. In this respect, the history of the region is increasingly in the hands of its own scholars—the natural state of things, we might suppose, but one which was hardly the case for most of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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(e) North Africa. [See Suppl.].

(f) In Muslim Spain.

Historical writing done in al-Andalus may be classified under two headings: chronicles dealing with the history of al-Andalus specifically and general histories of Islam. With the exception of certain very remarkable works, only the first category will be discussed here. However, there is also much historical information of great importance in works which are not chronicles, such as biographical dictionaries, geographical descriptions and *adab* works.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) was the author of a *K. al-Taʾrīkh*, one of the oldest universal histories written in Arabic and the first historical work to be written in Muslim Spain. It contains a chapter on the conquest of the Iberian peninsula plus predictions of the loss and destruction of al-Andalus. It is the oldest source on the names and the chronology of the governors of Spain before the arrival of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. As the source for his redaction of the history, Ibn Ḥabīb used Egyptian traditionists, who played a most important role in the formation of the earliest historiographical tradition in al-Andalus. Yet despite the recent re-evaluation of his work and his place in Muslim Spanish culture, one cannot really consider Ibn Ḥabīb as the founder of historiography there. This place belongs in all true justice to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (274-344/888-955), the author of *al-Istīʿāb fī ansāb mashāhīr ahl al-Andalus* and of the *Akhbār mulūk al-Andalus*. Unfortunately, al-Rāzī's works have only been preserved in citations by later writers, or in old translations into Portuguese or Castilian. His chronicle covered the whole of the history of al-Andalus, and, so far as we know of this text, it was characterised by a desire to produce written history and an effort at chronological precision and at verifying both written and oral sources.

One of his contemporaries, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥukayyim (d. 341/953), wrote a *K. fī ansāb al-dākhilīn ilā al-Andalus min al-gharb wa-ghayrihim*, which he dedicated to the caliph al-Nāṣir in 330/941-2 and which probably followed the lines of historical research delineated by al-Rāzī. Al-Ḥukayyim's text, however, fell into oblivion (only citations of it are known in Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī's biographical dictionary), whilst al-Rāzī's work continued to be used by many later historians. Al-Rāzī, indeed, became the model historian for Andalusī historical writing to follow. His son ʿĪsā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 379/980) continued in his father's tradition and wrote a *Taʾrīkh al-Andalus*, some parts of which are preserved by Ibn Ḥayyān (who was not, it seems, able to consult a complete text of the work) and by al-Makkarī.

Two other important historical works were also produced in the course of the 4th/10th century. The first belongs to the genre of universal history: the résumé (*mukhtaṣar, ikhtiṣār*) which ʿArīb b. Saʿīd (d. 370/980 [*q.v.*]) wrote of al-Ṭabarī's *History*. ʿArīb considerably enlarged the parts of al-Ṭabarī's work dealing with the history of al-Andalus, but only his text for the period 291/902 to 320/932 survives. Nevertheless, it was an important source for such authors as Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn ʿIdhārī. The second of these chronicles is the *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (d. 367/977 [*q.v.*]), who traced the history of the province from the Islamic conquest to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's reign. It is possible that the version of the work which has come down to us is incomplete, since some citations of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya in later authors are not found in the text as we know it today. As for his historiographical orientation, some people have discerned Shuʿūbī tendencies in Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya [see SHUʿŪBIYYA], but it seems sufficient to characterise his attitude as that of a Muslim scholar of non-Arab origin, a partisan of the Umayyads and a writer with a moralising aim. The *Taʾrīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalus* pays especial attention to the *mawālī* and the *muwalladūn*, which has been connected with the author's origins in the family of Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, the descendant of one of the marriages of Sāra al-Ḳūṭiyya, who belonged to the Visigothic royal house.

The 5th/11th century can be called the golden age of history writing in al-Andalus through both its richness and also the variety of works composed during this period. At the outset, authors continued the "genealogical" approach begun by al-Ḥukayyim and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, of which the most successful example is the *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), an indispensable work for knowledge of the lineages of the Arabs established in Muslim Spain and those of the Berbers, as well as being a general work on genealogies. The *K. al-ʿIbar* of Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ (d. 459/1066) is known only from citations in other writers, from which it has been deduced that it was a history of al-Andalus from the conquest until, at least, the age of the Taifas. The *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* of al-ʿUdhrī (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]) mixes geographical description with historical information. Around three-quarters of the original text have been lost, but the surviving part includes abundant and most interesting historical information, above all for the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries and also for the first part of the next one. Al-ʿUdhrī is a basic source for our knowledge of rebellions against the central power, to which he seems to have paid particular attention. Even so, one should not interpret this prominence of rebellions in al-ʿUdhrī's work as reflecting a special standpoint of the author, who confined himself to setting them down as events in the life and activity of a specific region in a particular historical period.

But the most important figure of the history of al-Andalus in the 5th/11th century is probably Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076 [*q.v.*]), who dominates the historical panorama of his time and of later times. Ibn Ḥayyān's work as a compiler of earlier historical sources was

enormous, and this explains the loss of many of these works, since it was easier to consult them via his compilation, called *al-Muktabis*. In this work, Ibn Ḥayyān's personal intervention is almost nil; in practice, he limited himself to gathering together everything which had been written before his time concerning the earlier centuries of Islam in Muslim Spain. The *Muktabis* has survived till today only partially. The second great historical work of Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Matīn*, must have been very different from the first. He wrote it over a period of several years, and was still at work on it in 463/1070-1. The text is above all known through the long fragments of it reproduced by Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhīra*, a fundamental source for the end of the Umayyad state and the birth of the Taifa principalities. In his *Matīn*, Ibn Ḥayyān used oral sources plus his own personal experience, and he offered his own explanation of historical events which he had witnessed. Two other lost works of his, *Akhbār al-dawla al-ʿāmiriyya* and *al-Batsha al-kubrā* (on the Banū Djahwar of Cordova) may possibly have been part of the *Matīn*.

This survey of 5th/11th-century Andalusī historical writing should not be completed without mention of a unique work within the genre, *al-Tibyān ʿan al-hāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa*, written *ca.* 488/1095 by the last of the Taifa kings of Granada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Buluggīn. It can be classified as a classic example of dynastic history, but is also the autobiography of a dethroned prince. It is, accordingly, of doubtful objectivity; ʿAbd Allāh endeavours above all to justify his role in the events which surrounded the fall of the Zīrid dynasty. But at the same time, the *Tibyān* is the sole Arabic source which can be set at the side of Ibn Ḥayyān's information on the troubled period preceding the entry of the Almoravids into the Peninsula. Although later historians, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, knew the *Tibyān*, it is only cited by al-Nubāhī in his *al-Markaba al-ʿulyā*, a history of the judges of al-Andalus; yet its minor significance in the historiographical tradition should not make us forget its value as a document of personal witness.

Ibn Ḥayyān's influence in historical writing can also be measured by the existence of later works which are merely résumés of his texts, sometimes directly, sometimes via intermediate sources. The so-called *Crónica anónima* of al-Nāṣir is, in fact, just a résumé of part of the *Muktabis*. The case of the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* is more complicated. The anonymous author describes the Islamic expansion through the Maghrib until the middle of the 2nd/8th century, whilst paying especial attention to al-Andalus. The work's nature and the date of its composition have been the object of lengthy discussions, without coming to any conclusive result. The text is a compilation of written sources which pays especial attention to anecdotes, whilst omitting, in general, chronological precision. According to the latest results of historiographical research, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* is to be connected with late, North African, sources, with which the text shares a common origin, one unidentified but which would ostensibly derive from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muktabis*. After the manner of the *Akhbār*, the work of an anonymous author which is called *Fatḥ al-Andalus* seems to be the *Ṣilat al-mughrib*, a lost work by Ibn Muzayn (d. after 471/1078-9).

At the end of the 5th/11th century, al-Andalus became a province of North African empires, first that of the Almoravids and then, shortly afterwards, of the Almohads. Historical writing reflected this political dependence, and the vigorous development of historiography during the century of the Taifas declined under the pre-eminence of Maghribī historians. In any case, the Almoravid period was too short to allow the growth of dynastic historiography comparable to what had taken shape in the Umayyad period and was to appear under the Almohads. Only a few fragments have been preserved of the Andalusī chronicler of the Almoravids, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 570/1174 [*q.v.*]). One special case, in this period, is that of Ilyasaʿ b. Ḥazm (d. 575/1179), author of *al-Mughrib fī akhbār maḥāsin ahl al-Maghrib*, a work which he wrote for the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn whilst he was staying in Egypt, but its text, which was a source for e.g. al-Dhahabī, drew the contempt of the Andalusī Ibn al-Abbār. The *Mughrib* was, in effect, a re-writing of the history of Muslim Spain with the intention of attracting the attention of the Muslims of the East to the Christian menace against al-Andalus.

During the Almohad period and until the appearance, in the 8th/14th century, of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the history of al-Andalus was written in the context of the history of the Maghrib, a fact of which the authors on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar were aware. Thus the most interesting work of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260 [*q.v.*]) from the historical point of view, *al-Ḥulla al-siyarāʾ*, was dedicated to the poets from noble families of both North Africa and al-Andalus. In it, Ibn al-Abbār gave citations from earlier historians, including Ibn Ḥayyān's *al-Matīn*, but it is unknown whether he employed this text directly or via fragments copied by Ibn Bassām. In any case, the history of Muslim Spain in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries has to be read in the chroniclers of the Maghrib, such as Ibn al-Kardabūs, Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, Ibn al-Kaṭṭān, Ibn ʿIdhārī and Ibn Abī Zarʿ. One should add to these names that of the author of *al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, a work written towards the end of the 8th/14th century and attributed to Ibn Simāk, who came from Málaga. Amongst these authors, Ibn ʿIdhārī deserves special mention. The final redaction of his *Bayān al-mughrib* is dated 712/1312; to write his history of the Maghrib and Muslim Spain, he used many Andalusī sources now lost, those of Ibn Ḥayyān being notable here.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374 [*q.v.*]) probably dominates the intellectual scene in his age, during which al-Andalus was reduced to the territory of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada. Amongst his immense production, at least four works pertain to the domain of history, with nuances here which have to be made more precise. *Al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* is, first of all, a biographical dictionary, with the aim of serving as an encyclopaedia of Granada, for which the author drew on documents from the royal chancery to which he had access. The work is thus of prime importance for his own time.

The history of the Naṣrid dynasty (up to 765/1363-4) was the subject of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's second historical work, *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya*. In his *Nufāḍāt al-djirāb*, he gave his personal memoirs for the period 761-3/1359-62, and since the author was very actively involved in the political life of his time, it is thus an important source for the history both of Granada and the Maghrib. However, Ibn al-Khaṭīb's most ambitious historical work was his *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām li-man būyiʿa kabl al-iḥtilām*. Written to defend the legitimacy of the claim to power of the infant son of the Marīnid sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 774/1372-3), its second part is devoted to a general history of al-Andalus, drawing upon earlier sources of which the author gives in a summary fashion. The interest of the historical material in the *Aʿmāl* becomes more marked in the work's last part, which

also includes a résumé of the history of Castile.

No historical chronicles were written during the last century of al-Andalus's existence (9th/15th century), but material on the history of this period continued nevertheless to be used by North African writers, such as the anonymous compiler of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*, which was very probably written during this century. The history of Muslim Spain was also the subject of a chronicle written in North African exile, the anonymous *Nubdhat al-ʿaṣr fī akhbār mulūk Banī Naṣr*, dating from 945/1540, which traces the history of Granada from 882/1477 to the emigration following the conquest of 1492. Finally, the monumental work of al-Makkarī (d. 1014/1631 [*q.v.*]), *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, although in the ostensible form of a biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, contains numerous fragments from historical texts, and in this respect can be considered as an anthology of the historical and literary production of al-Andalus.

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(MANUELA MARÍN)

2. In Persian.

Persian history falls into two well-marked periods, the pre-Islamic and the Islamic, each with their calendrical systems. In the Īlkhānate a modified version of the Chinese-Uighur duodecimal animal cycle was introduced and continued in use, with modifications, alongside the Hidjrī lunar calendar and the Hidjrī solar calendar from 1911 to 1925.

Persian histories as distinct from histories in Arabic written by Persians do not pre-date the 4th/10th century. By that time Persia had become part of the Islamic world and the surviving fragments of ancient Persian history had passed from Pahlavi into Arabic literary and historical writing. Islamic tradition was universal and all-embracing in its character, and its all-pervading nature gave a certain unity and inner consistency to Persian historical writing down to modern times. Alongside the Islamic tradition, the memory of ancient Persia survived, largely in the form of myth and legend [see KAYĀNIDS]. It was passed down in oral and written form (see E. Yarshater, *Iranian historical tradition*, in idem (ed.), *Camb. hist. Iran*, iii (1), *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, 477). In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, Persian versions of the national history emerged in prose and verse, notably in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] and thereafter the tradition of ancient Persia had a kind of "ghost existence", but it never became the dominant feature in the historical tradition. Even in the Ḳādjār period, when there was an attempt in some quarters to revive the heritage of ancient Persia (cf. Furṣat, *Āthār al-ʿAdjam*), the shah was still referred to as *shāhanshāh-i islāmpanāh*, as he had been in Ṣafawid times.

As a result of the long wars with the nomads of Central Asia in pre-Islamic times, "Tūrān" was seen as the antithesis of "Īrān". This antagonism re-emerged in mediaeval Persia in the dichotomy between *turk* and *tādjīk* (cf. Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 396), and from the 7th/13th century in the form of a Turco-Mongol tradition. This was important in tribal and military circles, which provided the major dynasties in post-Mongol times, but it was almost totally ignored by the "men of the pen" and does not play an important part in the written tradition. This is so even in the Īlkhānate, when the writing of history flourished. In any case, after the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, it can be assumed that the Islamic tradition reasserted itself.

The role of the royal court was immensely important in the production of histories. It was largely rulers to whom historians looked for pecuniary reward. Consequently, it was customary for histories to be dedicated to contemporary princes; and some were commissioned by rulers. Apart from this, the general cultural climate tended to be set by the court. Many, if not assemblies of learned men, were centres in which learning was encouraged as, for example, the courts of the Sāmānids [*q.v.*], of Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigīn [*q.v.*], the Īlkhān Ghāzān [*q.v.*] and the Tīmūrids Shāhrukh Mīrzā b. Tīmūr [*q.vv.*] and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā b. Manṣūr b. Bāyḳarā. In mediaeval times the *nadīm* [*q.v.*] or boon companion of the ruler had to be able to converse on historical subjects, and a secretary in government service was expected to have a thorough knowledge of the past (F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 46-7). Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] describes how he developed a taste for sciences in general and history in particular in the circle of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ṭabīb [*q.v.*] (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran AHS 1339/1960, 2-3).

Those who wrote history were Muslims, and they inherited the presumptions which prevailed in contemporary Islamic civilisation. Many of them were government officials. Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Balʿamī [*q.v.*], the father of Persian historiography, belonged to a family from which many *wazīrs* had come and he himself was *wazīr* first to the Sāmānid ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ and secondly to his successor Manṣūr. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī [see BAYHAḲĪ], the author of the *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, was a secretary in the chancellery of the Ghaznavid Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd [*q.v.*]. The author of the *Djahān-gushā*, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Djuwaynī [*q.v.*], and Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, who wrote the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, both held high office under the Īlkhāns. Faṣīḥ al-Khʷāfī, author of the *Mudjmal-i faṣīḥī*, served Shāhrukh Mīrzā b. Tīmūr and Bāysonghor [*q.v.*]; Iskandar Munshī, (Iskandar Beg), author of the *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, was employed for a time in the Ṣafawid chancery; and Muḥammad Taḳī Sipihr [*q.v.*], who wrote the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, was a secretary in the *dīwān* of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān Astarābādī, who was employed in the secretariat of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], was appointed official historiographer in 1148/1736.

A number of historians were *ʿulamāʾ*. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Funduḳ [see AL-BAYHAḲĪ] was for a short period in 526/1132 *ḳāḍī* of Bayhaḳ and subsequently taught in various mosques in Nīshāpūr. The Ghūrid historian Abū ʿAmr Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī [*q.v.*] was the son of a *ḳāḍī* and became *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* in the Dihlī Sultanate, whither he had fled in 623/1226 after the first Mongol invasion. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar Bayḍawī [*q.v.*], who wrote the general history *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*, and died towards the end of the 7th/13th century, was at one time *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Shīrāz. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī [*q.v.*], the author of the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, was the son of a *ḳāḍī*. The tradition of historical writing continued among the *ʿulamāʾ* down to modern times (cf. the *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān* of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Anṣārī Djābirī).

Ḥasan Beg Rūmlū (b. 938/1531-2), the author of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, by exception, belonged to the military classes, having entered the ranks of the *ḳūrčīs* as a child. His history was planned to be in twelve volumes. Only two, the eleventh and the twelfth, in the form of annals from the accession of Shāhrukh in 807/1404 to the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl II (900-85/1495-1577) are extant. Whether the other volumes were ever written is not known.

That many, if not most, Persian histories were written by government officials and members of the ruling classes results in a rather one-sided view. Facts unpalatable to the author's patron or to the received tradition tended to be omitted, and his victories were exaggerated; dissident movements on the whole were played down. The common people received little attention and we see the mass of the population, if at all, through the eyes of the ruling classes. Against statements of prosperity, well-being and good government, must be set periods of tyranny, disorder, insecurity, drought, famine, hoarding and war.

The general disposition of Persian historians was to record not to explain. This was perhaps partly due to the assumption that divine sanction corroborated world order—that God's cause triumphs in Islam. They did not pretend to re-create the past, and for the most part they ignored the development of human character and personality. The encyclopaedist Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Āmulī, writing in 735/1334-5, states that the value of history and biography lay not in the col-

lection of stories and traditions but in admonition and warning, so that wise men might not set their hearts on this world but might concern themselves with the acquisition of eternal happiness (*Nafā'is al-funūn*, ed. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sha'rānī, Tehran 1377/1958, ii, 170). In fact, the general belief that history corroborated the Muslim view of the world tended towards the "anecdotalism" of history. Provided the anecdotes were "useful", authors were not unduly particular about their authenticity.

The purposes which impelled Persian historians to write history were various. Rosenthal's emphasis on the utilitarian approach of Muslim historians (*op. cit.*, 47) applies also to Persian historians. First and foremost they were Muslims and as such their concern was to contribute to stability and to further right religion. The problem of power did not arise for them: the function of the state as they conceived it was to create conditions in which the good life could be lived. Histories were therefore composed partly in order to illustrate this. Almost all start with a section in praise of God. The views of Mīrkh[w]ānd [*q.v.*], the author of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* who died in 903/1498, are fairly typical of earlier and later writers. He held that useful lessons were to be learnt from history and that its function was to admonish and warn. The preservation of the good name of the just was another motive which induced authors to write. Djuwaynī states that he had been urged by a group of his friends to write his history as a memorial to the excellence of the ruler (*Djahān-gushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, London 1912, i, 2-3). Ibn Funduḳ was in part inspired to write his history by a belief in the pre-eminence of learning (*Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran AHS 1317/1938, 5-6), but he was also concerned with the "usefulness" of history as a yardstick with which to judge the events of the present (10). Somewhat exceptionally he also regarded the study of history as in itself interesting (8-9). In the case of those who wrote local histories an important factor was local pride (see further below).

The sources at the disposal of Persian historians were written and oral traditions, the works of earlier writers, and their own personal experiences. Those who were state officials had access to material in state chanceries; *mustawfīs*, such as Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, probably had in their possession tax records. Although no state archives are extant prior to the modern period, various collections of state documents exist such as the *'Atabat al-kataba* of Muntadjab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib Djuwaynī belonging to the Saldjūḳ period, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul* of Bahā' al-Dīn Baghdādī for the Saldjūḳ and Kh[w]ārazmshāhī periods, and the *Dastūr al-kātib* of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī for the late Īlkhānid and Djalā'irid periods. Innumerable state documents also survived in historical and literary works (see B.G. Fragner, *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden*, Freiburg im Br. 1980) or in private hands and were available to later writers. This archival material is sporadic—continuous series do not exist until modern times. A few personal letters have survived from earlier periods independently or in collections of documents. Some of the documents in literary collections are "model" documents, presumably based on current theory or practice.

Biographical literature as part of historical literature exists, but is of a rather special kind. The copious lives of Ṣūfī saints and holy men are in large part hagiography. Typically, biographical material is found in *ṭabaḳāt* literature and in *wafayāt* in chronicles at the end of each year or reign, with predominance given to the religious classes. The biographical material in the *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi 'abbāsī* of Iskandar Beg Munshī, written in the early 11th/16th century, is exceptional in that a balance is preserved between the military, religious and bureaucratic classes, which would seem to correspond, in some measure, to the actual distribution of power in the state. Biographical dictionaries devoted to the religious classes are common but rare in the case of other groups except poets. Exceptionally, the *Āthār al-wuzarā'* of 'Aḳīlī, who lived at the court of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, and the *Dastūr al-wuzarā'* of Kh[w]āndamīr [*q.v.*], are devoted to the lives of *wazīrs*. That such works are much rarer than those devoted to the religious classes suggests that the contribution of the individual Muslim to the transmission of Islam was regarded as more important than his contribution to the building-up of the state. However, in dynastic and local histories space is devoted to members of the ruling house, their officials and those who were thought to have contributed to local development (see further A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian biographical literature*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 141-51). Full-length biographies such as are known in the West do not exist in Persian until modern times. In recent years an increasing number of personal reminiscences and memoirs, written to record events in which the authors had participated and sometimes to justify that participation, or simply for personal diversion, have been published (see further Fragner, *Persische Memoirenliteratur als Quelle zur neueren Geschichte Irans*, Wiesbaden 1979).

There are also some rather unusual works which are part of historical literature but do not fit exactly into the category of either history or biography. One such is the *Rustam al-tawārīkh* of Rustam al-Ḥukamā' (ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran AHS 1348/1969), begun in 1193/1779-30 and finished in 1199/1784-5. It is a strange jumble of fact and fiction, parable and reality, but it contains a good deal of information on political, administrative and social conditions (see Lambton, *Some new trends in Islamic political thought in late 18th and early 19th century Persia*, in *SI*, xxxix, 101 ff.).

History written in Persian begins with Bal'amī, who was commissioned by Manṣūr b. Nūḥ I [*q.v.*] in 352/963 to prepare a Persian translation of the *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, written in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Djarīr al-Ṭabarī, which begins with the creation of the world. Bal'amī's work is not simply a translation of al-Ṭabarī's history. As various scholars have pointed out, it abbreviates al-Ṭabarī's text but also in parts supplements it and includes unique information not to be found in al-Ṭabarī's history or, in some cases, in any other source (D.M. Dunlop, *Arab civilization to A.D. 1500*, London 1971, 90-1, and cf. B. Spuler, *Die historische Literatur Persiens bis zum 13. Jahrhundert als Spiegel seiner geistigen Entwicklung*, in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Leiden 1980, 341). Elton Daniel, in a recent article, examines in detail the mss. and editions of Bal'amī's translation (*Manuscripts and editions of Bal'amī's Tarjamah-i Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, in *JRAS* [1990], 282-321). He states that the chapter on the death of Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] is not found in al-Ṭabarī and that various sections "are explicitly described as amplifications of Ṭabarī's text" (284); also, that there are "scattered throughout the text attributions of material either to personal observation, specific sources or 'sources other than Muḥammad b. Jarīr'" (284-5). Bal'amī "not only added material to Ṭabarī, he frequently disagreed with him, pointing out errors and inconsistencies in Ṭabarī's accounts and offering alter-

natives to them" (285). Like Zeki Velidi Togan (*Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *KCsA*, iii [1940], 54), Daniel considers that Bal'amī's history should be regarded as an independent work, albeit based on al-Ṭabarī, "important in its own right as the oldest extant historical work in the Persian language and the model for much of later Persian historical prose" (*ibid.*, 286). He suggests that the decision to translate al-Ṭabarī was part of a larger programme that also led to the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and the catechism known as the *Sawād-i a'ẓam* and "almost certainly constituted an effort to propagate a state-sanctioned, 'official' ideology of Islamic history and dogma, presumably in defence of the Sāmānid régime".

Bal'amī set the pattern, and once set, the general tendency was to follow it, though the *ḥadīth* mentality characteristic of al-Ṭabarī weakened with the passing of time. Typically, Persian history is embodied in the general or "universal" history. These general histories begin with creation and are compounded of legendary, semi-legendary and historical elements. They are not world histories. With the rise of Islam the interest of the writers became limited to the spread of Islam and to the boundaries of the political structure within which the writer lived, and so "universal" history became little more than a summary introduction to dynastic or provincial history (H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*[1], art. *Ta'rīkh*). Their authors copied and abridged the work of their predecessors with or without acknowledgement. They can be regarded as primary sources only when they come to relate contemporary or near-contemporary events. Some, though not all, are annalistic, but the narrative frequently breaks the bounds of a given year. Many contain eye-witness accounts of the happenings which they record. An interesting feature of general histories, which perhaps bears witness to a sense of the continuity of history among their writers, is the composition of numerous *Dhayls* or continuations of existing histories, such as the *Dhayl* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū [*q.v.*] to the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn.

One of the earliest general histories in Persian is the *Zayn al-akhbār* of Gardīzī [*q.v.*]. A rather later example is the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh wa 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* (ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9). The author, writing in 520/1126, mentions by name the sources he had consulted. The book starts with the creation and has sections on the kings of ancient Persia, India, the Turks and eastern rulers, the caliphate and Persian dynasties down to 520/1126.

The tradition of composing general histories continued down to the 19th century (cf. the *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh* of Sipihr mentioned above), but alongside them dynastic histories without a "universal" element began to be written. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, is the work of Bayhaḳī, which starts in 409/1018-19. Only that portion relating to the reign of Sultan Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd is extant. It contains a detailed account of events during his reign and life at his court. Under the Great Saldjūḳs, although Arabic was still the main language for historical writing and Arabic sources were mainly used, a tradition of dynastic histories in Persian, probably using Persian sources, also grew up. The memoirs of Anūshirwān b. Khālid (d. 532/1137-8 or 533/1138-9 [*q.v.*]), which apparently went up to 528/1133, have been lost but survive in the Arabic version of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], the *Nuṣrat al-fatra*, finished in 579/1183, and in the recension of al-Bundārī [*q.v.*]. According to Cl. Cahen, Anūshirwān's work was "neither exclusively personal memoirs nor yet a complete chronicle, but something in between, 'memoirs as a contribution to the history of their time'" (*The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 67). Among the earliest dynastic histories of the Saldjūḳs were the *Saldjūḳ-nāma* of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī and the *Malik-nāma*. Neither is extant. The former was used by Rāwandī in the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*. It comes down to the accession of Ṭoghril III, the last of the Great Saldjūḳs, and is brought down to the fall of Ṭoghril by Rāwandī. The *Malik-nāma* is preserved in the *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir Ḥusaynī. Important histories have survived, whole or in part of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān and their succession state, the Ḳara Khitay Ḳutlugh-Khānids [*q.v.*]. As the conquests of the Saldjūḳs and later Turks and Mongols spread westwards to Anatolia and eastwards to India they took with them the Persian language, and in both regions a rich Persian historical literature developed.

With the spread of the Mongol conquests there was a revival of the general or "universal" history, possibly because of, or in reaction to, the concept of world empire among the Mongols. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī* of Djūzdjānī, written mainly in 657/1250 and 658/1260, starts with the patriarchs and prophets and continues with the caliphs down to the Mongol invasion. Bayḍāwī's general history, the *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*, starts with Adam and continues down to the Mongols, ending in 674/1275. The first part of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* is a general history of the world from earliest times to 700/1300-1. The *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ḳāshānī, compiled in the reign of Öldjeytü (703-16/1304-16) is a general history from Adam to the fall of Baghdād. Similarly, the *Rawḍat ulī 'l-albāb fī tawārīkh al-akābir wa 'l-anṣāb* of Banākatī is a general history from Adam to Abū Sa'īd's accession in 717/1317.

The tradition continued under the Tīmūrids. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, among his many works, wrote a universal history entitled *Madjma' al-tawārīkh*, which starts with Adam and continues to 830/1426-7. The last part, with the title *Zubdat al-tārīkh-i Bāysonghorī*, is a history of Tīmūr and Shāhrukh. The *Mudjmal al-faṣīḥī* of Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, who was a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, is another universal history of the traditional type. It has a *muḳaddima* from Adam to the Prophet and then consists of annals from 1/622 to 845/1441-2.

The Mongol period is commonly regarded as the high point in Persian historical writing. It is remarkable for its bulk and also for the wide-ranging interests of some of the historians of the period (D.O. Morgan, *Persian historians and the Mongols*, in idem (ed.), *Medieval historical writing in the Christian and Islamic worlds*, London 1982, 110). Much of Persia was devastated by the first Mongol invasion and for the first time for six centuries Persia was ruled by non-Muslims. This must almost certainly have disturbed the Islamic view of the world. Djūzdjānī refers to Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] as *mal'ūn*, accursed, and saw the invasion as an assault upon Islam. He maintains that numerous traditions made it clear that the end of the world would be heralded by the coming of the Turks, i.e. the Mongols. Djuwaynī, who spent most of his life in the service of the Mongol rulers of Persia, visited Möngke's court in Mongolia in 650/1252-3, travelled widely within the Mongol empire, and writes highly of the justice and security in those regions. Nevertheless, he differs little from Djūzdjānī in his description of the

disasters inflicted by the Mongol invasion of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ. He saw the Mongols as the instruments of God's judgement on his sinful people, as a punishment and warning. However, in the eyes of Djuwaynī the coming of the Mongols was not all catastrophe, for Hülegü destroyed the Assassins whom Djuwaynī regarded as a greater menace to Islam than the Mongols. It is significant that he does not record the sack of Baghdād by Hülegü [*q.v.*] and the death of the last caliph, which he could hardly have condoned (*ibid.*, 111 ff.). By the time Ghāzān Khān asked Rashīd al-Dīn to write the history of the Turkish and Mongol peoples, some eighty years had passed since the first Mongol invasion and the rule of the Īlkhāns was firmly established. As deputy and later joint *wazīr*, Rashīd al-Dīn had access to official records and his work, commissioned as it was by Ghāzān Khān, is thus an "official" history. That part of it known as the *Tārīkh-i ghāzānī*, which he presented to Öldjeytü, the brother and successor of Ghāzān, after the latter's death, is an extremely valuable account of the reign of Ghāzān and contains information not available elsewhere. It includes the text of many decrees (*yarligh*) issued during Ghāzān's reign, though unfortunately not all are dated. The work suffers somewhat from the fact that Rashīd al-Dīn appears to have been at pains—not unexpectedly—to emphasise the success of the administrative reforms which he attributed to his patron (and which he himself probably had a large part in drawing up) and so exaggerated the extortion and incompetence prevailing under earlier Īlkhāns (see further Morgan, *Rašīd al-Dīn and Ġāzān Khān*, in D. Aigle (ed.), *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, Paris 1997). Öldjeytü asked Rashīd al-Dīn to add to his work a history of those peoples—the Chinese, Indians, Jews, Franks and others—with whom the Mongols had come into contact. It seems that Rashīd al-Dīn had already been studying the history of the Mongols (*Histoire des Mongoles de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, Paris 1836, 80-1) and he set to work assiduously to gather material from Mongol chronicles, which he had interpreted to him, and from oral information from Mongols, including Ghāzān, who, he states, was a great authority on Mongol tradition, and whatever foreigners who could be intercepted as they passed through Persia. In this part of his work, Rashīd al-Dīn also preserves information concerning Mongol history not extant elsewhere (see further Morgan, *The problems of writing Mongol history*, in S. Akiner (ed.), *Mongolia today*, London 1991, 1-8). Rashīd al-Dīn views the Mongols in their world context: Islam was a part of this, but not the essential framework, though by the time he was writing Islam had, with the conversion of Ghāzān, again become dominant. Rashīd al-Dīn refers to him as *pādishāh-i islām*. Rashīd al-Dīn is exceptional. But he did not found a "school of history": there were no more world histories. This may conceivably have been partly because, with the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, the former perspective of history was restored.

The *Tadjziyat al-amṣār wa-tazdjiyat al-aʿṣār* of Waṣṣāf, commonly known as the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, one of the most important histories of the Mongol period, is of a rather different order to Rashīd al-Dīn's history. Waṣṣāf was born in Shīrāz in 663/1264-5. He was one of Rashīd al-Dīn's circle and was at one time in government service in Fārs as a *mustawfī*. He began to write his history in 697/1297-8, and in 702/1302-3 presented part of it to Ghāzān Khān, who had set out on his Syrian campaign, and nine years later, in 712/1302-3, he presented the remainder to Öldjeytü in Sulṭāniyya. Waṣṣāf states in his introduction that it had come to his mind to continue Djuwaynī's *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushā* from the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258 onwards. He brings his history down to 728/1327-8, in the middle of the reign of the last Īlkhān Abū Saʿīd. It starts with a brief account of the Great Khāns as a summary introduction to the history of the Īlkhāns. Its general plan is somewhat confused and contains many digressions, including sections on the history of Egypt and India. Much of what he writes is from personal experience and observation and from what he learned from his contacts with government officials, both civil and military, and contains many valuable insights. His description of contemporary affairs in Fārs is detailed and contains much information on taxation and economic affairs. Although his interests spread beyond the confines of Persia, he is not concerned with the Mongols in a world context. What is important for him is the history of those dynasties which succeeded the Saldjūḳs in Fārs and the neighbouring regions, and happenings in Fārs under the Īlkhāns. What he is, perhaps, telling his readers is that the local history of Fārs is what is important, not the history of the Mongols, and that these local dynasties had had an independent existence before the Mongol conquest. If this is the case, it may be that it is this emphasis, among other things, which gave importance to his history for later writers, many of whom quote him.

Under the Tīmūrids historiography flourished; its form was broadly that of traditional historiography. Several histories on the life and exploits of Tīmūr [*q.v.*] were written. The oldest is the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī. He was in Baghdād when it fell to Tīmūr in 795/1392-3. In 804/1401-2 Tīmūr ordered him to write a history based on the official records of his reign. Under Tīmūr's successors, Samarḳand and Harāt became flourishing cultural centres. A favourite form of historical writing was the "universal" history, though not all authors adopted this model. The *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī is a general history coming down to the death of Tīmūr. Muʿīn al-Dīn uses earlier sources but adds unique information on the history of Central Asia and Fārs. In the case of his information on Central Asia, some of it may have been obtained from Turco-Mongolian *amīrs* who had served ʿUmar Shaykh and his sons and were still in Shīrāz when Muʿīn al-Dīn was at the court of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh until 817/1414, prior to joining Shāhrukh's court at Harāt (see J. Aubin's introd. to that part of the text of the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* which he published in Tehran in AHS 1336/1957). The greatest of the Tīmūrid historians was undoubtedly Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, who in the breadth of his interests and scholarship can be compared to Rashīd al-Dīn (see further J.E. Woods, *The rise of Timurid historiography*, in *JNES*, xlvi [1987], 81-108).

After the Tīmūrids, the centre of interest moved back from eastern Persia to western Persia. Modifications occurred in the perceptions of historians but they were not such as to lead to wholly new turns in the tradition of historical writing. The conversion of the Ṣafawids to Shīʿism clearly affected their interpretation of early Islamic history and the Sunnī-Shīʿī hostility prevailing between the Ṣafawid empire and both the Ottoman empire and the Özbegs was a factor influencing their relation of contemporary events. In recent years an increasing number of Ṣafawid historical texts have been published. Some of them narrate not only events of a political kind but also incidents in daily life.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the interpretations put upon the facts of history by Persian historians tended to be coloured by a new nationalism and a heightened sense of separation from the rest of the Islamic world. At the same time, their approach was more critical and their attitude towards Islam more sceptical (see further Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Iranian historiography*, in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 430-4, and Hafez Farman Farmayan, *Observations on sources for the study of nineteenth and twentieth-century Iranian history*, in *IJMES*, v [1974], 32-49, also in *Farhang-i Īrānzamīn*, xx, [AHS 1353], 1-34. See also KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ).

Other than general and dynastic histories, there is a remarkable continuity in the production of local histories in which geography and history are closely connected. In the early centuries these histories were written in Arabic. Some of them were later translated into Persian. From the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries down to modern times, there has been a stream of histories centred not on the great empires but on the province, town, village or tribe. It is not unlikely that local histories represent a particular element in the conscious or unconscious orientation of society. The rhythm of Persian history was marked by the rise and fall of great empires. Their establishment was accompanied by an increase in centralisation; their break-up took place along geophysical lines. Because of the nature of power in Persia centralisation was resented in the regions; and the cultivation of local history may be in part at least a reaction against the centralising tendency of the great empires. The main motive of those who wrote local histories appears to have been local pride and the belief that the contribution of the regions was worthy of record and, perhaps, that their histories—rather than the histories of larger political units—represented or reflected the vigour and strength of Muslim society and built up the history of the community as a whole.

Most local histories start with a doxology and follow with a geographical description of the region or district. Most relate the circumstances, legendary or otherwise, of the foundation of the main city or cities of the region. Nearly all narrate the deeds of local rulers and government officials who have lived and worked in the district and contain biographical notices of local notables. Some include autobiographical details. Not all are purely local histories. In some the distinction between local and dynastic history is blurred. The various histories of Kirmān, for example, are of the nature of dynastic histories rather than purely local histories. Similarly, the *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt* of Sayfī Harawī and the *Rawḍat al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn Isfizārī, although they contain a great deal of local information, are also political histories of eastern Persia. The former runs from 618/1221 to 721/1321 while the latter, completed in 899/1493-4, which is partly dependent on Sayfī Harawī's work, is a somewhat disjointed general history of eastern Persia from the Islamic conquest up to the reign of Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, to whom it is dedicated.

The royal court played a less important part in the production of local histories than in the case of general histories, though there are exceptions, notably the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn Balkhī, which was composed at the behest of the Great Saldjūḳ sultan Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1104-117 [*q.v.*]). It contains the earliest independent account in Persian of the ancient kings of Persia, followed by an account of the Arab conquest of Fārs, a description of the province and brief mention of its history under the Būyids and Saldjūḳs. It also includes agricultural, fiscal and tribal information not found in other sources and an account of the *ḳāḍīs* of Fārs. Although many of the local histories were dedicated to local rulers, no doubt in the hope of pecuniary reward, the main stimulus tended to be *pietas* and the encouragement of learned men in the locality.

Fārs, Ḳum (see Hosein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Kitābshināsī-i āthār marbūṭ bi-Ḳum*, Ḳum AHS 1353/1974-5 for an annotated bibl. of works on Ḳum), Yazd (see Īradj Afshār, *Yādigārhā-yi Yazd*, Tehran AHS 1348/1970, i, 25-32 *bis* for a list of the histories of Yazd), Kirmān (see Bāstānī Pārīzī's introduction to his edition of ʿAlī Aḥmad Khān Wazīrī's *Tārīkh-i Kirmān* (*Sālāriyya*), Tehran AHS 1340/1961, pp. xliv ff., for an account of the histories of Kirmān), and the Caspian provinces are particularly rich in local and provincial histories; but many towns, districts and provinces also have their histories. The authors of these works, because of their personal experiences and links with local tradition, almost certainly felt more closely related to those about whom they wrote than did the writers of general histories, and they yield occasional glimpses of a social reality different from that of the ruling classes. They reveal details not only of the lives of famous men but also of the common people and details of the local administration, which show how the regions were differentiated both from each other and from the central administration of the great empires. They include details of economic affairs, taxation and land tenure and accounts of natural disasters, floods, earthquakes, famines, scarcities, plagues and diseases seldom found in the general histories. There is much they do not tell and much that we cannot know, but certain tentative conclusions relating to changes in society and in the way men saw themselves at different periods and in different places can be drawn from their accounts (see further Lambton, *Persian local histories*, in B.S. Amoretti and L. Rostagno (eds.), *Yād-nāma. In memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Rome 1991, i, 227-38).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 3rd ed., London 1968, 1-58; B. Spuler, *The evolution of Persian historiography* (126-132), J.A. Boyle, *Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn as sources on the history of the Mongols* (133-7) and Mujtaba Minovi, *The Persian historian Bayhaqī* (138-40), all three in Lewis and Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*; J. Aubin, *L'Avènement des Safavides reconsideré*, in *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, v (1988), 1-130; A.H. Morton, *The date and attribution of the* Ross Anonymous. *Notes on a Persian history of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, in C. Melville (ed.), *History and literature in Iran*, 1990, 179-212; J.S. Meisami, *The past in service of the present: two views of history in medieval Persia*, in *Poetry Today*, xiv/2 (1993), 247-75; Parwīz Adhkā'ī, *Tārīkhnigarān-i Īrān*, Tehran AHS 1373/1994; Sholeh A. Quinn, *The historiography of Safavid prefaces*, 1-25, and A.H. Morton, *The early years of Shah Ismāʿīl in the* Afẓal al-tawārīkh *and elsewhere*, in Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia. The history and politics of an Islamic country*, London and New York 1996, 53-78.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

3. In Ottoman and modern Turkish.

The development of historical writing in the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey falls roughly into four principal eras:

i. Beginnings, to *ca.* 1500

ii. The dynastic/state phase, to *ca.* 1700

iii. The late imperial phase, dominated by the office of the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* ("official historian" [*q.v.*])

iv. Modern historical writing, from *ca.* 1909.

While constraints of space make it possible to mention only the more significant Ottoman and modern Turkish historians, it is regrettable that there are no major studies on the general development of post-1500 historiography to which further reference can be made. It is also the case that only a handful of Ottoman histories have been published in modern critical editions. Many major histories are still used in often unreliable 19th-century prints, and the vast majority of minor works exist in manuscript only. The standard references are F. Babinger's *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (1927), expanded entries on major writers in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara 1940-88), and recent work on all writers in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1989 onwards).

i. *Beginnings, to* ca. *1500*

The earliest surviving historical account of the Ottomans is the brief verse section, *dāsitān*, in praise of the dynasty by the poet Aḥmedī (d. *ca.* 1412 [*q.v.*]), dating from the 1390s and appended to his longer didactic poem, the *Iskender-nāme.* Its survival is fortuitous, for no other 14th-century histories are known except as echoes in later compilations, and no major historical texts survive from the first half of the 15th century, probably because of the prolonged political instability of the state following the civil war between the sons of Bāyezīd I (1389-1402 [*q.v.*]). However, from the later part of Murād II's reign (1421-44, 1446-51 [*q.v.*]) onwards, three main types of historical work appear, ranging from basic annals, through more descriptive and entertaining chronicles, to the learned and rhetorical histories commissioned by Bāyezīd II (1481-1512 [*q.v.*]).

The stimulating political and cultural context of the period which furthered the development of Ottoman literature generally [see ʿOTHMĀNLĪ. III. Literature] equally encouraged the writing of history. Chronicles of the early Ottoman era are known from the mid-15th century onwards: notably, in Ottoman Turkish, the works of ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ-pas̲h̲a-zāde, Rūḥī, Nes̲h̲rī (whose Ottoman history, *D̲j̲ihānnümā*, was the last and only surviving part of a six-volume universal history) and Urud̲j̲ [*q.vv.*], and the *Tewārīk̲h̲-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān* (the so-called Anonymous Chronicles); in Persian, the universal history by S̲h̲ükrullāh, with its final section on the Ottomans; and in Arabic, the short account devoted to the dynasty by the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* [*q.v.*] Ḳaramānī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*].

The material for such compilations was derived from three main types of source: *taḳwīms*, *menāḳib-nāmes* and *g̲h̲azā-nāmes*, and personal recollection. The *taḳwīm*, or retrospective calendar of events (usually drawn up by court astrologers on the pattern "it is X years since ...") provided a basic, though chronologically unreliable source. The earliest surviving Ottoman *taḳwīm* dates from 1421 but was clearly based on earlier lists. *Menāḳib-nāmes*, the often semi-legendary tales of the worthy exploits of significant political or religious figures, were incorporated by chroniclers into the annalistic framework supplied by the calendars. A similar type of exemplary tale, the *g̲h̲azā-nāme*, dealing more specifically with military exploits in frontier regions, was also frequently utilised. *Menāḳib-nāme* and *g̲h̲azā-nāme* sources could be either written or oral. One of the earliest Ottoman examples, the "*menāḳib* of Yak̲h̲s̲h̲ī Faḳīh" compiled in the late 14th-early 15th century appears to have been used directly or indirectly by a number of 15th-century chroniclers, particularly ʿĀs̲h̲ıḳ-pas̲h̲a-zāde, but is not extant. *G̲h̲azā-nāmes*, by virtue of their probable immediate origin as morale-boosting campfire tales told amongst the Ottoman soldiery, were more likely to have been oral sources, at least initially. However, with the increasing emphasis upon sustained military success and the sultan's leadership role under Meḥemmed II (1444-46, 1451-81) and later under Selīm I (1512-20) and Süleymān (1520-66) [*q.vv.*], the writing of *g̲h̲azā-nāmes* became an established literary-historical genre. An early distinctive text is the anonymous *G̲h̲azawāt-i Sulṭān Murād ibn Meḥemmed K̲h̲ān* (ed. H. İnalcık and M. Oğuz, Ankara 1978), an eye-witness account of Murād II's Varna campaign of 1443-4.

The reign of Meḥemmed II quickly became the subject of literary-historical texts by several writers associated with the Ottoman court. The cultural prestige of Persian language and literature stimulated works in the *s̲h̲eh-nāme* style by poets such as Muʿālī, Kās̲h̲ifī and S̲h̲ehdī. Written in Persian verse in imitation of Firdawsī's [*q.v.*] *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, such works have often been belittled as mere panegyric of the sultan but may nevertheless contain much historical information. The strong Persian influence upon Ottoman court historiography—both the language and the much-admired histories of D̲j̲uwaynī and Waṣṣāf [*q.vv.*]—continued well into the 16th century until absorbed into the Ottoman *ins̲h̲ā'* [*q.v.*] style of rhetorical prose. The latter had also originated as a literary style in the late 15th century: Tursun Beg [*q.v.*], author of a history of Meḥemmed II, is usually considered its first major historiographical exponent.

Historical writing was given special encouragement by Bāyezīd II, in whose reign most of the above chronicles were compiled. He appreciated the value of historiography as a political support for himself and for the dynasty, and promoted the writing of works both in simpler Turkish for a "popular" audience, and in rhetorical prose for élite court consumption. Significantly, several works originally ended *ca.* 1484-5, showing Bāyezīd securely enthroned after the politically controversial later years of Meḥemmed II and the succession conflict between Bāyezīd and D̲j̲em [*q.v.*]. By *ca.* 1500 the various strands of 15th-century historiography appeared to coalesce in Nes̲h̲rī's *D̲j̲ihānnümā*, which became the principal source used by subsequent historians for the early period of Ottoman history. Bāyezīd also commissioned two major literary histories, one in elaborate Persian prose by the scholar and *müns̲h̲ī'* Idrīs-i Bidlīsī [*q.v.*], the *Has̲h̲t bihis̲h̲t*, much referred to by later historians, and one in Ottoman *ins̲h̲ā'* prose from the future *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-İslām* Kemāl-pas̲h̲a-zāde [*q.v.*], which remained little used until modern times.

Bibliography: V.L. Ménage, *The beginnings of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 168-79; H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in *ibid.*, 152-67; O. Turan, *İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, Ankara 1954; C.H. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 1-4 and *passim*, and idem, *The Ottoman dynastic myth*, in *Turcica*, xix (1987), 7-27.

ii. *The dynastic/state phase, to* ca. *1700*

After *ca.* 1500, Ottoman historical writing increased rapidly in volume over a greater range of forms, producing a richly diverse and accomplished literature which comprises one of the most distinctive Ottoman cultural achievements.

Of universal histories, the best-known is the *Künh ül-ak̲h̲bār* of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī [see ʿĀLĪ, Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed], which quickly became a principal source for later historians, above all the fourth and final *rükn* on the

Ottoman state (see J. Schmidt, *Pure water for thirsty Muslims: a study of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī of Gallipoli's Künhü' l-aḫbār*, Leiden 1991; C.H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman empire: the historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600*, Princeton 1986). The *Ṣaḥā'if ül-akhbār* of Müne**djdj**im-bashī (d. 1702 [*q.v.*]) was written first in Arabic but translated almost immediately into Ottoman and widely used. Among other world histories are those in Arabic by Djenābī (d. 1590) and that based upon it by Kātib Čelebi (d. 1657 [*q.v.*]); in Ottoman, the *Zübdet ül-tewārīkh* by Lokmān (d. *ca.* 1601 [see LUKMĀN, Seyyid]), and works by Meḥmed b. Meḥmed (d. 1640), Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde 'Abdül'azīz (d. 1658) and Ḥüseyin Hezārfenn (d. 1691); and in Persian by Lārī (d. 1572) [*q.vv.*].

The positive momentum generated by the military and political successes of Selīm I and Süleymān stimulated pride in the dynasty's achievements whilst providing a wealth of new subject matter for historical compositions. Histories of the dynasty from 'Othmān up to the author's own time, such as that attributed to Luṭfī Pasha (d. 1564) and those by Ramaḍān-zāde (Küčük Nishāndjī, d. 1571) and later by Ṣolāḳ-zāde (d. 1657) [*q.vv.*] remained popular. Much admired for its style was the *Tādj ül-tewārīkh* of Khodja Sa'd ül-Dīn (d. 1600 [*q.v.*]), a reworking of Ottoman history to the end of Selīm I's reign.

Other dynastic histories are more selective. The *Ṭabaḳāt ul-memālik we deredjāt ul-mesālik* by Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā (d. 1567 [*q.v.*]), *nishāndjī* under Süleymān, is the most detailed and authoritative contemporary account of the period 1520 to 1557, and is highly regarded as a model of Ottoman *inshā'* prose (P. Kappert (ed.), *Geschichte Sultan Suleyman Kanunis von 1520 bis 1557*..., Wiesbaden 1981). A group of works on Selīm I, known generally as "*Selīm-nāmes*" and mostly composed early in Süleymān's reign at the latter's behest, were designed to exonerate Selīm I from charges of arbitrariness and severity unworthy of the sultanate (cf. A. Uğur, *The reign of Selīm I in the light of the Selīmnāme literature*, Berlin 1985; M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *Selim-nameler*, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i [1970], 197-230). Innumerable histories, long and short, exist on events in the reign of Süleymān, particularly in the *ghazā-nāme* style on his military conquests. Of these, an unusual work is *Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i 'Irāḳeyn* by Maṭrakčī Naṣūḥ (d. *ca.* 1564 [*q.v.*]), detailing the stages of the 'Irāḳ campaign of 1534-6 and illustrated with precise drawings and plans of towns and fortresses. In contrast, 'Ārif (or 'Ārifī, d. 1562) wrote his *Süleymān-nāme*, a "monumental work" in Persian verse on the *sheh-nāme* model, as a court history commissioned by Süleymān. Of another type is Eyyūbī's *Menāḳib-i Sulṭān Süleymān* (ed. M. Akkuş, Ankara 1991), a short work in Turkish verse describing the sultan's worthy qualities. A late *Süleymān-nāme* presented to Murād IV (1623-40 [*q.v.*]) is by the *sheykh ül-Islām* Ḳara-Čelebi-zāde. (For an extended discussion, see A. Özcan, *Historiography in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in [Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ankara], *The Ottoman empire in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ii, Ankara 1988, 167-222.)

The active patronage of sultans and leading state officials, particularly under Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74) and Murād III (1574-95) [*q.vv.*], meant that 16th-century writing was largely court-oriented and often composed in an elaborate literary style. In the 1550s, Süleymān established an official post of *shehnāmedji* [*q.v.*], "writer of *sheh-nāmes*", as a type of court historiographer, to ensure the portrayal of a proper image of the ageing sultan towards the end of his reign. Its principal incumbents, 'Ārif, Lokmān and Ta'līḳī-zāde (d. 1599), together produced a series of almost continuous court chronicles covering *ca.* 1520 to 1595, though these remained in the sultan's possession and did not enter the mainstream of Ottoman historiography. They deserve serious study, especially Lokmān's *Shehinshāh-nāme*, a three-volume illustrated history in Persian verse of his principal patron Murād III.

In the pre-modern era, when many "historians" also wrote poetry and other types of literary work, literary style often dominated historiographical form; histories entirely in verse were common, as were the conventions of *inshā'* prose. Many court histories were also richly illustrated with miniature paintings and have contributed a great deal pictorially to knowledge of the late 16th-century empire (see N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974). While universal and dynastic histories were still produced, most works dealt with recent or contemporary events, often witnessed personally by the author. While many lesser works by minor government officials may have been principally intended to demonstrate their authors' literary skills and thus to serve as career currency in the search for patronage and promotion, their content and the values expressed are equally deserving of study.

From the 1590s, a significant change of focus is discernible in the major histories. The political turmoil of the late 16th-early 17th centuries, together with less active patronage by the sultans, resulted in the development of a more broadly-based "state" (as opposed to "dynastic") approach, concentrating less upon the sultan and more upon the military-administrative and judicial officials of state. Moreover, several writers—notably Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, but also the *shehnāmedji* Ta'līḳī-zāde and others—expressed open political criticism, akin to that found in the closely-related genre of advice literature/political treatises (*naṣīḥat-nāme/risāle*) which features prominently in early 17th-century Ottoman writing [see ḲOČU BEG].

Few reign histories as such appear among the major historical works of the 17th century, again reflecting the changing role of the sultanate and its greater insecurity. Paradoxically, one of the few to survive is the *Nuṣret-nāme* of Silāḥdār (d. 1723 [*q.v.*]) on the controversial reign of Muṣṭafā II (1695-1703 [*q.v.*]) and its aftermath. Mention must also be made of Ṭūghī's short work on the deposition of 'Othmān II (1618-22 [*q.v.*]) (F. İz, *Hüseyin Tûğî: Vak'a-ı Sultan Osman Han*, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* [1967], 119-64). Attempts by Murād IV to revive the *shehnāme* genre to celebrate his eastern conquests bore little fruit.

The major 17th-century histories are not those of court-oriented literary historiographers or major state officials, but generally those by middle-ranking members of the scribal professions. The history by Selānikī (d. 1599 [*q.v.*]) is an almost daily diary of events centred upon the imperial council, *dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*], full of references to lower ranking individuals. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's *Künh ül-akhbār* includes for each reign sections of biographical data on viziers, *'ulemā'*, *sheykhs*, poets and others, a practice followed by, amongst others, Kātib Čelebi in his *Fedhleke*. The early 17th-century histories by Ḥasan Bey-zāde and Pečewī [*q.vv.*] concentrate on Ottoman history from 1520, and are both particularly valuable for their authors' observations on the 1590s onwards. Pečewī is also credited with being the first major Ottoman historian to make critical use of non-Ottoman sources (in this case, Hungarian; see B. Lewis, *The use by Ottoman historians of non-Ottoman sources*, in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, 185-6). Wedjīhī (d. 1661 [*q.v.*]) chronicled the period *ca.* 1638 to 1661,

a period also covered in the lost history of Shāriḥ al-Manār-zāde (d. 1657 [*q.v.*]). Taken together, the *Fedhleke* of Kātib Čelebi (covering 1591 to 1656) and the history by Silāḥdār conceived as a continuation of it (covering *ca.* 1655 to 1695) chronicle virtually the entire 17th century. The *Wekāyiʿ-nāme* by the *nishāndjî* ʿAbdī Pasha (d. 1695) complements these for the period 1648 to 1682.

Short works of various types proliferated throughout the period *ca.* 1500 to 1700, the *ghazā-nāme* genre in particular remaining popular across a range of literary levels and styles, focussing in the absence of the sultan upon the Grand Vizier or other commander-in-chief (cf. A.S. Levend, *Gazavatnameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey' in Gazavatnamesi*, Ankara 1956). *Sūr-nāme* works, describing imperial weddings and circumcision feasts, feature from the later 16th century onwards, reflecting the dynasty's more sedentary lifestyle: e.g. the anonymous *Sūrnāme-yi hümāyūn* describing the 1582 circumcision festival for the future Meḥemmed III.

Works devoted entirely to non-Ottoman history are rare, except insofar as they are translations, usually from Arabic or Persian on earlier periods of Islamic history. Geographical works, such as the *Kitāb-i baḥriyye* (*ca.* 1521) of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*], and the 17th-century geographical and naval compilations by Kātib Čelebi used some non-Islamic sources and extended their focus beyond the Islamic world. The *Seyāḥat-nāme* of Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] (1670s-80s), an extended travelogue with commentary, accumulates a wealth of miscellaneous material from both Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources. An historico-geographical work by Seyfī (d. after 1590 [*q.v.*]) details 16th-century Central Asian and Indian rulers. The *Taʾrīkh-i Hind-i Gharbī* (an account of the conquest of the New World) and a history of France, both translations from western sources, date from the 1580s. Ḥüseyin Hezārfenn used Greek and Latin sources for his universal history. Otherwise, serious historical interest in the non-Islamic world develops only later in the 18th century.

Ottoman bio-bibliographical compendia and works of reference first appear in this second phase of historiographical development. Both Sehī's [*q.v.*] *tedhkere* [see TADHKIRA. 3] of poets of 1538 and Ṭashköprülüzāde's [*q.v.*] *Shekāʾik-i nuʿmāniyye* of 1558 on the lives of the Ottoman *ʿulemā* were products of Süleymān's reign; each initiated a long Ottoman tradition of compiling biographical dictionaries on their respective subjects (J.R. Stewart-Robinson, *The Ottoman biographies of poets*, in *JNES*, xxiv [1965], 57-74; R.C. Repp, *The mufti of Istanbul*, London 1986, *passim*). A biographical work on a less commonly treated subject group is Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Menākib-i hünerverān* on painters and calligraphers. The major Ottoman bibliographical reference work is Kātib Čelebi's *Keshf al-ẓunūn*, a listing in Arabic of *ca.* 14,500 works in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Also considered an historical reference work is the *Münsheʾāt ul-selāṭīn*, Ferīdūn Beg [*q.v.*]'s collection of correspondence and decrees of the Ottoman sultans up to the time of Selīm II.

Historical works of a more local nature appear in the later 17th century. The *Enīs al-müsāmirīn* of Ḥibrī (d. 1676 [*q.v.*]) is a history of Edirne detailing the major buildings and prominent citizens of its Ottoman era, 1359-1633. Naẓmī-zāde (d. *ca.* 1723)'s *Gülshen-i khülefā* is a history of Baghdād to 1718, of particular value for the Ottoman period.

iii. *The late imperial phase*

By the end of the 17th century, the need to come to terms with Ottoman defeats in Europe after the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, together with the desire for an authoritative interpretation of Ottoman history after the *hidjrī* millennium (1000 = A.D. 1591-2), contributed to the establishment of the post of *wakʿa-nüwīs* "official historian", which dominates the third principal stage of historiographical development, and continued formally until 1922. From the mid-19th century a new historiographical trend also emerged, stimulated by the new influences upon Ottoman intellectual life generally during the *Tanẓīmāt* era.

(a) Official histories. Naʿīmā (d. 1716 [*q.v.*]) is generally considered the first *wakʿa-nüwīs*, although the series of consecutive appointments to a formal post as official historian began only with his successor Rāshid (d. 1735 [*q.v.*]). Based on government documents and subject to the sultan's approval, *wakʿa-nüwīs* histories were intended for a relatively wide readership, those of Naʿīmā (in 1734), Rāshid and Küčük-Čelebi-zāde ʿĀṣim (d. 1760 [*q.v.*]) (both in 1741) being among the few early publications of the Müteferriḳa press [see MAṬBAʿA. 2]. Sāmī (d. 1733), Shākir (d. 1744), Ṣubḥī (d. 1769) and ʿIzzī (d. 1755 [*q.v.*]) then contributed to a continuous official history up to 1752 (Sāmī-Shākir-Ṣubḥī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1198/1783; *Taʾrīkh-i ʿIzzī*, Istanbul 1199/1784).

Although Naʿīmā conceived his history as a "guide to what to do" for Ottoman statesmen, using his sources with care and prefacing his work with a discussion on the nature of historiography (cf. L.V. Thomas, ed. N. Itzkowitz, *A study of Naima*, New York 1972), the narratives produced by some of his later 18th-century successors were little more than pedestrian compilations of the documentary evidence upon which they were based. By the reign of Selīm III (1789-1807 [*q.v.*]), the office had lost prestige and was no longer considered to be producing worthwhile accounts. Short-term appointments, complaints about the inaccessibility of important documents, and the confusion caused by some historians' re-writing of their predecessors' work are indicative of this. Enwerī (d. 1794 [*q.v.*]) and Aḥmed Wāṣif (d. 1806) had five and four terms respectively as official historian, and are together responsible for a history of most of the period 1752-1805. Standard histories were then produced by the early 19th-century official historians, ʿĀṣim (d. 1819 [*q.v.*]) for the period 1803-1808, Shānī-zāde (d. 1826) for 1808-21, and Esʿad Efendi [*q.v.*] for 1822-25, although the latter remained in office as *wakʿa-nüwīs* until his death in 1848. At the request of Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]), Esʿad Efendi also wrote *Üss-i ẓafer*, an official account of the destruction of the Janissary corps in 1826.

By far the most important 19th-century Ottoman history is that by Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha (d. 1895 [*q.v.*]), *wakʿa-nüwīs* 1855-66, covering 1774 to 1825, published in twelve volumes between 1855 and 1884, and almost immediately republished in a second edition. Drawing upon a variety of sources, including previous official histories but also other documents and some western sources, Djewdet Pasha adopted a critical approach unusual for his time, albeit within a generally traditional chronological framework (cf. İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa semineri 27-28 Mayis 1985*, Istanbul 1986). By contrast, his successor Luṭfī Efendi (d. 1907, in post 1866-1907 [*q.v.*]) chronicler of the period 1826 to 1879, was much criticised for his lack of analysis and for his reliance upon material from the official gazette, *Taḳwīm-i wekāyiʿ*, of which he was also for a time editor. The last Ottoman official historian, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref (d. 1925, in post 1909-22) published no major chronicle, but played an important role both in the popularising of histor-

ical knowledge through his writing of well-informed school textbooks and also in the modernising of academic historical research in Turkey as first president of the Ottoman Historical Society, *Ta'rīkh-i 'Othmānī Endjümeni*, founded in 1909. (On official historians, see B. Kütükoğlu, *İA* art. *Vekāyinüwīs*, on which the above is based.)

(b) Non-official historians of the 18th and pre-*Tanẓīmāt* 19th centuries tended less towards the writing of narrative history, especially recent or contemporary. Notable exceptions are the universal histories by Shemdānī-zāde (d. 1779) to 1777 and Ferā'idi-zāde (d. 1835) to 1774, the *ghazā-nāme* by [Novi'li] 'Ömer [*q.v.*] on Ḥekīm-oghlu 'Alī Pasha's 1736-9 Bosnian campaigns, Ahmed Resmi's (d. 1783 [*q.v.*]) account of the 1768-74 Russo-Ottoman war (see V. Aksan, *An Ottoman statesman in war and peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, Leiden 1995), and the histories of the Crimean khānate by Seyyid Meḥmed Riḍā (d. 1756) and Ḥalīm Girāy (d. 1823). Wehbī (d. 1736)'s *Sūrnāme* on the circumcision feast of 1729 is as well known for its illustrations as for its text.

Otherwise, the important historical works of this era are biographical compendia. Aside from the continuing series of *tedhkeres* of poets, and biographical dictionaries of the *'ulemā'* by 'Ushāḳī-zāde (d. 1723 [*q.v.*]), Sheykhī (d. 1736) and Müstaḳīm-zāde (d. 1787 [*q.v.*]), new professional groups are documented: Grand Viziers in the *Ḥadīḳat ül-wüzerā* of 'Othmān-zāde Aḥmed Tā'ib (d. 1724 [*q.v.*]), and the *dheyl* to it by Aḥmed Djāwīd (d. 1803); *re'īs ül-küttābs* in the *Sefīnet ül-rü'esā* of Aḥmed Resmī; Mewlewī *sheykhs* in the *Sefīne-yi Mewlewiyye* by Muṣṭafā Thāḳib (d. 1735); musicians in the *Tedhkere-i khānendegān* of Meḥmed Es'ad (d. 1753 [*q.v.*]); and, eventually, historians in the *Āyīne-yi ẓürefā* of Djemāl ul-Dīn Meḥmed Ḳarṣlī-zāde (d. 1845) (republished in 1896 as *'Othmānlī ta'rīkh ve müwerrikhleri*, with a continuation by Djewdet Pasha). Another significant work of data compilation (with two 19th-century continuations) is the *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmi'* of Ḥüseyin b. Ismā'īl [Aywansarāyī] (d. 1786), effectively an architectural history of the mosques and other religious buildings of Istanbul and its environs. Also worthy of note is the first translation into Ottoman of the *Mukaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn, the first two-thirds by Pīrī-zāde Meḥmed Ṣāḥıb (d. 1749 [*q.v.*]), completed and published in 1858-60 by Djewdet Pasha.

At the turn of the 20th century, two major biographical compilations appeared: Meḥmed Thüreyyā [*q.v.*]'s *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī* (publ. 1890-9), a composite listing across a range of professional groups, and Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]'s *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri* (publ. 1916-24), on Ottoman authors generally, including poets, historians and theologians. The culmination of the Ottoman tradition of biographical compendia came in the Republican era, in the work of İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal (1870-1957), whose *Son asır Türk şairleri* (publ. 1930-41) and *Osmanlı devletinde son sadrazamlar* (publ. 1940-53) were conceived as *dheyls* to earlier works on poets and Grand Viziers respectively.

(c) "*Tanẓīmāt* historiography". From the mid-19th century, increased opportunity for Ottomans to study foreign languages and to travel in western Europe, plus the development within the empire of a new educational system and different tastes in reading, combined to produce a flurry of historical works catering for demands for wider knowledge. Readily published by an expanding press, these varied from school textbooks, through historical romance to detailed scholarly tomes, and could be of equally varied quality (cf. M.H. Yınanç, *Tanzimattan meşrutiyete kadar bizde tarihçilik*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 573-95).

Of the many translations and adaptations of European works, the best known are Aḥmed Hilmī (d. 1878 [*q.v.*])'s six-volume universal history of 1866, based on Chambers' *Universal history*, and the fourteen volumes of histories of European states abridged from French originals by Aḥmed Midḥat (1841-1912 [*q.v.*]). Late Ottoman writers were also influenced by western historiographical methodology. An attempt to break away from the dominant chronicle format was the Ottoman history by Khayrullāh (d. 1866), one of several drawing heavily upon von Hammer's *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest 1827-35, later translated into Ottoman by Meḥmed 'Aṭā [*q.v.*], publ. in 10 vols., from 1912). Especially noteworthy is Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha (1824-90)'s *Netā'idj ül-wuḳū'āt*, which divides Ottoman history into five chronological eras, concluding each part with discussion of military, financial and other state institutions. Attention was turned to categories of historical evidence other than literary and archival, including the study of coins and seals and the preparation of catalogues of such collections (E. Kuran, *Ottoman historiography of the Tanzimat period*, in Lewis and Holt, *Historians*, 422-5).

European Turcology, with its emphasis upon the particular historical and linguistic heritage of the Turks before and beyond the Ottoman empire, gave a new turn to Ottoman historical studies. In 1899 appeared Nedjīb 'Āṣim (1861-35)'s *Türk ta'rīkhi*, a history of the Turks of Central Asia, also translated from a French original, which acquired an important place in the emerging Turkish nationalist historiography (B. Lewis, *History and national revival in Turkey*, in *Middle Eastern Affairs*, iv/6-7 [1953], 221 ff.).

iv. *Modern historical writing*

The foundation of the Ottoman Historical Society in 1909, in the wake of the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908 and the removal of Ḥamīdian censorship, gave a tremendous boost to the development of modern Turkish historiography. It fostered a heightened professionalism amongst historians, and published the first major Ottoman/Turkish historical journal, *Ta'rīkh-i 'Othmānī Endjümeni Medjmū'asī*, which appeared in 18 volumes from 1910 to 1931 (repr. Istanbul 1988). Contributors to the journal, who included Nedjīb 'Āṣim, Meḥmed 'Ārif, Aḥmed Tewḥīd and Aḥmed Refīḳ [Altinay, 1881-1937; see AḤMAD RAFĪḲ], based much of their work on Ottoman archival documents, but with less emphasis upon a narrative of political events and more upon institutional and cultural history.

Interest in pre-Ottoman Turkish history grew during the First World War and the 1920s, and was subsequently promoted by Atatürk [*q.v.*] as a means of strengthening a new Turkish national identity; this was parallelled by his encouragement of the study of the pre-Ottoman history of Anatolia, the geographic base of the new Republic. Largely for political reasons, therefore, the original Ottoman (from 1923, Turkish) Historical Society was wound up in the late 1920s, to be succeeded in 1932 by a new Turkish Historical Society, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, under Atatürk's patronage. Anatolian archaeology (reported from 1937 in the new journal *Belleten*) and Saldjūḳ Anatolia were two principal areas of study to benefit. A prolific researcher in both was Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938), director of the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities, who published widely on pre-Ottoman coins, seals and architectural inscriptions.

The outstanding Turkish historian of the early Republican era was Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (1890-

1966 [*q.v.*]), whose several hundred academic publications between 1912 and 1950 ranged over literary, institutional, social and political history. In one of his most influential works, *Les origines de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris 1935, Turkish tr. Ankara 1954, English tr. New York 1992), he located the principal elements of Ottoman success in the social and political conditions of the 13th- and 14th-century Anatolian Turkish emirates, thus mounting a strong challenge to the hitherto prevailing Western notion that the strengths of the Ottoman state derived mainly from their control of the Balkans. Widely respected outside Turkey, Köprülü's views on the nature of mediaeval Anatolian society both stimulated and gave credibility to the new Republican generation of Turkish historians.

Other historians inspired by the topics of the "Atatürk era" include Mükrimin Ḥalil Yınanç (1898-1961), Osman Turan (1914-77) and İbrahim Kafesoğlu (1914-84) on the Saldjūḳs of Rūm and other Anatolian Turks; and Zeki Velidi Togan (1890-1970), a Bashkir emigré after the fall of the Russian empire, who wrote on both the history of the Turks of Central Asia (2 vols., 1946-47) and historical method (*Tarihde usul*, 1950). A study of Ottoman intellectual history, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, was published by Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar (1882-1955) in 1940. The latter was also first editor-in-chief of the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, a Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published under the auspices of the Ministry of Education.

With the declining emphasis upon Turkish national and Anatolian history after Atatürk's death, Turkish historians' interests broadened. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1888-1977)'s multi-volume *Osmanlı tarihi* and his accompanying studies of Ottoman administrative institutions, dating from the mid-1940s onwards, symbolise the rehabilitation of the study of Ottoman history. Wider scope and differing approaches to historical writing were further encouraged by the freer political climate of the 1960s, the increasing interest shown by Western scholars, and the greater use made of the Ottoman archives. Attention focussed first on the successful early Ottoman state up to *ca.* 1600, and on the 19th-century *Tanẓīmāt* reforms as background to the development of the Republic. By the 1990s study of the relatively "dark ages" of the 17th and 18th centuries had also come into vogue. In what follows there is room to mention only a handful of the most distinguished of the many important Turkish historians of the later 20th-century. The vast majority of modern Turkish historical writing is on Ottoman/Turkish/Islamic subjects; work outside these areas is rare.

Ömer Lutfi Barkan (1902-79) pioneered the modern study of Ottoman socio-economic history, a field which has dominated recent historiography in Turkey and has produced a lively debate on the nature of Ottoman "feudalism". Barkan's studies on early Ottoman land law, *ḳānūn* collections, the *tīmār* system, colonization, financial "budgets", *waḳf* endowments, etc., culminated in a major two-volume study on the building of the Süleymaniye mosque, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı* (Ankara 1972, 1979).

Halil İnalcık (b. 1916) has published prolifically on virtually all fields and periods of Ottoman history, but especially on political and socio-economic aspects of the pre-modern empire. Much of his work has been published in English and has been particularly influential. *The Ottoman empire: the classical age, 1300-1600* (London 1973) is a standard introduction to the subject; much of his later work is encapsulated in Part I of *An economic and social history of the Ottoman empire, 1300-1914* (ed. H. İnalcık and D. Quataert, Cambridge 1994, 11-409).

Notable historians of the early empire include M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ (1918-83), M. Tayyib Gökbilgin (1907-81), and Cengiz Orhonlu (1927-75); prominent scholars studying the 19th century include M. Cavid Baysun (1899-1968) and Münir Aktepe. Ottoman historiography was the province of Bekir Kütükoğlu, and architectural history that of Semavi Eyice. Late Ottoman and early Republican intellectual history has been studied by the sociologist and historian Şerif Mardin, and post-1800 political and social history by Kemal Karpat.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

4. In Muslim India.

It is often said, though inaccurately, that history came to India with the Muslims. The existence of Indian dynastic annals is attested in the epigraphic *praśastis* from the 4th century A.D. onwards; and Bāṇa's *Harshačarita* of the 1st/7th century and Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* (6th/12th) represent important landmarks of the pre-Islamic historical tradition. But so far as we can judge, this tradition existing mainly in Sanskrit did not exercise any traceable influence on the Muslims' pursuit of history-writing in India, such as, let us say, the *Shāh-nāma* tradition exercised on Perso-Muslim historiography.

The Islamic phase of history-writing in India began with a remarkable work, an Arabic work of unknown title and authorship, its Persian translation made, *ca.* 613/1216-17, by ʿAlī b. Ḥamīd Kūfī, now known as the *Čač-nāma* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The work consists essentially of two parts, an account of the Brahman dynasty of Sind preceding the Arab conquest, and a narrative of the Arab conquest 92-5/710-14. The former part is seemingly a translation of a local dynastic chronicle, and the latter and larger portion, a collection of narratives of the nature of those contained in al-Ṭabarī's great history, with the Arab and tribal biases of individual narrators being fairly well manifest. Except for one interpolation, at the end, the original Arabic text seems to have been completed during the 3rd/9th century, though some material may indeed be much earlier.

Indo-Persian historiography proper begins with Ḥasan Niẓāmī's very ornate work, the *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, completed in 614/1217, dealing with the first two sultans of Dihlī. But the first major work is Minhādj b. Sirādj Djuzdjānī's [*q.v.*] *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, completed in 657/1259, a history of Islamic dynasties, but very rich on the Ghūrid dynasty, the early sultans of India and their nobles and on the contemporary Mongol empire, for which too it constitutes a valuable contemporary record.

A series of historical works by the poet Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]), sc. the *Ḳirān al-saʿdayn* (688/1289), *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ* (690/1291), *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ* (711/1311-12), *Duwal Rānī Khaḍir Khān* (715/1316), *Nuh-sipihr* (718/1318) and *Tughluḳ-nāma* (720/1320), give rather uneven glimpses into the history of the period, especially of the Khaldjī dynasty (689-720/1290/1320). Despite their contemporariness to the events they describe, the poet's proneness to complex verse, stylistic digressions, words with double meanings and complicated rhetoric, deprive his works of much substance, and flattery overshadows genuine insight and truth.

A totally different kind of work, and one perhaps, entitled to be treated as a true history under any definition, is Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī's [*q.v.*] *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-*

Shāhī, completed in 758/1357, treating of the history of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] from Balban's accession in 664/1265 to Fīrūz Tughluḳ's early years. Baranī has a definite theory of history, in which the sultan's natural urge to aggrandise is seen as a threat to the stability of the nobility, since political stability must in his view, be based on respect for station according to birth. Baranī is masterly in his sketches of character, brilliant in his insights on complicated economic situations and administrative measures. His fluent and trenchant style, unaffected by any attempt at ornateness, makes him one of the great Indian masters of Persian prose.

Compared to Baranī, the other two histories of the Dihlī sultans, ʿIṣāmī's [*q.v.*] versified *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* (750/1349-50) and Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (838/1434) are prosaic works, though furnishing us with much information derived independently of Baranī. Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf has left us a history of Fīrūz Shāh (r. 752-90/1351-8), written after Tīmūr's invasion (801/1398), which manages to be factual (though somewhat weak in dates) despite much rhetoric.

The 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries saw the production of a few histories of provincial dynasties, such as the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Muẓaffar Shāhī* (889/1484) and the *Ḍamīma-yi ma'āthir-i Maḥmūd Shāhī* (916/1511), relating to Gudjarāt, and Shihāb Ḥakīm's *Ma'āthir-i Maḥmūd Shāhī* (completed before 906/1500), relating to Mālwā. Rather surprisingly, no history of the two Afghān dynasties, the Lodīs (854-932/1450-1526) and the Sūrs (945-62/1540-56) was written during the period of their rule. For the Lodīs, there is the later *Wāḳiʿāt-i Mushtāḳī*, by Rizḳ Allāh "Mushtāḳī" (d. 989/1581), a work of an anecdotal character but the main source for later accounts of the Lodīs; and for the Sūrs, ʿAbbās Sarwānī's *Tuḥfa-yi Akbarshāhī* (written after 987/1579) remains the main source.

The establishment of the Mughal dynasty, with Bābur's victory at Pānīpat (932/1526 [*q.v.*]), inaugurated a new era in history writing. Bābur (d. 937/1530) continued the writing of his Turkī memoirs in India, so that he has given us a fascinating account of India and a frank description of the events of a large part of his four years' reign in India. These memoirs were translated into Persian with commendable accuracy by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (998/1589-90).

With Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma* setting the model for Tīmūrid history writing, the greatest historical work, which took it for its model, but undoubtedly went much beyond it, is Abu 'l-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma*, first text completed in 1004/1596. This official history of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar not only used a large amount of archival material, but also a number of specially-commissioned memoirs, among which only a few survive, such as those of Gulbadan Begam and Bāyazīd Bayāt, as well as historical narratives especially sponsored to provide material, of which ʿAbbās Sarwānī's above-mentioned work is one. Abu 'l-Faḍl has a much larger vision of history than one of mere annals, and he therefore appended to his narrative history what came to be considered as a separate work, the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, containing massive fiscal, financial and social data, a detailed provincial gazetteer and a cultural history of India. It is remarkable in being without any religious bias and in treating Indian culture as a composite one to which both Hindu and Muslim traditions have contributed.

Akbar's reign saw the production of the first general history of India, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* (1002/1593-4). Especially notable was his endeavour to reconstruct the history of provincial dynasties as part of the general political history of India. He was followed by Ḳāsim Hindū-Shāh "Firishta", who, in his *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (1015/1606-7), gave a still more detailed history of the country, and showed considerable critical sense in using his sources. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badā'ūnī [*q.v.*] completed his *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* in 1004/1595-6, another history of India, which draws much of its information from Niẓām al-Dīn's work. But he concentrates on Akbar's reign, of whose events he gives a trenchantly critical interpretation from an orthodox Muslim point of view. His biographical sketches of scholars and other celebrities in his concluding portion form a special feature of his work.

Djahāngīr (r. 1014-37/1605-27) followed Bābur in writing his own memoirs. These are in Persian and appear to have begun to be written like a diary soon after his accession and continue up to 1034/1624. Djahāngīr writes in simple and literary prose with a surprising degree of frankness; and his deep interest in art and in natural history, as well as the life of ordinary people, particularly enliven his memoirs for the modern reader.

With his successor Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-58) begins another series of official histories. First, Muḥammad Amīn Ḳazwīnī was commissioned to write the *Pādshāh-nāma*, based on official records. His account covered the first ten years of Shāh Djahān's reign. A shift from the solar to lunar calendar for dating events, and perhaps other reasons, led Shāh Djahān to commission ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī to write the history of these ten years afresh. Lāhawrī ultimately produced a very detailed account of the twenty years (lunar) of Shāh Djahān's reign, also under the title *Pādshāh-nāma*. The account of the third decade was prepared, as a continuation, by his pupil Muḥammad Wārith. Awrangzīb (1068-1118/1659-1707) had the history of the first ten years of his reign, written by Muḥammad Kāẓim, entitled the *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*. All these official histories have some features in common. They are accurate as to dates and details, for which official records are their main source; they pay much attention to geography; and their authors are anxious to convey to the reader the imperial view, whether in commendation or criticism of individuals or in assessment of causes and consequences of various events. Their model for the narration of events was Abu 'l-Faḍl, though they obviously do not share his views on religion (now no longer the official ones), nor his very large vision of history that had embraced, as we have seen, the full range of economic and cultural life.

Since Awrangzīb did not allow any further official history to be written after 1079/1668, the era of private histories now began. The most notable was Abu 'l-Faḍl Maʿmūrī's untitled history, which was almost entirely incorporated in Khāfī Khān's well-known *Muntakhab al-lubāb* (1144/1731), a general history of India. Maʿmūrī's critical approach was shared by Bhīm Sen, a Hindu commander, whose *Nuskha-yi dilkushā* (1120/1709) is a combination of history and memoirs, written with much candour and insight (e.g. his discussion of the agrarian roots of the Marāṭhā uprising). Sāḳī Mustaʿidd Khān's *Ma'āthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (1122/1710-11) is designed to provide an ostensibly official history of Awrangzīb's reign, and therefore follows the style of such histories, but is much briefer. Awrangzīb's reign is also marked by the appearance of Hindu historians writing in Persian: besides Bhīm Sen, we have Isardās Nāgar and Sudjān Rāy Bhandārī [*q.v.*].

Historical works in Persian became still more numer-

ous in the 12th/18th century. Khāfī Khān's history has already been mentioned. An anonymous work, the *Tārīkh-i Shīvādjī*, written before 1191/1777, consciously presents the Marāthā point of view on Shīvādjī, which is based on a Marāthī narration or *bakhar*.

Perhaps the most interesting historical work of this late phase is Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī's *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* (completed in 1195/1781), covering the period from 1118/1707 onwards in great detail. Its close account of the English East India Company's conquests and government, and its strong criticism of the practices of that system of government assured it of a large readership, especially through Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā's celebrated translation (1789). It belongs partly to the genre of works produced under English patronage, such as Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *'Imād al-sa'ādat* (completed in 1223/1808), relating to Awadh [*q.v.*], and Lačhmī Narāyan "Shafīķ's" *Bisāṭ al-ghanā'im* (1214/1799), a history of the Marāthās down to 1174/1761.

Modern historiography began to exercise its influence in the 13th/19th century. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*] wrote the *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* in Urdu in 1847 on the buildings of Dihlī; and his young friend Dhakā' Allāh produced the first history of India in Urdu, containing the results of modern research and first published in 1316/1898.

A discipline which followed a tradition distinct from history was that of biography. The biographical notices of 25 slave commanders of Sultan Iltutmish (*mamlūk-i Shamsī*) that Djuzdjānī gave in the *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī* finds no sequel in historical works of the succeeding generations. But with the Mughals, a new tradition of bureaucratic biography began. On 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān was written a long biographical work, the *Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī* by 'Abd al-Bāķī Nihāwandī in 1025/1616; and Ni'mat Allāh included in his *Tārīkh-i Khān Djahānī* (1021/1613), a full biography of his patron Khān-i Djahān Lodī, another commander of Djahāngīr's. The pioneering step towards compiling a comprehensive biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobility was taken by Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī in his *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn* (1060/1650), the result of extensive reading and collection of oral information. Much of his work was incorporated, along with other extensive data independently collected from other histories, epistolary collections and records, in the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Āzād Bilgrāmī and 'Abd al-Ḥayy (finally completed in 1194/1780), which contains over 730 biographies. A much smaller work of a similar kind, but earlier in date, had been Kewal Rām's *Tadhkirat al-umarā'* (1140/1727-8).

The biographical literature on religious divines begins with Mīr Khwurd's *Siyar al-awliyā'* (completed before 790/1387), a fairly detailed and reliable narrative of the lives of the Indian Čishtī saints from Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. 638/1236) onwards. A subsequent work on fourteen Čishtī saints, the *Siyar al-'ārifīn* of Shaykh Djamālī (d. 942/1536), is less reliable but obtained considerable popularity. With 'Abd al-Ḥaķķ's *Akhbār al-akhyār* (999/1591) began the tradition of compilation of biographical dictionaries of Indian saints without distinction of mystical affiliation. Ghawthī Shaṭṭārī's *Gulzār-i abrār* (1022/1613) is a similar but much more comprehensive work, beginning with saints of the 7th/13th century, in which the compiler showed great care and industry.

Ṣadīd al-Dīn 'Awfī's [*q.v.*] *Lubāb al-albāb*, with biographical notices of some 300 poets, technically belongs to India since it was written (618/1221-2) under Nāṣir al-Dīn Ķubāča, the ruler of Sind. But the first major work of this genre was 'Alā' al-Dawla Kāmī's *Nafā'is al-ma'āthir* (begun in 973/1565-6), written under Akbar, giving notices of some 350 poets, all of his own century (the 10th/16th). Subsequent biographical dictionaries of poets include Shīr Khān Lodī's *Mir'āt al-khayāl* (1102/1690-1), Brindābandās's *Safīna-yi khwushgū* (1147/1734-5), Āzād Bilgrāmī's *Sarw-i āzād* (1166/1752-3) and Luṭf 'Alī Beg's *Ātishkada* (begun in 1174/1760-1). They are poetry selections as well, since each biographical notice is invariably followed by the author's selection of verses from that poet. It was partly by reliance on such biographical dictionaries of poets, besides information personally collected, that the *Āb-i ḥayāt* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād came to be written (1296/1880), combining the biographical dictionary form with a truly historical treatment of the Urdu language and literature.

Among more general biographical dictionaries covering scholars, mystics, theologians and poets, possibly the most noteworthy is that of Muḥammad Ṣādiķ, the *Ṭabaķāt-i Shāhdjahānī* (1046/1637), containing the lives of some 871 celebrities. A different kind of work is Mīrzā Muḥammad's *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī* (completed in 1190/1776) giving obituary notices of prominent men in a chronological sequence according to the years of their deaths.

Modern Indo-Muslim historiography. With the introduction of the results of modern Indological and Orientalist researches into Indian historiography, it now becomes very difficult to demarcate the Indo-Muslim stream from the general stream of South Asian historiography. Two trends may, however, be identified: the Indian nationalist one, which has emphasised the Muslim contribution to a composite Indian culture, and the separatist one, which has insisted on the study of the Muslim community as an independent political, social and cultural entity. The nationalist point of view found early expression in Mohammad Habib's *Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn* (1342/1924), a critical tract on that conqueror, and in Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian culture* (1340/1922). The most comprehensive statement of the nationalist viewpoint perhaps occurs in M. Mujeeb's *Indian Muslims* (1386/1967). The opposite school came to be represented particularly in the writings of Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, especially in his *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent* (*610-1947*) (1381/1962). The debate continues at various levels of historical writing in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, with the Aligarh School of historians in particular making a lively and significant contribution.

Bibliography: A major work of translated extracts from Indo-Islamic historical works remains H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols., London 1867-77. The sources in Persian are surveyed in Storey, i, parts 2-3. Other relevant works include P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960; Mohibbul Hasan (ed.), *Historians of medieval India*, Meerut 1983; Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and historiography during the reign of Akbar*, New Delhi 1976. See also M. Athar Ali, *The use of sources in Mughal historiography*, in *JRAS*, 3rd series, vol. v/3 (1995) 361-73.

(M. Athar Ali)

5. In West and Central Africa.

Our knowledge of the art of chronicling in sub-Saharan Africa is as yet rudimentary. What is currently known may be classified under three headings: (1) conventional chronicles by named authors; (2) biographical dictionaries; and (3) anonymous local chronicles and king-lists. It should be emphasised, however, that there are numerous unpublished works, and there

may yet be more manuscript material in the hands of local scholars.

(1) *Conventional chronicles.* The earliest chronicles in the region date from the late 10th/16th century. In Bornu, the Chief Imam (*al-imām al-kabīr*) Aḥmad b. Furṭuwā (or Furṭū) wrote a chronicle of the first twelve years (1564-76) of the reign of his patron, the *sulṭān* Idrīs Alōma (ed. and tr. D. Lange, *A Sudanic chronicle: the Borno expeditions of Idrīs Alauma (1564-1576)*, Stuttgart 1987), but says his work was inspired by an earlier chronicle, apparently written in the opening years of the century. He also wrote an account of his patron's expeditions against Kānem (Arabic text, Kano 1932, tr. H.R. Palmer, in *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928, i, 15-74). Because they are contemporary, and often eye-witness, accounts, they are especially valuable, despite their obvious biases; the same circumstance no doubt explains their lack of chronology apart from occasional phrases like "in the following year".

In the middle of the following century, two large chronicles were written in the Middle Niger region: the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī [*q.v.*], and the *Ta'rīkh al Fattāsh* of Maḥmūd Kaʿtī [*q.v.*], edited and added to by his maternal grandson Ibn al-Mukhtār. Both of these works principally chronicle the history of the Songhay empire [*q.v.*] from the mid-9th/15th century until the Saʿdian conquest of 1000/1591, though the *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān* continues its account to 1065/1655-6. The history of the *pashalik* of Timbuktu deriving from the Saʿdian conquest, from 1000/1591 to *ca.* 1150/1737-8 is recounted in the anonymous *Dīwān al-mulūk fī salāṭīn al-Sūdān* (ms. B.N., Paris, fonds arabe, 5259, fols. 88-152), which was subsequently (1164/1751) re-arranged by an unknown hand as a biographical dictionary of the pashas under the title *Tadhkirat al-nisyān fī akhbār mulūk al-Sūdān* (ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1899-1901). The cycle of chronicles is completed by the work of Mūlāy Ḳāsim b. Mūlāy Sulaymān covering the years 1160/1747 to 1215/1800-1 (text and tr. in M. Abitbol, *Tombouctou au milieu du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1982).

The area of southern Mauritania and the Senegal river valley also has a tradition of chronicle writing as yet only very partially explored. Most of these historical works seem to have been written in the 19th and 20th centuries. Chronicles of Walāta (Oualata) and Niʿma (Néma) have been published in translation (tr. Paul Marty, Paris 1927), and a number of smaller works were published in Ismaël Hamet (tr.), *Chroniques de la Mauritanie sénégalaise*, Paris 1911; one of these deals with the *djihād* of the 11th/17th-century Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Yadālī, and another with genealogies, a popular genre in Mauritania, where claim to Arab, and especially Sharīfian, ancestry, is of paramount social importance. A very extensive chronicle and encyclopaedia of the populations of the Senegal river valley was written by the Tukulor *shaykh* Mūsā Kamara (d. 1945), *Zuhūr al-basātīn fī ta'rīkh al-sawādīn.* French translations of some parts have already been published, and the bulk of the rest is to appear in four volumes under the direction of Jean Schmitz.

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed a proliferation of historical writing associated with the *djihād* of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (d. 1232/1817 [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ]) and the Islamic state which arose out of it (sometimes, misleadingly, called the "Sokoto Caliphate"). The earliest of these is the *Infāḳ al-maysūr fī ta'rīkh bilād al-Takrūr* of Shaykh ʿUthmān's son and military commander Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*]; this is an account of the *djihād* campaigns, with valuable material on the history of Islam in the central *bilād al-Sūdān* written in 1227/1812 (ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London 1951). Shaykh ʿUthmān's brother ʿAbd Allāh, who had written much poetry celebrating the victories of the *djihād* and elegising the dead, collected his poems together and wove an historical account around them, completing in 1228/1813 his *Tazyīn al-waraḳāt* (ed. and tr. M. Hiskett, Ibadan 1963), a work in the tradition of Ibn Hishām's *Sīra.* Another early account is that of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. al-Muṣṭafā (d. 1280/1864, see *ALA* II, 221-30), the so-called *Rawḍāt al-afkār*, which also contains a unique account of Gobir history in the 18th century (tr. H.R. Palmer, in *J. African Soc.*, xv [1915-16], 261-73). The annals of the dynasty founded by Shaykh ʿUthmān were largely written by the viziers of the succeeding sultans (see D.M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London 1967; idem, *Arabic source material and historiography in Sokoto*, in *Research Bull.* [Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan], i/2 [1965], 3-19, i/3 [1965], 1-7). These are detailed in *ALA* II, 184-212, the most comprehensive being the *Ḍabṭ al-multaḳaṭāt min al-akhbār al-mutafarriḳa fī 'l-mu'allafāt* of the late vizier Djunayd b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (Arabic text publ. Sokoto n.d.; Hausa tr., *Tarihin Fulani*, Zaria 1957). Less well known are the *Taḳāyīd mimmā waṣala ilaynā min aḥwāl umarā' al-muslimīn salāṭīn Ḥawsa* of al-Ḥādjdj Saʿīd, an outsider to the institution, covering the period down to 1854 (part 2 only ed. and tr. O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sokoto*, at end of his tr. of *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*); and the unpublished *Kanz al-awlād wa 'l-dharārī* of Muḥammad Sambo b. Aḥmad al-Kulawī, written in 1234/1818-19, a long and rambling work of general Islamic history, pious biography and Fulani genealogy and history, not well regarded by Sokoto scholars and hence neglected (see *ALA* II, 230-1). Of local accounts of the *djihād* and its aftermath, two deserve mention, both unpublished: the *Taḳyīd al-akhbār* of Muḥammad Zangi on Kano (written in 1284/1868, see *ALA* II, 342), and the *Ta'līf akhbār al-ḳurūn* of Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr called Ọmọ Ikokoro, on Ilorin (written 1330/1912, see *ALA* II, 447).

(2) *Biographical dictionaries.* There are few works of this genre, but the following deserve mention: the celebrated collection of biographies of Mālikī scholars of North and West Africa and Andalusia, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-dībādj* by Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbuktī (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), publ. on the margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībādj al-mudhahhab*, to which it forms a supplement (Cairo 1351/1932-3, see also A. Cherbonneau, *Essai sur la littérature arabe au Soudan d'après le Tekmilet ed-Dibadje d'Ahmed Baba le Tombouctien*, in *Annales de la soc. arch. de Constantine*, ii [1854-5], 1-42); Aḥmad Bābā also wrote (1012/1603) an abridgement, *Kifāyat al-muḥtādj li-maʿrifat man laysa fī 'l-dībādj*, which remains unpublished. In 1214/1799-1800 a scholar of Walāta, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīḳ al-Barritaylī (or al-Bartilī) wrote *Fatḥ al-Shakūr fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamā' al-Takrūr* (ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kattānī and Muḥammad Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1401/1981), which provides biographies of scholars and saints of southern Mauritania and Middle Niger region. It was complemented by the *Minaḥ al-rabb al-ghafūr fī mā ahmalahu ṣāḥib Fatḥ al-Shakūr* of Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Walātī (d. 1917), the single known manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmad Baba (CEDRAB) at Timbuktu, ms. no. 669. In fact, the work goes beyond the simple compass of a biographical dictionary and merges this genre with the genre of annals (*ḥawliyyāt*), and in so doing provides much valuable information on the history of southern Mauritania

and northern Mali in the 19th century. Preserved in the same collection are the *Izālat al-rayb* of Aḥmad Bu 'l-Aʿrāf, and *al-Saʿādat al-abadiyya* of Aḥmad Bābēr al-Arawānī, the first broadly covering Mauritania and the Middle Niger, the second memorialising Timbuktu scholars.

(3) *Anonymous local chronicles and king-lists.* There is a considerable local literature of such material in central Sudanic Africa (especially within present-day Niger and Nigeria, see *ALA* II, ch. 14). Most of these materials are in Arabic, but there are items in Hausa, Nupe and Kanuri (the *girgams*, published in translation by H.R. Palmer in *Sudanese memoirs*, Lagos 1928). The best known are the chronicles of Agadès, which together cover the period 809-1307/1406-1890 (see J. Urvoy, *Chroniques d'Agadès*, in *J. Société des Africanistes*, iv [1934], 145-77), and the chronicles of Kano. There are several extant king-lists of Kano recorded in the 19th century, at least one of which contains narrative material (see J.O. Hunwick, *Not yet the Kano Chronicle: king-lists with and without narrative elaboration from nineteenth-century Kano*, in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 95-130). These list rulers of Kano, beginning with Bagauda (putatively 11th century), with regnal lengths, but no absolute chronology, down to the date when the particular list was recorded to writing.

In the late 19th century, an anonymous writer, perhaps a court official, wrote was has come to be known as "The Kano Chronicle". The basis of it is king-list material; hence it has only regnal lengths and no absolute chronology. It covers the history of Kano, from its legendary origins (putatively in the 5th/11th century), down to the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Bello (*r.* 1883-92). On to the king-list has been grafted material on the administration of Kano sultanate, the history of Islam and Kano's external relations. This material appears to be largely oral in origin, and is written in an idiosyncratic style reflecting its compiler's Hausa background (see Hunwick, *A historical whodunit: the so-called "Kano Chronicle" and its place in the historiography of Kano*, in *History in Africa*, xxi [1994], 127-46; P. Lovejoy *et alii*, *C.L. Temple's "Notes on the history of Kano" [1909]: a lost chronicle on political office*, in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 7-76). No Arabic text has ever been published, but it was translated into English by Palmer (*Sudanese memoirs*, iii, 92-132) and into Hausa under the direction of Rupert East (*Labarun Hausa da Makwabtansu*, Zaria 1933, ii, 3-58, with additional material covering the period down to 1926). Material of a similar nature was used by Ādam Na-Maʿadji in his *al-Iʿlān bi-ta'rīkh Kanū* (1352/1933-4). A Hausa chronicle of Kano from *ca.* 1819 down to the 1950s was written by Abubakar Dokaji, *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*, Zaria 1959.

A similar king-list tradition existed in Katsina (see *ALA* II, 584-5), though no elaborated form comparable to the "Kano Chronicle" emerged. The same is true in Bornu (see *ALA* II, 568-73) where a king-list was maintained going back to the 5th/11th century (see D. Lange, *Le Dīwān des sultans du (Kānem)-Bornu*, Wiesbaden 1977), and many brief anonymous, and generally undated, historical accounts have been written, some under the stimulus, or at the request, of colonial officials. Neighbouring Mandara also has its chronicles (see *ALA* II, 588-9; chronicles published in Eldridge Mohammedou, *Le royaume du Wandala ou Mandara au XIXᵉ siècle*, new ed., Tokyo 1982).

Farther west in what is now the Republic of Ghana, there is a tradition of local chronicle writing in Arabic that goes back to the mid-12th/18th century. Several of these items were published in Ivor Wilks *et alii*, *Chronicles from Gonja*, Cambridge 1986. Other brief chronicles of polities in northern Ghana were published in Wilks, *Wa and the Wala*, Cambridge 1989. Hausa chronicles concerning the late 19th-century Zabarma invasions of northern Ghana under Babatu have been published by S. Pilaszewicz, *The Zabarma conquest of Northern Ghana and Upper Volta*, Warsaw 1992 (but see Wilks in *Sudanic Africa*, iv [1993], 213-22).

In the area of western Sudanic Africa, there are also local anonymous chronicles for areas such as Futa Djallon and Futa Toro (see *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'IFAN*, Dakar 1966: fonds Brevié, fonds Gaden, fonds Veillard): and for 19th-century Mali, these latter materials being largely preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see Noureddine Ghali *et alii*, *Inventaire de la bibliothèque ʿUmarienne de Ségou*, Paris 1985; David Robinson, *The Holy War of Umar Tal*, Oxford 1985), and at CEDRAB, Timbuktu (see *Sudanic Africa*, iii [1992], 173-81; *Fihris makhṭūṭāt markaz Aḥmad Bābā li 'l-tawthīk*, i, ed. Sidi Amar ould Ely, London 1995).

In the Middle Niger region and southern Mauritania, there is a tradition of recording obituaries and significant events (*ḥawādith, wakāʾiʿ*), which is first evident in the later chapters of al-Saʿdī's *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, but which also has an independent existence.

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(J.O. Hunwick)

6. In East Africa.

South of the plains below Ethiopia [see SOMALI], Islam had not penetrated the hinterland before the 19th century. Even our knowledge of the history of the coast is at best fragmentary. Agatharchides of Cnidus, Strabo, Pliny, Cl. Ptolemy, Cosmas Indicopleustes make tantalisingly brief references, which become only more extensive in *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of *ca.* A.D. 50.

The first Arab author to make a historical statement was al-Djāḥiẓ, with some brief statements on the people of Pemba and Zanzibar. He was possibly a native of the former. Mediaeval Arab references are summarised in the art. SOFĀLA, and in detail by J.S. Trimingham, and sources for China by P. Wheatley. The most important accounts are of al-Idrīsī, al-Masʿūdī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, with the anecdotal references of Buzurg b. Shahriyār al-Rāmhurmuzī.

The earliest local document is preserved only in Portuguese by João dos Barros, the *Crónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*. This history is an account of the foundation of the sultanate of Kilwa [*q.v.*] and its sultans from the 10th century until *ca.* 1505, when the succession was contested. It was originally in Arabic. The *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*, B.L. ms. Or. 2666, a 19th-century copy of a history of the dynasty up to *ca.* 1550, was presented to Sir John Kirk by Sultan Barghash in 1877. It relates the history of the dynasty with, like the Portuguese document, some *lacunae.* Later, its fortunes in the 18th century are related in the 1770s by a French slave-trader, Morice, preserved in Rhodes House, Oxford, and in the Archives de France.

In the Lamu archipelago, a traditional Swahili *Habari za Pate* ("History of Pate") claims that the sultanate was founded in A.H. 600. It has the unusual feature of citing the full male descent of each sultan until 1224/1809. Additions were made by two further hands up to the end of the century when the sultanate foundered. Two traditional histories in Arabic, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya* (unpublished) and the *Kitāb al-Zunūdj* (ed. E. Cerulli) are compilations from precedent Arabic accounts of a confusing nature and of slender historical value other than as examples of what passed

for history. They are currently being edited by J.McL. Ritchie, who has also edited *The history of the Mazrui dynasty of Mombasa* by the former Chief *Ḳāḍī* of the Kenya Coast, Sh. al-Amīn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrūʿī, written from family papers *ca.* 1945. Brief fragments, in Swahili, refer to Lamu and to Kua, and the Mafia Is., while oral traditions of the Tanzanian coast were collected at the end of the 19th century by C.G. Büttner and by C. Velten. In the 1930s, many oral traditions in Swahili were collected in Tanganyika in "District Books" on government orders, and relate to the whole interior. Sir John Gray's *History of Zanzibar* also contains traditional Swahili material relating to Zanzibar and Pemba. Farther south, no local documents have been reported from Mozambique, but a number of traditions from the Comoro Islands, in Arabic and in Swahili, have been published or listed by C. Allibert, Mayotte. All this literature is preoccupied with dynasties and the fortunes of rulers, with only occasional glimpses of commerce, trade or economic traditions.

For the Swahili-speaking peoples, "literature" consists rather of poetry, epic, historical as well as lyric, the latter often with an underlying political purpose. Much has been published by W.H. Whiteley, J. Knappert, H.E. Lambert and others. In the 1960s J.W.T. Allen photographed a very substantial number of Swahili and Arabic mss. in private hands, returning them to their owners. The results of his research are preserved in Dar es Salaam University Library, with copies in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, which fill nineteen large volumes. They contain matter of every description, and have received little attention from scholars. The Zanzibar Archives are known to contain some 300 mss. in Arabic from the library of the former sultans. They have never been studied, let alone even listed.

The historian of the area in pre-colonial times is greatly assisted by advances in archaeology, which can explain even some of the problems of the documents. John Walker, in articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1936, 1938, established the coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa; coinages from Zanzibar and from Mogadishu have been established by the present writer in the same journal, and for Pemba by H.W. Mitchell Brown. Excavations at Mtambwe Mkuu, Pemba Is., Shanga Is. off Lamu, and on Tumbatu Is. off Zanzibar, by M.C. Horton, have eventuated in a clearer historical chronology. Ceramics show firm Sāsānid-Islamic connections, and the coins have connections with 8th-century Amīrs of Sind and with 10th- and 11th-century Fāṭimid Cairo. What is possibly a wreck find of Fāṭimid dinars of the same period has been found recently (1995) off Madagascar. The historical chronologies based on archaeology of both J.S. Kirkman in Kenya and of H.N. Chittick in both Kenya and Tanzania have now had to be revised, with the result that the penetration of Islam into the area is now certain by the 8th century, not three or four centuries later. Commercial connections with Sīrāf and Persia are well demonstrated by Sāsānid-Islamic pottery at no less than twenty sites in the Lamu area alone. These advances also sustain verisimilitude to the late evidence for the histories of Kilwa and Pate.

For Mozambique, we know little from archaeology and nothing from numismatics. The principal sources are the Portuguese accounts of the 16th and following centuries, much of which is owed to the massive work of the late A. da Silva Rego. Arab Sofala was ultimately demolished to furnish masonry for Beira cathedral. Its hinterland was the source of the gold, which, with ivory and to a lesser degree slaves, were the staples of the prosperity of Kilwa and of Ḳanbalū on Pemba Island. There in its heyday the remains of a mosque capable of accommodating 600 worshippers show the wealth of an entrepôt serving as a stop from Sofala for trade being carried as far away as Peking (Beijing).

In the mid-19th century, Islam followed trade routes from Zanzibar into the interior, reaching Uganda and the court of Kampala, and westwards into the Congo, later Zaïre. In southern Tanzania, when the Benedictine missionaries were interned as German enemy aliens in World War I, many catechumens Islamised. They form a substantial proportion of the population to this day. This success of Islam over Christianity was not accomplished by spontaneous conversions, but rather by the work of members of Islamic *ṭarīḳas* or fraternities, of which B.G. Martin has given a detailed account. To the writer's personal knowledge, these were still active in the 1950s. There is no reason to suppose that their work ceased with the coming of independence, for the membership of fraternities gave the sense of belonging to a wider world. There is a widely distributed pamphlet literature of a popular nature which has not received scholarly attention.

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MANDA; MAZRŪʿĪ; MOMBASA; MOZAMBIQUE; MTAMBWE MKUU; PATE; PEMBA; SHUNGWAYA; SIŪ; SOFĀLA.

(G.S.P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

7. In Indonesia and Malaysia.

Among a multitude of local languages, the great literary traditions of Indonesia and Malaysia are in Javanese and Malay. Javanese is the older and more richly elaborated, while Malay became the foremost vehicle for Islamic writings and the basis of the modern national languages of Indonesia and Malaysia [see INDONESIA. iii. Languages].

Javanese historiography of the pre-Muslim period (8th to 15th centuries) reflects the Indic culture of the courts in viewing history as the cyclic succession of four ages of declining morality, and appraising kings accordingly. The subject of dynastic succession is foremost, for example in the *Pararaton* ("Book of Kings", 15th century), a narrative of the rulers of East Java dated with chronograms in the Indic Śaka era. The rise of Islamic commercial centres like Demak on the north coast of Java in the 16th century spurred an interest in history writing. Great changes in the social order, the introduction of Islam and the demise of the old Indic agrarian kingdom of Madjapahit required historical explanation. With Islam came a new historical treasury: the stories of the prophets (*Sĕrat Anbiya*), the Amīr Ḥamza cycle (Ménak, an analogue of the older heroic-romantic legends of the Pañjī cycle and elaborated into a whole genre of literature and theatre), the popular traditions of Yusuf (Yusup), and the life of the Prophet celebrated in Mawlid (Maulud) recitations. The Iskandar legends, so widely used for political legitimation, become in Java the stories of Baron Sakĕṇdĕr's conflicts with the Dutch.

The challenge of this alternative historical framework is confronted in the 17th century formulations of a new kind of universal history, known as *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* ("Narratives"), which conflated Islamic traditions with indigenous and Indic mythical elements, all as the foundation for Javanese dynastic histories. Miracle stories of early rulers, prominent in the *Pararaton* etc., were now woven around the nine saints (*wali sanga*) credited with the establishment of Islam in Java, some of whom were rulers of North Java principalities. Their lives and descent became a staple of the new histories. Thus, while accommodating new foreign elements, these writings remained almost wholly focused on Java. The culmination of this genre is the *Babad tanah jawi* ("The settlement of Java"), a cluster of texts celebrating the Mataram dynasty which under Sultan Agung united most of Java in the early 17th century. In them, Nabi Adam is made the first ruler of Java, but within four generations his descent becomes a line of wholly Javanese culture heroes who mingle with Hindu gods. The achievement of Mataram (and its historiography) was to re-unite this senior, left-hand line with the junior, right-hand line of descent running through the Javanese *walis*. The profound localisation of Islam inherent in this historiography is mirrored by the Javanese calendar, which after 1633 adopted the Muslim months and lunar year but continued to number the years according to the Indian-derived Śaka era and, generally, to express dates in chronograms.

Of other regional historiographies, Balinese and Sundanese are pre-Islamic and later offshoots of the Javanese tradition respectively. A significant independent tradition flourished among the Bugis and Makasar peoples of South Sulawesi, based on chronicle-keeping, meticulously dated, using both the Christian and Muslim eras, but leaning to the former. All these literatures used pre-Muslim scripts.

Malay-language historiography is, by contrast, recognisably Islamic in form and content. No historical writing in Malay, nor indeed Malay literature of any kind, pre-dates the adoption of Islam in the 14th century. Malay then became the major vehicle through which Islamic civilisation penetrated the archipelago, and the literary and intellectual language of Islamic communities. Consequently, we find an array of local histories of very varied nature and focus covering the whole maritime world of the archipelago from Aceh to Ternate, including the north Java coast. Before the 19th century, all were written in the Arabic script, and employed the Muslim calendar (if they gave dates at all). The most influential of these local histories was that of the powerful Melaka sultanate, entitled *Sulālat al-salāṭīn* ("The race of kings"), popularly *Sejarah melayu* ("Malay genealogies"), written about 1612. It places Malay genealogy and anecdotal history in a Muslim framework by integrating it with the Perso-Indic Iskandar legend. Like the *Babad tanah jawi*, the *Sejarah melayu* spawned many local variants updated to record the history of related branches of the royal house. Other regional histories particularly worthy of mention are the *Hikayat Iskandar Muda* ("Romance of Iskandar Muda") of Aceh, supposed to be modelled on Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*; and the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Romance of Merong Mahawangsa), from Kedah, which conflates the Iskandar legend with the Rāmāyana. Though they are by no means analytical or moralistic works, these local histories typically include accounts of the local adoption of Islam, which—to a significantly greater degree than the Javanese histories—acknowledge it as fundamental in the development of state and society.

Beside these traditional dynastic histories there has been more self-reflective historiography. The earliest example is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Bustān al-salāṭīn* ("Garden of kings"), in seven books, written in Aceh in 1638-43, which presents chapters on Melaka and Aceh in the context of a truly universal moral history of Islamic civilisation. The impact of al-Rānīrī's synthesis was lost, however, as portions of his integrated books were transmitted as separate manuscripts. Major advances in historiographical method were made by Raja ʿAlī Ḥādjī in his histories of Riau. His synthetic history, *Salāsilah melayu dan bugis* ("The Malay and Bugis lineages," 1865), expounds a new method of source criticism in which the principles for judging the strength of *aḥādīth* are adapted to judging competing historical accounts.

A modernist successor to al-Rānīrī's universal history is *Sejarah umat islam* ("History of the Muslim community") by Hamka (Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah), the son of a renowned Muslim scholar. Published in 1961 and frequently reprinted in both Indonesia and Malaysia, this four-volume history of Islam begins with the life of the Prophet and concludes with the resistance of Indonesia's Islamic kingdoms to European incursions in the 17th century. It is markedly deferential to Western authorities, reproducing European testimonials to the greatness of the Prophet, relying heavily on colonial scholarship on Indonesian Islam, and applying its a priori methods for sifting fact (*fakta*) from myth and legend in a scientific (*ilmiyah*) manner. Hamka's history countered the Java-centred nationalist histories which glorified Indonesia's pre-Muslim antiquity, such as the writings of his fellow Minangkabau, Muhammad Yamin.

In 1974 the quasi-secular Indonesian government published its pervasively influential official national history, *Sejarah nasional Indonesia*. This seven-volume work

cautiously acknowledges the adoption of Islam by most peoples of Indonesia as a step forward in the nation's social and cultural development, but down-plays the role of Islam as a unifying political force. It sees the adoption of Islam as but a prelude to the defining narrative of Indonesia's national identity: that is, heroic opposition to colonial rule.

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(I. Proudfoot)

III. In the Sense of "Chronogram"

This is a device much used in Persian and Turkish poetry to indicate the date of some event by means of the sum of the numerical values of the letters that make up a word or phrase. A simple example is the verse inscribed on the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ:

ču dar khāk-i Muṣallē sākht manzil
bidjō tārīkh-ash az khāk-i Muṣallē

"Since he made his home in the earth of (the place called) Muṣallā, seek then its date from (the words) 'earth of Muṣallā'", where the value of the letters in *khāk-i Muṣallē* indicates the date of the poet's death, 791/1389. This is an explicit chronogram, where the reader is told very clearly which words need to have their letters counted, but things are not always so easy, many chronograms having more the character of elaborate riddles.

Sometimes the date of composition of a poetic work is indicated by a chronogram, generally in the last verse, though such verses have not infrequently been added, or tampered with, by copyists. But more commonly, as in the example cited above, the chronogram is in a separate short poem composed expressly to date some important event, though in this case, too, the chronogram can only be considered as sound historical evidence if it can be demonstrated that the author was a contemporary, and arithmetically competent, witness.

For comparable phenomena in Arabic, see ḥisāb al-djummal.

Bibliography: Browne, *LHP*, ii, 76-7; Gibb, *HOP* (see the index, s.v. "Chronograms").

(F.C. de Blois)

TARIM, a river in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China (Eastern Turkestan). It is formed at the confluence of the Kāshghar and Yarkand rivers, and flows through the northern part of the Tarim basin until it reaches, on the east, the Lob Nor lake. The river's historical importance lies chiefly in the name associated with this unique area.

The Tarim basin, an elevated ellipsoid depression (1280 km/800 miles from east to west, 640 km/400 miles from north to south) bordered by massive mountain complexes (Kunlun, Altyntagh and Nanshan on the south, Pamir on the west, Tianshan on the north), consists of three or more distinct segments: the Takla Makan desert as its core, the string of mostly piedmont oases surrounding this desert, and the Lob Nor lake, the eastern limit of the basin; the smaller but deep Turfan depression on the north-east is included by some in the Tarim basin. The important cities of Kāshghar in the west and Turfan in the east [*q.vv.*] can be viewed as its longitudinal brackets.

Agricultural civilisation, nourished by irrigation derived from streams or underground conduits (*kārīz* [see ḳanāt] descending from the mountains, has flourished in the oases of the Tarim basin since antiquity, and the population used to speak chiefly Indo-European languages: the *satem* group in the southwest and west (Iranian Khotanese), and the *kentum* group in the north and northeast (Tocharian of Turfan). Today, most autochthonous inhabitants speak Turkic languages, mainly Uyghur. This has resulted from a penetration of pre-Islamic Uyghur and Islamic Ḳarakhānid dominance that started in the 9th century, and linguistic transformation may have been completed by the time of the Mongol conquests (13th century). The attendant influx of nomadic Turkic groups, however, remained below a degree sufficient to change the predominantly sedentary agricultural lifestyle of the inhabitants. Conversion to Islam of the mostly Buddhist population accompanied Turkicisation in the case of Khotan [*q.v.*] and other oases of the west, but occurred only later in Turfan (14th-15th centuries), where the pagan or Manichaean Uyghurs had first converted to Buddhism. In the latter case, a body of both lay and religious (Buddhist and Manichaean) literature had come into being, and is now a precious source for the study of pre-Islamic Turkic.

Another facet of the Tarim basin's historical importance is its unique geographical position between China, India, the Middle East, and the European and Mediterranean West. The lofty mountains surrounding it could be crossed through numerous passes, thus enabling merchant caravans and pilgrims to use the basin as a corridor leading to their destinations. Commodities of high value and small weight or bulk were the choice articles of this trade, above all, silk, whence the term Silk Road for this network of trade routes.

The oases functioned as so many way-stations in this traffic, but several absorbed portions of the cultural and religious values carried by it to the point where they became centres of exquisite spiritual and artistic creativity. This occurred, however, chiefly in their pre-Islamic past. Unlike its neighbour, Western Turkestan, the Tarim basin of Eastern Turkestan failed to produce much cultural florescence since its Islamisation, and the Silk Road traffic abated with the rise of competitive sea routes and restructuring of world trade in the 16th century. Moreover, the Turkic and Muslim identity of its population is now integrated in the political, social and economic structure of the People's Republic of China, with a massive influx of Chinese-speaking residents as one of the results (40% for the entire province; most Chinese, however, live in the northern, Dzhungarian part of Sinkiang, and the percentage must be considerably lower for the Tarim basin). For Chinese influences in the region, and its modern positon within China, see sinkiang.

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(S. Soucek)

TARĪM, a well-known town in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], situated about 40 km/25 miles from Shibām, east, slightly north, and about 25 km/15 miles from Say'ūn [*q.v.*] in the same direction (see

H. von Wissmann, map, *Southern Arabia, RGS*, London 1958). The town marks where Wādī Ḥaḍramawt ends and where Wādī al-Masīla begins. In Arab tradition, the name comes from Tarīm b. al-Sukūn b. al-Ashras b. Kinda or from the name of the one who first settled there, Tarīm b. Ḥaḍramawt b. Saba' al-Asghar. The name is attested in the pre-Islamic inscriptions: *trm* in Iryani 32 and *trym* in Jamme 547. The town is renowned for its learning and scholarship and is the home of the Āl Bā 'Alawī. Its *djāmiʿ* dates from the 4th/10th century.

Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa* 87, refers to Tarīm as "a great town" and other early sources mention time after time its fame for learning and list the scholars who came from it. In particular, two upright scholars, Abū Kadr/Akdar and Abū Bukayr, are mentioned, both killed as martyrs in Tarīm in 575 or 577/1179 or 1181 by the Ayyūbid deputy, 'Uthmān al-Zindjārī, who had seized Ḥaḍramawt from Aden. Another version of the story is that, when the latter heard of the arrival in the Yemen from Egypt in 579/1183 of the second Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen, al-Malik al-'Azīz Ṭughtigīn b. Ayyūb, and that he had seized Zabīd [*q.v.*] and its environs, al-Zindjārī fled in fear to Ḥaḍramawt and killed all learned men there.

On occasions in later history, the other major Ḥaḍramī town of Say'ūn [*q.v.*] took over as a centre of Islamic learning temporarily from Tarīm, but it is the latter town which has the much greater reputation in this field to this day. The town remains also the centre of many large private family manuscript libraries.

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(G.R. Smith)

al-ṬARḲ bi 'l-ḤAṢĀ [see khaṭṭ].

ṬARKHĀN, also *tarkhān*, a high-ranking Inner Asian title of considerable antiquity. It probably entered Arabic from Soghdian *trgh'n* or Middle Pers. *trkh'n* < Turk. *tarḳan* (pl. in Mongolian *tarḳat*), which appears to have been part of the imperial titulature that the Türks inherited from the Jou-jan empire. Its etymology is unclear. Attempts have been made to link it with the Hsiung-nu *Shan-yü* (Archaic Chin. **dân-hwâh*), the title of their supreme ruler (Pulleyblank, 91). It is also noted among the Hephthalites, another pre-Türk polity deriving from the same groupings as the Jou-jan. It is recorded as a title and personal name in virtually all the languages and sources of the neighbours of the Inner Asian nomads, from the Eastern Mediterranean to China. In the pre-Islamic Turkic states, it denoted a high dignity, probably somewhat below the *shads* and *tégins* [*q.v.*] of the royal clan. In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's day (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Dankoff, i, 329) it was considered "a pagan word meaning *amīr*" in the Arghu dialect. By the Čingisid era, as Djuwaynī reports (ed. Ḳazwīnī, i, 27, tr. Boyle, i, 37-8), it had come to denote "those who are exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered; whenever they so wish they may enter the royal presence without leave or permission." In Modern Mongolian, *darkhan* means "artisan, craftsman," as well as one exempt from taxes. It also signifies an "area set aside for religious reasons and therefore inviolable". The Darkhad (pl.) tribe in Mongolia was "charged with the cult of Činggis Khan" in the Ordos (Lessing, 236; Jaghchid and Hyer, 287-8).

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(P.B. Golden)

TARKĪB-BAND [see tardjīʿ-band].

ṬARRAKŪNA, the mediaeval Arabic form of the name of the town of Tarragona on the coast of Catalonia in northeastern Spain.

The town's importance in Roman times was the starting-point for the descriptions of the Arab geographers, who call it an ancient, well-fortified town, with tide-water mills (Ibn Ghālib, Ibn Saʿīd, al-Maḳḳarī, the *Dhikr*) or wind-driven ones (al-Ḥimyarī). It comprised many districts and strongholds, and had a strategic situation on the *Via Augusta*. It produced many walnuts, hazelnuts, chestnuts, pistachios and grapes.

Some sources attribute the Muslim conquest of Tarragona to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], and the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* notes its destruction, which must, however, have been only partial, since some Roman buildings remained, praised by the geographers (Ibn Ghālib and al-Bakrī, in al-Maḳḳarī; al-Ḥimyarī), and also, significantly, its walls "of marble" (al-Idrīsī, al-Ḥimyarī). It was an important seat of the Visigoths, with coins minted there in the name of Akhila around the year 711. Al-Idrīsī calls it "the town of the Jews" (*madīnat al-yahūd*).

In the second half of the 8th century, Tarragona would certainly have been included in the territory, with its capital at Narbonne in the first place and then further south, which extended as far as Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha [*q.v.*]), and which was entrusted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I to the governor 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uḳba, according to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya. Then control of Tarragona must have oscillated between al-Andalus and Barcelona; it may have been occupied by the Christians immediately after the fall of Barcelona (801), since the Muslim chroniclers (Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Maḳḳarī) note attacks by the Franks on Tortosa towards 192-3/807-9. Despite Muslim expeditions against Barcelona throughout the 10th century, it probably remained under Christian control into the first years of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir's reign, since Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maḳḳarī record "certain envoys of Mughīra b. Shunyer, ruler of Barcelona and Tarragona" arriving in Cordova. But it must have been ultimately reconquered by Muslim counter-attacks during the caliphal period, since there is evidence for attacks by the fleet of al-Andalus along the Llobregat river valley, at least in 323/935. Its return to Muslim control seems to be commemorated in an inscription recording the restoration of the congregational mosque of Tarragona in 349/960-1. Being in Muslim territory once again, Tarragona became exposed to Christian raids, which became more acute in the reign of

Ramón Berenguer I (1035-76) until the reconquest by the Catalans in the time of Ramón Berenguer III and its definitive re-population by the Christians after the fall of Tortosa to Ramón Berenguer IV in 1148.

The neighbouring town of Tortosa took over the leading role, political, cultural and economic, which Tarragona had had in Roman and Visigothic times. Although al-Idrīsī and the *Dhikr* call it a city or large town (*madīna*), this must be a reflection more of its glorious pre-Islamic past, since under Islam it played no great role and lacked any significant cultural activity; Yāḳūt calls it a small town (*balda*) only.

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(MARIA J. VIGUERA)

ṬARRĀR (A), a pickpocket. The word is derived from the action of swiftly cutting an object. The *ṭarrār* is also called *khālis*, *mukhtalis* or *nashshāl*, each of which indicates acquisition of other people's property in a public place. *Mukhtalis*, however, places greater emphasis on secrecy, while the newer term, *nashshāl*, indicates swiftness in picking the object (Ibrāhīm Anīs *et alii*, *al-Muʿdjam al-wasīṭ*, Cairo 1972, i, 249, ii, 554, 923). Although, according to Ibn al-Athīr, there is a *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Shaʿbī stating that a *ṭarrār* is liable to amputation, Muslim scholars disagree over this as his punishment. This seems due to the disagreement (*khilāf*) in accepting this *ḥadīth*, as well as a loophole in understanding the concept of safekeeping (*ḥirz*). Al-Sarakhsī explains that, if the pickpocket lifts the object while it is kept inside a pocket in the sleeve of a garment, he becomes liable to amputation. However, if the money is kept outside the sleeve, without adequate *ḥirz*, then the thief is not liable for this punishment. Abū Yūsuf in fact gave preference (*istiḥsān*) to amputation in all cases.

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(M.Y. IZZI DIEN)

ṬARSH (A.), the term for an engraved block used for printing. First identified by J. Karabacek (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna 1894, 247-50), more than a hundred mediaeval Arabic blockprints on paper and parchment have been identified in museums and private collections, and a few have been recovered from the ruins of Fusṭāṭ in Egypt. Most are long, narrow strips, sometimes printed from several blocks, and were intended as amulets.

The term *ṭarsh* appears in two poems devoted to the practices and jargon of the Banū Sāsān [*q.v.*], the informal mediaeval guild of beggars and confidence men. Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī, writing in Persia in the 4th/10th century, glosses the term as follows: "The engraver of *ṭarsh* is he who engraves (*yaḥfiru*) moulds (*ḳawālib*) for amulets (*taʿāwīdh*). People who are illiterate and cannot write buy them from him. The seller keeps back (*ḥafiẓa*) the design (*naḳsh*) which is on it [the *ṭarsh*], so that he exhausts his supply of amulets on the common people (*nās*) and makes them believe that he wrote them. The mould is called the *ṭarsh*." (R.W. Bulliet, *Medieval Arabic ṭarsh: a forgotten chapter in the history of printing*, in *JOAS*, cvii/3 (1987), 430, Arabic text in C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld: the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, ii, 201.)

An 8th/14th century Syrian poem by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] intimates that some of the blocks may have been made of tin, and physical characteristics of a few surviving specimens seem to confirm the possibility that, in addition to woodblocks, tin plates were made by pouring molten metal on an inscribed clay mould (Bulliet, 433-5). This peculiarity suggests a technological origin independent of Chinese influence, as does the apparent restriction of *ṭarsh* to the company of beggars compared with the universal acceptance of the Chinese technology of papermaking. Though *ṭarsh* technology seems not to have survived the 8th/14th century, and was forgotten by later Muslim society in the Middle East, the appearance in that century of blockprinting in Europe may be attributable to Arab example, possibly in the form of playing cards (Italian *tarocco*).

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(R.W. BULLIET)

TARṢĪʿ (A.), a figure of speech in Arabic (later also Persian, Turkish, etc.) rhetoric.

General notion

Non-technically *tarṣīʿ* means "the act of setting, fixing, or putting together (jewels, precious stones, etc.); the act of making (a thing) according to a measure; the act of forming (it) by the inserting of one part within another" (cf. Lane, s.v. *r-ṣ-ʿ*). *Tarṣīʿ al-ʿiḳd*, according to the rhetoricians, means "that the same pearls are on one side of the necklace as are on the other" (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal*, i, 361).

Description, definition, and examples

Tarṣīʿ is a stylistic feature of word combination based on the principle of equivalence of sound. It is attested in Arabic literature from the earliest stages and can be found in Ḳurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, poetry, and

prose. A figure of style explicitly called *tarṣīʿ* was described for the first time, as far as we know, by Ḳudāma b. Dja'far [*q.v.*] (*Naḳd*, 14 ff.). He considers it a phenomenon pertaining to *wazn* (metre, rhythm). Al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] and his school regularly include the figure in the chapter on *ʿilm al-badīʿ* and classify it as a subcategory of *sadjʿ* "rhymed prose" [*q.v.*].

The definition of *tarṣīʿ* among Arab scholars is by no means homogeneous. Al-Ḳazwīnī defines it in his *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (*apud* Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 90 [text], 168 [tr.]) as follows: "If what is found in one of the two phrases (or cola [*ḳarīna*]) (which form this figure of speech) is, in its metre (or word pattern [*wazn*]) and rhyme (*taḳfiya*), exactly like that which corresponds to it in the other phrase, then this is *tarṣīʿ*." This definition holds the golden mean between very comprehensive definitions, like that of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *Naḳd*, 14, who only requires agreement in metre or rhyme and who allows assonance instead of pure rhyme, and very restrictive ones, like that of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal*, i, 361, who requires the strictest correspondence in word pattern as well as pure rhyme and, in addition, prohibits the repetition of identical words.

The ideal form of the figure is represented, e.g., by an oft-quoted utterance of Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣīr [*q.v.*]: *ḥattā ʿāda* taʿrīḍuka taṣrīḥ^an^ *wa*-tamrīḍuka taṣḥīḥ^an^ "until your allusion turns into explicitness and the care for you into recuperation" (see e.g. al-Khafādjī, *Sirr*, 182). Here the corresponding parts of the two phrases agree completely in their word patterns and, in addition, display a strict rhyme. The number of phrases need not be two; in a frequently quoted verse of al-Khansāʾ there are three: *ḥammālu alwiyat^in^—shahhādu andjiyat^in^—ḳaṭṭāʿu awdiyat^in^*. At the same time, this example shows the frequent case, explicitly permitted by Ḳudāma, that not all corresponding parts rhyme; in the present case, only the second parts rhyme, whereas the first parts display only the assonance of identical word patterns. Ḳudāma even adduces cases in which the first parts are only metrically equivalent to each other, while the second parts show nothing but assonance: *alaṣṣu ʾl-ḍurūsi—djanīyu ʾl-ḍulūʿi* (Imruʾ al-Ḳays; see *Naḳd*, 14). Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 390, and Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 26, 29, follow him in this. According to Ḳudāma and some of his followers, *tarṣīʿ* may also consist of one part per phrase; two examples of this variant occur one after the other in a hemistich by Imruʾ al-Ḳays quoted as proof by Ḳudāma: *mikhashsh^in^—midjashsh^in^, mukbil^in^—mudbir^in^ maʿan*. The examples for one-term *tarṣīʿ* adduced by al-Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz*, 95-6 (tr. von Grunebaum, 35-6), are of a different kind: He includes the hemistich-final rhyme in initial verses of poems (*taṣrīʿ*) and the rhyme of the Ḳurʾānic *fāṣila*, provided, of course, that the metre (or word pattern) of the rhyme words is identical. Thus for him Sūra LXVIII, 2-3, contains a *tarṣīʿ*: *mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi*-madjnūn—*wa-inna laka la-adjr^an^ ghayra* mamnūn; the correspondence is restricted to the last word each in the two *āyas*, i.e. the *fāṣila*. Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Badīʿ*, 116, follows al-Bāḳillānī in this view. In addition, al-Bāḳillānī adduces cases in which the two phrases forming the *tarṣīʿ* occur in two consecutive lines of poetry in such a way that the corresponding parts occupy the same metrical position.

Distinction from similar figures

If one allows assonance alongside strict rhyme as the criterion for *tarṣīʿ*, as Ḳudāma does, the borderline to a figure called, by later rhetoricians but not yet Ḳudāma, *muwāzana* (metrical or word-formational equivalency between the final words of both phrases) or *mumāthala* (total or nearly total equivalency of the two phrases) becomes fuzzy; cf. e.g. Sūra LXXXVIII, 15-16: *wa-namāriḳu maṣfūfa—wa-zarābiyyu mabthūtha* (cf. for these two figures, al-Ḳazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ*, 91 = Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 169-70).

Abū Hilāl adduces the one-term type of *tarṣīʿ* which, in one place, he has expressly defined as *tarṣīʿ* to serve, in another place, as an example for *muṭābaḳa* (*ṭibāḳ* [*q.v.*]), in this case Imruʾ al-Ḳays's *mikarr^in^—mifarr^in^, mukbil^in^—mudbir^in^ maʿan* (*Ṣināʿatayn*, 321). This overlap results from the fact that the antithetical terms of the *ṭibāḳ* are often identical in their word pattern. Some rhetoricians do not strictly distinguish between *tarṣīʿ* and *tasmīṭ* [see MUSAMMAṬ] (cf. van Gelder, *Two Arabic treatises*, 32).

Evaluation of the figure by indigenous critics

Ḳudāma asserts that this figure of style does not always impress as beautiful, and that on the contrary it must fit the context where it is applied. Frequent occurrence or even inclusion in each and every line of a poem is normally a sign of *taʿammul* "artificiality", and *takalluf* "constraint". However, Ḳudāma does allow exceptions to this rule. Abū Hilāl, al-Khafādjī and Ibn Rashīḳ basically follow Ḳudāma's views. A more detailed critique of individual lines is offered by Abū Hilāl, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 393-4.

Ibn al-Athīr considers *tarṣīʿ* to be artificial *per se* and consequently contests its occurrence in the Ḳurʾān and in ancient poetry. This is only possible due to his very restrictive definition of the figure. On the other hand, the late author Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār*, vi, 163-4, quotes with admiration six lines from a poem by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ which contains a *tarṣīʿ* in each of its forty lines. Some critics put *tarṣīʿ* first in their treatment of *badīʿ* figures.

Observations of modern scholars

The first European scholars dealing with *tarṣīʿ* (N. Rhodokanakis, *al-Ḫansāʾ*, 38; I. Goldziher, *Bemerkungen*, 313) noticed that *tarṣīʿ* (or *tasmīṭ*, see above) is particularly frequent in the *rithāʾ* "dirge" [see MARTHIYA] and that it occurs predominantly in the *basīṭ* metre. Goldziher considered the former feature to be an echo of the *sadjʿ* of the earlier laments (*niyāḥa*) from which, according to him, the *marthiya* had developed. The frequency of *basīṭ* is explained by Rhodokanakis by the fact that "mit seinen scharfen Einschnitten" (i.e. its clear segmentation) no metre is as suitable for *tarṣīʿ* as this one (*op. cit.*, 44). A. Ambros, in his *Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten arabischen Buchtitel*, in *WZKM*, lxxx [1990], 13-57, has noted the great popularity, in book titles, of *tarṣīʿ* with the rhyme scheme *abab*, as e.g. *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid wa-manbaʿ al-fawāʾid* or *Ḳaṭr al-sayl fī amr al-khayl* [*op. cit.*, 52 ff.]).

Tarṣīʿ *in Persian rhetoric*

The Persian rhetoricians, in their rather homogeneous definitions, require exact agreement in metre and rhyme between the corresponding parts of the phrases involved (al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān*, 7 ff.; Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ*, 3 ff.; Shams-i Ḳays, *Muʿdjam*, 335 ff.; see also Rückert-Pertsch, 88 ff.). In Persian examples the figure often has three or more parts per phrase. The oldest-quoted poet seems to be Rūdakī [*q.v.*]. Al-Rādūyānī and Waṭwāṭ list *tarṣīʿ* as the first figure of style at the beginning of their works.

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ṬARSŪS, the Arabic form of the name of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, situated on the classical River Cydnus, the Nahr Baradān of early Islamic times and the contemporary Turkish Tarsus Çay, in the rich agricultural plain of the modern Çukurova.

The ancient city appears first firmly in history under the Assyrian kings, then as being in the Persians' sphere of influence, then as disputed by the Seleucids and Ptolemies, being for a while styled Antioch-on-the-Cydnus in honour of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.). After 67 B.C. it became the capital of the new Roman province of Cilicia and an important intellectual centre. In early Christian times it had the distinction of having been the birthplace of Saul or St. Paul (Acts, xxii, 3), and bishops and metropolitans of Tarsus are frequently mentioned in the Acts of the various Councils of the early Church. Administratively, under the Byzantines it became the capital of Cilicia Prima, with Anazarbus (the later Islamic ʿAyn Zarba [*q.v.*]) forming the capital of the corresponding eastern half, Cilicia Secunda (see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyclopädie*, new ed., IV.A/2. cols. 2413-24; Sir William Ramsay, *The cities of S. Paul, their influence on his life and thought*, London 1907, 85-244; C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-9).

Tarsus must have been threatened as the Arabs advanced towards the Taurus during the caliphates of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān and reached the zone of frontier fortresses later known as the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] or *masāliḥ* "garrisons". It is unclear when it was first captured by the Arabs, but in any case, control of the city seems to have oscillated between the Greeks and the Arabs and it long remained in the front line of attack from both sides. In 25/646 Muʿāwiya, the governor of Syria, raided as far as Amorion, and found the zone between Antioch and Tarsus empty, hence placed garrisons of troops from Syria and al-Djazīra there. In 93/712 al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik raided into the zone and captured Tarsus.

During the early decades of ʿAbbāsid rule, when the Muslims held Tarsus they made it into a strongly-fortified concentration-point for *ghāzīs*, volunteer fighters for the faith, with the city marking the western end of an arc of fortresses stretching eastwards to Malaṭya [*q.v.*], the zone of the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*]. Much money from the taxation of Syria and al-Djazīra and from the central funds of the caliphate was poured into the construction and manning of these fortresses, in addition to the pay allowances provided by tribal chiefs leading their own contingents (see M. Bonner, *Jaʿāʾil and Holy War in early Islam*, in *Isl.*, lxviii [1991], 45-64). In 162/778-9 the commander al-Ḥasan b. Ḳaḥtaba al-Ṭāʾī, after rebuilding and refortifying the *ʿāṣima* of al-Ḥadath [*q.v.*], was charged with undertaking similar work at the then ruinous site of Tarsus. This restoration was, however, only done later, in Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate, by Faradj b. Sulaym, and Tarsus now became a rallying-point for volunteers from as far away as Khurāsān and Transoxania as well as for the troops of the regular army (see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 269-73).

Nevertheless, it must have been regained by the Greeks towards the end of the 8th century A.D. or the beginning of the 9th one, and during the period of internecine warfare in the caliphate between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn it seems to have remained in Byzantine hands. But the Emperors were themselves preoccupied by internal revolts and the threat from the Bulghars in the Balkans, and near the end of his life, al-Maʾmūn turned his attention to the Byzantine frontiers. In 215/830 he penetrated via Tarsus into Cappadocia, and in 218/833 used it as a base for his last expedition, being buried there after he died on active service. In subsequent decades, it was generally under Muslim control, and there are mentions of a *faḳīh* and a *ḳāḍī* of Tarsus during these years. The governor of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn attempted in 265/878-9 to take over Tarsus as a base for *ghazw* against the Christians, but was repulsed by the garrison there under the eunuch Yāzmān, loyal to the caliph al-Muʿtamid. The Ṭūlūnids did nevertheless briefly have control of Tarsus when al-Muʿtaḍid made over the governorship of Syria to Aḥmad's son Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], and the latter used it as the base for a Ṭūlūnid expedition into Anatolia. But after Khumārawayh's death in 282/896 it reverted to direct ʿAbbāsid control of the marches until this passed in the mid-4th/10th century to the Ḥamdānids. During all this time, we have a series of coins minted by the governors of Tarsus, caliphal, Ṭūlūnid, Ikhshīdid and Ḥamdānid, from 172/788 to the mid-4th/10th century (see G.C. Miles, *Islamic coins from the Tarsus excavations of 1935-1937*, in *The Aegean and the Near East. Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York 1957, 297-312; S.M. Stern, *The coins of Thamal and of other governors of Tarsus*, in *JAOS*, lxxx [1960], 217-25). These governors were active in both land and in sea operations from the port of Tarsus. Thus the eunuch commander Thamal al-Dulafī in 309/921-2 led a naval expedition to Egypt to fend off invasion by the Fāṭimids, and in 312/924 he endeavoured to concert maritime operations against the Byzantines with the Bulghars.

But the military strength of the resurgent Byzantines was now growing. Sayf al-Dawla's expedition of 339/950 into Anatolia, in which 4,000 men of Tarsus participated, was ultimately a disaster, and the Strategus Basil Hexamilites won a crushing victory over a Muslim fleet that had set sail from Tarsus to harry the Byzantine coasts. The culmination of this revanche for Tarsus was the recapture of the city, with al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adana, in 354/965 by the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas and the Domesticus John Tzimisces. After futile appeals for help from Egypt and Baghdād,

the city was surrendered by Sayf al-Dawla's representative on a promise of *amān*, so that any Muslim could leave with whatever he could carry, including weapons, but had to leave behind property. Many of the inhabitants became Christian; a small number of Muslims remained, but many others departed for Antioch and, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 160, eventually settled at Bāniyās [*q.v.*] in northern Palestine. The Friday mosque of Tarsus was either torn down or turned into the imperial stables. See Canard, *H'amdanides*, 822-3; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 278-80.

We possess valuable accounts of the last years of Muslim rule in Tarsus from such 4th/10th century sources as the geographical writers al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal and Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī [*q.v.*], and an author who was himself of Tarsus origin, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthman al-Ṭarsūsī (preserved in the much later *Bughyat al-ṭalab* of Ibn al-ʿAdīm) (all but the first of these sources were written after the city had actually passed out of Muslim control). There is in them much information on the fortifications, topography and social structure of Tarsus, showing the atmosphere of bellicose piety which characterised the city, with its throngs of *ghāzīs* from as far afield as Khurāsān and Sīstān and the numerous *dārs* and *ribāṭs* for their residence. See Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 281-4; idem, *Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī*'s Siyar al-thughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, v (Athens 1993), 183-95.

Tarsus was under Christian rule for the next three centuries. The Crusaders seized it in 1097 on their march through Byzantine territory in 1097. In the 12th century it came within the Rupenid kingdom of Little Armenia based on Sīs. In 673/1275 the lowland regions of Adana and Tarsus were raided by the Mamlūk sultan Baybars, and in the next century, in the third reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, it finally passed into Mamlūk hands. Soon afterwards it came within the buffer-state, between the Mamlūks and the Ḳaramānids and their supplanters the Ottomans, of the Ramaḍān-oghullarí [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī mentions it as a fine town, with walls and a fortress. In the next century it was gradually absorbed fully into the Ottoman empire, at first within the *eyālet* or province of Aleppo, then in 1571 as a *sandjak* within the *eyālet* of Cyprus, and then in 1608 as part of the *sandjak*, later an *eyālet*, then a *sandjak* again, of Adana, in 1867 becoming a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjak* (see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 110, 137, 139, 238).

By the end of the 19th century Tarsus itself was little more than a ruinous village in the malarial swamplands of the Tarsus Ẓay (see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890-5, ii, 44-50), but in Republican Turkey, the swamps have been drained, and Tarsus is now a flourishing commercial centre in the *il* or province of İçel.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 132-3. (C.E. Bosworth)

ṬARSŪSĪ [see abū ṭāhir ṭarsūsī].

al-**ṬARSŪSĪ**, Marḍī (or Murḍā) b. ʿAlī b. Marḍī, enigmatic writer in Arabic on military topics. His dates are unknown, but he flourished in the later 6th/12th century and seems to have lived in Alexandria.

He composed for the Ayyūbid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] a treatise, *Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb fī kayfiyyat al-nadjāt fi 'l-ḥurūb min al-aswā' wa-nashr aʿlām al-iʿlām fi 'l-ʿudad*, extant in the Bodleian unicum Hunt 264 (extracts ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii [1947-8], 1-47, 150-63). It deals with weapons such as the sword, bow, lance, mace, etc., and equipment like the shield and cuirass [see on these ḳaws; silāḥ in Suppl.], and devices used in the field such as caltrops (*muthallatha*, with three spikes, and *musaddasa*, with six). But it is especially valuable for its information on siege weapons like missile-hurling engines and battering-rams [see ʿarrāda; mandjanīḳ] and on techniques of siegecraft, including the use of Greek Fire [see ḥiṣār; naft. 1 and 2], especially as the manuscript contains drawings of the contrivances in question. The whole work richly merits a critical edition and commentary.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TARTĪB (a.), a word derived from the root *r-t-b*, the primary sense of which is "to become fixed, stand upright", whence the derived meanings of "to arrange, stop, put in order or in rank". It is the term employed by the Moroccan *Makhzan* to denote the reforms (*tartībāt*) which it was obliged to undertake during the second half of the 19th century under European pressure, with connotations similar to those of the word *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] in the Ottoman empire. The term is still applied, however, to the fiscal reforms initiated ineffectively by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1873-94) and revived by his son and successor Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1894-1907) in the least favourable of circumstances and only brought to a conclusion by the Protectorate.

The first *tartīb* emerged from decisions taken at the conference convened in Madrid in the spring of 1880, which had the object of restricting the anarchic development of consular protection in Morocco, it being largely a device to avoid taxation, depriving the *Makhzan* of its most active subjects and consequently of the best taxable goods [see imtiyāzāt]. The conference adopted several resolutions relating to patronage and decided that European entrepreneurs as well as the protected persons of the consuls should pay the same taxes as Moroccans as a whole, these being *zakāt*, *ʿushūr* and also harbour duties. A "special regulation" or *tartīb* was to determine the procedures to be followed (arts. 12 and 13 of the Convention). In exchange, the Europeans were granted the right to possess property in Morocco (art. 11). In March 1881, a first *tartīb* was promulgated, distinguished by three novel features: it extended *zakāt* and *ʿushūr*, albeit these were purely Ḳur'ānic obligations, to the Europeans; it gave to the consular services the right to oversee Moroccan fiscal administration; and the tax could be paid in cash on the basis of prices in the market closest to the site of the particular enterprise. This experiment fell short of its objectives. The consuls were willing to apply it only in exchange for recognition of property rights. Mawlāy al-Ḥasan was not at all inclined to make this step and furthermore, he hardly appreciated consular mediation in the assessment and levying of revenues. But the sultan did not lose sight of his objective, which was to deliver a body-blow to consular protection. In 1884, a second *tartīb* was promulgated with the intention of putting an end to the abuses to which the *ḳā'ids* charged with the management of taxes were partial and which were, according to the Europeans, the principal reason for recourse to protection. Population census (*iḥṣā'*), assessment (*kharṣ*) and collection (*djibāya*) were entrusted to *umanā'* appointed directly by the *Makhzan*. They were obliged to compile an inventory of taxable property and to convey it to it in such a way as to establish in cen-

tralised fashion the quotas beyond which deductions needed to be made, in kind for *zakāt* and *'ushūr* and in cash for the revenues of the crown (levies for the three religious festivals). Over and above these deductions, they obtained a percentage to be shared on an equal basis with the *ḳā'ids*, now confined solely to their public order functions. Otherwise, all franchises were suspended. But this attempt at reform likewise misfired. Applied cautiously in certain provinces such as the Dukkala, it was opposed by too many local usages and entrenched interests and was doomed to be quickly forgotten.

In 1901, Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz, poorly advised and lacking experience, revived the *tartīb* in a more systematic manner. Gripped by an "itch for reform", in the words of a contemporary commentator, and not knowing whether the fiscal shortfall derived from the discontent of his subjects or rather from the abuses practised by the *ḳā'ids* (*ẓahīr* of 26 August 1901), the sultan revived and reinforced the measures taken by his father. The *ḳā'ids* were removed from fiscal administration, entrusted once more to the *umanā'*, assisted by *'udūl* or notaries and required to compile a census of the greatest possible precision, a copy of which was submitted to the *Makhzan*; a receipt was also delivered to each taxpayer, detailing his goods and his liability. A new feature was that payment could no longer be paid except in money, with the option of paying in two instalments per year. Still more draconian, while the former obligations related only to the totality of annual revenue, the new *tartīb* transformed them into contractual taxes levied on capital, calculated for arable cultivation according to the number and quality of ploughs possessed, and for animals and trees according to their number. Furthermore, the *umanā'* and their assistants were to be paid by the central *Makhzan*, and like *ḳā'ids* they were obliged to swear to abstain from any form of corruption. As a final and outstanding demonstration of political incompetence, it was decided that levying of the former taxes should be suspended even before the new system had been set in operation. The latter could only be applied if endorsed by the Europeans, since the objective of the *Makhzan* was always that of imposing restrictions on consular protection. It was not until November 1903 that a measure of agreement was reached, but in the meantime Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz found himself in an unstable position. Accused by his subjects of being in the pay of foreigners and compelled, furthermore, to restrict government borrowing, the sultan abandoned the *tartīb* to revert to the old methods. However, the Algeciras Conference retained the basic notion, article 59 stipulating that European nationals should submit themselves to the "tertib" (as it was henceforward to be written in European sources), as soon as it was applied to Moroccan subjects.

This dilemma which was at the root of the reform, to compel Europeans and their protected persons to pay taxes as a means of extinguishing consular protection, or to put an end to all forms of fiscal evasion by introducing more order and justice into the system, could be resolved only by the Protectorate. The *tartīb* was established under the cover of occupation troops which had behind them their long experience of Algeria and Tunisia, and which had had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Moroccan taxpayer in Shāwiya and in the province of Udjda, occupied since 1907. *Zakāt* and *'ushūr* were levied there until 1912 with certain modifications. The *ḳā'ids* were assisted in their fiscal functions by commissions working *coram publico*. Assessments were made according to ploughs or areas of land under cultivation, payments made in cash. The term *tartīb* was avoided.

It did not reappear until after the establishment of the Protectorate. In November 1912, Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf addressed a special message to the *ḳā'ids* of the Atlantic littoral, imposing upon them the procedure to be followed for its application. In July 1913 a diplomatic regulation was promulgated on the basis of that of 1903, cancelling the liability of European subjects to the *tartīb*. Nationals of countries which did not renounce their exterritorial privileges (including Great Britain until 1937 and the United States until 1952), would continue to pay it through consular channels. In 1914, another special instruction enlarged its sphere of application. Finally, the two great institutional *ẓahīrs* of 10 and 11 March 1915 were promulgated in the form in which they were to function throughout the duration of the Protectorate, if no regard is taken of texts of application, annual fixing of tariffs and partial reorganisation subsequently undertaken, such as the *ẓahīrs* applying to the *tartīb* on fruits and vines (May 1939), those of 1952 extending it to certain hitherto neglected products (cotton, rice, bananas, market gardening, etc.) or even the *ẓahīrs* of November 1924 and March 1933 on methods of roofing and construction.

In general, the *tartīb* evolved according to the trail blazed by previous experience, while conforming to the developing profile of the Protectorate. The *ḳā'ids*, standard-bearers of pacification, retained their fiscal prerogatives, deducting a percentage for their remuneration, although they were subject, in an increasingly rigorous fashion, to the control of officials of the colonial administration. Procedures of census and assessment were conducted in the most public manner possible: in the spring, valuation of annual crops and produce of trees; in the autumn, that of seasonal produce and animals. Numerous categories of production were distinguished, five in 1915, nine in 1956. Valuations were conducted with ever-increasing precision, such that they amounted to a form of land-survey, applied to the colonists at first, by which the mass of the peasantry remained unaffected, relying on valuation by ploughs or by *mudd* which subsequently needed conversion into produce, in quintals to the hectare. Annual crops paid 5% calculated on the basis of current prices. Trees were at first taxed in lump sums according to units and species, but in 1939 they were taxed according to overall production valued in terms of the market. A distinction was then drawn between vines in regular cultivation and vines in irregular cultivation, the profitability in the two cases not being comparable. As for animals, they were subject, after weaning, to a *zakāt* which took account neither of their commercial value nor of Ḳur'ānic scales. The management of all these levies was progressively entrusted to a distinct administration comprising controllers and inspectors acting independently of one another but not of the political control to which they remained subordinate in all respects.

The fact is that the *tartīb* was not only a tax which on average supplied to the Protectorate more than half of its direct fiscal receipts. It was also, and especially, a means of penetration and of pacification, utilised in such a way that it never served as a springboard for Moroccan resistance. Thus it became confused with colonisation in both its positive and negative aspects. It could be said that it was an instrument for the integration of the Moroccan countryside, a factor of unification and a decisive lesson in solidarity and discipline (Jouannet). But, on the contrary, it

could also be said that it filled the coffers of the colonial régime, financing its new towns and infrastructures, and built on the backs of a peasantry which was defenceless, crushed by conquest and delivered into the power of the *ḳāʾid*s, with hands and feet tied in a manner unprecedented in the history of Morocco. The nationalist movement, from the time of its earliest inception, did not miss the opportunity to criticise it in the 1934 programme of reforms. In 1951 the Istiḳlāl Party was able to show that the Moroccan peasant paid to the *tartīb* 24% more than was paid by the colonist, who also benefited from numerous subsidies and refunds, not to mention credit facilities and the means of having grievances heard. In 1934 a French lawyer had shown that the *tartīb* weighed most heavily on the least privileged strata of the peasantry.

For all these reasons, in the aftermath of independence this levy could only be seen as a relic of colonisation. But initially, the legislation which controlled it in the French zone was extended to the former Spanish zone (*ẓahīr* of 8 March 1958) and to the former international zone of Tangier (*ẓahīr* of 15 January 1959). The Spanish had begun by applying the *tartīb* on the basis of the diplomatic regulation of 1913, and it was only institutionalised by a caliphal *ẓahīr* dated 12 January 1927, followed by a vizierial decree which extended the levy to the entire zone. Thereafter, and until 1956, various texts were published, fixing the tariffs as well as the commissions paid to *ḳāʾid*s and others appointed to collect the tax, and even setting out the measures to be taken against evaders. The administration of the tax remained constantly in the hands of "interventores", the equivalent of the civilian controllers and officials of Indigenous Affairs in the former French zone. As for the international zone of Tangier, the *tartīb* was not levied there following the promulgation of its statute in December 1923.

But independent Morocco was always intent on reforming the basis of revenue. The *ẓahīr* of 2 November 1960 substituted for the simple rate of tax levied at 5% a rate varying between 2 and 10% for primary crops, thus charging a heavier rate on higher outputs and exempting outputs of less than four quintals per hectare. At a stroke, more than 50% of the cultivated land was freed from tax. Once the *tartīb* ceased to apply to the peasant masses, it was no longer a system yielding high returns. Thus on 6 June 1961 King Ḥasan II proclaimed its abolition, describing it as "an unjust and sterile tax, established on illogical foundations, a weapon of exploitation in the hands of despots and an obstacle on the road to economic development, social justice and the development of the country". The truth is that in the meantime, independent Morocco had inherited from the colonial past a whole range of new taxes which excused it not only from continuing to charge the impecunious peasant, but also from levying what was originally only a simple Muslim charity; there was now no question of charging it upon non-Muslims.

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(Brahim Boutaleb)

ṬARṬŪS or Tortosa, earlier Anṭarṭūs, frequently Anṭarsūs (by analogy with Ṭarsūs), a town on the Syrian coast, the ancient Antarados opposite the island of Arados (Ar. Djazīrat Arwād, also written Arwādh; now Ruwād; concerning the Arab conquest of the island, see L.I. Conrad, *The conquest of Arwād: a source-critical study in the historiography of the early medieval Near East*, in Averil Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. I. Problems in the literary source material*, Princeton 1992, 317-401). Under the Roman empire, Antarados was called Constantia, but the old name remained alongside of this and in the end drove the latter out again.

The Muslims took the fortress of Ṭarṭūs under ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit in 17/638. The town was destroyed and remained for a long time uninhabited. Muʿāwiya rebuilt it, fortified it and settled there and in Maraḳiyya and Bulunyās soldiers to whom he allotted lands. It was only after the conquest of Cyprus that Muʿāwiya was able to take the island of Arwād also from the Greeks (al-Dimashḳī, tr. Mehren, 186; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. de Boor, 344). The Ḳurʾān of the Caliph ʿUthmān is said to have been kept in Ṭarṭūs. Ibn Khurradādhbih includes the district (*kūra*) of Ṭarṭūs in the territory of Ḥimṣ; according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 325, tr. Wiet, 172, the people of the town belonged to the tribe of Kinda.

When in 357-8/968 the Byzantines under Nicephorus Phocas conquered Northern Syria, the strong defences of the town protected it from capture by the enemy, according to the evidence of the contemporary Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. Kramers, 176-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 173-4). On the other hand, about a generation later, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd of Anṭākiya reports that the Emperor took Ṭarṭūs, Maraḳiyya and Ḥiṣn Djabala (Yaḥyā, ed. Kračkovskiy and Vasiliev, in *Patrol. orient.*, xviii, 816). In 386/995-6 the emperor Basil II took the town (Yaḥyā and Djamāl al-Dīn b. Ẓāfir, in Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xliv, 32, 35-6, 241; Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine*, ii; 95-6, who wrongly distinguishes Ṭarṭūs from Tortosa). At the beginning of the year 1099, the Crusaders took Ṭarṭūs but soon afterwards lost it. It was not till 495/1102 that they finally attained possession of it under Raimund of Toulouse. After Raimund's death, Count William of Cerdagne was given Ṭarṭūs and Djabala as a fief. By the treaty of Devol (Sept. 1108), Arwād and Ṭarṭūs among other places were promised to the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Bonn, ii, 241.) The town later passed into the possession of the Count of Tripoli. From a poem dedi-

cated to Usāma b. Munḳidh by the Egyptian vizier al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Ghārāt Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*], it is evident that the town must have already been in the hands of the Templars before 1158 (Derenbourg, *Ousâma*, 293).

In Djumādā I 584/July 1188 the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn advanced on the town and found it deserted by its defenders, as they had retired into two strong towers on the city walls. He occupied the town in less than an hour; one of the towers was stormed by his vassal, the lord of Irbil, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had it destroyed and the ruins thrown into the sea. The other, which was built of large hewn stones and surrounded by a well-watered garden, was so bravely defended by the commander of the Templars that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn raised the siege and contented himself with destroying the walls and famous Church of the Virgin. The earthquake in May 1202, which devastated the whole Syrian coast, is said also to have affected Ṭarṭūs but to have spared the Church of the Virgin, which had been rebuilt in 1188. This edifice, celebrated for the miracles and cures wrought in it, and which contained a valuable image of the Virgin, was considered her oldest sanctuary in Syria (al-Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 208); al-Idrīsī apparently already knew it (he wrote in 1154 or later, although he seems wrongly to transfer it to the island of Arwād). In the year 611/1214-15, Count Raimund of Tripoli, son of Bohemund IV of Antioch, was murdered by Ismā'īlīs; in revenge, the prince led an expedition against the Assassin fortress of Khawābī (Kamāl al-Dīn, tr. Blochet, in *ROL*, v, 48; Ibn Furāt, in Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 271 n. 1, 715 n. 4). The Church of the Virgin lay within the area of the sanctuary of the apostle Andrew, as appears from a letter from Pope Clement IV to Bishop William of Tortosa of 26 April 1265.

In the treaty of 626/1229 between the Emperor Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*], Ṭarābulus, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Ṣāfīthā, Marḳab, Ṭarṭūs and Anṭākiya were not included; the Emperor had to pledge himself to remain neutral in case of a war between these lands and the Muslims (Röhricht, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, i, 41, 77-8; idem *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 785).

When the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars in 666/1267-8 was advancing on Antioch via Ṭarābulus, envoys from the Templars of Ṣāfīthā and Anṭarṭūs appeared before him with presents and 300 Muslims, lately prisoners, and thus succeeded in having their territory spared (al-Maḳrīzī, in Quatremère, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, i/2, 52; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, 953. An attack by the Mamlūk ruler on Ṭarṭūs and other towns in 669/1270-1 met with no success of note (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/2, 84; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Fāḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. orient.*, xii, 528). Later, however, the Templars found themselves forced to conclude a treaty with him by which their territory and that of Marḳab and Bāniyās was divided between them and the sultan (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/2, 151; al-Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xii, 536, xiv, 445; Röhricht, 953). The Master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu (de Bellojoco), in 681/1282 concluded a truce with al-Malik al-Manṣūr for Ṭarṭūs and the district around for ten years and ten months (from 15 April 1282), and the possessions of the two parties were accurately delimited. To Ṭarṭūs belonged 37 districts of the region round 'Arayma (now Ḳal'at 'Arayme) and Mī'ār (now Burdj Mī'ār). After the conquest of 'Akkā', Ṭarṭūs was taken from the Franks by Sultan Khalīl, being one of the last towns to fall, on 5 Sha'bān 690/3 August 1291.

The Templars succeeded temporarily in establishing themselves again in Ṭarṭūs in 1300-2 from the island of Arwād. The island was not taken until 702/1302-3 in the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn; the Christians there were put to death or enslaved and the defences razed to the ground (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des sultans mamlouks*, ii/2, 195; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, v, 180; al-Idrīsī, in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 400; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iv, 256).

Henceforth Ṭarṭūs was a little district under the *nā'ib* of Ṭarābulus (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā'*, in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, 116, 228; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rīf*, 182, in R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxx [1916], 36, n. 14). The town declined more and more, the castle of the Crusading period serve the few inhabitants of Ṭarṭūs as a dwelling place up to the early 20th century.

The modern revival of Ṭarṭūs came with the later years of the French Mandate and with Syria's attainment of independence after the Second World War [see AL-SHA'M. 2 (b), (c)], a process stimulated by the loss of Alexandretta [see ISKANDARŪN] to Turkey in 1939 and the consequent need for Syria to develop other ports as outlets for her trade. The modern town of Ṭarṭūs (lat. 34° 55' N., long. 35° 52' E.) is now a centre for fisheries, the focus of a rich agricultural hinterland and (until recent interruption) the terminus of an oil pipe line from 'Irāḳ. All these activities have made it Syria's second most important port after Latakia [see AL-LĀDHIḲIYYA]. Since the early 1970s Ṭarṭūs has been the chef-lieu of a governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*) of the same name. In 1981 the town had a population of 52,589 and the governorate one of 443,290. The town is mainly Muslim but with a significant minority of Greek Orthodox Christians. The Church of the Virgin, in its later form, still survives, as do the Templar fortifications.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Khurradādhbih, 76; Ḳudāma, 230, 255; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), 20-2; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 388 (s.v. *Anṭarṭūs*), iii, 529 (s.v. *Ṭarṭūs*); Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 98 (*Ant.*), ii, 201 (*Ṭarṭūs*); Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, 229; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 394-5, 544; G. Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1883, 69 ff., 211 ff., pls. viii, xx; R. Dussaud, in *Rev. archéol.* (1896), i, 315 (1897), i, 331 ff.; M. van Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, Cairo 1913-15, i, 320-34; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 116, 228 n.; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 121-5; J. Weulersse, *Le pays des Alouites*, Tours 1940; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris 1940, index; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Syria*, London 1943, 60-2, 316-17, 417; Hachette World Guides, *The Middle East*, Paris 1966; 433-7; T.S.R. Boase, *Castles and churches of the Crusading kingdoms*, London 1967; E. Wirth, *Syrien, eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971, index; Boase, ch. *Military architecture in the Crusader states in Palestine and Syria*, in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, iv, Madison 1977, 157; T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader castles*, revised ed. D. Pringle, Oxford 1990.

(E. HONIGMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TĀRŪDĀNT, conventionally Taroudant, a town in the Sūs region of southern Morocco situated in lat. 30° 31' N., long. 8° 55' W. at an altitude of 250 m/820 feet. It lies 4 km/2½ miles from

the right bank of the Wādī Sūs and some 83 km/51 miles from Āgādīr [*q.v.*] and the Atlantic coast. The old town is enclosed by a lengthy, high, early 18th-century crenellated wall with five gates.

Tārūdānt was an important town in mediaeval Islamic times. It formed part of the Almoravid empire from 421/1030 onwards, but a century later was conquered by the Almohads. It was at Tārūdānt that the Sa'dian sultan Aḥmad al-A'radj (d. 950/1543) established his power, but the Sūs region as a whole was frequently in rebellion against the authority of Marrakech. Tārūdānt was a centre for the pretender to the Sharīfian throne Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] from 1912-13 onwards, but French troops finally established their authority there in May 1917. By the mid-20th century, Tārūdānt was being surpassed by the expanding port of Āgādīr as the main centre of the Sūs, but has remained important as an agricultural marketing focus. In 1950 it had a population of almost 12,900, including 900 Jews who lived in a *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ] but who have now almost all emigrated; by the early 1980s the population had reached 24,000. For further details on the town's history, see AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ.

Bibliography: See that to AL-SŪS AL-AKṢĀ, to which should be added: Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Morocco*, London 1941, i, 214-16, ii, 64-5, 283-4 and indices; Guides Bleus, *Maroc*, Paris 1954, 210-11; *Taroudant, cité du Sousse*, joint publication, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Agadir 1993. (ED.)

ṬĀRUM, ṬĀROM, the name of two places in Persia.

1. The best-known is the mediaeval Islamic district of that name lying along the middle course of the Ḳïzïl Üzen or Safīd Rūd river [*q.vv.*] in the ancient region of Daylam [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia. Adjoining it on the east was the district of Khalkhāl [*q.v.*]. There are, at the present time, two small towns or villages bearing the name Ṭārum, one of them on the right bank of the Ḳïzïl Üzen between Wanisarā and Kalladj.

According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 65, 217-18, tr. 69-70, 209-10), the district of "the two Ṭārums" (*Ṭārumayn*) was divided into an upper and a lower Ṭārum, with chief towns at Ḳal'a-yi Tādj and Shamīrān respectively; the population at that time (8th/14th century) were Shāfi'ī Sunnīs. Ṭārum lay off the main communication routes, and the limited amount of traffic between Ardabīl and Zandjān had to cross the Ḳïzïl Üzen either at the only bridge or, more directly, by means of inflated rafts (*keleks* [*q.v.*]). Though the district was very mountainous, Mustawfī mentions its excellent crops and fruit, and according to Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 6, s.v. *Ṭāram*), high quality silken garments were produced there. Some four centuries previously, the Arab traveller Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī [*q.v.*] had mentioned famous mines for iron sulphate, alum and borax (*Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran* (*circa A.D. 950*), ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, text § 11, tr. 74).

One of the most famous places in Ṭārum was the fortress of Shamīrān, which was visited by Abū Dulaf, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Yāḳūt. The site of Shamīrān has not been discovered, but the itinerary of Nāṣir-i Khusraw enables it to be fixed with sufficient accuracy. The traveller coming from Ḳazwīn arrived at Kharzawīl (below Mandjil); from there after a descent of 3 *farsakhs*, he arrived at Brzalkhyr (?), a dependency of Ṭārum. He then came to a village of Khandān on the Shāh Rūd near its mouth. At Khandān a toll for crossing (*bādj*) was levied by the Amīr (of Ṭārum). From here to Shamīrān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw reckons it 3 *farsakhs*. In reality, the distance from Kharzawīl to the Shāh Rūd in a direct line is not over 8 km/5 miles. In the more open country to the west of the Shāh Rūd, 3 *farsakhs* would be the equivalent of a longer distance in miles. According to Yāḳūt, Samīrān (Shamīrān) was "on a large river"; all these details enable us to locate Shamīrān near Darband. Indeed, Rawlinson mentions the ruins there of a "large and very strong fort" (5 km/3 miles below Giliwān) and the Russian map shows the "ruins of a fortress" on the cliff on the left bank (*ca.* 12 km/7 miles above the mouth of the Shāh Rūd). The strategic importance of Shamīrān was that it guarded at its narrowest point the entrance to Ṭārum by the valley of the Ḳïzïl Üzen, while the fort of Ḳalāt commanded the entrance from the Zandjān side.

History. We do not know who were the early inhabitants of the district of Ṭārum. Rawlinson located in this part of the Ḳïzïl Üzen the ancient people of the Cadusii and relied for this on the authority of al-Djayhānī (*Ashkāl al-'ālam* ?) who still (5th/11th century ?) calls all this district Ḳādūstān (?). The wild and remote country of Ṭārum-Khalkhāl only played a part in history in the period of the Musāfirid dynasty [*q.v.*] which, with Shamīrān as its capital, ruled Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, Gīlān and the country as far as Rayy. As early as 316/928 we find Sallār b. Aswār lord of Shamīrān; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 142. Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil (*loc. cit.*) speaks of 2,850 large and small buildings in Samīrān (Shamīrān). From the interesting letter of the Būyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād al-Ṭālaḳānī, quoted by Yāḳūt (s.v. *Samīrān*), it seems that Ṭārum was at first under Ḳazwīn, from which it was detached by Muḥammad b. Musāfir, who coveted the district for its fortress. The Ṣāḥib pays a high tribute to the importance of Shamīrān by calling it "sister of the fortress of Alamūt" (al-Muḳaddasī, 360) and mentions the ornamentation of the fortress of Samīrūm (*sic*) in the form of lions in gold, the sun and the moon. In 379/989 the Būyids acquired Shamīrān by a matrimonial alliance, but after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, the Musāfirid Ibrāhīm seized Zandjān, Abhar, Sardjihān (a district to the north of Abhar near Ṣā'in-ḳal'a = the old Ḳuhūd) and "Shahrizūr" (reading uncertain, but the place must be identified with "Sharzūrlard, Sharūzlar" which the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 65, tr. 70, mentions among the dependencies of Lower Ṭārum). Shamīrān is not explicitly mentioned among these domains, but in 438/1046 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found at Shamī-rān (Samīrān) a Musāfirid prince and a garrison of 1,000 men. The traveller says that the fortress on a cliff commanded the town (*kaṣaba*); it was surrounded by a triple wall; a subterranean passage (*kārīz*) going down to the river enabled water to be procured. According to Yāḳūt, the fortress was destroyed by the Ismā'īlīs in circumstances which are still unknown. Ḳalāt in the time of Yāḳūt was occupied by the lord of Alamūt.

Under the Mongols, especially when the capital was transferred to Sulṭāniyya [*q.v.*], Ṭārum gained in importance and the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (740/1340) gives evidence of the exact knowledge then possessed of this district. Under Öldjeytü, Ṭārum was ruled by a certain *Shiḥna* Girāy (?) who is mentioned as sending the expedition into Gīlān in 700/1307 (Dorn, *Auszüge*, 139). Under the Tīmūrids, the *khāns* of Khalkhāl and of Ṭārum (Shaykh Zāhid Ṭārumī; Dorn, *Auszüge*, 229, 231, 234, 382) played a role of some importance. Shamīrān also must have been rebuilt, for the historians

of Gīlān tell how after the death of Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (896/1490), the *Kār-kiyā* Mīrzā ʿAlī seized the fortress by a stratagem. Later, a certain Mīr Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ṭārumī rebelled against Mīrzā ʿAlī but without success. In the reign of Rustam Beg Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (898-902/1493-7), his general Dede Beg with 10,000 men recaptured the "fortress of Ṭārum" but later during the struggle between the Aḳ Ḳoyunlus Alwand and Muḥammadī (904-6/1500-1), the general of *Kār-kiyā* Mīrzā ʿAlī "freed Ṭārum from Turkish rule" (cf. *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 236).

Under the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I, Ṭārum was on the most convenient route between the lands of the *Kār-kiyā*, where the young monarch was in hiding and Ardabīl, the ancestral home of his family. The route followed in 905/1479-1500 by Ismāʿīl in his famous march was by Ṭārum-Barandaḳ-Nasāz-Kūʾī-Ḥifẓ-ābād-Abaruḳ-Ardabīl (cf. E.D. Ross, *The early years of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl*, in *JRAS* [1895], 332). Ṭārum is several times mentioned in the *Tārīk̲h̲-i ʿĀlam-ārā* as the place where the Ṣafawids spent the winter of 921/1515-16 and hunted (1002/1593-4, 1003/1594-5) and from where they sent expeditions against Gīlān.

The Turkish elements gradually absorbed the Iranian (Daylamī and Gīlānī) elements. Under Nādir S̲h̲āh, the Amarlu Kurds were settled in Mand̲j̲īl and in the Pus̲h̲t-i Kūh of Ṭārum. According to Rawlinson, they were of the Lūlū tribe (Lōlō ?, traces of which are still found in Upper Syria (Le Coq), near Tehran (Brugsch), etc.), but in his time they had already become Turkicised. Rabino, however (*RMM*, xxxii, 261), distinguishes between the Ris̲h̲wand Kurds (of Sulaymāniyya) settled near Mand̲j̲īl by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I and the ʿAmarlu Turks (?) who came in the time of Nādir. In any case, according to Fortescue (1924), Ṭārum had a Turkish population; after Giliwān the peasants did not understand Persian. In the toponymy also, a Turkish layer gradually obscures the old Iranian names (cf. Pardalīs from **prd* "bridge", Nimahil, Niyāb, Gulčīn, etc.). A study of the old Iranian toponymy in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān has still to be made, but it is evident that the local dialects belonged to the group called "Northwestern".

According to the *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 335, the Ḳād̲j̲ārs made Ṭārum a separate domain and gave it as a fief (*iḳṭāʿ wa-tiyūl*) to Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Dawalu, to his son Allāh-yār K̲h̲ān Āṣaf al-Dawla, etc. After the accession of Riḍā S̲h̲āh Pahlawī (1925), a punitive expedition was sent to K̲h̲alk̲h̲āl and several local K̲h̲āns (Ras̲h̲īd al-Mamālik, etc.) were hanged.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): For older bibl. and travellers' accounts, see *EI*[1] art. See also Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Ṣaniʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, Tehran 1294/1877, i, 334-7; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 170, 225-6; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 736-9; L.S. Fortescue, *The Western Elburz and Persian Azerbaijan*, in *JRGS* (1924), 301-18; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1983, 232.

2. A town of Fārs (Yāḳūt: Ṭirm; *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange: Tār(u)m) situated at the extreme east of the province of the Kirmān side. The town seems to correspond to Tāravā in the land of the Yautiyā mentioned in pre-Islamic inscriptions. Ṭārum is now a village and rural district of the province of Kirmān, in the *s̲h̲ahrastān* of Bandar ʿAbbās.

Bibliography: Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1314/1896-7, 217-18; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 338; Le Strange, *Lands*, 292-5; Schwarz, *Iran*, 107-8; *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Irān-zamīn*, viii, 274. On the linguistic situation, see Ehsan Yarshater, *The Tati dialects of Ṭārom*, in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (eds.), *W.B. Henning memorial volume*, London 1970, 451-67.

(V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

TARWIYA (a.), is the name for the day 8 Dhu 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a (*yawm al-tarwiya*). The Islamic Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ begins on this day; on it the pilgrims go from Mecca to Minā and as a rule after a short stay there go on again to be able to pass the night at ʿArafa. The chief focus on the "Day of *Tarwiya*" in the *Ḥadīth* (and later law books) is what the pilgrim should properly do and say on that day, especially with respect to performance of ritual prayers and assumption of *iḥrām*: see e.g. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, 4 (*Wuḍūʾ*), 30; 25 (*Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*). 26, 33, 36, 145, etc.; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15 (*Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*). 25, 136, 138, etc.; Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, *al-Risāla*, Ar. text with Fr. tr. L. Bercher, [6]Algiers 1975, 144-5; cf. Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *The distinguished jurist's primer* [*Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*], tr. I.A.H. Nyazee, Reading, U.K. 1994, 409). In Muslim works, the term *yawm al-tarwiya* is usually explained from the fact that the pilgrims on this day give their animals a plentiful supply of water in preparation for the ride through the waterless area or from their taking with them a supply of water for themselves. However, since *tarwiya* properly means "pouring" rather than "watering" animals or "taking water with one", it has been suggested that the expression goes back to some kind of sympathetic rain-charm with which the rite of the pilgrimage was introduced in the oldest period. With this one might compare the pouring and sprinkling of the sacred water of Zamzam as observed by Ibn D̲j̲ubayr in S̲h̲aʿbān 579/November-December 1183 among the Meccans, and by al-Batanūnī among the Bedouin during the pilgrimage in 1909. See also ḤAD̲J̲D̲J̲.

Bibliography: *LA*, xix, 65; *TʿA*, x, 59; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Nihāya*, ii, 113; Lane, 1195; Wensinck, *Concordance*, ii, 322a; R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, 110-15 (the explanation from the Hebrew here is no longer accepted); M. Th. Houtsma, *Het Skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina*, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 4th ser., 6th part. (1904), 185-217, 211-12; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880 (*Verspreide geschriften*, i, 1 ff.), 126-8; A.J. Wensinck, in *AO*, i (1923), 164; idem, *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, in *Verh. Akd. Wiss. Amsterdam*, Letterk., N.R., xxv, 2 (1925), 28; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 101, 236, cf. 83-5, 88; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*, [3]London 1927, 231-2; Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, *Riḥla*, 139-40; Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥid̲j̲āziyya*, 104; Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pas̲h̲a, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaramayn*, Cairo 1344/1925, i, 35, 313; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-G̲h̲afūr ʿAṭṭār, *Ḳāmūs al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ wa 'l-ʿUmra*, 257-60.

(R. Paret-[W.A. Graham])

AL-ṬĀSA (a.), the term used in mediaeval Islamic scientific texts for the magnetic compass. The earliest references to the magnetic compass in the Islamic written sources have been surveyed by E. Wiedemann in MAG̲H̲NĀṬĪS. 2. to which see also the addenda in volume IX. To these sources may now be added:

1. A treatise on the magnetic compass (called *ṭāsa*) used for finding the *ḳibla*, compiled by the Rasūlid Yemeni Sultan al-As̲h̲raf *ca.* 690/1290 (first studied by P. Schmidl in 1994); see Pl. V. There is no mention of any deviation of the compass needle from the meridian, but we cannot be sure what that deviation might have been in the Yemen at that time. The

instrument, which is a bowl with a scale around the rim divided in degrees, is called *ṭāsa* and is to be filled with water, on which the needle floats.

2. A short description of a circular compass-box (called *ḥukk al-ḳibla*) with a needle attached at the centre (see Pl. VI) in a treatise on astronomical time-keeping by Ibn Simʿūn, who worked in Cairo *ca.* 700/1300 (this section was studied by Schmidl in 1994 and the whole treatise is currently being investigated by M. Castells). There is no mention of any magnetic deviation.

3. A treatise on a compendium or multi-purpose instrument by the mid-8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, in which a magnetic compass is fitted in order to align the instrument in the cardinal directions (published by D.A. King and L. Janin in 1977). There is no mention of any deviation of the compass needle from the meridian, but we cannot be sure what that deviation might have been in Damascus at that time.

4. A treatise on a universal equatorial sundial by the mid-9th/15th-century Egyptian astronomer ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Wafāʾī (published by S. Tekeli in 1960). In this the author presents a value for the declination of the magnetic compass from the meridian.

5. Various later treatises in which a compass is mentioned, such as the treatise on *dāʾirat al-muʿaddil* of Seydī Reʾīs (studied by R. Lorch *et alii* in 1976). In this, al-Wafāʾī's value of the deviation is adopted, but the treatise was compiled much later in Istanbul, and the value of the declination was surely different.

6. A ceramic water-bowl compass made in Syria *ca.* 922-6/1516-20 by a craftsman named Thābit has survived. It was made for the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I and bears inscriptions purporting to give the *ḳibla* values of some 40 localities, mainly in Persia (see Pl. VII, Fig. 1). However, the information is so corrupt that it is seldom other than worthless. The instrument was clearly copied from another; indeed, it is at the end of a long process of transmission, the data being further corrupted each time a new instrument was made. It appears probable that the "original" compass that inspired the series was made in Persia in the 7th/13th century. Several of the few *ḳibla* values that are intelligible contain the same errors found in an extensive Tīmūrid geographical table that is preserved in ms. London B.L. Or. 7489, fols. 53a-58b (on this, see the addenda and corrigenda to AL-SAMT).

7. Magnetic compasses are found on two world-maps centred on Mecca that have survived from late-Ṣafawid Persia. See AL-SAMT on the first, rediscovered in 1989, especially Pl. LXVIII; the other came to light only in 1995; see now the important addenda and corrigenda to that article in volume IX and Pl. VIII.

8. Magnetic compasses are also found on various late-Ṣafawid astrolabes (see Pl. VII, Fig. 2) as well as on a late Syrian quadrant (illustrated in RUBʿ, Pl. XXXIV) and on countless late Persian *ḳibla* indicators.

Our knowledge of the transmission within the Islamic world of the various scientific notions regarding the magnetic compass is still very fragmentary, and we can be confident that more textual sources and instruments remain to be discovered in libraries and museums and private collections around the world.

Bibliography: In addition to MAGHNĀṬĪS. 2, see the addenda to that article. On various manuscripts and instruments featuring a magnetic compass, see D.A. King, *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen. A bio-bibliographical survey*, Malibu, Calif. 1983, 29, and pl. VII, and now P. Schmidl, *Two early Arabic sources on the magnetic compass*, forthcoming; L. Janin and King, *The* Ṣandūq al-yawāqīt *of Ibn al-Shāṭir. An astronomical compendium*, in *Jnal. of the Hist. of Arabic Science*, i (1977), 187-256, repr. in King, *Islamic astronomical instruments*, London 1987, 1995, XII; S. Tekeli, *The equatorial armilla of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Wafāʾī and the torquetum*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xviii (1960); W. Brice, C. Imber and R.P. Lorch, *The Dāʾire-yi Muʿaddel of Seydī ʿAlī Reʾīs*, in *Seminar on early Islamic science* (University of Manchester), i (1976). On the ceramic *ḳibla* bowl, see Sophie Cluzan *et alii* (eds.), *Syrie. Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, 440-441, no. 336 (preliminary description prepared before the inscriptions had been interpreted). On the Mecca-centred world-maps, see in addition to AL-SAMT the addenda and corrigenda to that article.

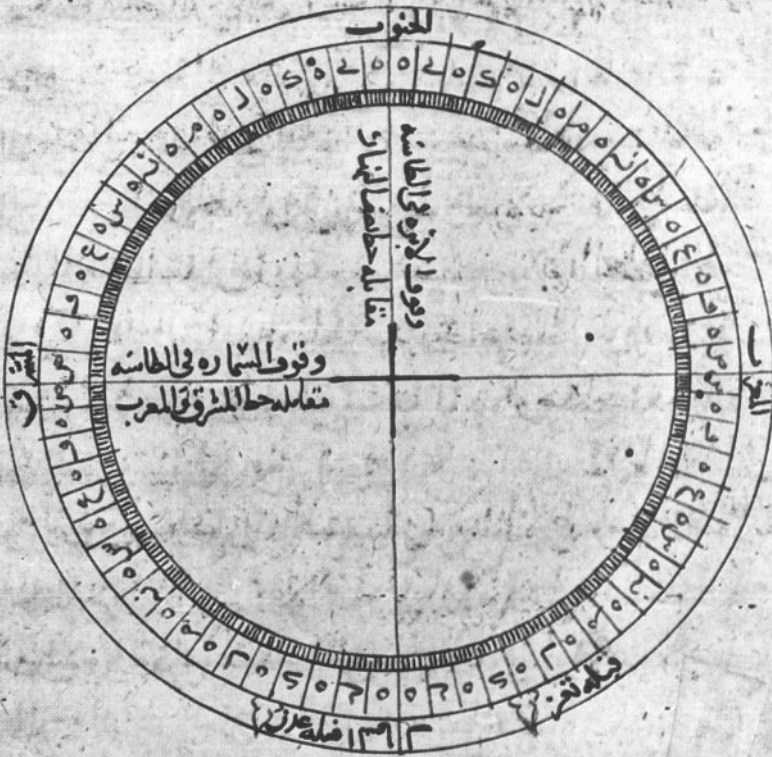
(D.A. KING)

TAṢAWWUF (A.), the phenomenon of mysticism within Islam. It is the *maṣdar* of Form V of the radical *ṣ-w-f*, indicating in the first place one who wears woollen clothes (*ṣūf*), the rough garb of ascetics and mystics. Other etymological derivations which have been put forward in Western and, especially, Islamic sources, are untenable. Hence a mystic is called *ṣūfī* or *mutaṣawwif*, colls. *ṣūfiyya* or *mutaṣawwifa*.

1. Early development in the Arabic and Persian lands.
2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.
3. In North Africa [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 2].
4. In 19th and 20th-century Egypt.
5. In Persia from 1800 onwards.
6. Amongst the Turks.
   (a) The Turkish lands from Anatolia to Eastern Turkistān in the pre-modern period [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 5].
   (b) The Balkans [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 6].
   (c) The Ottoman Turkish lands and Republican Turkey in the 19th and 20th centuries.
7. In Muslim India.
   (a) The pre-1800 period [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 7].
   (b) In the 19th and 20th centuries.
8. In Chinese Islam.
9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. Early development in the Arabic and Persian lands.

Already among the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad there were persons who wanted more than just to strive after the outward observance of the religious law and of the usages founded by the Prophet. At the same time, while fulfilling their religious duties, they paid attention to what was happening to their souls, and tried to harmonise these internal experiences with the external observances by means of renunciation of the world and asceticism. Here, they knew that many characteristics of the Prophet's message favoured this, whilst the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries brought about a certain secularisation of life and luxury, contrary to the ideals of the original Islamic community, and from which the truly God-fearing person could save himself only by withdrawing from the world.

The representatives of the ascetic movement, which strove after giving depth to life and renouncing the world, were often called *nāsik*, pl. *nussāk*, corresponding to the Latin *viri religiosi*. As an outward sign, they wore rough woollen cloth in order to react against

Extract from ms. Cairo Taymūr *riyāḍa* 105 of al-Ashraf's treatise. Courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.

Extract from ms. Leiden Or. 468 of Ibn Simʿūn's treatise. Courtesy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden.

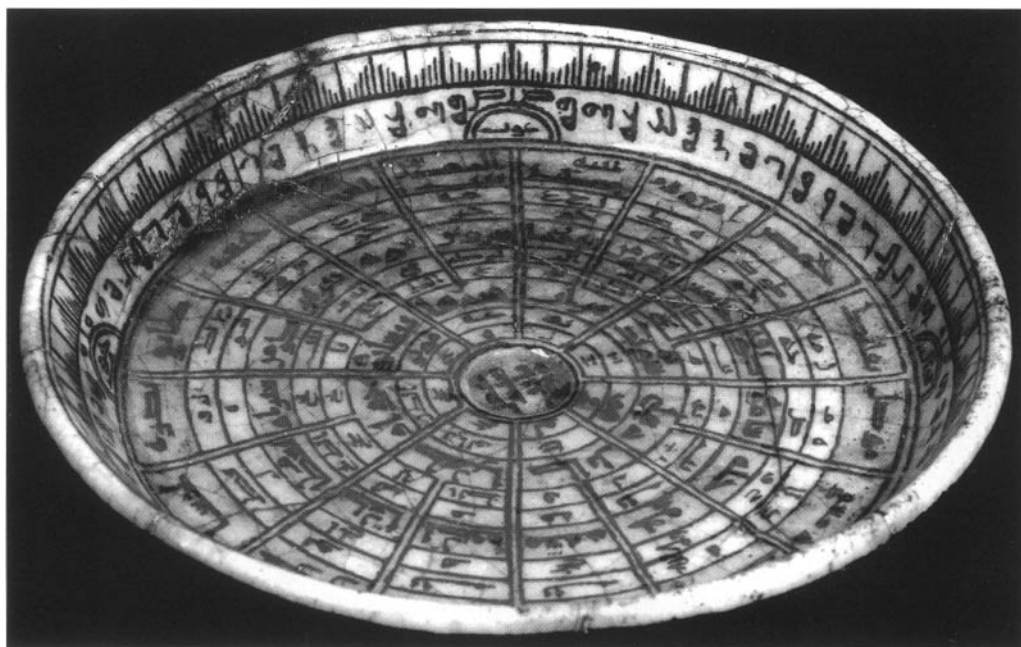
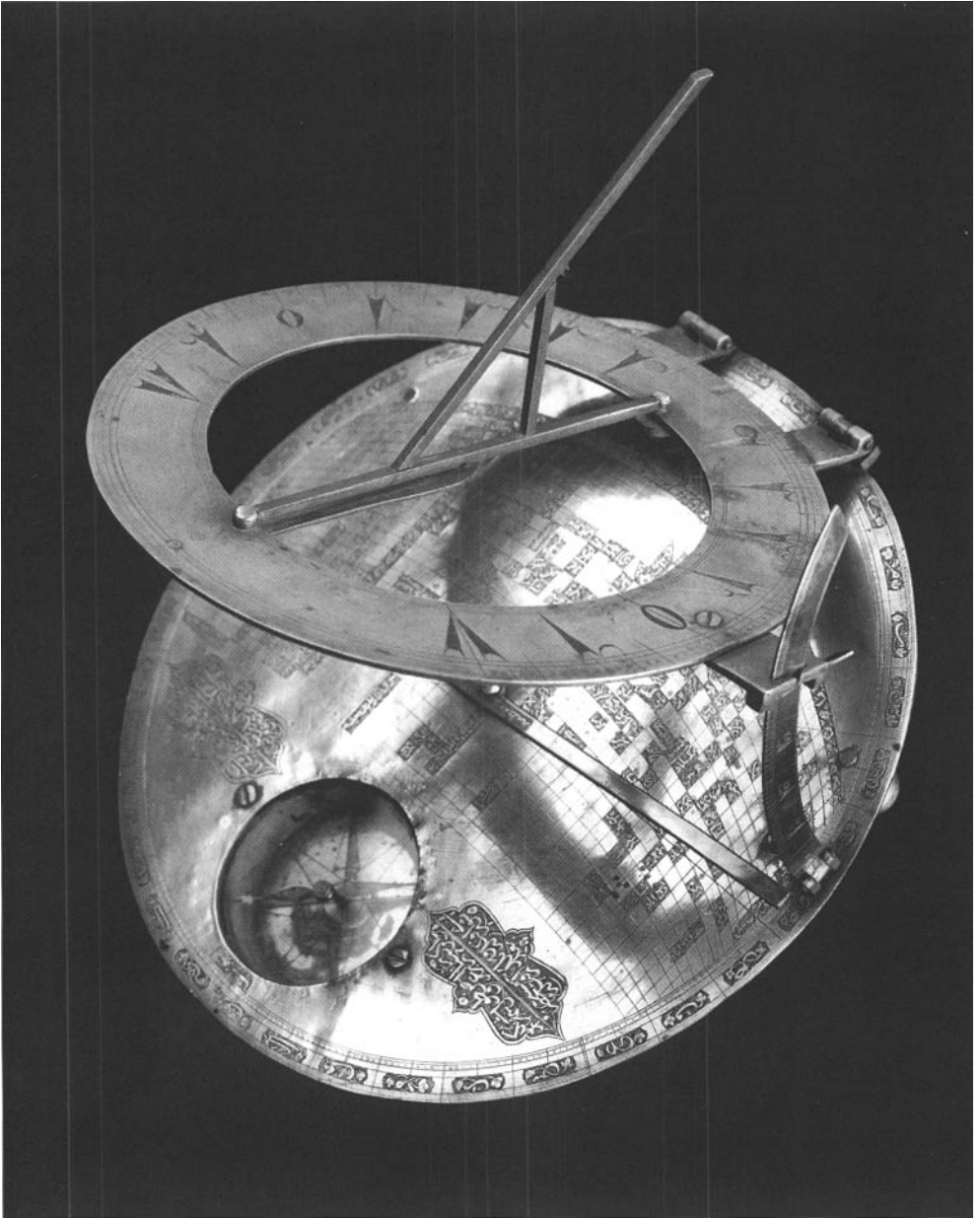



Fig. 1. The ceramic bowl made for Sultan Selīm I. Photo courtesy of the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, and the archives of the Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main.

Fig. 2. A compass about 15 mm in diameter on the throne of an astrolabe made by Muhammad Mahdī *ca.* 1050/1650. Photo by D.A. King, courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

The magnetic compass and European-style sundial on the second Persian world-map, rediscovered only in 1995. Photo by Christie's of London, courtesy of the owner.

the people wearing more luxurious dress, and possibly also in imitation of the dress of Christian monks and ascetics.

A fringe group of the movement was called *Ṣūfiyya* in the 2nd/8th century. As opposed to the *religiosi*, antinomian, antisocial and anti-governmental tendencies became noticeable among them. This is in any case reported by sources which were ill-disposed towards the *Ṣūfiyya* and therefore cannot lay claim to unconditional trust. The *Ṣūfiyya* tried to achieve a sensitive relation with God. They developed views about the love of God, and for this they could quote Ḳur'ān V, 54: "He loves them, and they love Him". They also had a means to intensify this relation and to give it an artistic expression by playing music and wordly poetry, in particular love poetry, and by listening to this (*samāʿ* [*q.v.*]). For the *Ṣūfiyya*, the beloved who was celebrated in these poems was God, and the love relation described in them was their relation to God. The "hearing" often put them in a state of ecstasy (*wadjd*) brought about in particular by the dance which was connected with the hearing. Another exercise was the *dhikr Allāh*, on which see below. Notwithstanding the fact that the *religiosi* in general rejected these practices, the word *Ṣūfī*, which in the 2nd/8th century still had been an expression for a somewhat disreputable fringe group, had been adopted for the entire mystical movement in the course of the 3rd/9th century for reasons which are not clear. On the whole, however, the name never succeeded in imposing itself universally. In the East, in Khurāsān and in Transoxania, mystics were for a long time called *ḥakīm*, pl. *ḥukamā'*, and besides this the term, "knower of God" (*ʿārif*, pl. *ʿārifūn*) was often used.

The Ṣūfī was poor (A. *faḳīr*, P. *darwīsh*). He had renounced the world as a *zāhid* (pl. *zuhhād*) and devoted himself to the ardent service of God. However, he was not only contending with the world and its seductions, but also with himself, his own base self (*nafs*), experienced as the seat of all evil lusts, which impeded real renunciation of the world and exclusive surrender to God. It was therefore his task to look into himself and exercise self-training, with the aim of doing away with the self and all the impulses of the will emanating from it. For as long as the self was enduring, true Islam, true surrender to God's will was not possible. The final obliteration of personal activity was experienced as an absorption, a cessation of being, in God (*fanā'* [*q.v.*]). A road (*ṭarīḳ* or *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*], pl. *ṭuruḳ*, the later word for "dervish order"), along which the mystic travelled (*sulūk*), led to this. In the internal experience it led across a number of way stations (*manāzil*), locations (*maḳām*, pl. *maḳāmāt*) and situations (*ḥāl*, pl. *aḥwāl*), for which in later times classification systems were established in the handbooks (see below). Already in early times, many interpreted this road as a journey towards God through the macrocosmos.

The Ṣūfīs strove to procure a coherent foundation of their theory and practice. Their guiding principles were the Ḳur'ān and Sunna, the "orthodox" custom of the Islamic world which consolidated itself in the 3rd/9th century. The science thus formed was called *ʿilm al-bāṭin*, knowledge of the inner self or internal knowledge. They opposed it to the traditional sciences, namely, tradition (*ḥadīth*) and jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), which they designated as knowledge of the perceptible or the perceptible knowledge (*ʿilm al-ẓāhir*). The Ṣūfīs considered the status of their knowledge of the inner self as being superior to the perceptible sciences, yet they thought the latter to be indispensable for leading a God-fearing life. Rendering mysticism "orthodox" and coherent entailed the elimination of many of the attitudes of earlier times, especially those of the circles of the *Ṣūfiyya*. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the designations *Ṣūfī*, *Ṣūfiyya*, became socially acceptable in the 3rd/9th century.

The endeavour to get at a mental elucidation, at an intellectualisation, at a "rendering orthodox", is also found in Ṣūfī literature which originated in the 3rd/9th century. At the outset, there are collections of sayings by local leaders, which were then moulded into thematically-arranged collections. To these rather unassuming writings were added, in this same century, treatises by the great mystical scholars of that time, who pushed forward the development of the *ʿilm al-bāṭin*. Unfortunately, many of these writings have been lost. As authors one might mention al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [*q.v.*]), who worked in Baṣra and in Baghdād. His name *al-Muḥāsibī*, i.e. he who takes himself to task, who settles accounts with himself, alludes to the contents of his writings. In the latter, a science of scrupulous introspection of great subtlety is being developed, one which was unequalled by all who came later.

At this same time, a centre of intellectual mysticism developed in the capital Baghdād after the leadership of the movement had first been at Baṣra, in the circle and among the pupils of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The leader of the school of Baghdād was al-Djunayd b. Muḥammad (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]), to whose authority almost all later Ṣūfism refers. Other authors and scholars of the ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād schools were Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz (d. 279/892 or 286/899 [*q.v.*]), Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907) and Aḥmad b. ʿAṭā' (d. 310/922). To Baṣra belongs Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]). From al-Djunayd's circle also came Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932), but he was mainly active in the east, in Khurāsān. A solitary and a special case was the famous al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*] who by his exaggerated and challenging sayings provoked the state authorities and was finally executed in Baghdād in 310/922.

In the East, Naysābūr [see NĪSHĀPŪR] and the region around Balkh and Tirmidh, on the upper Oxus, were centres of Ṣūfism. As the main author one should mentioned al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. *ca.* 300/910), whose work is the most comprehensive of what has survived of classical Ṣūfism ("classical" here indicates the period between the 3rd/9th and the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries). The famous Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. probably in 261/874-5 [*q.v.*]) was also active in the East.

The 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries were a period of consolidation, in which there appeared the great collections and text-books which gave Ṣūfism its final orthodox tone. One may mention Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj (d. 378/988 [*q.v.*]) and his *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [*q.v.*]) and his *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*; al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]) and his *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*; Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1022 [*q.v.*]), who in numerous comprehensive writings collected information about Ṣūfism and Ṣūfīs; al-Ḳushayrī (d. 465/1074), the author of the well-known *Risāla*; and the anonymous author of the text-book *Adab al-mulūk*, probably composed towards the end of the 4th/10th century.

Classical Ṣūfism found a certain culmination in the activities of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 555/1111 [*q.v.*]). Originally a theologian, he was converted to mysticism after a crisis in his life. In his main work, the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, he accomplished a synthesis of theological science and mystical *ʿilm al-bāṭin*, and continued the

endeavours of his Ṣūfī predecessors of the 4th/10th century. In lengthy passages, the *Iḥyā'* is simply a revision of the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, and, to a lesser extent also, of the *Risāla* of al-Ḳus͟hayrī.

Increasingly, the Persian language was also used in Ṣūfī literature, which until far into the 4th/10th century was only written in Arabic. Anṣārī of Herat (d. 481/1089) wrote mainly in Persian. With his *Kas͟hf al-maḥd͟jūb*, ʿAlī b. ʿUt͟hmān al-D͟jullābī al-Hud͟jwīrī (d. towards 1080 [*q.v.*]) composed the first Ṣūfī handbook in Persian. Sūfism was to be of particular importance for Persian poetry, in connection with which one should mention the poets ʿAṭṭār (d. *ca.* 615/1220), D͟jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) and D͟jāmī (d. 898/1492) [*q.vv.*], and later, the other languages of the Islamic world, Turkish, Urdu etc., were to follow.

If on the one hand Ṣūfism was confined in the straightjacket of Islamic theology, it experienced on the other hand enrichment and enlargement by admitting non-Islamic ways of thinking and worldviews, above all those of Classical Antiquity, mainly Neoplatonism, mixed with Aristotelian elements, which had become known to the Islamic world through translations since the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. There are also influences from Iranian religions and ways of thinking. Vague influences from non-Islamic doctrines can already be detected in the writings of the scholars of the 3rd/9th century. Above all, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmid͟hī should be mentioned, since he developed an early theosophical system. However, it was only very much later that a broad influence set in, the main exponents of this tendency being Yaḥyā b. Ḥabas͟h al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) from Persia and Ibn al-ʿArabī from Spain, who spent the second half of his life in Syria and Asia Minor, and died in Damascus in 638/1240 [*q.v.*]. Al-Suhrawardī joined mystical experiences with older Iranian traditions. Ibn al-ʿArabī drew up a Neoplatonic-Gnostic system, which is dominated by the idea of the unity of all beings (*waḥdat al-wud͟jūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-S͟HUHŪD AND WAḤDAT AL-WUD͟JŪD]). Early classical Ṣūfism had directed its attention to the fact that God operates everything, that God is the only real agent, to whose will and action man should submit with no will or self of his own. Post-classical Ṣūfism, whose beginning is to be dated in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, made God not only into the only agent but even into the One who exists all alone. Later, there arose, in the person of Ibn Taymiyya (d. in Damascus 728/1328 [*q.v.*]) and others, opposition against aspects of Ṣūfism which Ibn Taymiyya considered as abuses. Among other things, his criticism was aimed at the monism of being of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

In addition to non-Islamic ways of thinking, later Ṣūfism had also to integrate further elements. Through exercises and practices—above all through *d͟hikr* [*q.v.*]—the mystic could place himself in situations in which he had visionary experiences (*mukās͟hafāt* "unveilings") which he interpreted as information coming from higher worlds, even from God Himself. A system of classification and interpretation of the visions was developed. Here mention should be made of Nad͟jm al-Dīn al-Kubrā from K͟hīwa in K͟hwārazm (d. 620/1220 [*q.v.*]), in whose school attention was given in particular to the visionary element. Already in the 5th/11th century, al-Ḳus͟hayrī began to incorporate this element into the doctrinal system of Ṣūfism, and it is found in its entirety in the last classical handbook of Ṣūfism, the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* of Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 635/1234 [*q.v.*] in Bag͟hdād). It went through a Persian translation and adaptation in the 8th/14th century, and has remained a standard work of Persian mystics until the present day.

Mystic life was increasingly cultivated in the orders (*ṭuruḳ*), and these have been its characteristic home until the present day. If nowadays Islamic mysticism is mentioned, in general, gatherings like those of the orders are meant. These last originated in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, during which Ṣūfī groups were formed with fixed rules and hierarchically-arranged leadership, but gatherings must have existed already earlier. Al-Hud͟jwīrī enumerates ten traditions of schools. But it is not yet a question of orders proper, if indeed one understands by order a Ṣūfī gathering, with a hierarchical organisation, fixed rules and rituals.

In the early days, well into the 4th/10th century, the pupil-teacher relation was a very loose one. The pupil (*murīd*) often visited several teachers (*s͟hayk͟h*, pl. *s͟huyūk͟h*) in order to seek instruction about the path. Later, the typical teacher giving instruction was called *s͟hayk͟h al-taʿlīm*. From the end of the 3rd/9th century onwards, in fact, at first in eastern Persia, a change became visible in this relationship. Next to mere instruction came personal education by the teacher, who took the pupil much more under his wing so that the relationship became closer. The customs which developed from these teacher-pupil relations were the foundation of the later rules of orders. After the instruction of the novice was finished, he obtained from his teacher an authorisation (*id͟jāza* [*q.v.*]) and, as an external sign, a rough cloak (*k͟hirḳa*). To his outfit also often belonged a prayer rug (*sad͟jd͟jāda*), a rosary (*misbaḥa*) and a beggar's bowl (*kas͟hkūl*).

The most important orders are the Ḳādiriyya, the Kubrawiyya, the Naḳs͟hbandiyya, the K͟halwatiyya and the S͟hād͟hiliyya [*q.vv.*]. As a rule, the orders have fixed, written rules, which usually deal with the following points:

1. They give the order's affiliation (*silsila*), which is traced back from the present leader to the Prophet Muḥammad. It may comprise 30-40 degrees. These affiliations are frequently not very historical; in the various orders, they often coincide from the Prophet onwards till the foundation of the specific order in the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries, but after that date, differentiation appears.

2. The conditions and rituals for admission into the order. Some orders take men and women, some only men. The novice owes the *s͟hayk͟h* unconditional obedience (*perinde ac cadaver*), one which refers also to the affairs of everyday life.

3. Instructions about the use of the formulas for the *d͟hikr*. They deal with the regulation of breathing, with rhythms in which these formulas must be recited, and with the different speed in which this has to be performed.

4. Instructions regarding seclusion (*k͟halwa*). The Ṣūfī often withdraws for a length of time, which may span weeks, in special, screened-off small rooms, in order to devote himself to *d͟hikr* exercises. As a rule, very precise instructions are given for these; they deal with the site and the arrangement of space, the length of the seclusion, the sequence of the formulae and litanies, the prescriptions for posture, and practical points like maintenance and questions of cleanliness.

5. Often advice is also given concerning the relation of the members of the order among themselves.

The most important practice of the Ṣūfīs and of the Ṣūfī communities is the remembrance of God (*d͟hikr*), and with some orders also listening to music and dance. These were rejected by the theologians, as well as by Ibn Taymiyya and his school; others,

like al-G͟hazālī, accepted just *samā'*. In early times, even during the Prophet's lifetime, *d͟hikr* could consist of the picturing of God in the mind and of thinking of Him, to which aim meetings were held. The early *Ṣūfiyya* recited certain formulas in common. Later, and up to the present time, it means to have God's name (*Allāh*) always present and to pronounce it while paying attention to certain breathing techniques. This recital of God's name could lead to ecstatic situations, which were accompanied by visions. At times, the schools or orders developed specific methods for remembering God. At the admission into the order these methods were "implanted" into the novice by the teacher (*talḳīn al-d͟hikr*).

Many prominent teachers and personalities of Ṣūfism attained an odour of sanctity soon after their death, some even during their lifetime. Supernatural knowledge and the power to work wonders were ascribed to them, and their tomb often became a place of pilgrimage (*ziyāra* [*q.v.*]). Soon a garland of stories and legends around their person and their doings came into being, thus forming the basis of hagiographies. The first were written in Arabic, but unfortunately these have survived only in Persian translations.

The example of wonder-working saints was the Prophet Muḥammad himself, to whom supernatural features were ascribed by the Ṣūfīs. Already for the oldest Ṣūfīs, the Prophet's life (*sīra*) and sayings and doings (*sunna*) were the example. The Ṣūfī should not only follow him with body and soul (the *imitatio Muhammadi*) but also exert himself to keep Muḥammad himself always present in thoughts and feelings. This representation could be intensified to such an extent that Ṣūfīs thought they had Muḥammad in person before their eyes, who communicated with them by words and advice, for they were and are convinced that Muḥammad after his death lives on in a transformed existence. In later times the term "Muḥammad's path" (*ṭarīḳa muḥammadiyya*) was used in this context.

The mystical path is in principle open to every Muslim. According to the Ṣūfīs, therefore, anybody can arrive at higher forms of religious knowledge, even if this must be achieved under the guidance of a *s͟hayk͟h*. These achievements are promised to the novice as fruits of the path. The S͟hī'a, on the other hand, for which religious authority and knowledge must always be connected with blood percentage with the Prophet Muḥammad through the Imāms, were and are still hostile to this "democratic" idea of knowledge upheld by the Ṣūfīs.

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2. Ibn al-ʿArabī and after in the Arabic and Persian lands and beyond.

i. *The present state of research.* Judgements here have to be made with caution, since this period is far less known and far less studied than the first one. There is little doubt, however, about its importance, and Marshall Hodgson was probably right when he wrote "Once the Ṣûfîs came to espouse a distinctive metaphysic, that metaphysic became the most influential form of speculation among Muslims generally... Ṣûfism, especially the new intellectualizing expressions of it, served more than any other movement to draw together all strands of intellectual life" (*The venture of Islam*, Chicago 1974, ii, 230). The teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (560-638/1165-1240 [*q.v.*]) were without doubt pervasively influential, but the exact nature of this needs exploration, as do the works of his followers and commentators; also, several of his contemporaries were authors of major importance who established lines of teaching and influence that extended for centuries to come.

There is the further problem of defining Ṣūfism/*taṣawwuf* in this period. Authors known as Ṣūfīs may or may not have applied the term to themselves. All through the period one finds a broad spectrum of attitudes, beliefs and practices that have been labelled as Ṣūfism by both Muslims and outside observers. One is also overwhelmed by the sheer mass and diversity of material, in various forms of art, a vast range of devotional material, popular stories, hagiographies, handbooks on *adab*, collections of sayings or *malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], etc. The Ṣūfī orders [see ṬARĪḲA] display its social and political aspect, but Ṣūfism continued to be transmitted by other channels also; Ṣūfī texts became part of the curriculum for any well-educated scholar.

ii. *The Ṣūfism of Ibn al-ʿArabī.* If Ibn al-ʿArabī came to be known as *al-shaykh al-akbar*, "the Greatest Master", this is because he offered enormously erudite and challenging explanations of all the basic issues of Islamic theory and practice. However, given the complexity, profundity, prolixity, and diversity of Ibn al-ʿArabī's writings, it is difficult if not impossible to make categorical statements about his views on any important theoretical issue. Certainly the attempts that have often made to categorise his thinking—such as calling it "static" as opposed to "dynamic" (Massignon and Gardet)—have little basis in his writings. Although we are told everywhere in the later literature, both Islamic and Western, that Ibn al-ʿArabī established the perspective of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, he never employs this expression, which has a complex history among both his followers and his critics, meaning different things to different authors (see Chittick, *Rūmī and waḥdat al-wujūd*, in *Poetry and mysticism in Islam*, Cambridge 1994, 70-111). It is misleading to say without qualification that Ibn al-ʿArabī believes in any specific doctrine. On any given issue, his position depends on the standpoint he chooses to adopt in the context, and he acknowledges the conditional validity of every standpoint. This relativity of standpoints does not negate the fact that some standpoints are more true than others, or that immediate happiness after death can only be achieved by following the prophets, which, in Islamic terms, means observing the *sharīʿa*.

Once we treat generalisations with caution, we can say that certain notions play central roles in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thinking, such as *wudjūd* (existence, being, finding), the divine names, God's self-disclosure (*tadjallī* [*q.v.*]), and imagination (*khayāl*). Probably the most basic of these notions, however, is the perfect human being (*al-insān al-kāmil*), who is looked upon as integrating of all reality, since he is the origin and goal of the universe, the model and criterion for human development, and the guide on the path to God. Several of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works, such as his famous *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, his monumental *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, and his short *al-ʿAbādila*, are structured in terms of various modalities of human perfection. These modalities in turn are viewed as manifestations of the multiform reality of the Ḳur'ān (see Chodkiewicz, *Ocean*, ch. 2), and every standpoint of his starts from the Ḳur'ān and the basic hermeneutical principle that God intends every sense that can be understood from his Word without distorting the plausible meanings of the Arabic language.

Instead of attempting to summarise Ibn al-ʿArabī's worldview, it may be useful to suggest how his perspective might help us understand the place of Ṣūfism in Islamic history. It is well to keep in mind, however, that Ibn al-ʿArabī would probably not call himself a "Ṣūfī" in any limiting sense, since he rarely employs the term, and, in a tripartite division of the Men of God (*ridjāl Allāh*), he places the Ṣūfīs in an intermediate category, above the ascetics (*zuhhād*) to be sure, but below the Blameworthy (*malāmiyya*), who are also called the Realisers (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*). In this highest category, he numbers the Prophet and the greatest friends of God (*awliyā'*), including himself. Their basic activity is *taḥḳīḳ*, which Ibn al-ʿArabī understands in terms of the Prophet's command, "Give everything that has a *ḥaḳḳ* its *ḥaḳḳ*". Everything in existence has a *ḥaḳḳ*—a truth, a reality, a right, an appropriate claim—or else God would not have created it. The function of the Realiser is to discern a thing's *ḥaḳḳ* and act accordingly, and Ibn al-ʿArabī sets out principles in terms of which every *ḥaḳḳ* can be discerned and acted upon.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings are intimately tied to the Ḳur'ān in diverse ways, both obvious and hidden. His writings attempt to show how the Ḳur'ān manifests the reality of God in its every chapter, verse, word and letter. On a doctrinal level, his governing idea is *tawḥīd* or the assertion of God's unity, to be understood from two basic points of view, which can be labelled by the two primary names of the Holy Book—*ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*. According to one traditional under-

standing, *ḳur'ān* means "bringing together" (*d̲j̲am'*); hence it represents a perspective that is complementary to *furḳān*, which means "separation" and "differentiation". The Ḳur'ān differentiates all the phenomena of the universe in keeping with God's knowledge and wisdom, but it also brings all things together under the umbrella of God's unitary creativity. Reality's differentiation is prefigured in God's external knowledge of creation, and its unity derives from the divine oneness. God is one through his Essence (*d̲h̲āt*) and "many" through his differentiated knowledge. His oneness pertains to *wud̲j̲ūd*, and his manyness to the things, which, *qua* things, have no *wud̲j̲ūd*. The unifying principles of the many things are known as the "divine names". This is what Ibn al-'Arabī means when he says, as he often does, that God is the One/the Many (*al-wāḥid al-kat̲h̲īr*)—He is one through His Essence and many through His names. For its part, the Holy Book, as God's eternal speech, designates both the oneness and the manyness of reality. Its two names, *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, signify the two basic principles in terms of which God creates the universe and reveals himself in the "signs" (*āyāt*) that are found in the three fundamental domains of manifestation: the universe, the soul, and the Book.

Sa'īd al-Dīn Farg̲h̲ānī (d. *ca.* 695/1296 [*q.v.*]), who is probably the first follower of Ibn al-'Arabī to use the term *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* in a technical sense, employs it to designate the side of *ḳur'ān*, and he contrasts it with *kat̲h̲rat al-'ilm*, "the manyness of [God's] knowledge", which designates the side of *furḳān*. For him as for many other members of Ibn al-'Arabī's school, the goal of knowledge and practice is to establish a happy balance between *furḳān* and *ḳur'ān*, both in the soul and in human interactions. In later Islamic history, especially in the debates over Ibn al-'Arabī that raged in the Indian subcontinent, the perspective of *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* was said to assert that "All is He" (*hama ūst*), whereas the opposing view, labelled *waḥdat al-s̲h̲uhūd* by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1604 [*q.v.*]), was said to maintain that "All is from Him" (*hama az ūst*) or "All is through Him" (*hama bidūst*).

If we examine the *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, we see that Ibn al-'Arabī's basic approach is to deal with any Ḳur'ānic verse, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, or intellectual issue in terms of these two perspectives. He often refers to the two as *tanzīh* and *tas̲h̲bīh*, the assertion of God's incomparability and the declaration of His similarity, or, loosely, transcendence and immanence. He sees the first standpoint expressed plainly in the divine names of majesty (*d̲j̲alāl*) and wrath (*g̲h̲aḍab*), while the second appears more clearly in the names of beauty (*d̲j̲amāl*) and mercy (*raḥma*). He associates the first with the rational faculty and its activities (*'aḳl, naẓar, fikr*), and the second with imagination (*k̲h̲ayāl*) and direct vision (*kas̲h̲f, s̲h̲uhūd, d̲h̲awḳ, futūḥ*—unveiling, witnessing, tasting, opening). In his view, these are the two basic standpoints of Islamic thought, represented roughly by the philosophers, theologians, and jurists on the one hand and the Ṣūfīs on the other. In contrast, the standpoint of *taḥḳīḳ* acknowledges the limited truth and rightfulness of every standpoint. Ibn al-'Arabī affirms the necessity of both modes of knowing and criticises any attempts to limit knowledge to one mode or the other. Hence he asserts both the oneness of God's *wud̲j̲ūd* and the manyness of His knowledge, the unity of His Essence and the multiplicity of His names, *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, *tas̲h̲bīh* and *tanzīh*, *k̲h̲ayāl* and *'aḳl*, "He" and "not He". On the human side, these two perspectives are the "two eyes" (*'aynān*) with which people see their way to God. Ignoring the vision of either eye yields a distorted view of things, valid within its own limits, but inadequate as a guide to God and as a judge of other viewpoints.

What then is the role of the *s̲h̲arī'a*? Ibn al-'Arabī employs the term *s̲h̲arī'a* (and *s̲h̲ar'*) generally to signify the whole range of teachings that have come through the prophets, more specifically to designate the teachings that have come in the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna, and most specifically to mean the *aḥkām* or revealed legal rulings as contrasted with the *ak̲h̲bār* or revealed reports. The function of the *s̲h̲arī'a* in all these meanings is to bring about the return to God in a mode that guarantees felicity (*sa'āda*), that is, salvation. Hence, the *s̲h̲arī'a*, including all the specific *aḥkām*, is the indispensable guide.

Ibn al-'Arabī drew from all the Islamic sciences in his works, especially *tafsīr*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, grammar, *fiḳh*, and *kalām*. Methodologically, what differentiates him from masters of all these sciences is his reliance on *kas̲h̲f* and *k̲h̲ayāl* as the corrective to *'aḳl*. *Kas̲h̲f* or unveiling is a type of vision that sees the presence of *al-wud̲j̲ūd al-ḥaḳḳ*, the Real Being, manifest in God's signs. The importance of unveiling, which discerns invisible realities in their images, comes out clearly in Ibn al-'Arabī's theory of imagination, and no discussion of his teachings can afford to ignore the centrality of this term to his vocabulary. *K̲h̲ayāl*, he tells us, is the centrepiece of the necklace of knowledge, the integrating factor. It is the human cognitive faculty that sees connections and sameness, and as such it is contrasted with *'aḳl*, which sees difference and otherness. By nature *k̲h̲ayāl* inclines toward *tas̲h̲bīh*, and by nature *'aḳl* tends toward *tanzīh*. If knowledge is left in the hands of *'aḳl*, there can be no understanding of God's presence in the world, and if it is left in the hands of *k̲h̲ayāl*, there can be no understanding of God's distance, transcendence, and unity. *'Aḳl* easily grasps God's inaccessibility and majesty, but it cannot understand, save theoretically, His nearness and beauty, and the direct perception of God's presence can only be achieved through imagination.

K̲h̲ayāl, then, is the human cognitive faculty that perceives the object in its mirror image, or the signified in its signifier. More broadly, the term designates the notion of an "image", which is neither the thing that it images nor completely different from it, and in this sense it may be treated as a synonym for *barzak̲h̲* [*q.v.*] or "isthmus", which refers to any intermediate reality. Thus the term *k̲h̲ayāl* can designate the universe itself (*al-'ālam*), which is an intermediary between God and absolute nothingness (*al-'adam al-muṭlaḳ*), since it is neither the one nor the other, though it is the image of both. On a lower level, *k̲h̲ayāl* refers to the world of imagination or *mundus imaginalis*, which is the intermediary between the angelic world of pure spirits and the sensory world of pure bodies, hence the locus of visionary events and the resurrection. Microcosmically, *k̲h̲ayāl* can designate the human self or soul (*nafs*), which bridges spirit and body, light and darkness, knowledge and ignorance, awareness and unconsciousness. Because the soul is imaginal, it is never purely spiritual or purely bodily, so it can never be pure light or pure darkness. Like the universe itself, it undergoes constant development, change, and transmutation through the new creation (*al-k̲h̲alḳ al-d̲j̲adīd*), the never-ending process whereby the universe emerges from the infinite light of God and returns to it. Since nothing has true and permanent *wud̲j̲ūd* but God, and since God's mercy prevails over His wrath, felicity will ultimately reach all the people of the Fire. The principle of the pre-

dominance of mercy over wrath, asserted explicitly in the *ḥadīth* literature and implicitly in the Ḳur'ān, determines the final end of everything. *Ḳur'ān* will eventually triumph over *furḳān*, since light is more real than darkness, and the oneness of *al-wudjūd al-ḥaḳḳ* is more basic to reality than the manyness of the things, though the traces of manyness will never disappear on any level. From the standpoint of human welfare and ultimate felicity, *furḳān*, *tanzīh*, and *'aḳl* remain vital and inescapable.

With this extremely brief overview of Ibn al-'Arabī's overall perspective, we can suggest that, if he is accepted as the *shaykh al-akbar* of the "Ṣūfīs", then "Ṣūfism" involves seeing with both eyes, discerning the *ḥaḳḳ* of each thing on the basis of the Ḳur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, and giving each thing its *ḥaḳḳ* through practice according to the *sharī'a*, the Sunna, and the example of the People of God (*ahl Allāh*). The importance of the *sharī'a* in Ibn al-'Arabī's own writings cannot be overstated. The idea that Ibn al-'Arabī's *waḥdat al-wudjūd* devalues or overthrows the *sharī'a*, though popular among his critics (and some fans), is untenable; as he often insists, the *sharī'a* is inseparable from the *ḥaḳīḳa*.

Ibn al-'Arabī's Ṣūfism clearly remains inaccessible to almost everyone, a point that he acknowledges when he calls himself the "seal of the Muḥammadan friends of God", but it remains the ideal against which numerous Ṣūfī teachers have judged themselves and others. For him and them, Ṣūfism in its highest sense is *taḥḳīḳ* in both theory and practice. On the level of theory, both *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān* must be given their proper due. Theory relates primarily to the *akhbār*, the reports from the prophets, not to the *aḥkām*, the prophetic rulings.

Since the discussion of the *aḥkām* pertains to the second half of the *shahāda*, it is weighted in favour of *furḳān*, not *ḳur'ān*. The specific standpoint of the legal rulings is the Muḥammadan perfection, which is asserted in relation to human salvation and damnation, and here Ibn al-'Arabī leaves less room for manœuvre. He asserts *ḳur'ān* only by acknowledging the correctness of every *madhhab* and every *mudjtahid*, but this does not allow for a diminution of the *sharī'a*'s authority.

The *sharī'a* was established by God with certain specific aims, and these cannot be achieved unless it is observed. The fact that God has established other *sharī'as* for other segments of humanity pertains to the domain of *akhbār*, not *aḥkām*, so it has no relevance to the specific acts that Muslims are required to perform as followers of Muḥammad.

This then may suggest something of what "Ṣūfism" involves for Ibn al-'Arabī. In a more limited understanding of the word *taṣawwuf*—and it is this understanding that corresponds more closely to the views of sympathetic outside observers—it denotes a type of Islamic religiosity that usually stresses the first term in the following complementary pairs: *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*, *tashbīh* and *tanzīh*, *kashf* and *'aḳl*, mercy and wrath, *ḥaḳīḳa* and *sharī'a*, intoxication (*sukr*) and sobriety (*ṣaḥw*), intimacy (*uns*) and awe (*hayba*), meaning (*ma'nā*) and form (*ṣūra*), spirit and letter. In contrast, *sharī'a*-minded Islam stresses the second term in all these pairs. In the lived reality of Islam over history, these pairs can be taken as designating the extreme limits of various spectra according to which Muslims understand their religion and put it into practice. As for groups such as *bī-shar'* Ṣūfīs or the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], one needs to keep in mind that the accounts often derive from critics and that modern scholars (and, for very different reasons, politicised Muslims of all sorts) are constitutionally predisposed to propagate negative reports. If it is found that the reports are indeed correct, then such groups would represent a total rupture of the balance between *furḳān* and *ḳur'ān*, if not an outright rejection of the normative Islam that is established in the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna. In the same way, modern "fundamentalism" can be seen as a rupture of balance in the direction of *furḳān* (cf. M. Woodward, *Islam in Java: normative piety and mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson 1989).

iii. *Ibn al-'Arabī's contemporaries.* Ibn al-'Arabī appears as a watershed in the history of Ṣūfism partly because he solidifies a certain shift in focus that had gradually been occurring in Ṣūfī writings. Before his time, most authors of theoretical works had devoted their efforts to issues of practice, morality, ethics, and "spiritual psychology" (the stations and states—*maḳāmāt* and *aḥwāl*), but from his time onward, Ṣūfī works commonly deal with topics that had been discussed in detail only in *kalām* and *falsafa*, such as *tawḥīd*, *nubuwwa*, and *ma'ād*, even though writing on the earlier topics continues unabated. The Ṣūfī works differ from those of other disciplines by their stress on *ḳur'ān* over *furḳān*, which means, among other things, that *kashf* predominates over *'aḳl* as a means to understand the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna.

Within the writings of authors known as Ṣūfīs, this same spectrum of thought and practice can be discerned, and the 7th/13th century is a highpoint of Islamic history in terms of the diversity and richness of the Ṣūfī spectrum. Compared to most other Ṣūfī authors, Ibn al-'Arabī appears as the most prolific and profound of the masters of *furḳān*, which helps explain why Western scholars have often spoken of his "systematisation" of Ṣūfism. In a certain sense, his writings are systematic, especially when contrasted with masters of the other extreme, such as Ḥāfiẓ or Yūnus Emre, but not when compared to the works of theologians, philosophers, and jurists.

Authors who stand on the *furḳānī* side of the Ṣūfī spectrum write relatively systematic works in which they differentiate and discern on the basis of a sober evaluation of all things' distance from God, but those who stress the *ḳur'ānī* side are drawn toward benevolent inattention to distinctions and an intoxicated celebration of the oneness of all being. *Furḳān* is the domain of knowledge and intelligence, *ḳur'ān* the realm of love and union. The knowers strive to achieve the differentiated vision of each thing in the context of the divine reality, but lovers try to overcome all difference so that nothing remains except the eternal Beloved.

If the natural vehicle of *furḳānī* discourse is technical prose, the most effective vehicle for *ḳur'ānī* language is poetry and its performance. Poetry is able to bring God's presence into the direct awareness of the listener without the intermediary of rational analysis, which by nature removes God from the stage. The two greatest masters of explicitly Ṣūfī poetry are contemporaries of Ibn al-'Arabī—Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235 [*q.v.*]) in Arabic and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273 [*q.v.*]) in Persian, as is another great Ṣūfī poet of Persian, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]). Poetry's function is made most explicit in Rūmī's works. "God is beautiful", as the Prophet said, "and He loves beauty", so everything beautiful is lovable and, in the last analysis, all beautiful things take their beauty from God. Why, Rūmī asks, do you take water from the drainpipe? You should recognise that all beauty is God's beauty, all love is love for God,

and every intermediary disintegrates and disappears. Poetry's evocation of beauty is evocation of God. Reminding people of beauty stirs up love in their hearts, and all love redounds on God. Nonetheless, *furḳān* cannot be abandoned, for without it, love will remain forever misguided.

Although Rūmī stands on the side of *ḳur'ān* when contrasted with Ibn al-ʿArabī, his dialectic of love presents us with the same complementarity between *ḳur'ān* and *furḳān*. Ibn al-ʿArabī differentiates in the technical language of the *ʿulamā'* between the eye that perceives *tanzīh* and the eye that sees *tas̲h̲bīh*, but Rūmī describes in the language of the common people the experience of separation (*firāḳ*) and union (*wiṣāl*). Union is to live in God's presence, beauty and gentleness (*luṭf*), and separation is to suffer His absence, majesty and severity (*ḳahr*). But mercy prevails over wrath, so every cruelty (*d̲j̲afā'*) of the Beloved is in fact an act of faithfulness (*wafā'*). In showing their sincerity, God's lovers welcome the pain (*dard*) of the dregs (*durd*) along with the joy of the wine. In this poetic discourse, rooted in images, symbols, and signs of the transcendent, bold expressions of paradox—"All is He!," "I am the Beloved!"—are standard fare.

No one doubts that Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Rūmī were great Ṣūfī poets, but questions have been raised concerning the Ṣūfī content of the works of many important poets during this whole period. For some observers, Ḥāfiẓ (d. *ca.* 792/1390 [*q.v.*]) appears as the greatest of all Persian Ṣūfī poets, but for others he is simply a genius who employed the available imagery. Amīr K̲h̲usraw (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]) was the foremost Indo-Persian poet and a disciple of the great Ṣūfī master Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]), yet, we are told, there is little trace of Ṣūfism in his poetry. The poems of Ibn al-ʿAfīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 688/1289 [*q.v.*]), it is said, should probably not be given a Ṣūfī interpretation, even though his father was a famous disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī and was violently attacked by Ibn Taymiyya. The Awadhī poetry of Malik Muḥammad D̲j̲āyasī (d. *ca.* 949/1542 [*q.v.*]) deals almost exclusively with "secular" topics, yet he is recognised as a great Čis̲h̲tī saint. Discussions of this sort miss an important point: What conveys the basic message of *ḳur'ān* is not so much the explicit content as the psychological impact on the listener. The single most important feature of Ṣūfī poetry is its beauty, a beauty that entrances and intoxicates. In Ṣūfī theoretical works, authors write about intoxication, but readers stay sober. Ṣūfī poetry (and, in fact, any good poetry well sung) conveys intoxication, as most who have attended sessions of the musical recitation of poetry known as *ḳawwālī* in the subcontinent will attest. As for someone like Ḥāfiẓ, he is a Ṣūfī poet not only because of his repeated references to Ṣūfī teachings but also because, within the tradition, it is inconceivable that any but a great friend of God could transmute language with such alchemy. For the modern scholar, whose radical *furḳān* leaves no room for "mysticism", Ḥāfiẓ's title *lisān al-g̲h̲ayb* ("the tongue of the unseen") is simply a poetical way of saying that he was remarkable; for the Ṣūfī tradition, it means that the invisible, divine master of the universe used Ḥāfiẓ as His tongue, just as He used Rūmī as his reed. The metaphor is the reality.

Although, in the domain of *furḳānī* Ṣūfism, Ibn al-ʿArabī may indeed deserve the appellation *al-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-akbar* that his followers gave to him, there are many other important figures whose lifetimes overlapped with his and who deserve much more attention than modern scholarship has given to them. In Ibn al-ʿArabī's own view, the greatest of his contemporaries was S̲h̲uʿayb Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197 [*q.v.*]), who left behind disciples like Ibn Mas̲h̲īs̲h̲ (d. 625/1228 [*q.v.*]), the master of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī (d. 656/1258), the eponym of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya [*q.v.*] (see V. Cornell, *The way of Abū Madyan. Doctrinal and poetical works of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī*, Cambridge 1996). Among other important contemporaries in the *furḳānī* domain were the philosophers Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl (d. 587/1191 [*q.v.*]) and Afḍal al-Din Kās̲h̲ānī (7th/13th century), both of whom have a Ṣūfī orientation in some of their writings. Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1270 [*q.v.*]), born like Ibn al-ʿArabī in Murcia, displays a highly sophisticated and articulate philosophical mind, so much so that some scholars have considered him a Peripatetic, but the practical implications and Ṣūfī orientation of his teachings becomes obvious in his *rasā'il* and his *Budd al-ʿārif*. He seems to be the first author to have used the term *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* in anything like a technical sense, and his understanding of this expression (along with the polemical attack on it by Ibn Taymiyya) probably resulted in the idea that *waḥdat al-wud̲j̲ūd* is equivalent to the Persian expression *hama ūst*. Also of interest are Ibn Sabʿīn's students and fellow-Andalusians, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Hūd (d. 699/1300) and the poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī (d. 668/1269). Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī (d. 686/1288) of S̲h̲īrāz seems to be following in Ibn Sabʿīn's footsteps in his famous *Risālat al-aḥadiyya*, which was long attributed wrongly in Western sources to Ibn al-ʿArabī (see M. Chodkiewicz, *Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī. Epître sur l'unicité absolue*, Paris 1982).

Ibn al-ʿArabī himself had several disciples who wrote significant works and exercised a determining influence in the way the tradition was to interpret him; these include al-Badr al-Ḥabas̲h̲ī (d. *ca.* 618/1221), Ibn Sawdakīn (d. 646/1248), ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), and especially Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī (d. 673/1274 [*q.v.*]). Both al-Tilimsānī and Ḳūnawī were independently minded in their readings of Ibn al-ʿArabī's works. The former sometimes employs his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* to criticise his master's positions, and both were far more inclined toward *falsafa* than Ibn al-ʿArabī. Ḳūnawī's direct students included three major transmitters of his teachings—the Persian poet Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī (688/1289 [*q.v.*]), author of the short prose classic *Lamaʿāt*; Saʿīd al-Dīn Farg̲h̲ānī, author of the first commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*; and Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-D̲j̲andī (d. *ca.* 700/1300), author of the most influential of the more than one hundred commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ*. Perhaps pertaining also to Ḳūnawī's circle is one Naṣīr or Nāṣir al-Dīn K̲h̲ū'ī, who is probably the author of a widely-read Persian work that helped popularise some of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī* (see Chittick, *Faith and practice of Islam. Three thirteenth century Sufi texts*, Albany 1992). Also connected with Ibn al-ʿArabī's circle was Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238 [*q.v.*]), a well-known author of Persian quatrains. Ibn al-ʿArabī entrusted Ḳūnawī's training to him for a period of time, but there is no apparent trace of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings in his poetry. The idea that Rūmī was a student of or influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabī, propounded by Nicholson and others, has no textual basis. Other authors of great importance in this period include Rūzbihān Baḳlī (d. 606/1209) and Rūmī's father Bahā' Walad (d. 628/1231), both of whom exposed the reality of love in extraordinarily beautiful Persian prose. Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221 [*q.v.*]), the eponym of the Kubra-

wiyya, has been noted for his psychology of colours. His theoretical and practical interests were developed in various directions by his disciples. Thus Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī (d. 649/1252 [*q.v.*]) writing in both Arabic and Persian, and the latter's disciple ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. before 700/1300) writing in Persian, manifest the general tendency of the period to deal much more explicitly with metaphysical and philosophical issues, though Ḥammūʾīs works are obscure, and he delights in expounding the symbolism of letters and numbers, while Nasafī wrote relatively popular expositions of the different metaphysical and cosmological teachings of various schools of Ṣūfism and philosophy (though it is usually difficult to determine which historical figures he has in mind; see H. Landolt, *La paradoxe de la "face de dieu". ʿAzīz-e Nasafī (VII^e/XIII^e siècle) et le "monisme ésotérique" de l'Islam*, in *SI*, xxv [1996], 163-92). Kubrā's disciple Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256 [*q.v.*]) wrote the Persian classic *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, which has been a mainstay of the teaching of both theory and practice in the Persian-speaking orders. Another important author of the period, Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [*q.v.*]), nephew of the eponym of the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*], wrote the Arabic classic *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, a work that has been widely influential in the organisation and practical teachings of the orders.

iv. *From the late 7th/13th to the 12th/18th century*. This period of four centuries is marked by an enormous proliferation of works on Ṣūfism, but the problem of surveying these works is made doubtly difficult by the increasing geographical spread of Islam and the use of local languages. The best regional survey of Ṣūfism is provided by Rizvi's two-volume *History of Sufism in India* (Delhi 1978-83), but a short tour through Indian manuscript libraries was able to turn up several important authors of Ṣūfī theoretical works whom Rizvi does not mention, such as the inventive author of Persian treatises on Ibn al-ʿArabī's perspective Khūb Muḥammad Čishtī (late 10th/16th century), the prolific Ḳādirī *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥammad Makhdūm Bīdjāpūrī Ṣāwī (*fl.* 1108-23/1696-1711), the sophisticated Ḳādirī metaphysician Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Fakhrī Naḳawī (late 12th/18th century), the essayist Irādat Khān Wāḍiḥ (12th/18th century), and the stylist Muḥtaram Allāh (12th/18th century) (see Chittick, *Notes on Ibn al-ʿArabī's influence in India*, in *MW*, lxxxii [1992], 218-41). In the small number of cases in which Ṣūfī authors of this period have been studied, they have often been chosen for reasons that can best be called political or ideological. One example is Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], who has been the object of several monographs, even though it is easy to argue that his works—in contrast to his claims—hardly stand out among those of his contemporaries. The reason for his fame seems to be that among Muslims of the subcontinent, he has taken on mythic proportions as the precursor of a certain type of modern political consciousness, since he defended an Islamic particularism that overcame the heritage of Akbar and led politically to the triumph of Awrangzīb over Dārā Shukūh [see HIND v.(b)] (for general remarks on the distortions introduced by ideology in the Indian context, see C. Ernst, *Eternal garden. Mysticism, history, and politics at a South Asian Sufi center*, Albany 1992).

Scholars have frequently observed that Ṣūfism was instrumental in the spread of Islam in diverse cultural contexts. On a doctrinal level, one of the primary reasons for its spread is the flexibility that is provided by the perspective of *ḳurʾān*. Once it is recognised that "All is He", alien beliefs and practices can easily be read as expressions of Islamic truths. The intellectual figures in India who actively studied the theory and practice of Hinduism had Ṣūfī predilections. Dārā Shukūh [*q.v.*], with works such as *Madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* and his translation of the Upanishads, is a prime example. Another is the Shaṭṭārī *shaykh* Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior (d. 970/1563 [*q.v.*]), who was an important supporter of Bābur and wrote several works that show both originality and mastery of the perspective of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school; one of these, the Persian *Djawāhir-i khamsa*, was widely read not only in the original but also in an Arabic translation. He also translated into Persian, with many modifications and additions, an earlier Arabic translation of the Yogic text *Amritkund* (see Ernst, *Sufism and Yoga according to Muhammad Ghawth*, in *Sufi*, xxix [1996], 9-13; according to an oral report from Bruce Lawrence, the Arabic is still read today in a Ṣūfī order in Syria). The two most important Muslim authors writing in Chinese, Wang Daiyu (d. 1657 or 1658) and Liu Chih (d. *ca.* 1736 [*q.v.*]), adopt a *ḳurʾānī* perspective in theoretical issues. Wang makes little reference to Arabic or Persian terminology, but skilfully explains Islamic metaphysical, cosmological and psychological doctrines with the help of terminology drawn from Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. He is sympathetic toward the Chinese traditions, especially Confucianism, but *furḳān* occasionally comes to the fore, and then he offers judicious criticisms to illustrate Islam's superiority, and he consistently describes the details of right activity in terms of the *sharīʿa*.

In order to provide some idea of the vast range of material waiting to be studied, one may cite the names of a few representative authors, divided into three main categories (ignoring, despite their social and historical importance, many major Ṣūfī masters not known primarily as authors): (a) poets; (b) authors rooted in the metaphysical perspectives established by Ibn al-ʿArabī and others; and (c) authors primarily concerned with spiritual, psychological, ethical and practical teachings.

(a) Throughout this period, poetry is the most important literary vehicle for the wide dissemination of Ṣūfī teachings, especially the *ḳurʾānī* view of things. Poetry incites love and, in the *mathnawī* form, excels at story-telling. Persian Ṣūfī poets of the first rank include Saʿdī (d. 691/1292 [*q.v.*]), whose love poetry is preferred by some even to Ḥāfiẓ and whose prose classic *Gulistān* reflects a Ṣūfī concern for practical morality. Bīdil (d. 1133/1721 [*q.v.*]) is considered by many Persian speakers (at least among the Afghāns) to be the greatest of all poets. In his case, there can be no doubt as to his Ṣūfī perspective, since he was a master of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school of thought, as comes out clearly, for example, in his *mathnawī* called *ʿIrfān*. Among the many other Persian Ṣūfī poets who deserve special mention are Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 718-20/ [*q.v.*]), Awḥadī Marāghaʾī (d. 738/1338), and Kamāl Khudjandī (d. 803/1400-1 [*q.v.*]). In Turkish; besides Yūnus Emre one can mention Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī (d. 906/1501 [*q.v.*]), writing in Čaghatay Turkish, and Nesīmī (d. 820/1417-18 [*q.v.*]), Lāmiʿī (d. 938/1531-1 [*q.v.*]), and Nāẓim (d. 1139/1726 [*q.v.*]) writing in Ottoman. Also deserving mention is Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*], sultan of Sivas for eighteen years until his death in 800/1398. Although he has been called a poet of "profane love", this judgment should be tempered by the fact that he was a master of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school, as proven by his highly original *Iksīr al-saʿādāt fī asrār al-ʿibādāt* (see Chittick, *Sultan Burhān*

al-Dīn's Sufi correspondence, in WZKM, lxxiii [1981], 33-45). Outstanding poets of other languages who deserve special mention include Maẓhar (d. 1195/1781 [q.v.]), Dard (d. 1199/1785 [q.v.]), and Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī (d. 1223/1810 [q.v.]) in Urdu; Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1165/1752) in Sindhi, Bāyazīd Anṣārī (d. 980/1572-3 [q.v.]) in Pashto, Bullhe Shāh (d. after 1181/1767-8) in Panjabi; and Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. ca. 1008/1600) in Malay.

(b) Authors with a metaphysical orientation. The importance of a continuing tradition of debate over the exact significance of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings becomes obvious in the large number of commentaries on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. Several of these were written by prolific authors whose works are begging for serious study. These include ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Kāshānī (d. 730/1330 [q.v.]), Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī (d. 751/1350), Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī (whose commentary is in Persian; d. 786/1385 [q.v.]), the Shīʿī thinker Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. 787/1385), ʿAbd al-Karīm Djīlī (d. 832/1428 [q.v.]), ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1432), Ṣāʾin al-Dīn ʿAlī Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīḳī (d. 885/1480), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī (d. 898/1492 [q.v.]), Bālī Khalīfa (d. 960/1553), Ismāʿīl Anḳarawī (whose commentary is in Turkish, d. 1041/1631-2 [q.v.]), ʿAbd Allāh Busnawī (two commentaries, one in Arabic and one in Turkish, d. 1054/1644), Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī (two commentaries, one in Arabic and one in Persian, d. 1058/1648), and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730 [q.v.]; for a list of *Fuṣūṣ* commentaries, see O. Yahia's Arabic introduction to *Sayyed Haydar Amoli. Le texte des textes*, Tehran and Paris 1975). Of all these, Kāshānī has been the most studied, but far from thoroughly (notable is T. Izutsu's partial analysis of his *Fuṣūṣ* commentary in *Sufism and Taoism*, Berkeley 1984, and P. Lory's *Les commentaries ésotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī*, Paris 1981). Djīlī, who has often been singled out as Ibn al-ʿArabī's chief follower—perhaps because his *al-Insān al-kāmil* has remained popular among Arab Ṣūfīs until recent times—is a good example of an original thinker who appears superficially to be a mainstream member of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school. Sophisticated support for Ibn al-ʿArabī's positions is found in the numerous works of Ṣafī al-Dīn Ḳushashī (d. 1071/1660-1 [q.v.]) and his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690 [q.v.]). The Algerian *shaykh* Aḥmad b. Adjība (d. 1224/1809 [q.v.]) demonstrates that theorising in the line of Ibn al-ʿArabī continued in the Arabic-speaking countries into the 19th century.

The Persian treatises, numbering over 100, of the poet Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 834/1430-1), eponym of the Niʿmat-Allāhiyya [q.v.], are firmly grounded in the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his commentators, especially Kāshānī and Ḳayṣarī. More widely influential among Persian readers, however, has been *Sharḥ-i gulshan-i rāz* by Muḥammad Lāhīdjī (d. 912/1506 [q.v.]), which is a far more fluent and readable interpretation of the same sources. The Naḳshbandiyya [q.v.] are sometimes said to have been hostile to Ibn al-ʿArabī, perhaps because of Sirhindī's critique of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*, but in fact many Naḳshbandīs, early and late, supported his teachings, such as Khʷādja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 842/1419), Khʷādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 896/1490), and Djāmī, who was not only a learned commentator on Ibn al-ʿArabī, but also an extremely influential populariser of his teachings through his seven *mathnawīs* (known as *Haft awrang*), his *dīwān*, and his short Persian treatises such as *Lawāʾiḥ*. Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 896/1491), a disciple of Aḥrār, was the first major propagator of the Naḳshbandiyya in Turkey and popularised Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas with works in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; he is sometimes confused with another disciple of Aḥrār, Mullā Aḥmad Ilāhī of Bukhārā, who settled in Bursa and translated Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* into Persian at the command of Mehemmed II Fātiḥ in the year 880/1475-6 (M. Kara, *Molla Ilāhī: un précurseur de la Nakşibendiye in Anatolie*, in *Naqshbandis*, 316-18 [see also ṢADR AL-DĪN ḲŪNAWĪ]). Khʷādja Kalān and Khʷādja Khurd, the two sons of Bāḳī Billāh (d. 1012/1603 [q.v.]), who introduced the Naḳshbandī *ṭarīḳa* into India, both wrote works supporting *waḥdat al-wudjūd* and criticising, if indirectly, the position of their father's disciple Sirhindī. The poet Mīr Dard, who founded a branch of the Naḳshbandīs, appears as a follower of Ibn al-ʿArabī in many metaphysical issues in his long Persian work, *ʿIlm al-kitāb*. Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1176/1762 [see DIHLAWĪ]) was also not opposed to Ibn al-ʿArabī. Like Sirhindī, he has taken on mythic proportions among modern-day Indian Muslims, who respect him not only for his scholarship but also his political ideas. His sophisticated handling of metaphysical, theological, and psychological issues is demonstrated in several works, especially his Arabic *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha*; in one well-known treatise he attempts to demonstrate that there is no fundamental contradiction between the views of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Sirhindī. The great Egyptian *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565 [q.v.]) was a famous and prolific defender of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Many members of the Čishtiyya [q.v.] were known for their support of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, including ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangohī (d. 944/1537) and Kalīm Allāh Djahānābādī Čishtī (d. 1142/1729 [q.v.]), though Masʿūd Bakk (d. ca. 789/1387) should not be considered Ibn al-ʿArabī's follower, since his writings demonstrate little awareness of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school and instead are reminiscent of the perspective of ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1131). The works of the latter, who offered a sophisticated theological standpoint as well as a subtle theory of love, were widely read in this period. Numerous other Ṣūfīs in India devoted themselves to Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, foremost among them the above-mentioned Muḥibb Allāh Ilāhābādī, who was probably the best-informed of all the Indian authors concerning the contents of the *Futūḥāt*. Maḥmūd Khʷush-dahān Čishtī (d. 1026/1617), author of *Maʿrifat al-sulūk*, employs the terminology of Ibn al-ʿArabī's school in an original revisioning of relationships that seems to represent the teachings of his master Shāh Burhān al-Dīn b. Mīrāndjī Shams al-ʿUshshāḳ (d. 1005/1597) of Bidjapur. An interesting if unknown author is Ḳamar al-Dīn b. Munīb Allāh b. ʿInāyat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Awrangābādī, who apparently flourished in the 12th/18th century. His Arabic *Maẓhar al-nūr*, on which his son Nūr al-Hudā wrote a long commentary, is a history of Islamic ideas on light, classifying major schools of thought in terms of their understanding of light and concluding with support for *waḥdat al-wudjūd* as the best of these perspectives. A significant line of Ibn al-ʿArabī's intellectual influence extends through figures who are not known as Ṣūfīs, such as Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (908/1502-3 [q.v.]; see, for example, his unpublished *Sharḥ-i rubāʿiyyāt*), the philosopher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640 [q.v.]), and the broad-ranging Shīʿī scholar Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1090/1679 [q.v.]). Other lines of theoretical writing are clearly present during this period, though once again, it is difficult to disentangle them from Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas. Kubrawī authors such

as ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1337 [*q.v.*]) showed hostility to certain of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings, and he, along with the important and prolific Čis̲h̲tī master Gīsū Darāz (d. 825/1422 [*q.v.*]), are often claimed as precursors of Sirhindī. Theoretical writers of special importance in Indonesia include Ḥamza Fanṣūrī, Nūr al-Dīn Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Singkilī (d. after 1104/1693) [see INDONESIA. vi].

(c) Despite the numerous authors who wrote books concerned specifically with the fine points of metaphysics, theology, cosmology, and psychology, by far the most common genre of Ṣūfī writing during this period is category (c), especially when we remember that most if not all the authors of works in category (b) also wrote books pertaining to it. Among authors of special importance here one can mention Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309 [*q.v.*]), a major theorist of the S̲h̲ād̲h̲iliyya who wrote the famous collection of aphorisms known as *al-Ḥikam*; ʿIzz al-Dīn Kās̲h̲ānī (d. 735/1334-35), who composed among other works the Persian *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya* (which is not, contrary to some reports, a translation of Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, though it was certainly inspired by it); Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]), the most important student of Ibn Taymiyya; and the Firdawsī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Mak̲h̲dūm al-Mulk Manīrī (d. 782/1381 [*q.v.*]) and the S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390 [*q.v.*], both of whom are famous for their letters to disciples.

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(W.C. CHITTICK)

3. In North Africa. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 2.

4. In 19th and 20th-century Egypt.

In Egypt, the 19th century witnessed the emergence and institutionalisation of central authority over the Ṣūfī orders and the institutions linked with the orders: *zawāyā* [see ZĀWIYA], *takāyā* [see TAKIYA], and the shrines of saints. This position of central authority was granted to the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-bakriyya* [see BAKRIYYA] in a *firmān* proclaimed by Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the then Ottoman governor of Egypt, in 1812. State agencies became active in support of al-Bakrī's administration of the Ṣūfī orders from the 1840s, and the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Azhar* was excluded from interference in the affairs of the orders in 1847. These developments allowed for a more specific actualisation of the somewhat diffuse authority granted in the *firmān*, and contributed to an increased administrative importance of the office of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-bakriyya*. In the second half of the 19th century, the principle of right of *ḳadam* (i.e. priority) became central to the administration of the Ṣūfī orders. This principle implied the exclusive right of a Ṣūfī order to proselytise and to appear in public in an area, if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so, i.e. that it had *ḳidam* (seniority). The rise of the principle of right of *ḳadam* was a development in conjunction with the abolition of the *iltizām* [*q.v.*] system, and possibly the result of this abolition, by Muḥammad ʿAlī between 1812 and 1815. Since the administration of the Ṣūfī orders under the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-Bakriyya* was instrumental in consolidating the positions of the majority of the heads of the orders and safeguarded their established interests, its legitimacy went largely unchallenged. It functioned effectively until early 1881, when the then *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-Bakriyya* was pressured by the Khedive Tawfīḳ to initiate reforms pertaining to ritual practice, and to encroach upon the internal autonomy of the heads of the orders. Moreover, in consequence of the increased efficiency of the state's administration, following its reorganisation in the wake of the British occupation in 1882, the administration of the Ṣūfī orders lost much of its significance for the state and its agencies. These ceased to act fully in support of the orders, even when adequate maintenance of rights of *ḳadam* was at stake. Inadequate maintenance of these rights allowed for the rise and spread of a number of new Ṣūfī orders and for the secession of others, some of which obtained official status as independent Ṣūfī orders in their own right. In consequence, most of the heads of the established Ṣūfī orders and many of the heads of the *takāyā* tended towards self-containment and distanced themselves as much as possible from the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-bakriyya*. The decline of the authority of this official was reversed with the promulgation of the Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders (*Lāʾiḥat al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*) by khedivial decree in 1895. These Regulations, which were revised in 1903, provided a new legal base for the office of supreme head of the Ṣūfī orders, i.e. for the office of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya* (this term seems to become current only after 1880, and is not used in official communications and documents until 1892), whereas the members of a council, known as *al-mad̲j̲lis al-ṣūfī*, and chaired by the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲*, represented the heads of the orders in the central decision-making process. The regulations strengthened the position of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-bakriyya* in his capacity of supreme head of the orders (the heads of the *takāyā* and the *zawāyā* were placed under the authority of the *Dīwān al-Awḳāf*). In conjunction with the Internal Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders (*al-Lāʾiḥa al-dāk̲h̲iliyya li'l-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*) which came into force in 1905, it provided the office of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya* with an unprecedented high degree of specificity and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, while it gave a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness to the administration of the Ṣūfī orders in its totality, unmatched at any previous stage. The two sets of regulations, of 1903 and 1905, were the constitution for the Ṣūfī orders until 1976.

A number of paragraphs in the regulations prohibited and regulated certain aspects of ritual and belief. These, however, were not enforced and were probably included in response to the principal challenge the Ṣūfī orders were facing at the time: the increasing call for *iṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*] of the reformists and the current rumours casting doubt on the righteousness of belief of some heads of the orders. Reformist criticism of *taṣawwuf* became more intense and frequent in the first half of the 20th century, and notably from the 1920s onwards, when three organisations, *al-D̲j̲amʿiyya al-S̲h̲arʿiyya* (headed by Maḥmūd K̲h̲aṭṭāb al-Subkī), the *D̲j̲amāʿat Anṣār al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya* (headed by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī), and the *Ik̲h̲wān al-Muslimūn* [*q.v.*]; (headed by Ḥasan al-Bannā), turned against the orders. In the 1930s, the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Azhar*, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāg̲h̲ī, in line with his notions of *iṣlāḥ*, consistently worked for a re-organisation of Islamic institutions in Egypt and their incorporation into one single organisational structure supervised by al-Azhar. This structure was to include the Ṣūfī orders, which were to be supervised by the *hayʾat kibār al-ʿulamāʾ*, while the heads of the orders would have to be Azhar-trained scholars. These plans met with much opposition and never materialised.

Reform-minded Azhar circles triumphed in 1947, when King Fārūḳ deposed the then *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲ al-ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya*, Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī. He was to be the last *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda al-bakriyya* to hold the office of supreme authority over the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt. Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, an Azharī scholar without Ṣūfī background, was appointed in his stead. He took a

variety of failed initiatives aiming at reform of the Ṣūfī orders. Yet, these initiatives eventually resulted in an *iṣlāḥ* movement among the heads of the orders under his authority. The reforms they advocated pertained mainly to ritual practice, and implied strict prohibitions of certain forms of self-mortification, public displays of mystical ecstasy, and the trading of *idjāzas* [see KHALĪFA]. This movement continued to have an impact after al-Ṣāwī's abdication in 1957, and eventually left its traces in the Law on the Ṣūfī Orders of 1976, and the Regulations of 1978 (see below).

Involvement of Ṣūfī orders in Egyptian party politics was limited throughout the first half of the 20th century. Available data point toward an increasing politicisation of the realm of the Ṣūfī orders in the years immediately preceding the revolution of 1952. This limited involvement in politics would seem to reflect the decline of the Ṣūfī orders in the first half of the 20th century in conjunction with the emergence of secularising trends, as well as with the rise of voluntary associations of a different nature operating out of a non-mystical or anti-mystical conception of Islam. After 1952, considerations of domestic and foreign policy seem to have induced the new régime to take an interest in the Ṣūfī orders and to stimulate their revival. Mystical Islam and the administrative organisation of the Ṣūfī orders could be used by the régime to combat opposition inspired by the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, as well as to strengthen and widen its own base of support by stimulating and favouring the adherents of conceptions of Islam that were rooted in and partly identical with some of the central conceptions in popular Islam. In conjunction with objectives in the realm of foreign policy, and notably the consolidation of ties with Syria, the Sudan, and Morocco, a number of Ṣūfī orders were coached, supported and stimulated. In addition, *shaykh*s of Ṣūfī orders from Nigeria, Mali, Senegal and Ghana, together with a number of heads of Ṣūfī orders in Egypt, were involved in the preparations for a World Ṣūfī Conference to be convened in Cairo. The plan, which was launched in 1961 on the occasion of the visit of the Senegalese Tidjānī *shaykh* Ibrahima Niass to Cairo, never came to fruition. The official visit of this *shaykh*, who was received by Egypt's president Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, reflects the importance attached by the régime to the Ṣūfī orders and their leaders in the realm of foreign policy.

Apart from the increased visibility of Egyptian Ṣūfī orders abroad, the revival of the orders in Nāṣir's Egypt manifested itself in several ways: their number increased, as did their membership; they were given a prominent role at official religious celebrations; and more *mawālid* [see MAWLID] were celebrated and on a larger scale then had been the case in the decade before 1952. As a rule, the Arab Socialist Union, from its creation in 1962 onwards, was involved in the organisation of these celebrations, which were used for making propaganda for the régime in a variety of ways. This increased involvement of the A.S.U. with the Ṣūfī orders, brought about an increase in the number of orders who distanced themselves from the Ṣūfī Council and refused to recognise its authority. Thus in the early 1970s, Ṣūfī orders which functioned outside the formal administrative framework of the Ṣūfī Council, and who were known as *ṭuruḳ ḥurra* (free Ṣūfī orders), were more numerous than those who *de facto* recognised its jurisdiction, and who were known as *ṭuruḳ rasmiyya* (official Ṣūfī orders).

The revival of *taṣawwuf* in Nāṣir's Egypt from the end of the 1950s continued and broadened in the Egypt of Anwar al-Sādāt, where the régime seemed to arm itself against the anti-mystical religiously-inspired opposition by means of further cultivating the Ṣūfī orders. The Law on the Ṣūfī Orders (*Ḳānūn al-Ṭuruḳ al-Ṣūfiyya*) adopted by the Egyptian Parliament in 1976, and the supplementary set of regulations known as *al-lāʾiḥa al-tanfīdhiyya*, issued by Presidential decree in 1978, and which replaced the regulations of 1903 and 1905, were to better serve this purpose. The detailed and precise formulations in the Law and the Regulations constituted a new legal framework for *taṣawwuf* in Egypt. They aimed at bringing all the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt under the control of the state, and provided institutional prerequisites allowing for an effective exercise of authority. In conjunction, policies of cultivating and favouring the orders were conducted in a quest for optimal legitimacy, and with the obvious aim to make them instrumental to strengthening the position of the régime in its struggle against the religiously-inspired opposition. These policies were essentially continued after the murder of Anwar al-Sādāt in 1981, and account for the pre-eminent position of the approximately seventy Ṣūfī orders which were recognised by the state in Egypt in 1997.

Bibliography: For historical studies of the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt from a comprehensive perspective, see F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th-century Egypt*, in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies* (= *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar. Filologisk-filosofiska serien* 15), Stockholm-Leiden 1975, 84-96; idem, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt. A historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism*, Leiden 1978; idem, *Aspects of the political involvement of Sufi orders in 20th-century Egypt (1907-1970). An exploratory stock-taking*, in G.R. Warburg and U.M. Kupferschmidt (eds.), *Islam, nationalism and radicalism in Egypt and Sudan*, New York 1983, 183-212; idem, *The Ṣūfī orders in Egypt during the ʿUrābī insurrection and the British occupation (1882-1914): some societal factors generating aloofness, support, and opposition*, in *Jnal. of the American Research Center in Egypt*, xxi (1984), 131-9; idem, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes du Machreq arabe: centres de gravité, signes de déclin et de renaissance*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein (eds.), *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1986, 205-43; and P.-J. Luizard, *Le rôle des confréries soufies dans le système politique égyptien*, in *Monde arabe: Maghreb Machrek*, cxxxi (1991), 26-53.

For studies of individual orders, see E. Bannerth, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšiyya-Sufis in Cairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 116-33; idem, *La Rifāʿiyya en Egypte*, in *MIDEO*, x (1971), 1-35; idem, *Aspects humains de la Shadhiliyya*, in *MIDEO*, xi (1972), 237-52; idem, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d'une confrérie*, in *MIDEO*, viii (1964-66), 1-75; M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt. An essay in the sociology of religion*, Oxford 1973 (mainly on the Ḥāmidiyya Shādhiliyya; see also the review in *JSS*, xix/2 [1994] 322-8); F. de Jong, *The Naqshbandiyya in Egypt and Syria. Aspects of its history, and observations concerning its present-day condition*, in M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and T. Zarcone, *Naqshbandis*, L'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul (= Varia Turcica, XVIII), Istanbul-Paris 1990, 589-601; and J. Johansen, *Sufism and Islamic reform in Egypt. The battle for Islamic tradition*, Oxford 1996 (on the Muḥammadiyya Shādhiliyya). For a study of living Ṣūfism in Egypt in the 1980s based on fieldwork, see V.J. Hoffman, *Sufism, mystics, and saints in modern Egypt*, Columbia, S.C. 1995. To

the Arabic studies referred to in these publications, the following should be added: ʿĀmir al-Nad̲j̲d̲j̲ār, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1990; and Yūsuf Muḥammad Ṭāhā Zaydān, *al-Ṭarīḳ al-ṣūfī wa-furūʿ al-Ḳādiriyya bi-Miṣr*, Beirut 1991. See also ABU 'L-ʿAZĀʾIM, AL-ʿAFĪFĪ, AL-ASMAR, AL-BAKRĪ, DEMIRDĀS̲H̲IYYA, K̲H̲ALWATIYYA, AL-ḤIṢĀFĪ, and MARWĀNIYYA.

(F. DE JONG)

5. In Persia from 1800 onwards.

The history of Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) in Persia in the 19th and 20th centuries has mainly been dominated by two Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa*s, the Niʿmatullāhiyya and the D̲h̲ahabiyya. In contrast to other orders in Persia, whose impact has been more on popular than on "high" culture, these two orders have made the most important contributions to the mystical intellectual tradition in Persia in respect to *ḥikmat*, *ʿirfān* and *taṣawwuf*.

i. *Other Persian Ṣūfī sects and orders: Ḳādiriyya, Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya and Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ.*

Aside from these two orders, few other *ṭarīḳa*s have featured in the religious topography of Persian Islam with any permanence or prominence during this period. Although the Naḳs̲h̲bandiyya "arose among Persian-speakers and virtually all its classical texts are in the Persian language", its impact on Persian culture "has been relatively slight" [see NAḲS̲H̲BANDIYYA, 1. In Persia]. Naḳs̲h̲bandīs in Iran today are mainly confined to the region of Kurdistān where their members are overwhelmingly drawn from rural folk society. Similarly, the followers of the Persian-based Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ or ʿAlī-Ilahī quasi-Ṣūfī sect were, up until the 1950s when they started to acquire urban-based followers, "largely tribespeople and peasants, or poor urban migrants, with no link to centres of power" (Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Redefining the truth: Ahl-i Haqq and the Islamic Republic of Iran*, in *BRISMES Bulletin*, xxi/2 [1994], 213). The fact that adepts of this sect "neither observe Muslim rites, such as daily prayers and fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, nor share its sacred space, such as sanctity of the mosque and pilgrimage to Mecca" (*ibid.*, 213), and that their theology combines S̲h̲īʿī extremism (*g̲h̲ulāt*) with a belief in metempsychosis also puts them beyond the pale of orthodox Islamic Ṣūfism. There have been recent efforts to reorient Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ theology in accordance with S̲h̲īʿī orthodoxy, but such modernist and universalistic interpretations are rejected by the majority of the old-school Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ members within Persia. Besides formidable theological differences, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ's alienation from the mainstream of modern Persian spirituality is literary and linguistic as well; until recently their sacred language was Gūrānī rather than Persian or Arabic, in which tongues the intellectual life of Persian Ṣūfism in this period found their predominant expression. Likewise, while the founder of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Ḳādir D̲j̲īlānī (d. 528/1134) hailed from the province of Gīlān, the impact of his order on Persian *taṣawwuf* in the 19th and 20th centuries has been rather insignificant.

ii. *The Niʿmatullāhī revival: Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh to Ṣafī ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (1770-1898).*

The period from approximately 1750-1980 in the history of Persian Ṣūfism represents an attempt to recreate, albeit in newfangled S̲h̲īʿī garb, the political and cultural glory which Ṣūfism enjoyed in pre-Ṣafawid times. External movements in Persian political history and incidents in the intellectual universe of the Niʿmatullāhiyya provide three distinct periods into which the historical development of Ṣūfism in Persia may be roughly divided during the 19th-20th centuries: (1) 1770 to 1898, (2) 1898 to 1978, and (3) 1978 to the present day.

It was with the death of the 34th Niʿmatullāhī Ḳuṭb, Riḍā ʿAlī S̲h̲āh Dakkanī, *ca.* 1800, and with the advent to Persia of Sayyid Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh in 1184/1770—which generated what has been dubbed "the Niʿmatullāhī renaissance" (N. Pourjavady and P.L. Wilson, *Kings of love: the history and poetry of the Niʿmatullāhī Sufi Order of Iran*, Tehran 1978, 93)—that the real history of Ṣūfism in modern Iran begins. By the middle of the 19th century, the fame and fortunes of Ṣūfism had declined to their lowest ebb in the entire history of post-Islamic Persia. Writing in the early 1840s, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn S̲h̲īrwānī reported that "in the whole land of Iran there is neither abode nor site where a dervish can lay his head. . . . In the rest of the inhabited quarter of the world among all its different races and peoples, hospitals for the sick and *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s for the dervishes are built—except in Iran, where there is neither *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* nor hospital" (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1348/1929, 258).

The S̲h̲īʿī clerical establishment felt threatened by the enthusiasm with which the Niʿmatullāhī revival in Persia was received. Writing in the early 1800s, Sir John Malcolm reported that "the progress of Soofeeism has of late been very rapid in Persia", with adherents of Sayyid Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and Nūr ʿAlī S̲h̲āh numbered in tens of thousands, though he admitted that such calculations were only guesswork (*Hist. of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 292 ff.). The former was assassinated in 1211/1795 by the fanatical S̲h̲īʿī cleric Āḳā Muḥammad Bihbahānī, who thus acquired his notorious sobriquet of *Ṣūfī-kus̲h̲* "Ṣūfī killer"; but this killing and those of other Niʿmatullāhīs only served to fan the flames of Ṣūfī revival in Persia.

In the late 18th century, Sayyid Maʿṣūm and Nūr ʿAlī S̲h̲āh had travelled extensively through Persia, setting up *k̲h̲ānaḳāh*s in various towns and reviving an interest in Ṣūfism, which had been ruthlessly suppressed in the late Ṣafawid period. Amongst his disciples was Mus̲h̲tāḳ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, an illiterate *mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb* who nevertheless became a legend in the annals of Persian Ṣūfism and whose charisma has been compared to that of S̲h̲ams-i Tabrīzī or Ḳāsim-i Anwār, inspiring several literary works. Muẓaffar ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (see below) adopted "Mus̲h̲tāḳī" as his pen-name and composed a *dīwān* in his honour, the *Dīwān-i Mus̲h̲tāḳiyya* after Mus̲h̲tāḳī's martyrdom at the hands of fanatical mullahs in Kirmān in 1206/1792 (see W.R. Royce, *Mīr Maʿṣūm ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and the Niʿmat Allāhī revival 1776-7 to 1796-7. A study of Sufism and its opponents in late eighteenth century Iran*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ. 1979, unpubl.). The Niʿmatullāhīs had benefited in the 1770s from the liberal intellectual and stimulating atmosphere during Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand's reign, but after the latter's death in 1779, they were exposed to the taunts and assaults of the exoteric *ʿulamāʾ*, their leaders fleeing from Iṣfahān and in the end finding refuge in Ottoman ʿIrāḳ, where Nūr ʿAlī S̲h̲āh was well received by the governor Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a and was able to write in Bag̲h̲dād the first two chapters of his immense Ṣūfī epic poem *D̲j̲annat al-wiṣāl* (ed. D̲j̲. Nūrbak̲h̲s̲h̲, Tehran 1348 *s̲h̲.*/1969).

In Kirmān, near to which S̲h̲āh Niʿmatullāh's tomb lay, the revival scored its greatest successes amongst the local ruling élite, including the adherence of the physician and *ʿālim* Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, better known by his Ṣūfī sobriquet of Muẓaffar ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (later, in 1800, poisoned at Bihbahānī's prompting). It also attracted the sympathy of the governor for the Zands, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Bīglarbaygī, the 42nd Imām of

the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, the two groups having sympathetic relations (see H. Algar, *The revolt of Āgā Khān Mahallatī and the transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxi [1969], 55-81; N. Pourjavady and P.L. Wilson, *Ismāʿīlīs and Niʿmatullāhīs*, in *SI*, xli [1975], 113-35). Bihbahānī's anti-Ṣūfī measures led to further deaths authorised by the Ḳādjār régime and to an anti-Ṣūfī polemic literature, with treatises such as Bihbahānī's *Risāla-yi Khayratiyya* and Muḥammad Rafīʿ Tabrīzī's *Ḳaṭʿ al-maḳāl fī radd ahl al-ḍalāl*. Niʿmatullāhī devotees were, for their part, active in composition, and Muẓaffar ʿAlī Shāh attempted in his prose works to integrate Peripatetic, Illuminationist and Akbarian (Ibn al-ʿArabī's) philosophical doctrines into a complicated theomonism expressed in Shīʿī theosophical terms but interiorised along traditional Ṣūfī lines. Although the literary and poetic works of the Niʿmatullāhī Ṣūfīs at this time rarely come up to the achievements of the great classical Persian poets (cf. Browne, *LHP*, iv, 220-1), these were part of the great intellectual and physical efforts, achieved not without bloodshed, to renew the covenant with the classical Ṣūfī past.

In the early 19th century, Ḥusayn ʿAlī Shāh became head of the order in both Persia and India, and then in 1817 Madjdhūb ʿAlī Shāh, but after his death in 1823, the order split into three branches, the main branch under the dominant figure of the Niʿmatullāhiyya in the 19th century, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, called "Mast ʿAlī Shāh", while two derivative branches, Kawthariyya and Shamsiyya have not attracted much notice aside from *Shams al-ʿurafāʾ* (d. 1935; on which see M. Humāyūnī, *Tārīkh-i silsilahā-yi ṭarīḳa-yi Niʿmatullāhī dar Īrān*, London 1992, 105-58; 159-67; R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil. Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden, 1965, 43-50). He had a prodigious literary output, comprising three large travel accounts of his travels and adventures throughout the Islamic world, from North Africa to Bengal, which show us a warm personality with universal concerns and a fascination with religious diversity, and a broad-minded, cosmopolitan humour. Most of his life was spent in forced exile, wandering under threat of execution and in the shade of *fatwās* demanding his death. But with the accession of Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār in 1834, the circumstances of the Ṣūfīs improved greatly under the influence of the Grand Vizier Mīrzā Āḳāsī, a Niʿmatullāhī leader and associate of Mast ʿAlī, so that many Niʿmatullāhī *shaykhs* now secured royal stipends, although he and Mast ʿAlī subsequently became rivals for the leadership of the order. But there was no striking shift of influence at this time from the *ʿulamāʾ* to the Ṣūfīs (Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Babi movement in Qajar Iran*, Ithaca and London 1989, 79). After Mast ʿAlī's death in 1837, he was succeeded by Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh, who now became royal deputy-governor of Fārs, so that the same Shīʿī mullahs of Fārs, wrote Raḥmat's son later, "who had previously insisted that Raḥmat's hookah first be washed and purified before others smoke it, now vied with each other for the blessing of drinking the dregs of his tea cup" (Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1345 *sh.*/1966, iii, 392). Raḥmat's achievements included the diffusion of the order by sending representatives as far as India and Turkey, and the composition of the first volume of the *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, completed after his death by his son Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh (Humāyūnī, *Tārīkh*, 191), the most important and impartial history of Ṣūfism ever written in Persian in modern times. A year before his death in 1861, Raḥmat left the affairs of the order to his uncle Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Muḥammad, called Munawwar ʿAlī Shāh, but soon afterwards, two other branches split off, the Gunābādīs and the Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhīs.

(a) The Gunābādīs. The schism here arose from the refusal of the *shaykh* appointed by Raḥmat to Iṣfahān, Saʿādat ʿAlī Shāh, to follow Munawwar, to the point of founding his own order. Very soon, the headship of this sub-order became exclusively hereditary and confined to the family of Sulṭān ʿAlī Shāh Gunābādī (d. 1909). W.M. Miller, during his sojourn amongst this sub-order in the 1930s, reported that they had some 10,000 adherents throughout Iran, including several members of the *Madjlis* and the prime minister Ḳawām al-Sulṭana (*Shiʿah mysticism, the Sufis of Gunābād*, in *MW*, xiii, 346-7). The Gunābādiyya continue today under the leadership of followers of the recently-deceased *ḳuṭb* Riḍā ʿAlī Shāh Tābanda. In the 1980s, Tābanda warmly endorsed the Islamic Republic's war with ʿIrāḳ, declaring the Gunabādīs's willingness to become martyrs. In 1997 a near relative, Dr. Nūr ʿAlī Tābanda, became head, after his predecessor had, according to a leading Iranian newspaper in London, suffered harassment from the Islamic Republic police on the grounds that, *inter alia*, the dervishes were engaging in "immoral activities" (*lahw wa lahb*). But notwithstanding Dr. Tābanda's previous participation in Mihdī Bāzargān's Freedom Movement and his present quietist rhetoric, the Gunābādī Ṣūfīs remain active supporters of the fundamentalist ideology of the Islamic Republic.

(b) The Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhīs. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī, called Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1898) was undoubtedly the foremost Niʿmatullāhī poet—and perhaps the foremost Persian Ṣūfī poet—of the 19th century. His ample *Dīwān* has been frequently reprinted, and he wrote several prose works and a two-volume versified Ḳurʾānic *tafsīr* in the same metre as that of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. He broke his allegiance to Munawwar in 1877, and after his death his disciple, the Ḳādjār prince ʿAlī Ẓahīr al-Dawla, brother-in-law of Muẓaffar Shāh Ḳādjār [*q.v.*], turned the sub-order into an *Andjuman-i ukhuwwat* "Fraternal Society" with the aim of combining Ṣūfism and politics, in the atmosphere of the time of numerous secret societies and lodges founded on Masonic principles (see A.K.S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in her *Qajar Persia. Eleven studies*, London 1987, 300-19; H. Algar, *An introduction to the history of freemasonry in Iran*, in *MES*, vi [1970], 291; and FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA, in Suppl.). The *Andjuman* also reflected its founder's support for the constitutional movement, and many of the members of this quasi-*ṭarīḳa* were, like himself, high-ranking statesmen. It also had many social and charitable activities, and by 1964, some 34,000 members had been admitted to the society. But with the triumph of the fundamentalist Islamic Revolution in 1979, the *Andjuman* was forcibly renamed, its building became used primarily as a mosque and the remaining members of the sub-order seem to have caved in to government pressure to participate in formalities unrelated to Ṣūfism.

iii. *The main branch of the Niʿmatullāhī order from 1861 to the present day.*

As noted above, Munawwar succeeded Raḥmat in 1860, and his quarter-century's headship of the order was marked by the Gunābādī and Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāhī schisms (see above, ii. a, b). Although the Dhahabiyya masters had made hereditary succession an essential feature of their administration of their order during the early 19th century, signs of such spiritual patrimonialism did not appear amongst the Niʿmatullāhīs

till the end of that century. Munawwar's son ʿAlī Āḳā Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, called Wafā ʿAlī Shāh, succeeded him, effectively meaning that, for four generations—from Raḥmat ʿAlī Shāh to Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh, excluding Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Shāh's four-year tenure 1918-22—filial affiliation and consanguinity determined spiritual sovereignty, so that the main branch was transformed into what Pourjavady and Wilson have called a virtual "Family of Poles" centred on Shīrāz. Finally, in the 1910s, the Gunābādī sub-order transformed hereditary succession into what is probably today the only unwritten socio-political dogma of modern Persian Ṣūfism (this principle being in contrast to the position in Egypt, where inheritance of such leadership positions was often implicit, rather than prescriptive as in Persia).

Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1953) was called Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn from his mastery of the exoteric sciences of Islam as well as the esoteric ones. In 1936 he moved from Shīrāz to Tehran and established there his Čahār Sūḳ *khānaḳāh*, which became one of the most important Ṣūfī centres in Tehran of its time. After his death, the control and the office of *ḳuṭb* exercised by one family for almost a century came to an end with the coming of a talented and educated medical student, Djawād Nūrbakhsh, who had already attained the rank of *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* "Supreme Shaykh" in Mu'nis's last years and had been designated by the latter his "sole spiritual son" (*farzand-i rūḥānī yigāna*), indicating his appointment as future *ḳuṭb* and head of the order. During the 1950s, Dr. Nūrbakhsh (he had graduated M.D. at Tehran University in 1952) managed to secure the allegiance of most of the order's *shaykhs* (Pākalʿa'ī of Isfahān was an exception). As well as being active writing in his professional field of psychiatry, Dr. Nūrbakhsh has been active in publishing Ṣūfī works from his "Khānaḳāh Niʿmatullāhī Publications" and writing his own works on Ṣūfism. By 1978, he had founded 60 *khānaḳāhs* in Iran, and in the 1970s, responding to the wishes of American disciples, several Niʿmatullāhī centres were founded in North America. In 1983 he moved to Britain, where he now resides, and now (1997) there are 21 *khānaḳāhs* in extra-Islamic lands, ranging from the U.S.A. and Canada to West Africa and Australia, each with anything from 25 to 75 full-time members. Within Iran of the Islamic Republic, the order has maintained itself and its 60 *khānanḳāhs* with considerable difficulty. Since 1995, the acceptance of new initiates has been forbidden to local directors on pain of imprisonment or worse. In 1994 the Ministry of Islamic Guidance banned, without explanation, all new publications and the reprinting of old Niʿmatullāhī works. Thus although the order has apparently successfully established itself in the West, in the face of a concerted campaign of interference and intimidation in Iran, the survival of this major Ṣūfī order into the 21st century there seems uncertain.

iv. *The Dhahabiyya.*

The revival of this order in more recent times within Persia began earlier than with the Niʿmatullāhīs in the person of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Nayrīzī (d. 1173/1759), the 32nd master of the order (on the origins of the order, see D. DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 [1988], 62-9). Nayrīzī was a fine scholar in the traditional sciences, an admirer of Ibn al-ʿArabī, author of numerous Arabic and Persian *rasā'il*, and at the end of his life, we are told, when resident in Nadjaf he gave lectures to all members of the main four Sunnī *madhhabs* as well as the Djaʿfarī Shīʿa (Iḥsān Allāh ʿAlī Iṣṭakhrī, *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf*, Tehran 1338/1959, 443); and his travels throughout Persia and ʿIrāḳ were ultimately to lead to a revival of the Dhahabī *ṭarīḳa*. From Nayrīzī's time onwards, familial relationship was linked to spiritual headship, with new masters having married daughters of their predecessor, so that the order became a family dynasty based on patrilineal succession. The Dhahabī *ḳuṭbs* enjoyed the support of the Zands in Shīrāz but were also quick to give support to Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār at Tehran in the early 1780s. However, they suffered, like other Ṣūfīs, under Bihbahānī's persecutions and the dominance of the *ʿulamā'* during Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's reign (1797-1815).

From 1815 to 1869 the master of the order was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shīrāzī, who had the pen-name of Rāz for his poetry, the 35th Dhahabī *ḳuṭb*, "most prolific of all Dhahabī masters" (Asad Allāh Khāwarī, *Dhahabiyya. Taṣawwuf-i ʿilmī, āthar-i adabī*, Tehran 1362/1983, 380, 575-680), the first master since pre-Ṣafawid times to build a formal *khānaḳāh* for Dhahabī *fuḳarā'*, who had formerly gathered in private houses in Shīrāz. As a poet, Rāz attained considerable renown, composing some "half a million couplets, thirty thousand of which belonged to his state of *djadha* and the rest written from the quietude of spiritual attainment" (Khāwarī, *Dhahabiyya*, 380; also see 575-680 for a lengthy discussion of his literary works and theologico-poetic contribution to Persian Ṣūfism). He was also known for his tutelage of famous *shaykhs*, among whom may be mentioned the *mudjtahid* Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm Rāyiḍ al-Dīn Zinghānī (known as ʿUdjūba and ʿĀrif ʿAlī Shāh, d. 1882). He also assumed custodianship in 1851 of the Shāh Čirāgh complex, the third most important shrine and pilgrimage centre in Persia, thus increasing his personal prestige. He lauded his son Djalāl al-Dīn, who subsequently became the 36th *ḳuṭb*, as a saint and immaculate from the womb. By such speculations, Rāz reinforced the nepotism now firmly enshrined in this *silsila*, ensuring that the pattern of paternal inheritance went unquestioned and that all property (especially the wealthy Shāh Čirāgh complex) and power over disciples would remain the birthright of his descendants; indeed, such favouritism was diametrically opposed to earlier Dhahabī masters' views on spiritual succession. Rāz's fourth son Madjd al-Ashrāf was master of the order 1869-1913. Under his leadership, Dhahabī teachings spread throughout Khurāsān, Iṣfahān and Fārs (Iṣṭakhrī, *Uṣūl*, 528, and he was the first Dhahabī to realise the value of the new Western techniques of printing, so that by his death at the age of 85, he had published over 40 of the works of the classical Ṣūfīs. During the upheavals of the Constitutional Revolution, he adopted a conservative and quietist stance, unlike his fellow Shīrāzī townsmen the Niʿmatullāhī *ḳuṭbs* Wafā ʿAlī and Mu'nis ʿAlī Shāh; his earlier writings had indicated his strongly pro-Ḳādjār royalist stance, successfully achieving Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh's support for his continuing custodianship of the Shāh Čirāgh.

On his death in 1913, the order was thrown into confusion, with many members uncertain about the succession, causing the first major schism within the Dhahabiyya, with a serious and effective challenge to the patrilineal right of inheritance for the *ḳuṭbiyyat*, the office of *ḳuṭb*; in the end, the majority of the Dhahabiyya abandoned the family line of Madjd al-Ashrāf and followed Waḥīd al-Awliyā' and, later, his successor Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar. A considerable polemical literature grew up amongst the Dhahabīs over this question, almost all of it biassed in some direction or other, but it is clear that a spiritual office had become entangled with the temporal concerns of a self-perpetuating

family loyalty, and this last could not long survive in the revolutionary, anti-monarchical climate of early 20th-century Iran. Nevertheless, the Sharīfī family kept their position as custodians of the Shāh Čirāgh until 1978, when they fled the country and the mausoleum was seized by the Islamic revolutionaries.

Despite the fact that the Sharīfī family considered Waḥīd al-Awliyā' as a usurper and mere pretender to the *kuṭbiyyat*, the majority of Dhahabīs today consider him to have been the 37th Master and rightful spiritual successor of Madjd al-Ashrāf. Waḥīd al-Awliyā' was a Tabrīzī by birth, famed for his expertise in *'irfān* and a prolific author, who also revived and reprinted a good number of Ṣūfī classics. In addition to his vigorous publishing activities, his learned *shaykhs* such as Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Muḥsin (*alias* "'Imād al-Fuḳarā' Ardabīlī") and Dr. Iḥsān Allāh 'Alī Iṣṭakhrī made considerable literary contributions to Dhahabī spirituality, the former composing some 18 books, including Persian translations of Arabic Ṣūfī works, while the latter's attractive, if hagiographical, exposition of the "principles of Ṣūfism" from a Dhahabī perspective, called *Uṣūl-i taṣawwuf* (Tehran 1379 A.H./1959) represents (together with Khāwarī's work *Dhahabiyya*) the best general account of this order from its earliest days to the early 1960s. On his death in 1955, he was succeeded by one of his elect disciples, Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar, unconnected with his family in any way, but responsible for constructing his master's large mausoleum in Shīrāz. There have been many active scholars and publishers of Dhahabī and other classics among Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar's followers, and it is clear that the order, like the Ni'matullāhiyya, is quite intellectually active. Hence Hamid Algar's assertion that "most contemporary adherents of the Dahabīya appear to be merchants and civil servants with little knowledge of the theoretical bases of Sufism" is inaccurate. Nor is there any indication today that the order is but "a degenerate parody of the Sufi tradition, rather than an actual continuation of it" (*EIr*, art. *Dahabīya*, at vol. vi, 580).

When Ḥubb-i Ḥaydar died in 1962, he was succeeded by Dr. Abu 'l-Ḥamīd Gandjawiyān, a professor of dermatology at Tabrīz University as the 39th *kuṭb*. With an extensive Western educational background and a formidable specialist output, he currently resides in Southampton, England, as a British subject. This background and experience, and the presence of numerous disciples in North America and England, will probably ensure that, like the Ni'matullāhīs, the future spiritual tradition of the Dhahabīs will be as much the product of the secular university as of the religious *madrasa*.

v. *Dhahabī-Ni'matullāhī relations.*

Although the Dhahabīs have always been less widespread than the Ni'matullāhīs, being mainly confined to Fārs, their contribution to the development of 19th and 20th-century Persian spirituality has been no less significant. The fact that Ni'matullāhī sources (e.g. Shirwānī, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-siyāḥa*, 251) deride the Dhahabiyya only reflects the narrow-minded, sectarian, intra-*ṭarīḳa* rivalry still permeating relations between the two groups. Yet philosophically speaking, their approach to theosophical questions was much the same, centred on the Shī'a in their mystical theology and with a common intellectual universe still largely defined by the *waḥdat al-wudjūd* doctrines of Ibn al-'Arabī as interpreted by his Persian followers like Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḳūnawī.

vi. *Numbers and geographical distribution of Persian Ṣūfīs in the 19th-20th centuries.*

Like Malcolm in the early 19th century, Richard Gramlich in the later 20th century has acknowledged the impossibility of any accurate calculation here. Perhaps because of the more informal nature of Persian Ṣūfism—with many persons affiliated to several orders at once, whilst others may be affiliated to one order but rarely visit its *khānaḳāh*—there are no precise figures for those in *khānaḳāhs* in pre-1979 Persia, unlike in Ottoman Turkey, where precise figures were recorded in government records (see S. Anderson, *Dervish orders of Constantinople*, in *MW*, xii [1922], 53-61). Gramlich's review of the three main orders—Khāksar, Dhahabiyya and Ni'matullāhiyya—led him to conclude that the latter was, by the 1960s, by far the largest Persian Ṣūfī order, anything from 20 to 100 times larger than the other two put together (*Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. I. Die Affiliationen*, Wiesbaden 1965, 89-90). The Gunābādī branch of the latter order is now considered to be the larger branch in Iran. For statistics of the present distribution of the Ni'matullāhiyya and their centres, see above, section iii, at the end. Up to the 20th century, the Dhahabiyya were concentrated on Shīrāz, with small branches in other Persian cities under *shaykhs* of the *kuṭb*. In the early 1950s, the Tehran *khānaḳāh* was endowed as a religious charity, and after Waḥīd al-Awliyā''s death, his house and mausoleum in Shīrāz were converted into a *khānaḳāh*, subsequently expanded into a large complex. There are at present (1997) seven official Dhahabī *khānaḳāhs* in Iran, with gatherings of members in private houses in other towns. None of the *khānāḳāhs* has so far been confiscated by the Islamic Republic régime, nor has there been any persecution of members, and the publication of Ṣūfī works by the order has proceeded unimpeded. Outside Iran, the only official *khānaḳāh* is in Southampton, England, where the order's head resides, although there are gatherings in private houses in three cities of the USA.

vii. *Key features of Persian Ṣūfism in the 19th and 20th centuries.*

From the above survey, it is evident that in its social transformations and adaptation to the exigencies of modern religious and political changes during the 19th-20th centuries, Ṣūfism has developed certain features which render it substantially different from the mystical Islam of the high classical period in Saldjūḳ, Mongol or Tīmūrid Persia. Since the metaphysical and spiritual reality (*ḥaḳīḳat*) of Ṣūfism does not permit quantitative analysis on the basis of social, historical or political transformations, whether or not these features embody a "decline" is not in question. However, in the light of these—basically six—features outlined below, it is evident that modern Persian Ṣūfism has failed to maintain, indeed, in many senses, has fallen far away from, the high ethical standards previously attained during the renaissance of Ṣūfism in the 12-13th centuries (on which see L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediæval Persian Sufism*, London 1993).

(a) *Institutionalisation.* During the 19th-20th centuries, each initiatic chain of succession (*silsila*) and "Path" (*ṭarīḳa*) tended vigorously to maintain its own separateness and difference, distinguishing—often to the point of sectarian discrimination—its teachings from others. As in classical Islam, the *khānaḳāh* institution with its various duties—ranging from services (*khidmat*) to musical liturgy (*samā'*)—became once again the central social focus of the various orders. Ṣūfī *khānaḳāhs*, up to recently, could be found in every major city and town in Iran. In the beginning of the 20th century, just when the signs of modernisation were becom-

ing visible everywhere in Tehran, "one could find *khānaḳāhs* outside all ten gateways leading into Tehran, within each of which dwelled a *pīr* serving as a spiritual guide, sought after by numerous pilgrims whether in pursuit of the soft drink of divine Unity or the wine of spiritual guidance" (Dja'far Shahrī, *Tārīkh-i idjtimā'ī-yi Tihrān dar ḳarn-i sīzdahum*, Tehran 1369 *sh*./1990, vi, 419). In post-1978 Tehran, institutional Ṣūfism is still flourishing despite—if not because of—the pressures upon and persecution of its leaders by the Islamic régime.

(b) *Intra*-ṭarīḳa *rivalry*. Just as the orders are now firmly distinguished from each other in separate institutional forms, the differences between, rather than unity among, the contemporary Persian *silsilas* are emphasised in the literature. Consequently, the chaste attitude of universal charitable tolerance (*ṣafā'*) maintained by the classical Persian mystics was, in this period, replaced by rivalry for positions of leadership and power over disciples, bitter jealousy between, and irreconcilable schisms among the leaders of the modern Persian *ṭarīḳas* (e.g. the rancour roused in Ni'matullāhī ranks by the Ṣāfī 'Alī Shāh schism, and the vitriolic polemics written by Dhahabī Ṣūfīs opposed to Waḥid al-Awliyā').

(c) *Ṣūfī religious exclusivism*. Gramlich's observation (*Die Schiitischen Derwischorden*, ii, 146) that the Persian Shī'ī Ṣūfī orders generally tend to identify the *ḳuṭb* as belonging exclusively to their particular *ṭarīḳa* conveys a fundamental tendency of contemporary Persian Ṣūfism rarely found elsewhere in the Islamic world. Whereas, according to most contemporary Sunnī Ṣūfism, the spirit of the *ḳuṭb* can only be seen at Mecca, at the Ka'ba, which is his *maḳām* [see ḲUṬB], in orders such as the Ni'matullāhiyya and Dhahabiyya, the head of the *ṭarīḳa* is considered the supreme *ḳuṭb*, the sole and unique Pole of the Muslim saintly hierarchy, so that his cosmological role is physically and politically temporalised. One socio-political consequence of this doctrine has been that every Persian *murshid* is considered not only an absolute monarch over his disciples—quite in accordance with ordinary *pīr-murīdī* tenets and teachings found in other areas of the Islamic Ṣūfī world—but also the only genuine ruler in the invisible and visible worlds of being. W.M. Miller's observation (*art. cit.*, 344) that the *ḳuṭb* is the "central doctrine" of the Gūnābādī Ṣūfīs may generally be said to apply to *ḳuṭb* doctrines rife in the Dhahabiyya as well as the various branches of the Ni'matullāhiyya.

Probably influenced by the Ismā'īlī doctrine of the infallibility of their Imām, Ni'matullāhī Ṣūfīs of the early Ḳādjār period such as Nūr 'Alī Shāh and Muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh reoriented the Shī'ī *wilāya* doctrine to imply that they were in direct communication with the hidden Imām (Amanat, *Resurrection*, 73-5), while among the Dhahabiyya an identical doctrine appeared as well (e.g. the Dhahabī *ḳuṭb* Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn-i Sharīfī is explicitly called in one source "the special representative of the Imām of the Age", *Nāyib-i khāṣṣ-i imām-i 'aṣr*). Such esoteric speculations gradually effected the "peculiar" assimilation "of the *Quṭbī* and *Imāmī* conceptions" in Shī'ī Ṣūfī orders, as Trimingham has termed it: "With Twelver Ṣūfīs, the *Quṭb* is the representative of the Imām on earth; hence the hatred of the *mujtahids* for the Ṣūfīs. The first principle of the Gūnābādī branch of the Ni'matullāhiyya is *walāya* or 'allegiance' to the *Quṭb*, who is the actual present head of the order, even though through him all things subsist" (*The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1973, 164).

Though speculations on the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* and the Imām, there has been gradual vulgarisation in the classical doctrine of *ḳuṭbiyya*, causing not only the cosmological but the political "polarisation" of *taṣawwuf*. Hence *ma'rifa* is understood to be the exclusive intellectual property of a particular Ṣūfī order, implicitly excluding all other spiritual orders, masters, religions, and mystical paths from the divine plan of salvation and self-realisation (for further discussion of the Shī'ī Ṣūfī *ḳuṭb* doctrine, see al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa 'l-tashayyu'*, Cairo 1969, 463; idem, *Sufism and Shi'ism*, London 1991, 75 ff.; Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shi'ites. The Ghulat sects*, Syracuse 1988, 111; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, 14; on Ni'matullāhī attempts to resolve the exclusivism occasionally caused by this doctrine, see Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden*, i, 49). Whether such a polarised (a literally *ḳuṭb*-centric) approach to mysticism has been ultimately conducive to Ṣūfism's final goal of theocentric consciousness is questionable. What is *prima facie* evident, however, is that the exclusivism of the Persian Shī'ī Ṣūfī *ḳuṭb* doctrine provides little constructive groundwork for ecumenism, creative religious pluralism or inter-faith dialogue—in a modern world where religious diversity is an inescapable fact of life.

(d) *Ṣūfī patrimonialism or dervichisme*. Jean Aubin coined the term *dervichisme* to describe an essential component of a type of hereditary Ṣūfism passed down by lineages of "sacred families" during the Mongol period, so that "spiritual authority and material management was transmited, hand to hand, hereditarily, with their morally privileged status and their ancestry assuring the social position of the inheritors" (*La propriété foncière en Azerbaydjan sous les Mongols*, in *Le Monde iranien et l'Islam*, iv [1976-77], 128). During the Mongol period, hereditary succession in both civic and religious matters was the norm in Persian society, as Marshall Hodgson has observed: "Even the head of a Ṣūfī order, who designated his successor from among his disciples, was encouraged to designate a son if one had become a disciple. But such family loyalty was pragmatic rather than prescriptive" (*The venture of Islam*, Chicago 1977, ii, 112). Eventually, however, as a consequence of such Ṣūfī dynasticism, what was from the start "an originally charismatic leadership was institutionalized" (*ibid.*, ii, 217).

By the early Ṣafawid period, the hereditary principle in Ṣūfī orders such as the Nūrbakhshiyya and Ni'matullāhiyya in Persia had become virtually prescriptive. The Ni'matullāhiyya, for instance, originally began as a *ṭarīḳa* designed to offer spiritual guidance, but by waging war against the Ottomans, currying patronage and forging links of marriage with the ruling Ṣafawid family, this *silsila* became a *dūdmān* (family dynasty) dedicated to the acquisition of royal power, and based exclusively on hereditary succession ('Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Dunbāla-yi djustudjū dar taṣawwuf-i Īrān*, Tehran 1362 *sh*./1983, 232-6). Indeed, such *dervichisme* became enshrined in most Persian *ṭarīḳa* doctrine, for all the Ṣūfī orders which wished to survive or succeed in Ṣafawid Persia were forced to make the position of *shaykh* hereditary, if only in emulation of "the Safavids themselves who had insisted that *pidar-farzandī*, that is, the dynastic principle, was the sole criterion to be used to determine the succession, and not *naṣṣ*" (R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge 1980, 25).

Following the Ni'matullāhī revival in the Ḳādjār period, similar dynastic pretensions reappeared among leaders of certain branches of the Ni'matullāhiyya in the middle, and the Dhahabiyya at the end, of the 19th century. As worldly dynastic interests took prece-

dence over otherworldly spiritual attainment, all quest for genuine and individually realised spirituality was set aside, as most of the Ṣūfī orders, seeming to lose sight of the basic spiritual principles of their practice, treated the position of *ḳuṭb* as hereditary—the Gunābādī branch of the Niʿmatullāhīs, the Dhahabiyya in the 19th century, and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, in particular, have generally made hereditary succession and *dervichisme* their fundamental social pillar.

(e) *Ṣūfism and Persian poetry.* Sir John Malcolm's observation that "the very essence of Soofeism is poetry" (*History*, ii, 279) highlights an enduring characteristic of *taṣawwuf* in Persia: that spiritual guidance and mystical understanding remain linked to lyrical expression and poetic inspiration. However, by the 19th century, the Persian poetico-mystical tradition had considerably declined due to various factors. A sort of separation between literature and *taṣawwuf* occurred in Persia in the late Ṣafawid period, both of which, anyway, were experiencing a waning (on the literary slump, see Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii, 311-18). By the Zand and Ḳādjār periods, one finds that most of the *ghazals* and *mathnawīs* composed by the Persian *ṭarīḳat shaykhs* were to a large extent a means by which those who possessed some literary talent could confirm their spiritual authority by creating poetic utterances capable of integration into their followers' *samāʿ* liturgy. The central political motif in most Ṣūfī poetry produced during this period is what DeWeese has termed "*ṭarīqa*-solidarity"—in the present Persian context constituting a sense of the distinctness of the Niʿmatullāhī (or Dhahabī) *silsilas* as constituting a bona-fide, self-conscious Ṣūfī order amongst other Islamic brotherhoods. Walter Feldman's remark that 18th-century Turkish Ṣūfī poets tended to speak of themselves "primarily as enlightened mürşids" in contrast to the earlier classical Turkish Ṣūfī poets such as Yūnus Emre who had usually humbly "cast themselves as seekers on the Path" (*Mysticism, didacticism and authority in the liturgical poetry of the Halvetî Dervishes of Istanbul*, in *Edebiyât*, NS iv/2 [1993], 263), and Asad Allāh Khawārī's observation that the composition of poetry by Dhahabī *shaykhs* had less an aesthetic than a utilitarian function, being "considered as one of the necessary conditions of *ḳuṭbiyyat*" (*Dhahabiyya*, 685), also applies to the 19th-century Persian Ṣūfī poets. In their verse one finds less and less the wine of "ecstasy divine": a scent of rosewater perhaps, but the fragrance of the rose has fled.

To the present day, Persian Ṣūfīs still continue to compose and publish *mathnawīs* and *ghazals* filled with all the ancient and timeless symbolism and imagery of rose and nightingale, beloved and lover, prince and pauper. However, even if contemporary Iran is the inheritor of the world's most venerable tradition of mystical poetry, there has been no Ṣūfī bard during the entire modern period, with the notable exceptions of Nūr ʿAlī Shāh in the early 19th century, Furūghī Basṭāmī (d. 1274/1857; a follower of the Čishtiyya *silsila*) at the end of the 19th, and Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh in the early 20th century, whom any contemporary Iranian literary historian has acknowledged to have combined spiritual gifts and poetico-literary genius with any of the same competence or literary success shown by his mediaeval forebears. Hence literary historians usually regard the Ṣūfī contribution to modern Persian literature as largely insignificant (see M.T. Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii; Browne, *LHP*, iv; and Y. Aryanpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā. Tārīkh-i 150 sāl adab-i fārsī*, Tehran 1357/1978).

(f) *Loss of self-confidence caused by the marginalisation of mysticism in the intellectual milieu.* In the mid-19th century, the anxiety of the Persian Ṣūfīs in face of encroaching Europeanisation is reflected in the nostalgic comment of the Niʿmatullāhī leader Mast ʿAlī Shāh (penned in the early 1830s): "In truth, these Europeans (*ḳawm-i firang*) in affairs of government, politics and cultivation of their lands are extremely skillful and do not neglect even the least minutia in the art of war, nor of the means of overcoming enemies and cultivating friends" (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siyāḥa*, 348-9; also cf. similar comments by Shīrāzī, *Ṭarāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, iii, 521-2; J.I. Cole, *Invisible occidentalism. Eighteenth-century Indo-Persian constructions of the West*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxv/3-4 [1992], 3-16. For a discussion of similar circumstances in Turkey, see Nuray Mert, *Children of a "defeated civilization". The sad face of Westernization in Turkey*, in *Turkey: the pendulum swings back*, London: Islamic World Report, i/3 [1996], 69-70).

During the 20th century, with Shīʿism in the *madrasas*, and secular rationalism the idol of the intellectual élite in the universities, Ṣūfism was denigrated by both groups and in this process fell by the wayside, ceasing to be part of the mainstream of Persian religious and intellectual life. The main Persian 19th-century political reformers, such as Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97), Ākhundzāda (1812-78), Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1833-1908) and Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (1854-96; who had rebelled against his Ṣūfī origins—his father being affiliated with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ), castigated Ṣūfī mysticism for its alleged passivity and advocacy of *taḳlīd*. Their attack was continued by the radical Iranian secular intellectuals of the early 20th century such as Aḥmad Kasrawī (1891-1946 [*q.v.*]), who condemned Ṣūfism "as one of the deep-rooted and greatly misguided beliefs to have appeared in Islam" (see his *On Islam and Shiʿism*, tr. M.R. Ghanoonparvar, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1990, 79).

Kasrawī's opinions of Ṣūfism were later repeated by Iranian secular intellectuals in the 1960s-1970s, most of whom toed the Marxist Tūdih party's atheist-materialist line on the social irrelevance of religion. As a consequence, the more moderate voices of both European Persianists who considered Persian Ṣūfism to be a chief cause of cultural advancement in Islam such as R.A. Nicholson and F. Meier (*Soufisme et déclin culturel*, in R. Brunschvig and G.E. von Grunebaum, *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1957, 217-41), as well as Iranian savants such as Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, who considered the Ṣūfī movement to be the apex of human ethical thinking and the sole champion of religious tolerance in Islam (see his *Āzādagī wa tasāmuḥ*, in *Iranshenasi*, vi/1 [1992], 174-85) have been all but drowned out by the louder cries of the secular and religious fundamentalists.

Refutations of Ṣūfism based on its perceived incongruence with Shīʿī doctrines continued as in Zand and Ḳādjār times to be written during the 20th century by extremist Iranian clerics (such as Sayyid Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-Riḍā, known as ʿAllāma Burḳaʿī) (cf. his *Ḥaḳīkat-i ʿirfān*, [2]Tehran n.d., which reproduces texts, 161-2, of four *fatwās* in condemnation of early 19th-century Niʿmatullāhī masters purportedly issued by 19th-century clerics—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muḥammad Mahdī Shahristānī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ḳumī). At present, most of the Iranian Shīʿī clergy "regard it [Ṣūfism] as nothing more than an illegitimate competitor in the marketplace of religious values" (Y. Richard, *Shi'ite Islam*, tr. A. Nevill, London 1995, 54).

To the present day, although the dervish ideal (*darwīshī*) remains, on the one hand, an indelible trait

of Iranian national character (see M.C. Bateson *et alii*, *Ṣafā-yi bāṭin. A study of a set of Iranian ideal character types*, in Brown and Itzkowitz (eds.), *Psychological dimensions of Near Eastern studies*, Princeton 1977, 257-73), on the other hand, institutional or *khānaḳāh*-based Ṣūfism continues to be frequently attacked by both Iranian intellectuals in exile and modernist and traditional religious thinkers within Iran proper. In Iranian newspapers published in the West, the cultural and political significance of Ṣūfism remains a hotly-debated topic whose relevance to modern philosophies of life is frequently contested or vindicated (see e.g. Dāryūsh Humāyūnī, *Imrūz zamān az madrasa bih khānaḳāh raftan nīst*, in *Nīmrūz*, year 8, no. 390, Djum'a 11, Ābān 1375 *sh*., 15e, and Riḍā Ḥakkdjū's pro-Ṣūfī riposte to Humāyūnī, *Ham madrasa wa ham khānaḳāh*, in *Nīmrūz*, year 8, no. 393, Djum'a 2 Ādhar, 1375 *sh*., 33) by supporters for and against. Though beleaguered at the time of writing by the atmosphere of the religious intolerance prevailing in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in the West, where traditional *taṣawwuf* is challenged by the anti-mystical "secular fundamentalism", Persian Ṣūfism will doubtless survive this crisis.

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Personal communications from high-ranking Ni'matullāhī authorities outside Iran, including Dr. Djawād Nūrbakhsh, Master of the Munawwar 'Alī Shāhī branch of the Ni'matullāhiyya; Prof. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Gadjawiyān, Master of the Dhahabiyya; Dr. Muhammad Isa Waley, Dr. Shahrām Pāzawkī, Muḥammad Riḍā Djūzī, Mihdī Tafrishī and Muṣṭafā Shafāfī are gratefully acknowledged.

(L. Lewisohn, shortened by the Editors)

6. Amongst the Turks.

(a) The Turkish lands from Anatolia to Eastern Turkistān in the pre-modern period. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 5.

(b) The Balkans. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 6.

(c) The Ottoman Turkish lands and Republican Turkey in the 19th and 20th centuries.

i. *The Ottoman period.*

The history of Ṣūfism in the Ottoman empire of the 19th and early 20th centuries reflects, in the first place, the consequences of the liberal reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] and the discovery of European philosophical thought. Also, up to 1925, and even under the Republic, although in a different way, Ṣūfism remained closely linked with the Ṣūfī brotherhoods (*ṭuruḳ*), except for a few exceptions, themselves not without interest.

Two Ṣūfī orders imposed their mark, the Bektāshiyya and the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.vv.*]. The Bektāshiyya were forbidden in 1825 together with the Janissaries but reconstituted themselves some years later, becoming a mystical and philosophical current, notably in the great cities of the empire (Istanbul, Izmir and Salonica). The Bektāshīs of the countryside, less and less accepted by their co-religionists of the towns, who were offended by their ignorance, were progressively absorbed by the 'Alewīs. As a general rule, the Bektāshiyya espoused the movement for liberal reform, against Sultan 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd (1876-1909) and in favour of restoration of the constitution abolished in 1878. This is explicable by, amongst other things, their suppleness in religious matters, even their lack of respect for the *Sharī'a*, which they placed after the *ṭarīḳa* (the brotherhood and its exoteric rules), the *ḥaḳīḳa* (truth) and *ma'rifa* (gnosis), in accordance with their doctrine of the so-called "four doors" (*dört ḳapī*); this was regarded as a sign of the supremacy of the *bāṭin* (hidden doctrine, Ṣūfism) over the *ẓāhir* (the exoteric sciences, those of the *medreses*). Bektāshī Ṣūfism was nevertheless very poor on the level of the mystical techniques of contemplation.

The Bektāshiyya were strongly attacked by the Sunnī *'ulamā'* for what these last considered their heretical beliefs. In particular, in 1874 the *'ālim* Isḥāḳ Efendi attacked their closeness to the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*] in his *Kāshif ül-esrār wa-dāfi' ül-eshrār* (German tr. G. Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-Ordens des Bektaschis*, Berlin 1908). The response to this took the form of an apologia for the Bektāshiyya which is one of the best expositions of Bektāshī doctrine, of a quality rarely seen previously (Aḥmed Rif'at, *Mir'āt ül-maḳāṣid fī dāfi' ül-mefāsid*, Istanbul 1876). The doctrine was then subsequently fixed through several other works, in particular, by Aḥmed Rifḳī (in his *Bektāshī sirri*, Istanbul 1910), who accentuated the order's heterodox and political dimension and brought its doctrine into the heretical Balkans current of the Ḥamzawīs (see below) and the liberal movements opposed to 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd II. Bektāshī thought was further set forth in several poetic collections signed by its most brilliant representatives of the 19th and 20th centuries: Turābī (d. 1868), Meḥmed Ḥilmī Dede (1842-1907), Edīb Kharābī (1852-1915) and Riḍā Tewfīḳ (1868-1949 [see BÖLÜKBASHĪ, RIḌĀ TEWFĪḲ, in Suppl.]).

In opposition to this form of Ṣūfism, there was that of the Naḳshbandiyya, an order which enjoyed a pro-

found renewal at the beginning of the 19th century amongst the Kurds of the empire's eastern provinces. This renewal of the Nakṣhbandiyya, called Khālidiyya from the name of Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (1776-1827), who had studied with the Nakṣhbandīs of India at Dihlī, strongly echoed the teachings of the Indian Nakṣhbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya but made certain innovations. The Khālidiyya made compulsory retreat (*khalwa erbaʿīniyya*) for new initiates and made the doctrine of the *rābiṭa* (the spiritual link of the *sheykh* with his disciple) the order's great rule (B. Abu-Manneh, *Khalwa and Rābiṭa in the Khālidī suborder*, in M. Gaborieau *et alii* (eds.), *Naqshbandîs. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulmane*, Istanbul 1991). It invariably opposed the use of music and dancing. Very soon, with some exceptions, the Nakṣhbandiyya of the whole Ottoman Empire adopted the Khālidiyya form. Believing that the mystical way was primarily to be achieved through a profound knowledge of the Ḳur'ān and Sunna, and by scrupulous respect for the prescriptions of the *Sharīʿa*, the Nakṣhbandiyya set themselves firmly against the liberal-type reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* era, reforms which *inter alia* gave rights similar to those of the Muslims to the infidels of the Empire. Their form of Ṣūfism, with its ensemble of very potent contemplative techniques, was practised strictly within the framework of the *Sharīʿa* (Th. Zarcone, *Expérience de la mort et préparation à la mort dans l'Islam mystique. Le cas des nakşibendî de Turquie*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Les Ottomans et la mort. Permanences et mutations*, Leiden 1996). Unlike the Bektāshiyya, the Nakṣhbandiyya supported the Ḥamīdian régime; Gümüshkhānawī Aḥmed Ḍiyā (1813-93), the order's main *sheykh*, had numerous disciples amongst the Palace staff. He linked the study of *ḥadīth* with his mystical teaching, a tradition which has maintained itself amongst his disciples to the present day. After the constitutional revolution of 1908-9, the Nakṣhbandiyya were to be generally found on the conservative wing of the Young Turk movement. Being both a Young Turk and a Nakṣhbandī, the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Mūsā Kāẓim (1850-1920) attacked heterodox Ṣūfism (i.e. the Bektāshiyya) and went so far as to preach the absorption of the *tekke* by the *medrese*, convinced that Ṣūfism had to be taught with the other Islamic sciences and not elsewhere.

In the 19th century, other Ṣūfīs, linked with mystical currents originating in the Arab world, like the Shādhilī Muḥammad Ẓāfir al-Madanī (1829-1903) or the Rifāʿī one Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (1850-1909 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), held, like the Nakṣhbandiyya, that Ṣūfism should range itself alongside Islamic orthodoxy. In other respects, the 19th and 20th centuries were notable for another interpretation of Ṣūfism which adopted a philosophical dimension close to Arabic Neoplatonism according to the commentary of several controversial mystics, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, and even of those who had been condemned to death, such as Badr al-Dīn b. Ḳāḍī Samāwnā (1358-9 to 1416 [*q.v.*]), with a complete lack of interest in the structure of the *ṭarīḳa*; one could cite the Malāmī movement of Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī (d. 1888) which rose out of the Ḥamzawī milieux of the Balkans and was very quickly introduced into Istanbul. The devotees of other orders were also marked by this rejection of the external aspects of Ṣūfism (the *tekke*, ceremonies, special garments, headgear, etc.) in the name of a return to a purified mysticism, but also under the influence of ideas of progress. One might mention here the name of Ḳushadalî Ibrāhīm Khalwatī (1774-1845) who rejected the *tekke* and proclaimed himself against celibacy and renouncement of the world (*terk-i dünyā*), two aspects of the mystical life which have often divided Ṣūfīs (Zarcone, *Pour ou contre le monde. Une approche des sociabilités mystiques musulmanes dans l'Empire ottoman*, in F. Georgeon and P. Dumont (eds.), *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman. Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIII^e-XX^e siècle)*, Paris 1997). At the end of the 19th century there arose from Nakṣhbandī circles Bedīʿ ül-Zamān Saʿīd Nūrsī (1876-1960 [*q.v.*]), founder of the Nurcu movement [see NURCULUK], and he likewise opposed the system of *ṭuruḳ* in the name of a return to the faith and to pure Ṣūfism.

The tradition of commentaries on the writings of Ibn al-ʿArabī and the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī continued, with innovations appropriate to the age. Modernist Ṣūfīs and Ottoman intellectuals like Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī, Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Ismāʿīl Fennī, Ferīd Ḳam and Aḥmed Ḥilmī Shehbenderzāde, showed a great interest in these two thinkers whose doctrines favoured a rapprochment of Islam with the ideas of the Age of the Enlightenment and even with such European philosophers then in vogue as Herbert Spencer in Britain and Henri Bergson in France. The old dispute over the orthodoxy or not of Ibn al-ʿArabī, specifically on the doctrine of the unity of existence attributed to him, *waḥdat al-wudjūd* [see WAḤDAT AL-SHUHŪD], continued and gave rise to lively debates between the Ṣūfīs and the *ʿulamāʾ*, going beyond the strict framework of religion and involving the Turkish philosophers affected by the Western schools of thought. The main commentator at this time on Ibn al-ʿArabī was Aḥmed ʿAwnī Ḳonuḳ (1868-1938) (his commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. M. Tahralı and S. Eraydın, 3 vols. Istanbul 1987). Regarding the *Mathnawī*, it continued to be studied within the framework of the special institutions for this (*dār ül-methnewī*) or by members of the Mawlawiyya; the most famous *dār ül-methnewī* was that founded at Istanbul by the *sheykh* Murād al-Bukhārī (d. 1848). It is characteristic of certain commentaries written on the *Mathnawī* in the 19th and early 20th centuries that they consider Rūmī's Ṣūfism in relationship to modern thought and Western science; such authors were ʿĀbidīn Pasha (d. 1907) (his commentary in 6 vols. Istanbul 1887-8), Ṭāhir ül-Mewlewī (1877-1928) (*Methnewī*, 14 vols. Istanbul 1963) and Kenʿān Rifāʿī (*Sherḥli Methnewī-yi sherīf*, Istanbul 1973). Furthermore, the interest in the press in general drove Ṣūfīs of all tendencies to found journals and to set forth their thoughts in a new literary manner (the journals *Muḥibbān*, *Ḥikmet*, *Djerīde-yi Ṣūfī*, *Taṣawwuf*, *Maḥfil*, etc.); in these can be found commentaries on the *Mathnawī*, biographies, historical texts, philosophical essays, mystical commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, etc.

One of the main conflicts between Ṣūfism and Islamic theology at the opening of the 20th century set the *sheykh* Ṣafwet (*Taṣawwufun ẓaferleri*, Istanbul 1924) against the theologian Izmirli Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī (1868-1946) (*Ḥaḳḳîn ẓaferleri*, Istanbul 1922) concerning the question of *ḥadīth*, the crux being whether the *ḥadīth*s cited by the Ṣūfīs to justify their doctrines were reliable. Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, himself a member of the Shādhiliyya and under al-Ghazālī's influence, some time later distinguished, in a new elaboration of Islamic theology (*Yeñi ʿilm-i kelām*, Istanbul 1923-4, 151-2), between two forms of Ṣūfism, one linked with the Ḳur'ānic tradition and the other departing from it.

ii. *The Republican period.*

The creation of the Republic (1923) and the abolition in 1925 of the orders, involving the closing of the *tekke*s, led Ṣūfism, if it was to survive, into either bypassing the structures of the *ṭuruḳ* or going under-

ground, a situation which, in both cases, had consequences for the development of the practice of mystical doctrines. It was only in the 1950s, with a relaxation of state anti-religious measures, that some Ṣūfis were able to publish their writings. In general, Naḳshbandīs remained faithful to their orthodox line. This was set forth by Mehmed Zâhid Kotku (1897-1980) and his son-in-law Mehmed Esat Coşan, who today directs the "Iskenderpaşa community" in Istanbul (it inherits the *tekke* of Gümüshkhānawī Aḥmed Ḍiyā); by Abdülhekim Hüseynî (1902-72) and his son Mehmed Reşid Erol (1929-96), founder of the "community of Menzil Köyu" at Adıyaman in Anatolia; and by several other *sheykhs* stemming from the eastern parts of Anatolia (H. Algar, *The Naqshbandi order in Republican Turkey*, in *The pendulum swings back*, London 1996). It is important to note that many of these maintained unofficial *medreses* in which Ṣūfism had a major part. ʿAbd ül-Ḥakīm Arwāsī/Abdülhakim Arvasi (1864-1943), another Naḳshbandī, vigorously brought into prominence the teachings of Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], the founder in India of the Naḳshbandiyya Mudjaddidiyya, and proponent of al-Ghazālī and his Ṣūfism, at the same time combatting the Shīʿa and the radical Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*]. His pupils and successors, the main ones being the writer Necip Fazil Kısakürek (1905-83), with his *O ve ben*, 6th ed. Istanbul 1990, and Hüseyn Hilmi Işık (b. 1911), founder of the Işıkcı movement, remained faithful to his thought but broke with several minor Naḳshbandī practices and the system of *tekkes*.

Already in existence at the end of the Ottoman period, the Nūrdju movement of Saʿīd Nūrsī, a former Naḳshbandī, can be classed as a crypto-Ṣūfī movement, despite its rejection of the *ṭarīḳa* and the *sheykh*'s authority, since it continues to venerate and to follow the teachings of such grand masters of Ṣūfism as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and Aḥmad Sirhindī and since it describes itself as a return to pure Ṣūfism. This aspect had been reinforced by the Nurcu Fethullah Gülen, who fiercely defends a revolutionary view of instruction, proposing a harmonisation of the old *medrese* system with that of the secular schools (Lâtif Erdoğan, *Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi "Kücük dünyam"*, Istanbul 1995; Eyüp Can, *Ufuk tur, Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi ile*, Istanbul 1996 or 1997). On the other hand, in the last decade, certain Nurcus, called Aczmendî, have considered that it is time to re-establish the *tekke* system (*Risale-i Nur'da usûl ve program. Aczmendlik*, Istanbul n.d. [1996 or 1997]).

Ṣūfīs linked with other currents have contributed to the development of an Islamic mysticism during the time of the Republic, like the Khalwatī Muzaffer Ozak (1916-85), who attached central importance to music and dance movements. Like the Ḳādiriyya and Rifāʿiyya, he kept up the link between mystical doctrine and dancing, a link which became lost amongst the Mawlawiyya. Other Ṣūfīs, already only very loosely attached to the *ṭarīḳa* system, adapted immediately to the situation under the Republic, such as the Melāmīs, who kept up, at Istanbul, the tradition of Muḥammad Nūr al-ʿArabī: Ḥādjdjī Maḳṣūd Khulūṣī (d. 1929), Hasan Lutfī Susut and Mahmud Sadettin Bilginer (1909-83), Khulūṣī's son. Alevî doctrines were favoured by the Kemalist régime, and the Alevîs took over Bektāshī *tekkes* and for many years caused a grave confusion by identifying the Ṣūfī doctrine and practices of the Bektāshiyya with their own system, this despite the protests of a small group of Bektāshīs led by Bedri Noyan (1912-97), one of whose chief members was Turgut Koca (1921-97), who incarnated this tradition. Amongst the Alevîs, Bektāshī doctrine enjoyed a popularisation and acquired a folkloric nature which has profoundly deprived it of its real nature. Having almost totally disappeared within Turkey itself, the tradition of commentaries on the *Mathnawī* and on Ibn al-ʿArabī had a brilliant representative in Sarajevo in the person of Fayḍ Allāh/Fejzulah Hadžibajrić (d. 1990), who gave life to the last *dār ül-methnewī* of the Ottoman world.

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7. In Muslim India.

(a) The pre-1800 period. See ṬARĪḲA. II. 7.

(b) In the 19th and 20th centuries.

i. *The study of Ṣūfism in colonial and post-colonial South Asia.*

The term and category "Ṣūfism" was first coined for European languages by British Orientalists based in India, particularly Sir William Jones (*The sixth discourse, on the Persians*, and *On the mystical poetry of the Persians and Hindus*, in *Works*, London 1807). While European travellers had previously remarked upon "dervishes" and "fakirs" only as exotic curiosities, Orientalists applied the term "Ṣūfī" largely to the literary phase of Ṣūfism, particularly as expressed in Persian poetry. These European scholars were persuaded that the elegant poems of Ḥāfiẓ and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*] could have nothing to do with the Islamic ("Mahometan") religion, and therefore they unanimously believed it to be derived from Indian sources; this position was reinforced by the anti-Ṣūfī attitudes of Shīʿī *mudjtahids* in Persia (Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii, 382-3; Lt. J.W. Graham, *A treatise on Sufiism, or Mahomedan mysticism*,

in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, i [1819], 89-119). British colonial officials, who were the main source of European studies of Ṣūfism in the 19th century, thus maintained a double attitude toward Ṣūfism: its literary classics (part of the Persian curriculum required by the British East India Company until the 1830s) were admired, but its contemporary social manifestations were considered corrupt and degenerate in relation to what was perceived as orthodox Islam (R.F. Burton, *Sindh*, London 1851, 198-231). This "golden age" ambivalence toward Ṣūfism was soon mirrored by the attitudes of Muslim reformists and fundamentalists (see below), creating a situation in which Ṣūfism quickly became a contested term, the meaning of which remains hotly disputed today. In Urdu, *taṣawwuf* still generally means a prescriptive ethical and spiritual ideal as it did in early Islamic texts, though sometimes it functions as a generic equivalent of mysticism. The English word "Ṣūfism" describes a variety of practices and doctrines with a debatable relationship to Islam (C. Ernst, *The Shambhala guide to Sufism*, Boston 1997).

Colonial officials encountered contemporary Ṣūfism primarily in the context of government regulation of the many shrines and saints' tombs found in India; under their administration, active Ṣūfī circles were no longer attached to major shrines, though *kh̲ānḳāhs* continued to function, particularly in the Pand̲j̲āb and Sind. British officials settled disputes over the administration of shrines as *waḳf* properties under Anglo-Mohammedan law (cf. G. Kozlowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge 1985). This was an issue particularly for large shrines, such as the tomb of Kh̲ʷād̲j̲a Muʿīn al-Dīn Čis̲h̲tī at Ad̲j̲mēr, or that of Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Gand̲j̲-i S̲h̲akkar at Pākpaṭṭan [*q.vv.*] (D. Gilmartin, *Shrines, succession and sources of moral authority in the Punjab*, in *Pakistan. The social sciences' perspective*, ed. A.S. Aḥmed, Karachi 1990, 146-64). Some Ṣūfīs, e.g. the Čis̲h̲tī leader Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Imdād Allāh (d. 1899), fought against the British during the 1857-8 uprising, and groups such as the Ḥurr (followers of the Pīr Pagārō in Sind) continued resistance up to 1947 (H.T. Lambrick, *The terrorist*, London 1970). But colonial policy reinforced the position of many hereditary *sad̲j̲d̲j̲āda-nis̲h̲īns* as rural landlords and notables, particularly in the Pand̲j̲āb. The process of legal regulation and dispute resolution of Ṣūfī shrines has continued in post-colonial India and Pakistan (S.K. Rashid, *Wakf administration in India*, New Delhi 1978).

There is considerable proto-anthropological material on Ṣūfī saints and shrines compiled by colonial officials in the Indian district gazetteers and surveys of the "castes and tribes" variety, often drawn from local oral tradition; most of these accounts regard Indian Ṣūfī practice as a Hinduised deviation from a supposedly pristine Islam (T.W. Arnold, art. *Saints and martyrs, Muhammadan, in India*, in *ERE*, xi, 68-73). Some Hindu scholars went so far as to interpret Ṣūfism in terms of Vedanta (L. Ramakrishna, *Panjabi Sufi poets*, London 1938). Politically-oriented studies of Ṣūfī saints and orders have focussed upon their relationship with the colonial government (Sarah Ansari, *Sufi saints and state power. The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, Cambridge 1992) and the Pakistan movement (D. Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam. Punjab and the making of Pakistan*, Berkeley 1988). There is an increasing body of anthropological literature on Ṣūfī practice in Pakistan and India, both on the part of government officials (Census of India, *Beliefs and practices associated with Muslim pirs in two cities of India [Delhi and Lucknow]*, New Delhi 1966) and Euro-American researchers (K.P. Ewing, *Sufism and desire in Pakistan*, Durham 1997).

Post-colonial governments in Pakistan, under the impulse of modern nationalism, have promoted publications that focus on Ṣūfī literature (especially poetry in local languages) as the manifestation of national identity. The Folk Heritage Institute in Islamabad (*Lōk Wirt̲h̲a*) publishes a "Sufi Poets Series" consisting of editions and Urdu translations of prominent Ṣūfīs who wrote poetry in the regional languages of Pakistan (Pas̲h̲tō, Pand̲j̲ābī, Balōčī, Brāhuī, Hindkō, Sindhī). The Department of Charitable Trusts (*Maḥkama-i Awḳāf*), which controls the revenue of major shrines, publishes officially sanctioned biographies of Ṣūfī saints in Urdu that accord with the Islamic "Pakistan ideology," and high-ranking provincial and national officials regularly preside at the *ʿurs* anniversaries of Ṣūfī saints (Ewing, *The politics of Sufism: redefining the saints of Pakistan*, in *Journal of Asian Studies*, lii [1983], 251-68). Hagiographies organised along provincial or all-Pakistan lines also receive official sponsorship. The Government of India, in contrast, sponsors literature and films that identify Ṣūfīs as "secular nationalists" having more in common with Hindu bhaktī than with Islam (M. Jotwani, *Sufis of Sindh*, New Delhi 1986).

Although British historians largely ignored Ṣūfī writings, the post-colonial era has seen the growth of new scholarship in South Asia, initially at Aligarh Muslim University, focused on the history and literature of Ṣūfism of the "medieval" period. The studies of the Čis̲h̲tī order by K.A. Nizami have demonstrated how it is possible to follow the continuities in a *silsila* through the oral discourses (*malfūẓāt*) and letters (*maktūbāt*) that continued to be written in Persian up to the 20th century (Nizami, *Tārīk̲h̲-i mas̲h̲āyik̲h̲-i Čis̲h̲t*, Delhi 1953; see also C. Ernst and B. Lawrence, *Burnt hearts. The Chishti Sufi order*, London 1998). Biographical and historical studies of particular Ṣūfī saints and orders have been written in the history departments of South Asian universities, while Persian and occasionally Arabic text editions of Ṣūfī writings have been produced in language and literature departments. Particularly prized Persian writings by famous *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* of the Čis̲h̲tī and Naḳs̲h̲bandī orders have been printed for devotional use in Pakistan as recently as the 1960s. "Classical" Ṣūfī works in Arabic and Persian, from the 13th up to the 19th centuries, are widely available for popular use through modern Urdu translations in India and Pakistan, and occasionally in other languages as well. The vast majority of South Asian Ṣūfī texts in Persian still remains in manuscript, however (for a comprehensive list, see Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i mus̲h̲tarak-i nusk̲h̲ahā-yi k̲h̲aṭṭī-yi Fārsī-i Pākistān*, Islamabad 1984-, esp. vols. iii [*ʿIrfān*] and xi [*Ẓindagī-nāma-yi pīrān*]). Only rarely have contemporary Ṣūfī writings in Indian languages been translated (C. Shackle (tr.), *The teachings of Khwaja Farid*, Multan 1978; idem (tr.), *Fifty poems of Khwaja Farid*, Multan 1983).

ii. *Ṣūfism and modern ideologies.*

Ṣūfī *pīrs* of the 20th century, despite their entrenched positions as landholders in the colonial system, were crucial to the support of the Pakistan nationalist movement because of their large followings, and Ṣūfī leaders have generally found nationalism to be a congenial doctrine. But the ideological proponents of modernism and Islamic fundamentalism have both seen Ṣūfism as a major opponent. Modernists like Iḳbāl [*q.v.*], in a critique similar to that of Orientalists, denounced institutional Ṣūfism for fatalism, passivity, and a false notion of the absorption of humanity in unity with God. Although Iḳbāl's writings invoke Ṣūfī figures such as Ḥallād̲j̲ and Rūmī [*q.vv.*], his concepts of terms

such as *khudī* and *ʿishk* [*q.v.*] owe as much to Bergson and Nietzsche. Secularised intellectuals and Muslim modernists alike saw Ṣūfī practice as mediaeval superstition and as a drug that stupefies the masses. Ṣūfī apologists have responded to this criticism by appropriating the rhetoric of science and announcing that Ṣūfism attains the goal of truth that science can only dream of (Wāḥid Bakhsh Siyāl, *Mushāhada-i ḥakk: islāmī rūḥānī sā'ins* [*science*], Karachi 1974).

Fundamentalists (echoing Orientalists and colonial officials) criticised Ṣūfism as Hindu-influenced idolatry of human beings, amounting to abandonment of "pure" Islam. Reformers like Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh (d. 1840), founder of the Farā'iḍī movement in Bengal, and Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī (d. 1831 [*q.v.*]) in the Pandjāb, were militantly opposed to certain forms of Ṣūfism, Shīʿism, and local adaptations of Islam; for this reason, the British regarded them as "Wahhābīs," although some reformers were trained in Ṣūfī orders. Abu 'l-ʿAlā' Mawdūdī (d. 1979), founder of the fundamentalist Djamāʿat-i Islāmī, rejected Ṣūfī practice despite his upbringing in a Čishtī family, though his authoritarian leadership style has been interpreted as an extension of the master-disciple relationship (S.V. Nasr, *Mawdudi and the making of Islamic revivalism*, Oxford 1996). Defenders of Ṣūfism argue that Ṣūfism is the spiritual essence of Islam, and at the same time they refute earlier Orientalist theories of the non-Islamic origins of Ṣūfism (W.B. Sial Rabbani, *Islamic Sufism. The science of flight in God, with God, by God, and union and communion with God, also showing the tremendous Sufi influence on Christian and Hindu mystics and mysticism*, Lahore 1984). Nakshbandī groups concerned about Islamisation have apparently de-emphasised meditation practices (the *laṭā'if*) but have redefined discipleship as a basic Islamic religious duty (A. Buehler, *Masters of the heart. Naqshbandi Sufism in colonial India*, Columbia, S.C. 1997).

The debate over Ṣūfī doctrine and practice in South Asia has crystallised around two North Indian *madrasas* founded in the colonial period, the *ḥadīth*-oriented Deoband school [*q.v.*] and the devotional Barēlwī school. Although the founders of Deoband were largely drawn from the Ṣābirī branch of the Čishtiyya, they rejected practices such as *samāʿ* [*q.v.*], and *ziyārat* as well as excessive veneration of the Prophet or Ṣūfī masters (Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic revival in British India. Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton 1982). The Barēlwīs, followers of Sayyid Aḥmad Riḍā Khān (d. 1921) of Ray Bareilly, emphasise the necessity of intercession by the Prophet and, secondarily, the Ṣūfī *shaykh*; as in other Muslim regions, the issue of saintly mediation has thus become highly controversial (U. Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and politics in British India. Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and his movement, 1870-1920*, Oxford 1996). Pietistic missionary groups such as the Tablīghī Djamāʿat [*q.v.*] founded by Muḥammad Ilyās (d. 1944) have appropriated the ethical emphasis of Ṣūfism while rejecting ritual, metaphysics, and sainthood (M.A. Haq, *The faith movement of Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas*, London 1972). Polemics and apologetics from these different perspectives dominate modern discussions of Ṣūfism in Urdu and in English.

iii. *Ṣūfism in print.*

Probably the greatest social transformation in modern Ṣūfism derives from the introduction of print to South Asia early in the 19th century, principally in the form of calligraphed lithography (movable Arabic type was preferred by the British). As in other regions, Ṣūfī orders were among the first to make use of the new technology to distribute teachings of contemporary teachers and to preserve the classical texts of the past. The revolution entailed by printing Ṣūfī texts lay in the possibility of mass distribution of inexpensive books to the middle-class public, in place of the restricted access to manuscripts and oral teachings among a privileged few. Printing of Ṣūfī texts in India was carried out principally in the northern cities of Dihlī, Kānpūr, and Lak'hnaw, often at presses (such as Nawāl Kishōr in Lak'hnaw) run by Hindu *munshīs*. The number of Persian texts printed in India in the 19th century was considerably higher than the total printed in Persia or Central Asia. Leaders of Ṣūfī orders such as the Čishtiyya, Nakshbandiyya, Ḳādiriyya and Suhrawardiyya orders [*q.vv.*] commissioned publication of both early and contemporary Ṣūfī texts, initially in Persian but increasingly in Urdu translation (C. Ernst, *The study of Sufism in Pakistan*, unpubl. paper for American Institute for Pakistan Studies Workshop, 1996). Their publications included periodicals, and *shaykhs* like the Nakshbandī leader Djamāʿat ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1951) sometimes required their disciples to subscribe (Buehler). Some Ṣūfīs (the Čishtī leaders Dhawḳī Shāh, d. 1951, and Ḥasan Niẓāmī, d. 1955) were trained in modern universities and made use of the press and European literary genres such as the novel to communicate their insights in Urdu and English to wider audiences.

Beyond the Gangetic basin, the Pandjāb, and the Urdu-speaking centres of the Deccan (U. Khālidī and M. ʿAḳīl, *Dakan kā ʿahd-i islāmī, 1300 tā 1950, ēk bunyādī kitābiyyāt*, Watertown, Mass. 1993, 58-65), very little scholarly work has been done on Ṣūfī activities in the modern period, such as the transmission of Ṣūfī orders from Kerala [see MAPPILA] to Ceylon in the 19th century. While Urdu has been an important medium for disseminating the full range of Ṣūfī literature, Indian languages that employ non-Arabic scripts (Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam) have also been used for Ṣūfī publications. In the Tamil country, tombs like that of Shāh al-Ḥamīd (d. 1558) at Nagore are still centres of pilgrimage for Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, and hagiographies in Tamil remain popular (V. Narayanan, *The Zamzam in Nagore: worshipping Shahul Hamid in a Tamil landscape*, unpubl. paper). The Mā'idjbhandārī Ṣūfī order, founded in Chittagong by Sayyid Aḥmad Allāh (1826-1906) with links to the Ḳādiriyya, has engaged in extensive proselytisation and publication of biographies and songs in Bengali, with support from the ruling circles of contemporary Bangladesh (M.A. Latif, letter of 1992). The tantric bards known as the Bāuls gained cultural respectability after the 1920s when Rabindranath Tagore popularised the Bengali songs of Lālan Fakir (d. 1890); despite their religious ambiguity, the presence of Ṣūfī symbolism in their writings is unmistakeable (C. Solomon, *Bāul songs*, in D. Lopez, (ed.), *The religions of India in practice*, Princeton 1996, 187-208).

iv. *The internationalisation of South Asian Ṣūfism.*

Devotion to Indian Ṣūfī saints spread to the Malay peninsula, South Africa and the Caribbean in the 19th century as the British exported indentured laborers to those regions from India. In the 20th century, Europeans were exposed to visiting Indian Ṣūfī teachers such as ʿInāyat Khān (d. 1927), who was trained as a Čishtī but presented Ṣūfism as a universal religion detached from normative Islam. His teachings have been perpetuated by Americans (Rabiʿa Martin, Samuel Lewis) as well as family members (Pir Vilayat Khan) in Europe and America. Bawa Muhaiyaddeen (d. 1986), a Tamil Ṣūfī from Sri Lanka, acquired a significant following (both Muslim and non-Muslim)

after moving to the U.S.A. in 1971, and his tomb outside Philadelphia has now become a place of pilgrimage. South Asian Muslim immigrants and students in England, Canada, and the U.S.A. have established branches of the Čishtiyya and the Nakshbandiyya in their new homes along traditional lines. European and American converts to Islam have also joined South Asian Ṣūfī orders; the principal *khalīfa* of Dhawḳī Shāh in Pakistan was Shahīd Allāh Farīdī (d. 1978), an Englishman formerly named Lennard, whose Urdu writings have been published in Karachi. The principal ideological change for Ṣūfism in the modern period is the option of Ṣūfism without Islam, something barely conceivable before the 20th century. This new possibility is partly the result of the efforts of Western scholars and fundamentalists, both of whom regard Ṣūfism as separate from "pure" Islam, but it is partly the natural effect of ecumenism and the modern search for spirituality. Ṣūfī groups in Europe and America also give a much more prominent and public role to women than was previously customary in South Asia. Cultural products of Ṣūfism have attained great popularity in the West, from not only the Middle East (the Whirling Dervishes and Rūmī's poetry) but also South Asia (*ḳawwālī* music by the Sabri Brothers and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan). At the end of the 20th century, South Asian Ṣūfism has found large new audiences through electronic communications on an international scale.

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(C. Ernst)

8. In Chinese Islam.

It is likely that the Muslims from the Middle East or Central Asia, drawn to China in the 13th-14th centuries by the Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty, brought with them Ṣūfī practices. But this is only a supposition since, in our present state of knowledge, we know nothing about the religious life of the Muslims of China before their complete sinicisation. We have to wait till the middle of the 17th century and the upheavals which mark the end of the native Ming dynasty and its replacement by the Manchu dynasty of the Ch'ing (or Qing) in order to find a specifically Islamic Chinese literature, which from then onwards is rich, mature and self-assured.

i. *Literary Ṣūfism.*

As a general rule, the great Muslim thinkers of the 17th-19th centuries adopted a uniform approach. They give an exposition for their coreligionists and compatriots, in Chinese, of the complete foundations of the faith, beginning with a sacred history which places the mystical and ancient past of China within the continuity of the enfolding of Biblical history. They continue with a dogmatic system of morality set out in Confucian terms and with the believer's obligations set forth in a clear language which is quasi-vernacular. Finally, they set forth a mysticism which is undeniably Ṣūfī.

If speculative theology shows itself as being consistent from the time of the first works composed, sc. the time of those of Wang Tai-yü (Wang Daiyu, *ca.* 1580-1658?), published between 1642 and 1657, this theology nevertheless evolves from one author to another over the course of the two succeeding centuries whilst remaining, so far as it seems, not rooted in any particular time and with no sectarian links. In order to acquire prestige, this theology often claims to stem from the translation of some Arabic or Persian work. Sometimes such originals are imaginary; but even when these actually exist and are as famed as the *Mirṣād al-ʿibād* of Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya [*q.v.*] or the *Lawāʾiḥ* of Djāmī [*q.v.*], works which were highly valued in Chinese Islam, the alleged translation implies a total re-writing and remodelling in order to translate the philosophical notions and concepts of Ṣūfism into an acceptable Chinese mode of thought. From this, an original literature has resulted, one unknown to Islamic specialists for want of being studied by Sinologists.

The great Chinese *ʿulamāʾ* were actually forced to use as best they could the lexicographic and conceptual material at their disposal—Neo-Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist. The believer's journey towards "absorption" with the divine (*ho-hui, ho-ch'i*), which is a "return to origins" (*kuei-pen, fan-pen, hai-yüan*) is made, they explain, by "transformation" (*hun-hua*) through attaining the "Perfect Way" (*chih-tao*) or "Vehicle of the Truth" (*chen-ch'eng*, i.e. *ḥaḳīḳa*)—*tao* being the basic concept of Taoism and *ch'eng* that of Buddhism. The postulant seeking illumination has first of all followed, at a lower level, the "Usual Way" (*ch'ang-tao*) or the "Vehicle of the Rites" (*li-ch'eng*) or "Vehicle for Religion" (*chiao-ch'eng*, i.e. the *Sharīʿa*) in order to understand the letter of the "Five meritorious acts" (*wu-kung*, i.e. *al-arkān al-khamsa*); then he follows the "Middle way" (*chung-tao*) or "Vehicle of the Way" (*tao-ch'eng* or *ṭarīḳa*) which allows him to discover the spirit of the five meritorious acts, all this under the direction of a "Head of the Way" (*tao-chang* or *shaykh*), a "Ship of compassion on the sea of illusions", according to the Buddhist formula normally applied to Kuan-yin, the Chinese avatar of Avalokiteçvara. The journey of the believer is comparable to the search for "personal perfection" (*hsiu-shen*) recommended by Confucius and Mencius and set in the centre of the Neo-Confucian ethics of the 16th-17th centuries. For "he who knows himself knows his God" (*jen-chi jen-chu*). As a 19th-century author, Ma K'ai-k'o (Ma Kaike), from Yunnan, sets forth, by following the way of gradual attainment of perfection, the believer "acts as in Confucianism, but progresses to a supplementary degree" (*Ta-hua tsung-kuei* "The general return [to God] of the great transformations", 1865, ed. Peking 1922-3, ii, 46). This supplementary degree is attained thanks to the ascetic practice of the thirty "levels" (*p'in*, the "stations", *maḳāmāt*), described in detail by the *Chen-kung fa-wei* "The secret unveiled of truly meritorious acts" (whose author and date are problematical: the end of the 17th or the end of the 18th century ?).

In the thread of written discourse, the Arabic terms—or more exactly, Arabo-Persian ones, since the influence of the great religious centres of Central Asia was strongly felt in Chinese Islam—are not only translated but also transliterated phonetically, so far as the Chinese characters allow. Thus *dhikr* is written phonetically as *ch'i-k'e-erh*, and the *shahāda* is written and recited as *lio-i-lio-he-ying-lan* (= *lā [ilāh] illā 'llāh*) and, at the end of the formula, *Mu-han-me-te-la-liu-lun* (= *Muḥammad rasūl [Allāh]*). Since Chinese Muslims pronounce Arabic in a manner much deformed by Chinese phonetics, it is not surprising that, as pilgrims to Mecca, they have been looked down upon by Arabic-speakers and have had the reputation of following a bastardised form of religion. However, their literature proves that this is not the case: the use of a terminology and a juggling with images borrowed from Chinese culture has not resulted in a degenerate syncretism. The message, the Ṣūfī one in particular, has remained distinctively Muslim. According to a Chinese historian of world religions (Li Xinhua, 1983, 76), Nakshbandiyya adherents are said to be recognisable by their preference for Neo-

Confucian thought, whilst the partisans of the Ḳādiriyya are said to incline towards a choice of Taoist and Buddhist terms; but this is, for the moment, merely a working hypothesis.

The fate of the works of literary Islam, so strongly marked by Ṣūfism, is curious. Those which emanate from the most prestigious thinkers—foremost amongst which is the Nanking scholar Liu Chih (Liu Zhi, *ca.* 1662-70 to *ca.* 1730-6), whom one of his 19th-century admirers, Ma Lien-yüan, considered as the Chinese Ibn al-ʿArabī—have been constantly republished up to the present time, and in the most varied circumstances: in the midst of civil war in the 19th century, on the occasion of the modernist movement of the 1920s and in the period of relaxation and re-Islamisation of the post-Maoist years, and in Taiwan. They symbolise a feeling of identification amongst the community, even—and above all—for adherents of the Ikhwān movement, close to the government in the Republican period as also in the Communist period. In former times published by the mosques and spread by them alone (at the present time, in continental China, in rivalry with the institutes of Islamic studies), they were accessible to all the faithful of the mosque who were sufficiently literate. Also, the fact that in 1993 the most typical work and the one most appreciated by believers, "The Arabian philosophy", *T'ien-fang hsing-li* of Liu Chih (*ca.* 1704), has been "translated" into the spoken language, shows a continuance of interest in speculative Islamic literature.

ii. *The Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods.*

In China, the popular Ṣūfism of the brotherhoods has its historical bases in the northwestern part of the country, where the intercontinental trade route which we call the "Silk Road" comes out. The late Joseph Fletcher (1934-84) showed in a magisterial way how this Ṣūfism was connected with the movements of worldwide Ṣūfism and attached itself to various *silsilas* of the Middle East and Central Asia. From the 15th century onwards, Naḳshbandī activists from the Altishahr or "Six cities" of the Tarim basin (in the southern part of modern Sinkiang), themselves shaped by the Naḳshbandīs of Transoxania, came to preach in the western part of China; and, in the same way, in the second half of the 17th century, the grandson of Makhdūm-i Aʿẓam (the ancestor of the Khodjas of the Altishahr [see KHODJAS in Suppl.]), Muḥammad Yūsuf, and also, above all, the latter's son, Hidāyat Allāh, called Khōdja Āfāḳ (d. 1694), the founder of the Āfāḳiyya spiritual lineage. At the end of the 17th century, three Chinese spiritual lineages, the best known of which was to become that of Ma Lai-ch'ih (1673-1753) at the head of the "Flowery Mosque", *Hua-ssu*, claimed descent from Khodja Āfāḳ and, through him, from the Naḳshbandiyya. The founder of the oldest known Chinese *ṭarīḳa*, a Ḳādirī one, Ch'i Ching-i (1656-1719), was equally influenced by him.

In the second half of the 18th century, the propagator of the Naḳshbandī revival, who had been trained in Yemen and advocated a strict enforcement of the *Sharīʿa* and the abandonment of the cult of sacred tombs, Ma Ming-hsin (1719-81 [*q.v.*]), founded an indigenous *ṭarīḳa* called the Djahriyya (*Che-he-lin-yeh*) with *dhikr* uttered out loud. This was called by outside observers the "New Religion", *Hsin-chiao*, in contrast to the earlier movements derived from the Āfāḳiyya, called Khufiyya (*Hu-fei-yeh*) with *dhikr* formed within the mind only, or, seen from the outside, the "Old Religion" (*Lao-chiao*). (It should be noted that, in the 19th-20th centuries, the New/Old Religion dichotomy embraced a set of realities which varied according to circumstances.) It was from the rivalry between these two Naḳshbandī trends of thought that there resulted, on several occasions, the bloody troubles which culminated in the putting to death of Ma Ming-hsin in 1781 and the execution in 1871 of his fifth successor, Ma Hua-lung (1810-71 [*q.v.*]), together with the depopulation of whole Muslim regions of Shensi, Ningsia and Yunnan [*q.vv.*] by the Chinese imperial armies which exterminated or deported masses of population. From the last quarter of the 19th century onwards, the centres of authority of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods were brought together within a restricted area, in comparison with the immense size of China, one not more than 350 km/220 miles from north to south between the 35th and 38th parallels and 500 km/310 miles from east to west between Kansu, Ningsia and west of the Ch'inghai. Nevertheless, from this time onwards, they swarmed forth across the whole of China, in the wake of commercial enterprises which were linked with missionary work.

The *ṭuruḳ* introduced into China—the Ḳādiriyya, Naḳshbandiyya in their various forms, and Kubrawiyya—after the second or third generation of spiritual masters, split into small groups called *men-huan*: a *men-huan* is at one and the same time the hereditary line of a *shaykh*, the group of faithful under the domination and authority of that line, the considerable ensemble of goods and lands owned by it, worked and protected for it by the faithful, and finally, the holy places which bear its charisma. The *men-huan* re-appeared after the Cultural Revolution. A Djahrī master of the eighth generation, Ma T'eng-ai, was from 1980 till his death in 1991 the deputy-governor of Ningsia and manager of a commercial house trading with the Near East. But in the 1990s, the survival of the *men-huan* is threatened as much by the fundamentalism of the Ikhwān, which is becoming more and more powerful, as by the course of rivalries within the *men-huan* themselves.

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9. In Africa south of the Maghrib during the 19th and 20th centuries.

For the sake of convenience, Ṣūfism will be examined here under the following headings: (i) doctrinal developments, (ii) missionary Ṣūfism, (iii) Ṣūfī involvement in the political sphere, and (iv) opposition to Ṣūfism.

i. *Doctrinal developments.*

Two major trends are discernible, not mutually exclusive. Chodkiewicz has pointed out the pervasive influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's teachings in the 19th century, amounting to an "Akbarian" revival, and this is as true in Africa as elsewhere. Whether by direct reading of *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* or filtered through secondary sources of Akbarian ideas, such as the writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 963/1565) and ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731) [*q.vv.*], the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī have been diffused in many parts of Africa. This influence is particularly evident in the teachings of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī and his major West African disciple *al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1864). But it is also evident in the writings of such diverse figures as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī, Māʾ al-ʿAynayn al-Ḳalḳamī, Muḥammad Aḥmad the Mahdī of the Sudan, Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-Darḳāwī, and ʿAbd al-Salām al-Fītūrī, founder of the Libyan ʿArūsiyya.

Familiarity with Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought is also to be found in Aḥmad b. Idrīs, though he is more typically representative of the second trend, that is, the *ṭarīḳa Muḥammadiyya*, which stresses imitation of the Prophet in word and deed and seeing him in a waking state. His anti-madhhabist teachings, which advocate individual resort to Ḳurʾān and Sunna in matters of personal conduct, are reflected in the writings of one of the most important 19th-century Ṣūfī personalities in Africa, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī [*q.v.*]. Al-Sanūsī quotes the definition of the *ṭarīḳa Muḥammadiyya* of Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ Ḥasan al-ʿUdjaymī (d. 1113/1702): "This Way is the inward immersion of the adept in the contemplation of Muḥammad's person, whereby he imitates the Prophet in word and deed, occupies his tongue with pronouncing blessings upon him at all times, whether in retirement or when appearing in public, so that honouring the Prophet dominates his heart to such an extent and penetrates his interior so deeply that when he merely hears the Prophet's name, he begins to shake, his heart is overwhelmed beholding him, and the physical appearance of the Prophet manifests itself before the eye of his inner vision" (*al-Manhal al-rawī*, in *al-Madjmūʿa al-mukhtāra*, Beirut 1968, 49-50, tr. B. Radtke in his *Ijtihād and Neo-Sufism*, 915). An important influence on Aḥmad b. Idrīs and his school was the teaching of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh (said to be inspired directly by al-Khaḍir) as reported in the *K. al-Ibrīz* of Aḥmad b. al-Mubārak al-Lamaṭī; it was also extensively quoted in the Tidjānī manual *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* of *al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar.

A third trend, quite unrelated to the two previous ones, may also be noted: that is, the increased incorporation into certain "popular" Ṣūfī orders, such as the ʿĪsāwiyya and Ḥamādsha of Morocco, of rituals of blood sacrifice, spirit exorcism and trance, at least partly under the influence of freed slaves of West African origin. Another manifestation of the amalgamation of Ṣūfism and African spirit cults is to be observed in phenomena such as the "*dīwān*s of Sīdī Bilāl" of Algeria, the rituals of the Gnāwa of Morocco, the Stambali of Tunisia and the Ṭumbura of the Sudan (also found among African slaves in Mecca, according to C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden 1931, 11-12).

ii. *Missionary Ṣūfism.*

In the course of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, Ṣūfī teachings were disseminated over wide areas of the continent through the activities of certain brotherhoods, and in many cases they were the conduit for conversion to Islam. The Tidjāniyya gained a considerable number of adherents in Morocco and Algeria, and *zāwiya*s were established in Egypt and the Sudan. But it is in Mauritania and West Africa that its spread has been most noteworthy. In southern Mauritania it was taken up by the Idaw ʿAlī under the influence of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1247/1830), and from there it spread into Senegal and Guinea. *Al-Ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1865 [*q.v.*]), was made a *khalīfa* of the order by Muḥammad al-Ghālī and subsequently initiated a *djihād* in Guinea and Mali which led to conversion to Islam and a short-lived Tidjānī "empire". His nephew, Muḥammad al-Hāshimī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, known as Alfa Hāshim (d. 1349/1931), fled French colonialism and established a base in the Ḥidjāz, which catered to African Tidjānīs, but also, because of its location in the lands of pilgrimage, led to the propagation of the Tidjāniyya among Muslims from other areas of the world (e.g. Indonesia, ʿIrāḳ and the Balkans). In the 20th century, the chief African propagandist for the order has been the Senegalese *shaykh* Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975), who has made the Tidjāniyya an order of mass participation, not only in Senegal but also in northern Nigeria and Ghana. His teachings, which emphasise spiritual tutelage (*tarbiya*), have also found favour in Mauritania, Chad and the western Sudan.

Brotherhoods based on the teachings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs have also spread far and wide. The Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] established a network of *zāwiya*s in eastern Libya and throughout Chad to as far as Kano in northern Nigeria. The Khatmiyya, founded by Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī (d. 1268/1852), a Meccan who went to the Sudan to propagate the teachings of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, gained many adherents in the Sudan and Eritrea [see MĪRGHANIYYA]. Another Idrīsian brotherhood, the Rashīdiyya-Ṣāliḥiyya, was also successful in the Sudan, and in Somalia, where it was propagated by the anti-colonial leader Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān [*q.v.*].

Older brotherhoods also enjoyed increased influence in the 19th century and were agents for conversion to Islam. The Ḳādiriyya enjoyed considerable success in West Africa through its Mukhtāriyya branch deriving from the Kunta scholars [see KUNTA] of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Disciples of the Kunta *shaykh*s carried their teachings to the savannah and forests, and were proselytisers for the faith. Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye [*q.v.*], the Fulani *mudjāhid* (d. 1232/1817), traces one of his *ṭarīḳa* lines through the Kunta *silsila*. Through Shaykh ʿUthmān, the Ḳādiriyya became the quasi-official *ṭarīḳa* of the state he founded in northern Nigeria, and through his *djihād* many were converted to Islam. Aḥmad

Lobbo (also known as Seku Aḥmadu, d. 1260/1844), the Fulani *mudjāhid* of Masina (Mali), also had a Ṣūfī affiliation to the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya. In Senegal, Aḥmad Bamba (d. 1927) founded an entirely new order derived from the Ḳādiriyya, the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*], which, by preaching a doctrine of *laborare est orare*, has played an important role in developing agriculture, and with its economic success has come powerful national political influence. There has also been a Ḳādiriyya revival in Nigeria in recent years led by Muḥammad al-Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtār al-Kabarī of Kano (locally known as Nasiru Kabara, d. 1996). Sometimes Ṣūfī brotherhoods have been agents of "reconversion"—the diffusion among rural or nomadic Muslims of normative urban Islam; such was the case with the Ḳādiriyya-ʿUthmāniyya in Nigeria, the Sanūsiyya in Libya and Chad, and the Madjdhūbiyya-Shādhiliyya in the eastern Sudan. Many Ṣūfīs of sub-Saharan Africa were also scholars of *fiḳh*, notably the Kano Tidjānīs of the Ṣalgha tradition.

iii. *Ṣūfī involvement in the political sphere.*

In addition to what has been noted above, Ṣūfī movements worked, on the one hand, to resist colonial penetration, and on the other, at least in some cases, to establish a working relationship with colonial régimes. Some of the more striking examples of Ṣūfī involvement in armed struggle in opposition to colonialism are as follows: resistance to French penetration of Algeria led by the Ḳādirī *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djazāʾirī; resistance to Italian penetration of Chad by the French and later Libya by the Italians, spearheaded by the Sanūsiyya brotherhood; resistance to French penetration of Mauritania led by the Ḳādirī *shaykh* Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] (who founded a new branch the ʿAyniyya); and resistance to British colonialism in Somalia from 1900 to 1920 led by Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān. During the colonial period, relationships between brotherhoods and colonial régimes were in some cases good, even close, while in others they were cold or downright hostile. In North Africa, the Tidjānī leaders were on amicable terms with the French, as was in Senegal Seydou Nourou Tall, who became a virtual mouthpiece of the French colonial order in West Africa. On the other hand, the Ḥamālliyya Tidjānīs were fiercely opposed to the French, while the Tidjāniyya leadership of Kano was under constant British surveillance. The French exiled both Ḥamallāh and the Murīdiyya leader Aḥmad Bamba. In the Sudan, the Khatmiyya under Sayyid ʿAlī al-Mīrghanī developed its own political party, the National Unionist Party (*ḥizb al-ittiḥād al-waṭanī*) in opposition to the Umma Party of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī, who organised his Anṣār along *ṭarīḳa* lines. In Tanzania, the Ḳādiriyya brotherhood has played a significant role in national politics since independence.

iv. *Opposition to Ṣūfism.*

The most vigorous opposition to Ṣūfism in Africa has been that directed against the Tidjāniyya brotherhood. Attacks were directed against Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's claims that he had received direct authorisation for his teachings from the Prophet Muḥammad, that he was the *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, that reciting certain Tidjānī litanies (notably the *ṣalāt al-fātiḥ*) brought more merit than reciting the Ḳurʾān, and that those who see him or serve him would enter paradise without judgment. There has been a virtually constant stream of polemic in Mauritania since soon after the brotherhood reached there. An attack by the poet Idyaydj al-Kumlaylī (d. 1854) was responded to by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. N'būdja in his *al-Djaysh al-kafīl bi-akhdh al-thaʾr mimman salla ʿalā ʾl-shaykh al-Tidjānī sayf al-inkār*. This was then attacked by Muḥammad al-Khaḍir b. Māyābā (d. 1925), a Ḳādirī adept, in his *Mushtahā ʾl-khārif al-djānī fī zalaḳāt al-Tidjānī al-djānī*, which was attacked by several scholars, most importantly by Muḥammad Niasse (d. 1959) in his *al-Djuyūsh al-ṭullaʿ bi ʾl-murhafāt al-ḳuṭṭaʿ ilā Ibn Māyābā akhī ʾl-tanaṭṭuʿ*. In Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s, both Tidjānīs and Ḳādirīs came under attack in sweeping denunciations of Ṣūfism led by a neo-Wahhābī scholar Abū Bakr Gummi (d. 1994), whose *al-ʿAḳīda al-ṣaḥīḥa bi-muwāfaḳat al-sharīʿa* (publ. Beirut 1392/1972) drew numerous responses. More specifically directed against the Tidjāniyya were the writings of an ex-Tidjānī adept, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Mai Gari, whose attacks elicited rebuttals from two Mauritanian scholars as well as from Nigerian Tidjānīs (see *Arabic literature of Africa* (*ALA*), ii, ch. 13, for an account of the Nigerian polemical literature).

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TASBĪḤ [see SUBḤA].

TASHAHHUD (A.), verbal noun of form V of *sh-h-d*, the recitation of the *shahāda* [*q.v.*], especially in the *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*]. It must, however, be kept in mind that in this case *shahāda* comprises not only the *kalimatānⁱ*, but (1) the following formula: "To God belong the blessed salutations and the good prayers"; (2) the formula "Hail upon thee, O Prophet, and God's mercy and His blessing; hail upon us and upon God's pious servants"; and (3) the *shahāda* proper, consisting of the *kalimatānⁱ*.

The above form of the *tashahhud* is in keeping with a tradition on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, beginning thus: The Messenger of God used to teach us the *tashahhud*, just as he used to teach us a sūra from the Ḳurʾān (e.g. Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 60). In the corresponding tradition on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd (*loc. cit.*, trad. 56; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 422) in the formula under (1), the word "blessed" is lacking; in Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī's tradition it runs "To

God belong the good salutations, the prayers".

According to al-Nawawī, in his commentary on Muslim, *loc. cit.*, the learned scholars admit the three forms of the *tas̲h̲ahhud*. The *madhhabs* do not agree, however, on the question which is the best one.

The *tas̲h̲ahhud* occurs twice in the *ṣalāt*: at the end of each pair of *rakʿas* and at the end of the whole *ṣalāt*. In the latter case, it may be followed by personal prayers and is concluded by the twofold *taslīma*.

Bibliography: Books on *fiḳh*, e.g. S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Umm*, Beirut n.d., i, 117-18; the passages in the books of tradition in Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v., 193-5, cf. especially the references to Tirmid̲h̲ī; more recent practice described in Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. iii, Religion and Laws; and Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions, a study of prayer manuals in common use*, London 1961, 64, 126-51. (A.J. Wensinck-[A. Rippin])

TAS̲H̲BĪH (A.), literally "the act of comparing, comparison".

1. In rhetoric.

"Simile" or "(explicit) comparison" is one of the most important literary techniques in all literatures. It is especially frequent in pre- and early Islamic Arabic poetry, where metaphor [see istiʿāra] is less common than in ʿAbbāsid poetry, but it remained a central figure of speech, forming the main "point" of innumerable lines and epigrams. When describing objects, persons or events, classical poets are not content with "factual" description but feel compelled to produce similes, often in rapid succession and taken from disparate semantic fields. Although, already in the earliest period, there are many standard comparisons and conventions (hero: lion; generous man: sea; teeth: camomile or hailstones; etc.), the originality and creativity of a poet is often judged on the basis of his striking new similes or subtle variations on existing ones. The importance of *tas̲h̲bīh* is reflected in literary criticism and theory: it is called one of the four "pillars" (*arkān*) of poetry (al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ah*, Cairo 1965, 273) and is listed together, somewhat incongruously, with basic modes such as panegyric and love poetry by T̲h̲aʿlab [*q.v.*] in his *Ḳawāʿid al-s̲h̲iʿr* (Cairo 1966, 37) and Ḳudāma b. D̲j̲aʿfar [*q.v.*] in his *Naḳd al-s̲h̲iʿr* (Leiden 1956, 23). The several anthologies of similes, thematically arranged according to the *primum comparationis*, of which that by Ibn Abī ʿAwn [*q.v.*] is the earliest, give a useful insight into the "poetic universe" of Arabic literature.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*], himself famous for the similes in his poetry, incorporated *ḥusn al-tas̲h̲bīh* among the figures of *maḥāsin* [*q.v.*] in his seminal *K. al-Badīʿ* (London 1935, 68-74). The figure is subsequently discussed in every work on literary criticism and theory [see balāg̲h̲a; bayān; al-maʿānī wa 'l-bayān), among which those by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] are particularly important, above all his *Asrār al-balāg̲h̲a* which analyses in considerable depth and detail the various kinds and functions of *tas̲h̲bīh* and its relationships with other figures such as metaphor, *tamt̲h̲īl* and *tak̲h̲yīl* [*q.vv.*]. Usually, the critics do not limit themselves to poetry and also deal with simile in prose, naturally giving much attention to Ḳur'ānic similes [see iʿd̲j̲āz]. In the school of al-Sakkākī and al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.vv.*], *tas̲h̲bīh* forms part of *ʿilm al-bayān* and is discussed from various angles: the *primum* and *secundum comparationis* (*al-mus̲h̲abbah* and *al-mus̲h̲abbah bihi*, respectively; they may be *ḥissī*, perceivable by sense perception, or *ʿaḳlī*, conceivable only by the intellect) and their relationship (the *wad̲j̲h al-s̲h̲abah*, classified in a number of ways), the syntactic form (the employ of the *adāt al-s̲h̲abah*: particles like *ka-*, *ka'anna*, *ka-mā*, *mit̲h̲l*, or genitive constructions) and the purpose or function (*g̲h̲araḍ*). In a normal simile such as "the caliph's face is like the sun" the *mus̲h̲abbah bihi* (here, the sun) usually possesses more clearly or to a higher degree the quality implied by the comparison (here, some form of "brightness"). Exceptionally, this may be reversed with some effect ("The sun is bright like the caliph's face").

Poets and critics alike were fond of concision, of similes expressed in one line, or even an accumulation in one line; thus Ibn Ḥazm takes pride in his own "unsurpassable" line ("I, she, the cup, the wine, and darkness were/like earth, and rain, and pearls, and gold, and jet", *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1980, 110). Although this often results in rapid shifts to wholly unconnected spheres of imagery, a certain harmony is appreciated, as in a much-admired line by Bas̲h̲s̲h̲ār b. Burd [*q.v.*] that likens swords flickering in the dust stirred up in battle to shooting stars in a dark night. Similes spanning more than one line are found but receive less attention and appreciation from critics. Especially in early Arabic poetry, one finds extended similes in some ways reminiscent of "epic" or "Homeric" similes, which form episodes in which the *primum comparationis* temporarily disappears from sight. Thus in the early *ḳaṣīda*, long sections may be found describing an oryx or onager, to which the poet's camel is compared.

Partly as a reaction against traditional practice and theory, *tas̲h̲bīh* has lost much of its status in modern Arabic poetic criticism.

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2. Secondary studies. Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971, esp. 115-27, 153-67; T. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst*, Wiesbaden 1992, esp. 181-204; W. Smyth, *Some quick rules* ut pictura poesis: *the rules for simile in* Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm, in *Oriens*, xxxiii (1992), 215-29; P. Kunitzsch and M. Ullmann, *Die Plejaden in den Vergleichen der arabischen Dichtung*, in *SBBayer. Ak.* (1992); Suʿād al-Mānīʿ, *"Ka'anna" bayn al-tas̲h̲khīṣ wa 'l-tas̲h̲bīh*, in *Alif* (Cairo), xii (1992), 178-99; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927; B. Reinert, *Probleme der vormongolischen arabisch-persischen Poesiegemeinschaft und ihr Reflex in der Poetik*, in G.E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Arabic poetry: theory and development*, Wiesbaden 1972, 71-105. On *tas̲h̲bīh* in the Aristotelian tradition, see e.g. G. Schoeler, *Der poetische Syllogismus. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der "logischen" Poetik der Araber*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiii (1983), 43-92. On modern Arabic poetics, see S.K. Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, 706-9. (G.J.H. van Gelder)

TAS̲H̲BĪH wa-**TANZĪH**, two terms of Islamic theology which stand for different discourses about God, *tas̲h̲bīh* roughly meaning "anthropomorphism" and *tanzīh* "transcendentalism" (Greek ἀφαίρεσις). They are, however, not used on the same level; *tanzīh* has a positive connotation whereas *tas̲h̲bīh*, together with

its derivatives *mushabbih* and *mushabbiha* (denoting a person or a group practising *tashbīh*), is used in polemical language, as a derogatory term. The negative equivalent to *tanzīh* is *taʿṭīl*, divesting God of his attributes; as the positive pendant to *tashbīh*, *ithbāt* is sometimes used, the affirmation of the divine attributes by analogy. The origin of all these terms has still to be clarified. They are not found in the Ḳurʾān; when *tanzīh* appears in a *ḥadīth* (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, vi, 423) it is part of an explanatory remark which seems to have been added later on and reflects already independent theological usage.

The problem itself reached Islam in a late and derivative form. Islam does not know anthropomorphism on the immediate level of religious consciousness, as mythology, for instance, and rejects, under the notion of *ḥulūl* (*q.v.* = ἐνοίκησις), the form of anthropomorphism typical for Christianity, namely, incarnation. *Tashbīh* means "making similar" and can be understood either as "producing something similar to creation", i.e. images (which are forbidden in *Ḥadīth* under the expression of *shabbaha bi-khalḳ Allāh*) or as "assimilating God to His creature" (creature always meaning man, never animals as in Ancient Egyptian theriomorphism). In the latter sense, which is the only one used in Islamic theology proper, it aims at the problem of how to interpret the anthropomorphic discourse in the Scripture, i.e. at the exegetical level. Here, the closest parallels outside Islam are found in Judaism. If, however, it is contrasted with *tanzīh*, the term also opens up the systematical question of how the personalist aspect of the divine presupposed by all theistic religions has to be dealt with. What influenced Islamic thinking most in this regard was Neoplatonic philosophy, especially in the form it had assumed in Christian theology.

The Ḳurʾān is by intention strongly transcendentalist; it does not, however, avoid anthropological language as a symbolic reference to God's actions and qualities. This was not in the beginning felt as a tension or contradiction. When Islam, however, expanded into the lands of the civilisations of the Ancient World, both transcendentalist and anthropomorphist tendencies were sharpened by the religious ideas prevailing in the new environment. *Ḥadīth*, therefore, contains many anthropomorphist sayings, some of which are obviously exegetical whereas others go far beyond this. Early *tafsīr* works were sometimes so strongly anthropomorphist that they had to be purged in later recensions (cf. e.g. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān). Theologians, either Sunnī and starting from *Ḥadīth* (e.g. Dāwūd al-Djawāribī) or Shīʿī and taking up the spirit of Kūfan circles (Hishām al-Djawālīḳī or Hishām b. al-Ḥakam), gave this development a systematic turn by speculating about how God may be ascribed a shape or a form (*ṣūra*), whether He has or is a body (*djism*), how His speech (*kalām*, i.e. revelation) proceeds from Him, etc. The transcendentalist pattern, on the other hand, did not pass through *Ḥadīth*, but was expressed in theological terms right away, with Djaʿd b. Dirham and Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.vv.*], later on with the Muʿtazila. The Muʿtazilīs took transcendentalism to be a necessary prerequisite of *tawḥīd*. But the anthropomorphists did not see any contradiction between their standpoint and *tawḥīd* either; they wrote books under this title and made it clear in their theology that they did not want to "assimilate" God to man or understand Him as a composite entity.

As far as the aspects of Islamic anthropomorphism are concerned, we can differentiate between (a) anthropomorphism proper, concerning God's outward appearance, His shape (μορφή); (b) God's actions like speaking, sitting, etc.; (c) His feelings like wrath, satisfaction, etc., so-called anthropopathisms; and (d) "passive" anthropomorphisms inasmuch as God may be the object of human perception: when He is seen, heard, etc.

(a) *Anthropomorphism proper.* The Ḳurʾān mentions God's face (*wadjh*), His eyes (though never in the dual, only in the plural and in the singular), His hands, in a certain way His side (*djanb*; sūra XXXIX, 56), and possibly His leg (LXVIII, 42). But all the passages involved had a primarily metaphorical meaning; in the two last cases, the connection with God had even intentionally to be established first. Some of them were further elaborated in *Ḥadīth*. Sūra XXXVIII, 75 which implied God's having created Adam "with His own hands" was filled out by saying that He kneaded Adam's clay for forty days; XXXIX, 67, "the earth altogether shall be His handful on the Day of Resurrection", was made more concrete by asking which part of it will be on each finger; when, in VII, 143, God was supposed to have made Mount Sinai "crumble to dust", people thought that He achieved that by merely putting out the tip of His little finger. In this way, even a new limb was added; since, according to L, 30, Hell is going to ask "Are there any more (sinners) to come?", one could imagine God putting his foot (*ḳadam*) into the fire in order to quench its heat. The most important addition, however, was the statement of Gen. i. 27, according to which God created Adam in His image (*ʿalā ṣūratihī*); this was not found in the Ḳurʾān and became now, via *Ḥadīth*, the basis of theological speculation. The word *ṣūra* (for Hebrew *dᵉmūt*, which simply meant "likeness") referred to sūra VII (*ṣawwarnākum* "We shaped you"), and LXIV, 3 (*aḥsana ṣuwarakum* "He shaped you well"); the question then was how man's beautiful shape reflected God's own appearance.

The question had two sides. One could speculate about the similarity in man; then one could say, e.g., that Adam, as long as he was in Paradise, had been a lot taller than later human beings since God is immensely big. But normally, one concentrated on the similarity in God: He looks like the blessed in Paradise, young and with curly hair, perhaps 32 years old (like Jesus!), perhaps only about 15, like a youth who has not yet grown his beard. His size is seven spans, as said Muḳātil b. Sulaymān and afterward Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, ideal spans which were not necessarily identical with human ones. In order to link these popular conceptions with the Ḳurʾān, the theologians discovered the enigmatic attribute *ṣamad* in CXII, 2. They understood it as "solid, massive" and saw in it the description of a bodily constitution which guarantees unity (the topic of the entire sūra). God is not hollow or porous, as said Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; only man is hollow, and he is porous because he consists of clay. Man has a cavity (*djawf*), namely, his chest and his belly; God does not. God therefore does not need food; He has neither digestion nor sexuality. He "does not beget nor has He been begotten" (CXII, 3). But He speaks and He thinks, for He is wise. This is why Dāwūd al-Djawāribī pretended, in contrast to Muḳātil, that God can only be massive in His lower part. He has to be hollow from His waist upward, since His speech, i.e. revelation, comes forth from His mouth and His wisdom, namely, the Ḳurʾān, from His heart, i.e. from His chest. Shīʿī theology tried to attenuate this approach by conceiving God as a luminous being which has a different and much more subtle matter than man. Hishām al-Djawālīḳī, though still thinking of God as having a "form", imag-

ined Him to consist of white light which only changed into black when His profuse hair had to be described. Hishām b. al-Hakam then gave up the *ṣūra* concept altogether and merely ascribed to God an ideal geometrical shape which he called a "body" (*djism*) in the philosophical sense of the word (like σῶμα in Stoicism). While Hishām al-Djawālīkī still assumed that God had senses, Hishām b. al-Hakam conceived God as a regularly-shaped mass of light which emits rays as means of perception. This could no longer be called anthropomorphism, but since he used the word *djism* which, under a perspective different from his, evoked God's being composite, he was labelled a corporealist (*mudjassim*).

(b) *God's actions*. Among those divine actions which were mentioned in the Ḳur'ān many could immediately be linked to God's body: seeing, hearing, speaking, creating (like shaping Adam out of clay, anything except *creatio ex nihilo*). Most important was God's sitting on the throne, the symbol of His majesty and power. Only one action was explicitly denied: sleeping; "slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep" (II, 255, in the throne verse; cf. Ps. cxxi. 4). Sleeping would have been the negation of His acting, a period of rest during His creation which the Ḳur'ān, in contrast to the Bible, deemed unworthy of God. In *Ḥadīth* we then get reflections about *how* God is sitting on His throne (leaning back, one leg put upon the other) or whether He allows somebody to sit at His side in order to honour him or to even let him partake in His power (e.g. the Prophet when he practices intercession, *shafā'a* [*q.v.*]). In Jerusalem, people believed that God had left His footprint on the Rock of Mount Zion because His throne had been standing there in the earthly paradise before He got up and ascended to Heaven. This idea was combined in the Umayyad period with Muḥammad's night journey (*isrā'*), which led him to Jerusalem and made him encounter God in the garden which was located in the precincts of the "Solomonic" (i.e. Herodian) Temple. God was sitting there on His throne in the shape of a beardless youth with a crown on His head and golden sandals on His feet. He could even be imagined to touch the Prophet then with His hand, as a gesture of intimacy, when He conveyed a secret or a message to him. But He could also be thought to appear at Mecca, during the Pilgrimage, "at the eve of 'Arafa", when He used to come down from Heaven riding on a camel in order to accept the supplications or the repentance of the believers. This was not a symbol of His power then but of His compassion and mercy.

(c) *Anthropopathisms*. Among God's feelings and passions, His mercy was most prominent in the Ḳur'ān. But it was never felt to be anthropomorphic; it was simply part of His essence. Similarly, His wrath (*sakhaṭ, ghaḍab*) and His satisfaction (*riḍā*) were considered by many early theologians as His main and only attributes, expressing the polarity of His nature. The anti-Islamic treatise attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffa' criticised the common tendency to ascribe grief and mourning to God; in *Ḥadīth*, it could be said that God wept about the annihilation of mankind by the Flood. The only attributes which became problematic in the long run were those which seemed to injure God's sovereignty or perfection: His cunning (*makr*, cf. III, 54, and IV, 142), His mockery (II, 15, and IX, 79), His forgetfulness (IX, 67) or His patience (*ṣabr*, which could also mean "enduring"). A special case was divine love; it was rejected by theologians and jurists (who thought compassion to be more appropriate), accepted, however, and frequently glorified by the mystics.

(d) *"Passive" anthropomorphisms*. According to certain *ḥadīths*, God may touch man. But He can never be touched Himself. He can be heard, though, and He can also possibly be seen. His being heard was never questioned; only the mode was a matter of dispute. Moses was mentioned in the Ḳur'ān as the one who had been spoken to by God directly (IV, 164); in contrast to him, Muḥammad heard the revelation only through an intermediary, i.e. Gabriel. When the Ḥanbalīs later on called the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) of the Ḳur'ān uncreated, they assumed that, during the act of recitation, everybody hears the Speech of God as such. The vision was more problematic. The two visions of Muḥammad alluded to in the Ḳur'ān (LIII, 5-12, and 13-18) did not mention God explicitly; they could as well be interpreted as referring to Gabriel. When the Prophet met God during his *mi'rādj* [*q.v.*], many people doubted that he had seen Him in person; they thought that he had only heard Him speak from behind a veil. The Ḳur'ānic basis for the beatific vision in Paradise was weak; the doctrine was rejected by the Mu'tazila but finally accepted by the majority, at least in Sunnism [see RU'YAT ALLĀH].

Unrestricted anthropomorphism did not withstand the onslaught of the Mu'tazilīs; their theology in this respect shaped the Islamic identity until today. Before their time, transcendentalism had a precarious stand; Dja'd b. Dirham and Djahm b. Ṣafwān were both executed, though probably for political rather than dogmatical reasons. At that time, in the late Umayyad period, part of Islamic theological thinking may still have been tinged by a Neoplatonic spirit. Dja'd b. Dirham pretended that God could never have taken Abraham as His "friend" (*khalīl*; cf. IV, 125) or have spoken to Moses; possibly he also denied Muḥammad's having seen God during the *mi'rādj*. Djahm b. Ṣafwān rejected God's being heard or seen, too; for him, God was simply the absolute Power. God is not only beyond any form, but also beyond being as such; he is not anything (*shay'*). This was more than the Mu'tazilīs later on admitted. They were not against calling God *shay'*, insofar as He exists, and they did not deny God's speech altogether but accepted it as long as it was created in an earthly substratum (the burning bush, e.g.). The Ḳur'ānic argument which they used against anthropomorphism was that of XLII, 11, *laysa ka-mithlihī shay'*, which was understood now as meaning absolute and not only relative otherness. God could then be described as *shay' lā ka'l-ashyā'*. This turned out to be a suitable expression which spread far beyond the Mu'tazila. Amongst the Mu'tazila themselves, other definitions of otherness had been tested: God as *khilāf al-'ālam* "the (absolute) divergence from the world" (Abu 'l-Hudhayl), or simply as *ghayr* "the Other" ('Abbād b. Sulaymān). In the earliest phase, theologians like Ḍirār b. 'Amr had expressed the same idea by saying that only God's existence (*anniyya*) is accessible to the human mind, not his essence (*māhiyya*); this position, however, was given up when Abu 'l-Hudhayl and others after him started elaborating a doctrine of attributes.

Talking about attributes meant mitigating the concept of *tanzīh*. The radical position held by Djahm b. Ṣafwān was never repeated again except by the Ismā'īlīs in Eastern Persia. They developed a consistent *theologia negativa* on the basis of Neoplatonic philosophy where God was beyond being and therefore ineffable, neither *shay'* nor not *shay'*. According to Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, He was not even the creator; creation (*ibdā'*) was effected by the first Intelligence, whereas God was severed from the world

and remained unknown. According to the view of the Islamic majority, such ideas were sectarian. Even Muʿtazilī *tanzīh* was soon denounced as *taʿṭīl*. Ultimately, it survived only in Imāmī and Zaydī S͟hīʿī thought. In Sunnī Islam, the As͟hʿarī reaction led to a readjustment of the fronts. The anthropomorphisms were incorporated into God's essence (*d͟hāt*), as *ṣifāt k͟habariyya*, i.e. attributes based on the evidence of Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīt͟h* which should be understood *bi-lā kayf*. This latter formula was to have a long history. It could mean "without further comment"; this is how it was used by the Ḥanbalīs and other *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt͟h* who were close to them. The relevant traditions were then collected and interpreted in books like Ibn K͟huzayma's *K. al-Tawḥīd wa-it͟hbāt ṣifāt al-Rabb*, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaḳī's *K. al-Asmāʾ wa 'l-ṣifāt* or Ibn al-D̲j̲awzī's *Dafʿ s͟hubhat al-tas͟hbīh*. Theologians, however, used *bi-lā kayf* rather in the sense of "without qualifying God in a way only to be applied to His creation"; they presented it as a middle course between a literal acceptance of the anthropological statements in the Scripture (= *takyīf*, *tas͟hbīh*) on one side and their metaphorical interpretation in the Muʿtazilī sense (*taʾwīl* = *taʿṭīl*) on the other. Even Ibn Taymiyya adopted this attitude. Among those who kept aloof from it were al-G͟hazālī and Ibn Rus͟hd (in his *Kas͟hf ʿan manāhid̲j̲ al-adilla*); they rather differentiated between *tas͟hbīh* (*bi-lā kayf*) and *tanzīh* (= figurative interpretation, *taʾwīl*) according to a social criterion, by contrasting the discourse of lay people (*ʿawāmm*) with that of the experts (*k͟hawāṣṣ*). The question of whether man cannot talk about God unless in anthropological language anyway, his discourse inevitably being metaphorical (*mad̲j̲āz*), was rarely asked since the Ḳurʾān was thought to be the speech of God Himself (*kalām Allāh*) and therefore veritative (*ḥaḳīḳī*) by definition.

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(J. van Ess)

TAS͟HELḤĪT (Tas͟hlḥiyt), a dialect of Berber.

1. Linguistic region.

Tas͟helḥīt or Tas͟hlḥiyt is the most important Berber dialect of Morocco, both by the number of its speakers and by the extent of its area. The space within which it is used as a first language comprises an area within a line in the north connecting Essaouira (Mogador) and Tanant in the High Atlas, a line following the eastern slopes of the High Atlas towards the region of Ouarzazate, a southern line following the course of the Wadi Dra and western one represented by the Atlantic coast from the mouth of the Wadi Noun to Essaouira.

From the point of view of physical geography, this is a region of comparative contrasts: mountain zones of the High and Anti-Atlas, the Haha plateau in the north-west and the Aït Baâmrane one in the south-west, the plains of the Sūs and of Tiznit [*q.vv.*], valleys in the upper levels and pre-desert zones in the south-east and south-west of the region. It is populated by sedentaries practising a traditional agriculture on the plateaux and mountains (cereals and the rearing of sheep and goats), whereas modern agriculture predominates on the plains (citrus fruits, banana groves and market gardening).

Because of very many difficulties, the most important being the precariousness of the economy and demographic pressure, the region has been characterised by both an internal and an important external migration. Migration of labour towards France and Belgium was considerable during the period 1960-70; the rural exodus is still a large-scale one, towards the urban centres, with the people of the Sūs, notably those originally from the Anti-Atlas, being mainly concerned with trade in foodstuffs. Finally, it is also a region for tourism, with the beach resort of Agadir, the historic town of Taroudant and the picturesque countrysides of Tafraout and Ouarzazate.

2. Language.

The structure of Tas͟helḥīt.

The population of this region is for the most part Berber-speaking, but with Arabic-speaking communities implanted on the plains (Oulad Teima, Oulad Berrehil, Oulas Boutayeb, Oulad Jerrar, etc.). The idiom used by the Berber-speaking population is S͟hluḥ, in Berber *tas͟hlḥīt* (*tas͟hlḥiyt*), and the native speaker of this is called *as͟hlḥi* (or *as͟hlḥiy*), pl. *is͟hlḥiyen*. The dialect is relatively homogenous, despite some divergencies in the spoken varieties.

In phonology, Tas͟helḥīt is considered to be an "occlusive" dialect. The consonant system includes the labials *b, m, f*; the apicals *t, d, n, l, r, s, z, s͟h, j*; the dorsals *k, g, y, w, k͟h, g͟h, ḳ*; the pharyngeals *ḥ*, ʿ; the laryngeal *h*; and the emphatics *ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, j̣, ṛ, ḷ*. All consonants can be geminated (lengthened), except *g͟h*, *h* and *d*, which are realised as *ḳ* and *t* in the geminated state. It should, however, be noted that in the speech of the communities of the High Atlas, spirants are substituted for the occlusives *b* > *ḇ*, *k* > *ḵ*, *g* > *g̱*; further, in the communities of the Anti-Atlas, sibilants are substituted for the dentals (*t* > *s*, *d* > *z*). Vowels are reduced to *i, a, u*; in contrast to other Berber dialects, Tas͟helḥīt admits syllables with a consonantal core, e.g. *ml* "to show", *krz* "to work", *bzg* "to puff out, dampen", *bdd* "to get up, stand". Accent is not distinctive in Berber; in Tas͟helḥīt the tonic accent is on the heavy syllable counting from the end of the word; in the absence of such a syllable, the final syllable is accented.

In its main features, the verbal morphology of Tas͟helḥīt does not differ from other Berber dialects. Words are built up from roots, usually comprising consonants, generally three (e.g. *mgr* "to harvest"), but sometimes two (e.g. *fl* "to let, leave") or even five (e.g. *frskl* "to crack"). The root consonants are always present in the word, and give a basic semantic aspect to all words derived from that root; the root, joined to a vocalic melody, completes a scheme whose form and substance vary according to the prosodic structure of the word. The most simple verbal form is the aorist (e.g. *krf* "to shackle"); the complex forms stem from a process of derivation whose nature seems to be regulated by the structure of the radical. The intensive aorist expresses habitual or continuous action, and is derived by (1) the prefixing of *tt* (e.g. *amẓ* > *ttamẓ* "to take, hold"); (2) gemination of the first radical

(e.g. *krf* > *kkrf* "to shackle"); (3) gemination of the first radical and infixing of *a* (e.g. *fl* > *ffal* "to leave, let"); or (4) gemination of the second radical and the infixing of *a* (e.g. *kl* > *klla* "to spend the day"). The causative-factitive form is derived by prefixing a voiceless sibilant, simple or geminated according to the structure of the root (e.g. *bdd* > *sbdd* "to make stand up", *lkm* > *sslkm* "to make arrive, reach"); this sibilant becomes assimilated to another sibilant within the radical (e.g. *kshm* > *shshkshm* "to cause to enter", *nz* > *zznz* "to cause to sell"). The passive form is derived by prefixing (1) *tt* (e.g. *ut* > *ttut* "to be beaten"; (2) *ttu* (e.g. *krf* > *ttukraf* "to be shackled"; or (3) *tti* (e.g. *ags* > *ttiagas* "to be wounded"). The reciprocal-reflexive form is derived by prefixing (1) *m* (e.g. *shawr* > *mshawar* "to consult together"); (2) *mm* (e.g. *zr* > *mmzr* "to see each other"); or (3) *nn* (e.g. *fk* > *nnfk* "to exchange"). There also exist super-derived forms combining two derived forms starting from the same radical (e.g. *rwi* "to mix up, put into disorder" > *smmrwi* "to turn completely upside-down").

The noun varies in gender (e.g. *afrux* "boy" > *tafruxt* "girl") and in number (e.g. *argaz* "man" > *irgazn* "men", *tamghart* > *timgharin* "women"). It is likewise subject to variation in its state. The placing of the free-state noun into the construct state is accompanied by changes which modify the structure of the noun's initial syllable; these changes follow from determined syntactical contexts, as is the case with Berber in general (e.g. *argaz idda* > *idda urgaz* "the man left", *tamghart tkshm* > *tkshm tmghart* "the woman has entered"). The verbal noun is most of the time derived from an attested root; the noun of agent is formed by the prefixing of *a* and infixing of *a* or *am* (e.g. *krz* "to plough" > *amkraz* "ploughman"). The noun of action is obtained by several processes, of which the most widespread are (1) prefixing and infixing of *a* in the case of a masculine noun (e.g. *zug* "to go into exile" > *azwag* "exile"; (2) infixing *ta* and suffixing *i* in the case of a feminine noun (e.g. *las* "to shear, clip" > *talusi* "shearing, clipping"). Finally, the noun of instrument is formed by prefixing *as* (e.g. *krz* "to plough" > *askrz* "plough-share").

Regarding syntax, the surface structure is of the VSO type (verbal syntagm + nominal syntagm), e.g. *ikrz umkraz igr* "the ploughman has ploughed the field". There are two types of predicate, the verbal one (e.g. *idda* "he left") and the non-verbal one (e.g. *dari inbgiwn* "I have with me some guests"). One of the characteristics of the phrase in Tashelḥīt is the predicative construction with the verbal copula *g* "to be, to put", e.g. *g argaz* "be a man!" In general, the syntax of the phrase is paratactic, with propositions being juxtaposed, e.g. *ibdd iffgh* "he stood up; he went out", or else hypotactic, with co-ordinated propositions, e.g. *ikshm ntta d tmghart ns d mas d tarwa ns* "he came in, he *and* his wife *and* his mother and his children". However, complex propositional constructions are frequent, both nominal and verbal. The first type could be (1) a relative subject, e.g. *argaz lli yussm* "the man who is old"; (2) an appositive relative, e.g. *illa mad ur ittafn amya* "there are some who have nothing; (3) a direct relative, e.g. *afrux lli izrin* "the boy who has just passed". As for a proposition with a verbal predicate, it can take the form of a direct expansion with a subordinating word, e.g. *mnan ad mmuddun* "they thought of travelling", and *ur iddi aylligh ishsha* "he did not go out until he had eaten". The nominal group displays several types of construction, notably (1) the genitive construction, e.g. *adar n usrdun* "the mule's hoof"; (2) the topicalised construction, e.g. *ifis ishsha aghyul* "the hyaena has eaten the ass"; (3) the dislocated, twisted construction, e.g. *aghyul ishsha-t ifis* "the ass, the hyaena has eaten it"; (4) the focussed construction, e.g. *aghyul ad ishsha ifis* "it is the ass which the hyaena has eaten".

The socio-linguistic position of Tashelḥīt.

The dialect is used as a vernacular idiom within rural communities, and its spheres of usage extend to the family circle and to relations outside that circle in which Berber-speaking speakers are involved. Tashelḥīt is the Berber dialect which has the greatest diffusion outside the Berber-speaking regions; in towns, it is found in a situation of linguistic contact, notably with colloquial and standard Arabic, but also at times with French and Spanish. This contact leads Tashelḥīt-speakers to borrow words from these languages, but the number of borrowings in Tashelḥīt is less than in the other Berber dialects of Morocco. Berber-speakers residing in towns are *ipso facto* subject to a transitional bilingualism or multilingualism in which Tashelḥīt is in a position of becoming weakened, despite a feeling of conscious identity, especially in the circles of urban élites.

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3. Literature.

Tashelḥīt (Tashlḥiyt) is the only Berber language which has a long and continuous written tradition. This tradition goes back at least nine centuries, and can be divided into three periods.

(i) *Mediaeval period.* We know from the works of several historians that Berber texts were written during the Middle Ages. Most famous among these was the *Murshid* composed in Arabic and Berber by the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart [*q.v.*]. As far as is known, neither this text nor any other longer, coherent text from this period has been preserved. However, the sparse materials that have survived are sufficient to show that Berber texts were indeed being written during the Middle

Ages, and that this was done in a consistent, specially designed orthography using the Maghribī Arabic script.

The most important source for our knowledge of mediaeval Berber and its orthography is the *Kitāb al-Asmā'* "Book of nouns", an Arabic-Berber dictionary containing 2,500 bilingual entries which was composed in the year 540/1145 by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Ḳaysī, also known as Ibn al-Ramāma or Ibn Tūnārt (478-567/1085-1172). Several copies of this dictionary are preserved in the library of Leiden University. The same library possesses a fragment of a mediaeval manuscript containing a text on ethics entirely written in Berber. Another important source are the Berber phrases that are found in the anonymous *Kitāb al-Ansāb* and in the memoirs of al-Baydhaḳ, a companion of Ibn Tūmart (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928). These two texts contain a wealth of Berber names of persons, tribes and places. Berber place-names are also found in the work of Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (ed. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1857) and other works on geography and history. All these Berber materials are written down in a highly consistent orthography. The earliest examples of the use of this orthography are found in the numerous Berber names of plants and other *materia medica* found in pharmacological manuals such as the works of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī (Albucasis, d. 404/1013 [see AL-ZAHRĀWĪ]) and Ibn Biklārish (d. after 500/1106 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]).

The Berber language recorded in these sources is closely related to Tashelḥīt, and is probably an archaic form of it.

(ii) *Pre-modern and modern period.* More than two hundred texts in Tashelḥīt dating from the 16th century to the present have been preserved in manuscripts. In scope and volume, this literary tradition is comparable to other African vernacular literatures in the Arabic script, e.g. Fulani, Hausa and Swahili.

The large majority of the texts deal with religious subjects, especially theology (*ttawḥid*), ritual obligations (*lʿibadat*), and accounts of Judgment Day and the Hereafter (*laḥwal n-likhrt*). A special genre is formed by the texts called *nnṣaḥt* "advice" (Ar. *naṣāḥa* or *naṣīḥa*), whose purpose it is to provide the illiterate population with information on orthodox Islamic practice, as opposed to unorthodox or un-Islamic practices (*lbidaʿ*). In addition to these, there are panegyric poems on the Prophet and well-known, popularised stories such as the *Lḳiṣt n-Yusf* "Story of Joseph" and the *Lghazawat n-Bn Zhaʿfar* "Raids of Ibn Djaʿfar". Tashelḥīt texts usually have titles in Arabic.

All these texts are composed in verse, using Berber metres. Prose texts are less common. Examples include bilingual vocabularies, anthologies of *ḥadīth* and manuals on medicine. Tashelḥīt is not ordinarily used in letters or documents.

The earliest preserved, long Tashelḥīt text was written by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanhādjī, commonly known as Aẓnag (d. 1005/1597). Around 1590 he composed a work entitled *ʿAḳā'id al-dīn* or *Lʿḳayd n-ddin* "Chapters on religion". This is a text-book for the Islamic sciences which constitute the curriculum in a traditional college (*lmdrst*). Another early author is ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāḥī (d. 1012/1602-4), who composed a text on the Hereafter (mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-ḥādī*, ed. Houdas, 210, tr. 343).

From the middle of the 17th century we have an Arabic-Tashelḥīt vocabulary containing 900 bilingual entries by ʿAbd Allāh b. Shuʿayb al-Hilālī.

The most famous author is Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Hawzālī, known as Awzal (d. 1162/1749). He composed an admonition (*lmawʿiḍa*) entitled *Baḥr al-dumūʿ* "Ocean of tears" which includes an account of the Hereafter, and a manual of Mālikī law entitled *al-Ḥawḍ* "The reservoir" which is still widely used by Tashelḥīt-speaking *fuḳahā'*. An extensive commentary on *al-Ḥawḍ* entitled *al-Mandjaʿ* "The pasture" was written in Tashelḥīt prose by al-Ḥasan b. Mubārak al-Tamuddiztī (d. 1316/1899). This is the longest extant text in Tashelḥīt.

Other *fiḳh* manuals were composed by Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamsawtī (d. after 1166/1753), Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Tīzakhtī (d. *ca.* 1275/1858-9) and by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Darḳāwī (d. 1328/1910).

The most prolific authors of "books of counsel", "pieces of advice", are Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Timlī, known as Imml (d. 1327/1909) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Hanā'ī (d. 1295/1878). A lengthy *Kitāb al-Bidaʿ* "Book on heresies" was written by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Irazānī (d. 1308/1890-1).

The most famous panegyric of the Prophet is *al-Ḳaṣīda al-būshikriyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Būshikrī (d. 1282/1865-6). An adaptation of al-Būṣīrī's famous *Ḳaṣīdat al-Burda* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥāmidī (18th century) is often recited on festive occasions.

The Tashelḥīt literary tradition remains alive today. Old texts are still being (photo-)copied, and new texts are being composed.

(iii) *The present day.* Since the 1970s, a small modern literature has sprung up. This literature is composed by European-oriented literati, who on the whole have little or no knowledge of the older tradition. Publications include bundles of poetry by Muḥammad Mustāwī, among them *Iskraf* "Shackles" (Casablanca 1976), *Tadsa d-imṭṭawn* "Laughter and tears" (*ibid.* 1979) and *Asays* "Dance floor" (Rabat 1988), by Ibrāhīm Akhiyāṭ (*Tabratt* "Letter", Rabat 1989) and by Muṣṭafā Bīzrān (*Ifrawn* "Leaves", Casablanca 1987) as well as a play entitled *Ussan smmiḍnin* "Cold days" by Mu'min ʿAlī al-Ṣāfī (Casablanca 1983). Ibrāhīm Akhiyāṭ is also the editor of the periodical *Amud* "Seeds" ("Revue de création en Tamazighte", first issue Rabat 1990). A noteworthy feature of this new literature is the use of neologisms; most publications contain an explanatory list of the neologisms used in the text.

Writers from this group are involved in publications devoted to Tashelḥīt orality. Muḥammad Mustāwī is the editor of a series devoted to oral literature entitled *Tifawin* "Lights" (first issue Rabat 1985), and he has edited a collection of proverbs (*Nnan willi zrinin* "The forebears said", Casablanca 1980).

All these modern publications use the Arabic script to record Tashelḥīt. From the 1980s onward, the Latin script is used as well, especially in Tashelḥīt texts published in the Moroccan newspaper *Al Bayane*. A translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* in Latin script was published by Ahmed Adghirni (Rabat 1995).

Script.

a) The mediaeval materials are written in fully-vocalised Maghribī Arabic script in which the *fatḥa* represents the vowel *e* (schwa) and the *ḥurūf al-madd* represent the vowels *a*, *i* and *u*. The Berber consonant *g* is represented either by *djīm* or by *kāf* and the consonant *zh* by *djīm* or by *shīn*. The letter *ṣād* represents the consonant *ẓ*. Words are generally separated.

b) The traditional Tashelḥīt orthography uses an adapted form of the Maghribī Arabic script. The alphabet (*id-lif*) is recited in the usual Maghribī order, except that *ẓā'* and *ḍād* have exchanged places. The consonant *zh* is written with *djīm* and two additional letters have been formed, *ṣād* and *kāf* with three dia-

critical points, to represent the consonants ẓ and g respectively. These two letters are not part of the recited alphabet. The script is always fully vocalised, with the vowel signs *fatḥa*, *kasra* and *ḍamma* representing the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* (the schwa of the mediaeval language has been lost in pre-modern and modern Tas̲h̲elḥīt). The *ḥurūf al-madd* are used in verse texts to represent the vowels that have metrical stress. Words are written in clusters. The core of a cluster is usually a noun or a verb, with various pronominal affixes, preverbials, prepositions and the like connected to it, e.g. *ur illi mad d ingadda* "there is nothing like it" is written as *urilli maddingadda*.

c) The modern literature uses a newly-designed, unvocalised Arabic orthography in which the *ḥurūf al-madd* represent the vowels and in which the words are separated. The Persian *z̲h̲e* is used to represent ẓ and *gāf* is used to represent *g*.

d) The Latin orthography for Tas̲h̲elḥīt, propagated by the Moroccan magazine *Tifawt* since the 1980s, has been designed with typographical simplicity in mind. Thus, *c* is used for *s̲h̲*, *j* for *z̲h̲*, *à* for *ʿayn* and *x* for *k̲h̲*. The subscript point used in scholarly transcriptions has been replaced with a circumflex placed on an adjacent vowel, e.g. Muhâmmad for *Muḥammad*, azûr for *aẓur*.

Bibliography: The only comprehensive study is N. van den Boogert, *The Berber literary tradition of the Sous*, Publication of the De Goeje Fund, 27, Leiden 1997. An edition and translation of the *Baḥr al-dumūʿ* by Muḥammad Awzal is included in this study. An edition in the original orthography is B.H. Stricker, *L'océan des pleurs. Poème berbère de Muḥammad al-Awzalī*, Publication of the De Goeje Fund, 19, Leiden 1960. J.-D. Luciani, *El H'aoudh. Texte berbère (dialecte du Sous) par Meh'ammed ben Ali ben Brahim, publié avec une traduction française et des notes*, Algiers 1897, is an edition in transcription with translation of Awzal's *al-Ḥawḍ*. Another edition of the same text in modernised Arabic orthography is ʿAbd Allāh al-Raḥmānī, *al-Ḥawḍ fī 'l-fiḳh al-mālikī bi 'l-lisān al-āmāzīghī li 'l-s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Mḥemmed u ʿAlī Awzāl*, Casablanca 1397/1977. An edition of the Berber materials in al-Hilālī's vocabulary as well as several other vocabularies is van den Boogert, *Révélation des énigmes. Lexiques arabo-berbères des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Travaux et documents de l'IREMAM, Aix-en-Provence 1998. Bio-bibliographical data on many of the authors of manuscript-texts are found in the works of Muḥammad al-Muk̲h̲tār al-Sūsī, in particular *Rid̲j̲ālāt al-ʿilm al-ʿarabī*, Tangier 1989, and *Sūs al-ʿālima*, 2nd impr. Casablanca 1984.

(N. VAN DEN BOOGERT)

TAṢḤĪF (A.), mistake in writing, synonymous, in spite of sporadic artificial attempts to make a distinction, with *taḥrīf* (without, however, the specialised use of the latter, [*q.v.*]). While its meaning is unambiguous, the derivation of the word is less so. Its connection with *ṣ-ḥ-f* in the (originally South Semitic) meaning of "to write" [see MUṢḤAF] can be considered certain; the negative connotation may reflect a negative attitude toward all writing as against orality, rather than a privative use of the second form of the verb. It is not excluded that *taḥrīf* may have influenced the formation. Note also *ṣaḥafī/ṣuḥufī* (Lane, 1655a) "one who commits mistakes in writing," presumably from "one being concerned with written sheets (?)."

Muslim scholars were fully alert to mistakes as the ever-present bane of writing and discussed them in minute detail. It was always stressed that the character of the Arabic script provided unusual opportunities for mistakes to be made, a subject also systematised in *mu'talif wa-muk̲h̲talif/muk̲h̲talif wa-mu'talif* works. The extraordinary importance of proper names in Muslim culture and the central position of poetry, with its manifold problems of comprehension and interpretation, added to the widespread concern with *taṣḥīf*. Above all, the need for accuracy in the transmission process of *ḥadīt̲h̲* and the religious/legal sciences created a vital interest in potential mistakes, even among those who were convinced of the superiority of writing over memory (see e.g. al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Kifāya*, 245 ff., or Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muḳaddima*, ch. 35). Understandably, in a climate where no distinction was usually made between sound and written symbol, a distinction between miswriting and misreading could not be maintained. Thus reading mistakes with regard to vocalisation, something not normally indicated in writing at all, found much attention, and *taṣḥīf* increasingly included all kinds of linguistic errors.

In the manuscript age, it made no sense to trace mistakes to particular, identifiable manuscripts. Occasional references are found, in particular in the commentary literature. To a large degree, literary *taṣḥīf* works are filled with anecdotes whose authenticity cannot be proved and is usually somewhat irrelevant. These anecdotes were often used in the bitter fights among philologists, with the purpose of ridiculing the individual to whom a mistake was ascribed. Very commonly they were invented just to add to the stock of humorous and entertaining material. This is most obvious in the many "intentional" miswritings that challenge the addressee to discover, through changing the diacritics, a message different from what the written words originally seem to suggest. Rarely, a serious historical background may be discerned, as in the famous *taṣḥīf* of the command *aḥṣi* "count, register!" to *ik̲h̲ṣi* "castrate!" (see E.K. Rowson, in *JAOS*, cxi [1991], 691).

Although Muslim scholars no doubt discussed writing mistakes since the earliest times, it was the 4th/10th century that saw the composition of monographs with *ṣaḥḥafa/taṣḥīf* in their titles, apart from the apparently lost and brief *Taṣḥīf al-ʿulamā'* in the list of works of the 3rd/9th-century Ibn Ḳutayba, see *Fihrist*, 77. The treatise on the mistakes of Kūfī philologists by al-Ṣūlī, *Mā ṣaḥḥafa fīhi al-Kūfiyyūn*, is partly recoverable from al-Ṣafadī, *Taṣḥīḥ*, while little is known of al-Dāraḳuṭnī's *Taṣḥīf al-muḥaddit̲h̲īn* (bibliographical references in the introduction of the edition of his *al-Mu'talif wa 'l-muk̲h̲talif*, 44 n. 5). Three full-length monographs are preserved and have been edited. They illustrate different approaches to the subject. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] brilliantly probes the suspected reasons for the occurrence of writing mistakes; he goes also far afield, considering such interesting topics as the various Persian scripts and other writing systems and including the cherished *jeu d'esprit* of riddles [see LUG̲H̲Z; MUʿAMMĀ]. In his large work, the roughly contemporary Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī ([*q.v.*], see also Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 181-2) put greater stress on the purely literary aspects, and he occasionally admits that his material may go beyond any proper definition of what constitutes writing mistakes. Much later, al-Ṣafadī [*q.v.*] devoted much attention to the theoretical possibilities of mistaking words and to their supposedly correct forms and usages in contrast to "common" practice; he presents his material in alphabetical order and indicates the sources he used, thus creating a useful specialised dictionary.

The subject of *taṣḥīf* was hardly consolidated into a distinct scholarly discipline. However, Ṭas̲h̲köprüzāde

[*q.v.*] cannot be blamed for reserving a place for it among his numerous *ʿulūm*. He presumably got a good laugh out of the story of the destruction of al-Baṣra by the Zandj, misspelt *rīḥ* "wind", and attributed anachronistically to the caliph ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Tanbīh ʿalā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Baghdād 1387/1967, and M. Asʿad Ṭalas, Damascus 1388/1968; Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī, *Sharḥ mā yaḳaʿ fīh al-taṣḥīf wa 'l-taḥrīf*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmad, Cairo 1383/1963, and al-Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, Damascus 1981, also idem, *Taṣḥīfāt al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. Maḥmūd Mīra, Cairo 1402 (not seen); Ṣafadī, *Taṣḥīḥ al-taṣḥīf wa-taḥrīr al-taḥrīf*, facs. ed. of two mss., Frankfurt 1985; Suyūṭī, *al-Taṭrīf fi 'l-taṣḥīf* (restricted to *ḥadīth*), ed. ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb, ʿAmmān 1409/1988, also ed. Rabat 1397/1977 (not seen); Ibn Makkī, *Tathḳīf al-lisān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maṭar, Cairo 1386/1966, 48-73. Further, e.g., al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, Ḥaydarābād 1357, 227-8; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329-56, i, 227-8, excerpted by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 411; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, Rome 1947, 14-15, 24-5; *EI*[2], art. LAḤN AL-ʿĀMMA; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 24-5, also viii, 181-2, 200, ix, 98, 166-7; Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, introd. to his ed. of Dāraḳuṭnī, *al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, Beirut 1406/1986, i, 57-68. (F. ROSENTHAL)

TASHKENT, usually written *Tāshkend* or *Tashkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of the Čirčik, watered by one of the right bank tributaries of the Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*] or Jaxartes now, since the break-up of the USSR, in the Uzbekistan Republic (lat. 41° 16' N., long. 69° 13' E.).

1. History till 1865.

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Čirčik. According to the Greek and Roman sources, there were only nomads on the other side of the Jaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the 2nd century B.C.), mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Čö-či or Čö-shi or simply Shi. The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of "stone", and this is connected by E. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 140) with the later Turkish-Sogdian hybrid name (*tash* "stone" and *kend* "town with a moat and rampart" = "stone town"). The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Čāč, known in the Islamic period; the Arabs here, somewhat unusually (since *č* is usually rendered by *ṣ*) rendered the sound *č* by *sh*. The Arabic form al-Shāsh gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. Whether and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the 5th/11th century, is connected with Čāč or Shāsh, is still doubtful. The etymology (Tāžkent = town of the Tāžik, i.e. the Arabs) proposed by E. Polivanov (*ʿIḳd al-djumān*, Festschrift for W. Barthold, Tashkent 1927, 395) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Čāč and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 *li* (less than 5 km/3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the 3rd century A.D. In the time of Hiuen-Tsang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentaux*, tr. St. Julien; i, Paris 1857, 16), there was no ruler in Čāč to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries. The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the 2nd/8th century, there is frequent reference to a "king (*malik*) of Shāsh"; his capital is given by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 421, and al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1517, 1521, as the town of Ṭārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor D.H. Müller assumed, a contracted form of Ṭurārband (al-Muḳaddasī, 61 l. 20), is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkish Kaghans was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 133/751 the Chinese governor of Ḳuča, the Korean general Kao Sien-chih, executed the prince of al-Shāsh, and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs. Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, sent by Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 133/July 751 (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, v. 344) on the Talas river [see ṬARĀZ for details], and Kao Sien-chih was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islam in Central Asia, and no further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it.

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the territory of al-Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islam against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (see below). Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191/806-7. A "prince (*ṣāḥib*) of al-Shāsh with his Turks" is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Layth [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 712). Under al-Maʾmūn, al-Shāsh again belonged to caliphal empire; when in 204/819, members of the Sāmānid family became governors of various districts in Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, one of them, Yaḥyā b. Asad (d. 241/855), was granted al-Shāsh [see SĀMĀNIDS]. In 225/840 the eldest of the brothers, Nūḥ b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Sāmānids, by conquering Isfīdjāb (the modern Sayrām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north. About the same time, a canal in al-Shāsh, which had become silted up in the early days of Islam, was restored. The caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1326).

In the geographical sources of the 4th/10th century, Čāč/al-Shāsh appears not as the name of a town but as that of a district, essentially the valley of the Parak river (the later Čirčik) which rose, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, "from behind the mountain of the Khallukh/Ḳarluḳ" and flowed into the Sïr Daryā (tr. Minorsky, 72). From the proximity of the region to the great river, the Sïr Daryā is often called in the geographical literature "the river of Shāsh". The region was closely linked with that of Īlāḳ, the district to the south, in the valley of another right-bank affluent of the Sïr Daryā, the Āhangarān river (modern Anguen), also flowing down from the mountains of Farghāna (see *ibid.*, tr. 72, 117, comm. 356).

The same sources describe the district of Čāč/al-Shāsh as extensive and prosperous, full of enthusiastic fighters for the Muslim faith, the local speciality being bows and arrows of *khadang* (probably birch) wood (*ibid.*, tr. 118; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 325). The main urban centre was Binkath, which had at this time many walls and gates, with these walls protecting a *madīna*/*shahrastān* with a citadel (*ḳalʿa*, *arg*), and inner and outer suburbs (*rabaḍ*, *bīrūn*) with gardens and orchards. Water was plentifully supplied by canals, and the whole area protected by a wall, built by the ʿAbbāsid commander ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd (b. Ḳaḥṭaba, governor of Khurāsān in 159/776) to protect the town from the pagan Turks (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 480-3; Barthold,

Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 172-3). Al-Bīrūnī, in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, says that Binkat͟h was called in Turkish and Greek "stone tower" (*burd͟j al-ḥid͟jāra*), apparently alluding to the popular Turkish etymology and to the Ptolemaic *lithinos pyrgos* (for another "stone tower", *burd͟j-i sangīn*, in Central Asia, but further east on the borders of China, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 85, comm. 357). From an examination of the distances between settlements in the district given by the geographers, Barthold thought that the subsequent Tas͟hkent is quite possibly on the site of the ancient Binkat͟h. Coins were minted at Binkat͟h from early ʿAbbāsid times onwards, but normally have the regional designation "al-S͟hās͟h", only rarely with the addition of "Binkat͟h" (see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 80, 156-7). The tomb of a celebrated *faḳīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḳaffāl al-S͟hās͟hī (d. 365/975-6), called by al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī Ibn al-Bayyiʿ the greatest S͟hāfiʿī scholar of his age in Transoxania, is mentioned by Kās͟hg͟harī as a well-known feature of Tas͟hkent (where his tomb was still visible in the early 20th century, according to Barthold).

Whether the name Tas͟hkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Sāmānid dynasty, the whole Sīr Daryā territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386/996) is doubtful. So far as we know, the name "Tās͟hkend" is first found in al-Bīrūnī (*Taḥḳīḳ mā li 'l-Hind*, ed. Sachau, 149, tr. idem, i, 298); from the etymology of the name, al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the λίθινος πύργος of Ptolemy (see above, and J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 155). Maḥmūd Kās͟hg͟harī, tr. Atalay, i, 443, iii, 150, mentions "Terken" (otherwise unknown) as a "name of S͟hās͟h" in addition to Tās͟hkend. The name Tas͟hkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the 5th/11th and in the 6th/12th century, coins were struck in Banākat͟h, Fanākat͟h or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Sīr Daryā; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tas͟hkent. In D͟juwaynī's account of the Mongol campaign against Fanākat͟h and K͟hud͟jand (tr. Boyle, i, 91 ff.), Tas͟hkent is not mentioned; only the taking of Banākat͟h is recorded. Under Mongol rule, Tas͟hkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banākat͟h. Tas͟hkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the K͟hāns; on the other hand, Banākat͟h, although it had not offered resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 794/1392 that Tīmūr rebuilt it under the new name of S͟hāhruk͟hiyya.

After the decline of the Čag͟hatayids [*q.v.*], Tas͟hkent belonged to the empire of Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids; in 890/1485 the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Turco-Mongol K͟hān Yūnus, who died there in 892/1487 (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, tr. Ross, 114-15). His tomb is in the mosque of S͟hayk͟h K͟hāwand-i Ṭuhūr (popularly S͟hayk͟hantawr), a local saint; on his period (8th/14th century), see A. Semenov, in *Protokolī Turk. Kučzka Ljub. Arkh.*, xx [1915], 29. K͟hān Yūnus was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd K͟hān; after 908/1503, Tas͟hkent belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs, who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, S͟hībānī K͟hān [*q.v.* and SHĪBĀNIDS]. During the centuries following, Tas͟hkent was sometimes under the rule of Özbegs, sometimes under the Ḳazaḳs, and in 1135/1723 it was conquered by the Kalmucks [*q.v.*], but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Ḳazaḳ descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmucks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the K͟hod͟jas, the descendants of the local saint (see e.g. F. Teufel, *Quellenstudien zur neueren Geschichte der Chânate*, in *ZDMG*, xxxviii [1884], 311).

During these centuries, the possession of Tas͟hkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period. The records of the battles of Tas͟hkent in the time of the S͟hībānid ʿAbd Allāh K͟hān b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] clearly show that the town of Tas͟hkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the 12th/18th century that the division of the town into four quarters (Kukča, S͟hayk͟hantawr, Sibzar and Bes͟h Ag͟hač), with a common bazaar, is mentioned. Occasionally, each quarter had a chief (*ḥākim*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780, Yūnus K͟hod͟ja, the chief of the S͟hayk͟hantawr quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus K͟hod͟ja fought successfully against the Ḳazaḳs, but suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Özbegs of K͟hoḳand under ʿĀlim K͟hān; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sulṭān K͟hod͟ja, in 1809, Tas͟hkent had to submit to the rule of the K͟hāns of K͟hoḳand, who used it as a springboard for expansion into the Ḳazaḳ steppes. For its history in this period, see KHOḲAND.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1956-62, i, 130, 143, 156, 160, 163, iii, 94-5, 135; *EIr*, art. *Central Asia*, v (B. Spuler), vi (R.D. McChesney), vii (Y. Bregel).

(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. From 1865 to the present.

Situated at the heart of a huge cotton-growing oasis, a regional and international communications centre, the city of Tas͟hkent experienced a considerable demographic and economic development at the end of the 19th century and became the most important urban centre in Central Asia. The major turning-point in the town's history was its submission to Russian rule, achieved in June 1865 by General Tcherniaev, one of the major protagonists of Tsarist expansion towards India. Following the conquest, the colonial town was constructed to the east of the original city, made up of traditional quarters (*maḥalla* and *daha*) and outside the walls of the latter—an illustration of the concern of the Tsarist authorities to avoid direct confrontation with local populations. Two years later, the Governorship-General of Turkestan was constituted, with Tas͟hkent as the seat of power and General von Kaufmann (1867-81) as the first Governor. Henceforward, there was a surge in political, economic and cultural activity (appearance in 1902 of the first clandestine Marxist circles, uniting Muslim reformists and nationalists fleeing the repression to which they had been subjected in Buk͟hārā, publication of the first newspaper in the Uzbek language, *Turkistan Vilayatining Gazeti*, first Russo-indigenous secular establishment) (Azadaev, 1967). Its population increased from 56,000 inhabitants in 1868 to 156,000 in 1897. The Transcaspian railway reached Tas͟hkent in 1898, and in 1901 work began on the Trans-Aral line which would connect it to Orenburg. Numerous enterprises, banks and scientific institutions were established by the civilian and military Russian colonists who, in spite of strong reservations on the part of the colonial authorities, preoccupied with threats of a *d͟jihād*, also obtained permission to build Orthodox churches (Dobromyslov,

1912). However, it was not until 1912, at a time of general internal unrest, that the first, and ephemeral, so-called "anti-Muslim" mission was opened in Tashkent; its results in terms of proselytism were to be insignificant. Besides the popular demonstrations of 1892 against sanitary measures taken by the Russians during a cholera epidemic, reckoned as contrary to Islam (*Istoriya Uzbekskoy SSR*, i, 131), the mutiny of Tsarist officers in 1905 and the 1916 anti-labour conscription revolt, also affecting the capital of Russian Turkestan, were the principal events preceding the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917 (Tursunov, 1962).

The revolutionary activities witnessed in Tashkent corresponded to those unfolding in Moscow and Petrograd, with some specifically local features. The town lost its status as capital to the benefit of Samarkand; June 1917 saw the overthrow of the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government created on 7 April and, in parallel, the appearance of a counter-revolutionary front formed by the Military Organisation of Tashkent and the "Association of interpreters of the Sharīʿa", the latter created in the old city by the leaders of the nationalist bourgeoisie. On 20 October (10 November) 1917, the Bolsheviks established the REVKOM or Soviet of Tashkent, with the unexpected support of Russian colonists perturbed by Muslim pretensions to sovereignty. From 19 to 22 February 1918, the army of this Soviet bombarded the "Autonomous state of Khokand", an ephemeral Muslim counter-power founded in the Farghāna valley. This event marked the beginning of civil war in Turkestan (1918-22), which saw the whole of this zone cut off from the central regions by General Dutov's White Army and the population decimated by famine. It was also the arena for years of warfare between the Red Army on the one hand and Basmači [*q.v.*] rebels and foreign interventionists on the other (Pulatov, Rashidov, 1972). Besides the armed insurrection of 9 January 1919 led by Ossipov, a former officer of the Tsarist army, 6 April 1919 saw the constitution of the Musbyuro, specifically designed for ideological propaganda in Muslim circles on behalf of the Russian Communist Party, directed by T. Ryskulov, J. Aliev, J. Ibragimov, A. Muhitdinov and N. Khodyaev, reformist leaders who had opted for the Bolsheviks (*Tashkent*, 1983, 212). This organisation having proposed the formation of a Turkish Republic and of a Turkish Communist Party, and faced by the extortions perpetrated by the Tashkent Soviet on the Muslim population, Lenin decided to re-establish his control, sending in the Turkkomissiya led by Frunze (*Istoriya kommunističeskikh organizatsiy*, 1967). In 1924, Tashkent entered the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, of which it once again in 1930 became the capital at the expense of Samarkand, regaining its central position in politics and culture. There are currently 105 scholastic establishments, for 20,000 pupils (in 1917, the town possessed 19 schools for 8,000 pupils) (Pougatchenkova, 1983, 24).

As the face of Tashkent has undergone profound changes during the decades of Soviet domination, the history of its urban development cannot be dissociated from the political events of which it was the theatre. From the beginnings of nascent Bolshevik power, the principle of division between traditional town and new town was rejected. The task of Soviet urban architects was defined as twofold: on the one hand, reconstruction of the ancient quarters, damaged by the civil war and the destruction that had accompanied the imposition of the Soviet régime; on the other, the realisation of officially-sanctioned ideological objectives in the form of social buildings: construction of a network of cultural centres, libraries, theatres, educational, recreational, medical and social infrastructures. Several phases may be identified in this evolution (*Uz. SSR*, 402-8).

(i) *1917-41.* As elsewhere in the USSR, this period belongs under the heading of electrification (first central system in 1923) and industrialisation. The end of the 1920s marks a phase of intensive construction of public and residential buildings in eclectic styles, neo-classical or constructivist (House of the Supreme Soviet, and that of Economic Affairs). The 1930s witnessed an acceleration in industrial construction, also residential quarters (*socgorod*), parks and gardens. The overall scheme for the urbanisation of Tashkent, adopted in 1938, was inspired by that adopted for Moscow in 1935. It left the centre unchanged, built around the enormous Lenin Square (currently Independence Square) (Kadyrova, 1976), to allow extended construction as far to the east as to the west of the old city, which remained of only marginal interest to the planners. However, numerous religious buildings which were a feature of the *mahalla*s (Bulatova, Mankovskaya 1938) were destroyed or converted for other purposes such as factories, warehouses and printing presses.

(ii) *1941-54.* The entry of the USSR into the Second World War caused substantial upheavals in the capital of Uzbekistan, to which numerous factories, offices, universities and whole populations were evacuated from the western front (50 business enterprises, 300,000 persons in all, including 100,000 children and several thousand Ashkenazi Jews). The population doubled, rising to a million inhabitants. On 20 October 1943, the Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was established in Tashkent (after the independence of Uzbekistan it took the name of Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Mawarannahr). Architecture became monumental and pompous.

(iii) *1955-65.* This was a decade of intense urbanisation, corresponding to the introduction of new technologies in construction (foundations in reinforced concrete). Entire quarters of the old city gave way to modern multi-storey constructions, surrounding communal green spaces. Efforts were made to accommodate residents of the same *mahalla* together in the new apartment blocks, so as to preserve familial solidarity and traditional social habits. The area of the city increased considerably.

(iv) *1966-91.* In the aftermath of the earthquake of 26 April 1966, which claimed nearly 400,000 victims (a third of the total population) and destroyed 95,000 homes, with lethal after-shocks continuing for a whole year, the reconstruction of the town took place according to a new plan which favoured the creation of peripheral residential quarters (*mikroraion*) and the principle of asymmetrical development (*Uz. SSR*, 405). Architectural trends were a blend of modern techniques of construction and "Uzbek national styles" (arcades, galleries, open verandahs, mosaics and panelling). In addition to the opening of the Imām al-Bukhārī Higher Islamic Institute in 1971 (the second in the USSR after that of Bukhārā), 7 November 1977 saw the inauguration of the first underground railway line.

The Brezhnev period (1964-83) was marked by intense diplomatic activity directed towards the Muslim countries with which the USSR was seeking reconciliation. In its role as showcase of socialism in Asia, Tashkent was the site of numerous peace conferences, at least until 1979, the date of the Iranian revolution

and of the Soviet intervention in Afg̲h̲ānistān.

In the course of a *perestroika* instigated by various nationalist or religious demonstrations (new nationalist parties, Birlik, Erk, Party of the Islamic Renaissance and Tatars of the Crimea, between 1987 and 1991), Mikhail Gorbachev attempted one last anti-Muslim campaign which did not, however, succeed in stemming the ever more visible manifestations of religious renewal (in 1989, the Spiritual Board of Tas̲h̲kent retrieved the "Ḳur'ān of 'Ut̲h̲mān" which had been kept in the Ermitage Museum for its own library, and numerous mosques were renovated or restored to their congregations) combined with a campaign against the "cotton mafia" which aggravated rancour towards Moscow and induced the ruling élite to assume an independence which had not been envisaged at the outset. On 1 September 1991 Tas̲h̲kent became the capital of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan which took its seat at the United Nations on 2 March 1992.

A new era began, marked by the changing of hundreds of street names, in spite of a perceptible continuity in the management of the administrative, economic and social problems, imposed by the post-Soviet transition, on the part of the rehabilitated élites of the former régime. Tas̲h̲kent today comprises 2.1 million inhabitants (or 10% of the total population of the Republic). It is twinned with Tripoli, Tunis, Marrakesh, Patiala (India), Seattle, Skopje and Karachi, and is intent on forging new diplomatic, economic and strategic alignments.

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ṬAS̲H̲KÖPRÜZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman Turkish scholars who stemmed from the village of Ṭas̲h̲ Köprü ("stone bridge") near Ḳasṭamūnī [*q.v.*] in northern Anatolia. Famous members of the family include:

1. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā, preceptor of Sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*].

He was born at Ṭas̲h̲ Köprü in 857/1453, and died on 12 S̲h̲awwāl 935/19 July 1529 in Istanbul. He studied in Bursa and Istanbul under celebrated scholars, and then progressed through a series of *medreses* at Bursa, Ankara, Skopje, and Edirne. Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*] appointed him preceptor (*k̲h̲od̲j̲a*) of his son Selīm, who was then governor of Trebizond, but when the prince showed more interest in administrative matters than in learning, he was transferred to teaching positions at Amasya, Bursa, and Istanbul. As sultan, Selīm I appointed his former teacher as judge of the newly-conquered city of Aleppo, but he returned to the teaching profession and eventually settled at the Ṣaḥn-i t̲h̲amān [*q.v.*]. He wrote poetry under the *mak̲h̲laṣ* of Ḥilmī. His son was 'Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed (see 2. below).

Bibliography: For a full biography, see M. Münir Aktepe, art. *Taşköpri-zâde.* 2., in *İA*.

2. 'Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā b. K̲h̲alīl, Abu 'l-K̲h̲ayr, the fourth in the line, theologian and biographer, d. 968/1561.

Life. He was born at Bursa on 14 Rabī' I 901/2 December 1495, the son of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*]. He was taught by his father, then studied at Ankara, Bursa, and Istanbul under celebrated scholars and became a member of the learned profession, teaching first in 931/1525 at a *medrese* at Dimetoḳa [*q.v.*] and being promoted to Istanbul in 933/1527. From there he was transferred to Skopje/Üsküb in 1530, then taught in *medreses* in Istanbul; in 945/1539 he was appointed to the Üç Şerefeli Medrese at Edirne [*q.v.*]. He was then promoted to the Ṣaḥn-i t̲h̲amān [*q.v.*] where he taught till 951/1544. He went on to teach at the *medrese* of Bāyezīd II at Edirne. In 952/1545 he left *medrese* teaching to hold the office of *ḳāḍī* of Bursa, but in 954/1547 he was dismissed and reinstated as Ṣaḥn professor. In 958/1551 he took up the office of *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, but had to resign in 961/1554 because of failing eyesight. He devoted the following years to dictating his works. He died in Istanbul on 30 Rad̲j̲ab 968/13 April 1561. One of his sons was the historian Kemāl el-Dīn Meḥmed (d. 1030/1621, see 3. below); a younger son, Ebū Ḥāmid, a judge, died in 1005/1597.

Works. 'Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed wrote more than nineteen theological and encyclopaedic works in Arabic. He is celebrated for his biographical *al-S̲h̲aḳā'iḳ al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawlat al-'Ut̲h̲māniyya*, which he dictated down to 965/1558. It is divided into ten classes, *ṭabaḳāt*, corresponding to the reigns of ten Ottoman sultans and culminating in the reign of Süleymān. From the fourth class onwards, one chapter is devoted to religious scholars and one to dervish *s̲h̲eyk̲h̲s*, and from the seventh class onwards a third chapter on physicians is added. For the notices of earlier mystics, 'Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed, a K̲h̲alwetiyye [*q.v.*] member, relied on Lāmi'ī's [*q.v.*] enlarged Turkish recension of D̲j̲āmī's [*q.v.*] *Nafaḥāt al-uns*. Translations into Turkish were begun by 'Ās̲h̲iḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*]; the most important ones are those by Med̲j̲dī and 'Aṭā'ī [*q.vv.*]. For the illustrated translation by Meḥmed Belg̲h̲rādī presented to 'Ot̲h̲mān II, see Esin Atıl (ed.), *Turkish art*, New York 1980. Among the continuations in Arabic, that by 'Alī b. Bālī, nicknamed Mīnīḳ (d. 997/1569), entitled *al-'Iḳd al-manẓūm fī d̲h̲ikr afāḍil al-Rūm* has been translated into German by O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1934. Other works include the *Nawādir al-ak̲h̲bār fī manāḳib al-ak̲h̲yār*, a collection of biographies completed at Üsküb in 938/1532. The encyclopaedia *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda* has been translated into German by Rescher, Istanbul 1934.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 425-6, S II, 633-4; *GOW*, 84. For a detailed biography and bibliography, see M. Aktepe, art. *Taşköpri-zâde. 4.*, in *IA*. Printed editions of the *Shaḳā'iḳ*: Būlāḳ 1299/1881-2 (in the margin of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*); Beirut 1395/1975; Ahmed Subhi Furat, *Eş-Şekaʾiku n-nuʿmaniye fi ʿulemaʾi d-devleti l-ʿosmaniye*, Istanbul 1985; German tr. Rescher, *Eş-Şaqaʾiq en-Noʿmanijje von Taşköprüzade. Mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen aus dem Arabischen übersetzt*, Constantinople-Stuttgart 1927-34, repr. Osnabrück 1978. Behcet Gönül, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde al-Şakā'ik al-nuʿmānīya tercüme ve zeyilleri*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1945); Ali Uğur, *Taşköprî-zâde Ahmed Efendi*, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, vii-viii (1988), 419-37; B. Flemming, *Glimpses of Turkish saints: another look at Lāmiʿī and Ottoman biographers*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xviii (1994), 59-74. (Barbara Flemming)

3. Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, historian (959-1030/1552-1621).

Son of the better-known scholar Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā (see 2. above), Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed was born in Istanbul in 959/1552 where his father held the post of *ḳāḍī*. From 984/1576 he served as a *müderris* in several *medreses* in the capital before transferring to a judicial career in 999/1591 as *ḳāḍī* of Selānīk (Salonika). Thereafter he held major *ḳāḍīlīḳs* in Üsküdar, Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa, Cairo and Ghalaṭa before himself becoming *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul in 1011/1603. Between 1012/1604 and 1018/1609 he was three times appointed *ḳāḍī ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia; between 1021/1612 and 1030/1621 he held three times the post of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumeli. In the latter year he set out with ʿOthmān II (1618-22 [*q.v.*]) on the campaign against Poland, but turned back due to ill-health and died at Isḥāḳče (Isakči, in Rumania) on 4 Shewwāl 1030/22 August 1621. He was buried next to his father at the ʿĀshıḳ Pasha mosque in Istanbul (Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1268/1852, 641-2; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1267/1851, ii, 6; *GOW*, 148-9; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 80; M.M. Aktepe, art. *Taşköprüzade Kemaleddin*, in *IA*, xii, 44-6).

Under the title *Taʾrīkh-i ṣāf* (also known as *Tuḥfat al-aṣḥāb*) he compiled a brief history of the Ottoman empire down to the reign of Aḥmed I (1603-17 [*q.v.*]), to which was added a history of the ʿAbbāsids and brief accounts of other Muslim dynasties (publ. 3 parts in 1 vol., Istanbul 1287/1870). The work was written during the latter part of the reign of Aḥmed I, to whom it was dedicated. According to ʿAṭāʾī, Ṭashköprüzāde was commissioned by ʿOthmān II to compose a *shehnāme* (probably on the Polish campaign), but his death obviously precluded this (ʿAṭāʾī, 642). His translations into Ottoman Turkish include his father's encyclopaedic work in Arabic, *Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm* (publ. 2 vols., Istanbul 1313/1895-6), and a treatise in Persian by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī [*q.v.*] (unpubl.). In addition to various minor works and translations, he also wrote Arabic and Ottoman poetry under the *makhlaṣ* of Kemālī (ʿAṭāʾī, 642; *ʿOM*, i, 347-8).

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(F. Babinger-[Christine Woodhead])

TASHLIDJALI YAḤYA, modern Tkish. Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. 990/1582), an important Ottoman poet of the period of Süleymān II [*q.v.*] and a member of the North Albanian Dukagjin family (Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 116 ff.), sometimes identified as Dukaginzāde Yaḥyā Beg.

Conscripted under the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*], he was educated and given military training, rising to high rank in the Janissaries and taking part in most of the 16th-century campaigns. Concurrently he pursued the career of poet under important patrons, including the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*]. Especially pleased by a satire Yaḥyā wrote against the rival poet Khayālī [*q.v.*], Rüstem appointed him administrator of several pious foundations. However, as a result of Yaḥyā's well-known elegy for Süleymān's son Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*], a poem well received by Muṣṭafā's admirers among the Janissaries, Rüstem (implicated in the prince's execution) sought but failed to have the poet put to death. He did, nevertheless, obtain Yaḥyā's dismissal from office, and the latter spent his last years on a fief in Bosnia, and is reputed to have become deeply involved in Islamic mysticism (Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *İA* art. *Yahyâ Beg, Dukagin-zâde*).

In addition to a *dīwān* (Çavuşoğlu, *Yahya Bey Divanı*, Istanbul 1977), Yaḥyā's works include two *shehr-engīz* for Edirne and Istanbul, and a *Khamsa* [*q.v.*], sc. five *mathnawīs* that gained him a solid reputation, both for their construction and (as with his poetry in general) for the clarity and purity of his language.

Bibliography: There is a full bibl. in Çavuşoğlu's *İA* article, and recent doctoral studies by B. Çağlayan, İ. Doğanyiğit and D. Sabahat at Gazi, Erciyes and Marmara Universities respectively. See also Abdülkadir Karahan, *Les poètes classiques à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique*, Ankara 1991, 76-7; İ. Güven Kaya, *Dükaginzâde Taşlıcalı Yahyâ Beğ'in şiirlerinde cinsellik*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xiv (1990), 273-81.

(Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

TASHOZ (Tkish. form of the Greek Thasos), an island in the northernmost part of the Aegean Sea near the coast of Greece, not far from the port city of Kavala [see kawāla]. Its round shape and large size (area 393 km^2; population 13,000) give Thasos a distinctive identity, enhanced by a fairly mountainous wooded interior (Ipsari, the highest peak, 1,123 m/3,683 feet). The administrative centre is a port city of the same name, also called Limenas, facing the mainland.

Thasos, like Lesbos [see midilli] and Lemnos [see limni], was a fief granted to the Genoese family of Gattilusi by the last three Byzantine emperors, a grant renewed for a brief period after the fall of Constantinople to Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] in 1453. Despite intermittent Venetian threats, at the conclusion of a war between Turkey and Venice (1463-79) Thasos passed under definitive Ottoman control. It was usually governed by a *voyvoda* sent by the *sandjak beyi* of Kavala. Turkish overlordship lasted until, in the First Balkan War, the Greek navy landed there on 18 October 1912; Greek possession was ratified by the treaty of Bucharest in August 1913.

Between 1813 and 1902 a unique interlude occurred in the history of Thasos, for in 1813 the Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd II [*q.v.*] granted it as a personal fief to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] of Egypt. The latter, a native of Kavala, was said to have spent part of his childhood on the island, and had therefore a sentimental attachment to it which manifested itself in a grant to it of considerable internal autonomy. This situation continued under Muḥammad ʿAlī's successors; but after 1874 the relationship soured, until in 1902 the inhabitants demanded and obtained a re-establishment of Ottoman rule.

During the centuries of life in the *Dār al-Islām*, the people of Thasos remained chiefly Greek-speaking and Orthodox, except for the small Turkish settlements at Theologos and Kasaviti up to 1821. Prosperity on this naturally rich island fluctuated because of external factors, the principal one being piracy afflicting the Aegean especially during the 17th, 18th and

the first half of the 19th century. It forced the Thasians to leave the fertile coastal area for the wooded mountainous interior and to erect watch towers for early warning.

A noteworthy episode was the occupation of Thasos by the Russians in 1770-4, when after the victory of Česhme [*q.v.*], their fleet dominated this part of the Mediterranean. The Russians then carried out some of their ships' repair and construction on Thasos, which had extensive stands of fine timber exploited for shipbuilding.

Bibliography: For the classical period, see Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd ser., v (1934), cols. 1310-27 s.v. Thasos; for the Turkish period, A.E. Bakalopoulos, *Thasos: son histoire, son administration de 1453 à 1912*, Paris 1953 (École Française d'Athènes, *Études thasiennes*, 2), and the bibl. there, or its Greek original *Historia tes Thasou, 1453-1912*, Thessalonike 1984; see also the *Bibls.* of LIMNI and MIDILLI.

(S. SOUCEK)

TASHRĪʿ (A.), a technical term of Islamic law-making.

1. *Definition and historical context.*

Tashrīʿ, in the modern context, signifies statutory legislation incorporating elements from the *sharīʿa*. In theory, legislative authority is alien to Islam. In the Middle Ages, temporal legislation by caliphs and rulers based on *siyāsa sharʿiyya* [*q.v.*] was a common practice. This took place, however, within the framework of a theocracy, the underlying concept of which was the sovereignty of the *sharīʿa* assumed to reflect the revealed will of Allāh on earth through His authorised interpreters. Today, in contrast, the parliament is the declared source of sovereignty, and it sets bounds to the *sharīʿa*.

2. *The impetus for* tashrīʿ.

This was the desire to adapt the *sharīʿa* to the changing requirements of a modern society. The method to this end has been inspired by the West: the adoption of the institution of the legislature and the concept of codification. The Young Ottomans, the first Islamic constitutional movement, introduced these innovations in the second half of the 19th century, and the trend with respect to codification (*taḳnīn*), was followed in Egypt by the liberally-oriented modernist movement founded by Muḥammad ʿAbduh. He advocated the codification by the *ʿulamāʾ* (rather than the legislature) of *sharʿī* law pertaining to *muʿāmalāt* (with special reference to matters of personal status and *waḳf* [*q.v.*]) to be imposed on the *sharīʿa* courts by the state. Yet it was Western-trained lawyers who took the leading role in advancing *tashrīʿ* by promoting ideas such as statutory legislation, codification along European patterns and modernisation of the court system. Conservative sectors, mainly the religious establishment, opposed this trend. The government took a middle position.

In Egypt during the 1930s, attempts by the emerging Islamic political groups, especially the Muslim Brothers, to revive the *sharīʿa* through statutory legislation failed. In the 1970s these attempts were renewed (see below). The attempts were rejected mainly by secularised Muslim intellectuals, while the government again took a middle position.

Traditionalist *ʿulamāʾ* consider *tashrīʿ* a means of secularising the *sharīʿa*. Conformist *ʿulamāʾ* support the technique (and have even prepared legislative proposals, as in Egypt during the 1970s) for various reasons: they fear jeopardising their economic, social and political position; their integration into the political establishment enables them to better understand the interests of the state and to cooperate from inner conviction; they identify the good of the state with their own good; they fear that the alternative to moderate reformist policy via *tashrīʿ* may be a radical one outside their control; and finally, the reforms have not been carried out in the name of a declared anti-religious ideology.

In Saudi Arabia, the cooperation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *umarāʾ* has a theoretical basis in the political doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], according to which the *sharīʿa* depends on the ruler for its application while the state needs the *sharīʿa* for its legitimation.

3. *Codification of the* sharīʿa.

Legal reform in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire started with adoption of European codes (such as commercial and criminal) in their entirety, but soon shifted to codification, along Western patterns, of various domains of the *sharīʿa*. The most important codification of the 19th century was the *Medjelle*, the Ottoman civil code [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Egyptian jurist Muḥammad Ḳadrī Pasha compiled three codes pertaining to obligations and contracts, personal status, and *waḳf*. Similarly to the *Medjelle*, these too were based on selection (*takhayyur*) from the Ḥanafī school. In contrast to the *Medjelle*, however, they were not endorsed officially as state laws, though due to the author's prestige they were sometimes resorted to by courts both in and outside of Egypt.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, codification has been extended to matters of personal status and succession (which are the core of the *sharīʿa*), and to *waḳf*. Following the Ottoman Family Rights Law of 1917, most Middle Eastern and North African countries have promulgated reformist statutes in these domains. The impetus for the reforms was the desire to adapt *sharīʿa* norms to the features of the nuclear family and to strengthen the position of women [see NIKĀḤ; ṬALĀḲ; MĪRĀTH].

The Egyptian jurist ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Sanhūrī compiled the Egyptian civil code of 1948, which was based on the French-inspired Egyptian codes of 1875 and 1883, national court decisions, and (to a lesser extent) the *sharīʿa*. In the event of a lacuna, the court shall decide in accordance with (1) customary law, (2) adequate principles of the *sharīʿa*, and (3) the principles of equity. The Egyptian civil code was adopted with some variations by Syria (1949) and Libya (1954). Al-Sanhūrī was also the architect of the civil code of ʿIrāḳ (1953), which is strongly inspired by the *Medjelle*, and that of Kuwait (1961). The Sudanese Transactions Act of 1984 is based mainly on the Jordanian civil code of 1976, which in turn is also based on the *Medjelle*. The Iranian civil code of 1939 is a combination of *sharʿī* and French legal principles. This applies also to the Tunisian Code of Obligations and Contracts of 1906.

The juristic basis for accommodating the *sharīʿa* via codification has been provided by a wide range of methods, some of which were provided by the modernists, such as *takhayyur* and *talfīḳ* [*q.v.*], *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, *maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*] and neo-*idjtihād* [see MAḤKAMA. 4. xiii].

No legislature in the strict sense of the term has so far been introduced in Saudi Arabia. The King's power to issue administrative orders (*marsūm* rather than *ḳānūn*) is in the best tradition of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. In the wake of Ibn Suʿūd's unsuccessful attempt to codify the *sharīʿa*, six books by well-known Ḥanbalī jurists were designated as authoritative sources to be relied on (in a certain order) in the *sharīʿa* courts.

4. *Reinstating the* sharīʿa *via* tashrīʿ.

Since the early 1970s, there has been an increasing tendency towards the Islamisation of various domains of the law, especially the penal law, in countries such as Libya, Iran, the Sudan and Pakistan. This too has proceeded by means of codification and statutory legislation, as well as by national court decisions making the validity of statutory provisions conditional on the extent of their conformity to the *sharīʿa*.

In Egypt, attempts in the 1970s towards reviving the *sharīʿa* have not yielded any substantial results, the only exception being the prohibition (1976) on the consumption of alcohol in public places, which has had a minimal effect. In the early 1980s a parliamentary committee drafted six *sharīʿa*-inspired codes pertaining to civil and penal codes, and codes of procedure, evidence, maritime commerce, and commerce. These were aborted, however, before they were given life.

5. *The courts' attitudes towards* tashrīʿ.

In Egypt, *ḳāḍīs* resisting personal status reforms interpreted them narrowly. Many other *ḳāḍīs* applied the reforms either technically—in the spirit of the *ʿulamāʾ*'s traditional obedience to the ruler's decrees—or out of ingenious support for the aims of the reforms. Some *ḳāḍīs* have even interpreted the reforms quite broadly. Generally speaking, it seems that many *ḳāḍīs* have been attentive to social change and encouraged by the statutory legislation to adopt a more innovative legal approach. As a whole, they did not obstruct the application of the reforms.

The Egyptian national courts, whose jurisdiction has been extended to matters of personal status since the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts (1955), apply statutory reformist provisions without inhibitions. When there are lacunae, however, they do not hesitate to adopt legal norms of the Ḥanafī or any other school of law. They apply Ḥanafī, alongside civil, rules of evidence and procedure.

A few Egyptian judges of the civil courts, invoking Article 2 of the 1980 Constitution (according to which the *sharīʿa* is the main source of legislation), refused to apply statutory provisions contradictory to the *sharīʿa*, usually referring the case to the Supreme Constitutional Court to obtain a ruling with regard to the constitutionality of the provisions concerned. In a 1985 decision, the Supreme Constitutional Court rejected the appeals of such judges by ruling that Article 2 was not applicable to legal enactments in force prior to the adoption of the 1980 Constitution.

6. *Evaluation of* tashrīʿ.

From the strictly orthodox *sharʿī* point of view, mere codification inevitably implies the transformation of the *sharīʿa* from jurists' to statutory law. Statutory provisions have an autonomous existence based on state-imposed sanctions, and the *sharʿī* elements are to be interpreted strictly within the framework of the national-territorial statutes. In other words, on the level of the basic norm (which represents the primary legal norm in any given country) codification results in a complete departure from the religious-legal literature (unless, in the event of a lacuna, the court is directed by the legislator to resort to the *sharīʿa*). On the level of interpretation, however, the court is not debarred from consulting religious-legal literature (or any other source) provided the court does not contradict statutory provisions, as Egyptian *ḳāḍīs* were prone to do prior to the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts.

Moreover, codification brings about total disruption of the *sharʿī* legal methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]) (without a new doctrine taking its place), the corpus of the *sharʿī* positive law as consolidated in the schools of law (*madhāhib*) and the legal professional class of the *fuḳahāʾ* and *muftīs*, the authorised exponents of the *sharīʿa*. In Libya and the Sudan, the selective incorporation of *sharʿī* norms into statutory legislation, within the policy of the Islamisation of the legal system, has in many cases caused deviations from the *sharīʿa*, to the point of distorting it. In Iran under Khumaynī, jurists' law was not restored, the Madjlis did not cease to exist, and not all the statutes contradictory to the *sharīʿa* were abolished.

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(A. Layish and R. Shaham)

TASHRĪFĀT [see marāsim. 1; nīshān].

TASHRĪḤ (a.), a technical term for anatomy. Early dictionaries give only two meanings: the cutting of flesh from the bones and slicing it very thin prior to cooking (referring to preparation of animal meat for food), and the expounding upon a question and thus exposing an obscurity (e.g. *LA*, √ *sh-r-ḥ*); in the second sense it is similar to *sharḥ* [*q.v.*]. The

medical definition occurs in later lexicons (e.g. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, cols. 408-9; Tahānawī, *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, Calcutta 1853-62, 735) where it is used for both anatomy as a description of the human body and for the empirical science of dissection.

Knowledge of anatomy in mediaeval Islam was firmly based on the anatomical writings of the Greek physician Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS], who flourished in the 2nd century A.D., and who to a large extent argued from analogy with animal structures. Galen's writings were available in the Islamic world through the translations of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ al-ʿIbādī [*q.v.*] and his collaborators. Galen presented the material in a highly teleological manner, with constant emphasis on structure and function demonstrating the design of the Creator, and this approach found a receptive audience amongst Islamic philosopher-physicians.

All the major Arabic and Persian medical encyclopaedias had sections on anatomy describing the bones, muscles, nerves, arteries, veins, and the compound organs which included the eye [see ʿAYN], the liver [see KABID], the heart and the brain. The relevant sections from the *K. al-Manṣūrī* (*maḳāla* 1, *bābs* 1-26) by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], from the *Kāmil al-ṣināʿa* (*djuzʾ* I, *maḳāla* 2, *bābs* 1-16, on homogenous parts including the bones, nerves, blood-vessels, cartilages, membranes, ligaments, hair, nails; and *maḳāla* 3, *bābs* 1-37 on heterogenous parts consisting of the muscles and compound organs) by ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*], and from the *Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* (*kitāb* I, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 5, *djumlas* 1-5 on bones, muscles, nerves, arteries and veins; and scattered passages in *kitāb* III, *fanns* 1-22 on compound organs) by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] have been published and translated into French by de Koning. Such works summarised the Galenic anatomical concepts and were occasionally illustrated with schematic diagrams of the eye, the cranial sutures, or the bones of the upper jaw. Debates arose regarding the total number of bones and muscles in the human body.

Ocular anatomy was discussed in treatises concerned with ophthalmology or optics, such as those by Khalīfa b. Abi ʾl-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*] or al-Ḥasan b. al-Haytham, which often included illustrations of the eye. Anatomy was also a topic in non-medical writings such as the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawdjūdāt* by al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], where there is a discussion of the human body as one of the wonders of the world. In the early 8th/14th century, Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb [*q.v.*] had translated into Persian for his world history an illustrated Chinese anatomical treatise (*Tanksūḳ-nāma-yi īlkhānī*, coll. works, Tehran 1971, ii), which appears to have had no subsequent influence upon Islamic anatomical thought.

No anatomical illustrations of the entire body are known to have been produced in the Islamic world before those that usually accompany the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* by Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ilyās, whose Persian-language treatise, often called "Manṣūr's Anatomy" was dedicated to a grandson of Tīmūr and ruler of Fars from 796-812/1394-1409. The treatise consists of an introduction followed by five chapters on the "systems" of the body: bones, nerves, muscles, veins and arteries, each illustrated by a full-page diagram with numerous Persian-Arabic labels. A concluding section on compound organs and the formation of the foetus is usually illustrated with a diagram showing a pregnant woman.

A similarity has been noted between the first five illustrations accompanying the *Tashrīḥ-i Manṣūrī* and a set of anatomical illustrations that appeared in earlier Latin medical treatises. This similarity is particularly evident in the diagram of the skeleton, which in both the Latin and Islamic versions is viewed from behind, with the head hyperextended so that the face looks upward. All the figures are in a distinctive squatting posture. The earliest Latin set dates from the 12th century A.D. while the earliest dated Islamic set was completed on 4 Muḥarram 894/8 December 1488 (Bethesda, Md., NLM ms. P 18).

The origin of this anatomical series remains a puzzle. It clearly predates the Tīmūrid treatise by Ibn Ilyās, with which about two-thirds of the nearly 70 perserved sets of Islamic diagrams are associated. The remainder are more recent renderings, usually unlabelled, that circulated independently or were inserted into copies of other treatises. The sixth figure in the Islamic series, the pregnant woman, has no parallel in the earlier Latin series and was probably a contribution by Ibn Ilyās himself. It was constructed from the arterial figure, without the labels, over which there was superimposed an oval gravid uterus having the foetus in a breech or transverse position.

Systematic human anatomical dissection was no more a pursuit of mediaeval Islamic society than it was of medieval Christendom. It seems clear from the available evidence, however, that there were no explicit legal or religious strictures banning it. Indeed, many Muslim scholars lauded the study of anatomy, primarily as a way of demonstrating the design and wisdom of God. Typical of such sentiments is a saying attributed to Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]: "Whoever has been occupied with the science of anatomy has increased his belief in God" (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo-Königsberg 1882-4, ii, 77). What is meant by the "science of anatomy" (*ʿilm al-tashrīḥ*) in such statements is not the dissection of an animal in order to determine its structure, but rather the elaboration of the ideas of Galen regarding structure and function. There are, however, some references in scholarly and medical writings to dissection, though to what extent these reflect actual practice it is impossible to say.

What is certain is that mediaeval Islamic writers made two noteworthy contributions to the knowledge of anatomy. One was the result of chance observation: following the discovery of some skeletons during a famine in Egypt in 597/1200, the scholar and physician ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] improved the description of the bones of the lower jaw and the sacrum.

The second was the description of the movement of the blood through the pulmonary transit by the Syrian physician Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*], who composed a commentary on the *Ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb* of Ibn Sīnā in which Ibn al-Nafīs criticised Ibn Sīnā for spreading his discussion of anatomy over several different sections, for which reason Ibn al-Nafīs subsequently prepared a separate commentary on just the anatomical portions (*Sharḥ tashrīḥ al-Ḳānūn*, ed. S. Ḳaṭāya and B. Ghalyūndjī, Cairo 1988). A subject of debate among historians is whether Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the anatomy was available through translation to European physicians. In his commentary, preserved in a copy completed in 640/1242 some 46 years before his death (Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, ms. Ar. 80), Ibn al-Nafīs described the movement of blood through the pulmonary transit, explicitly stating that the blood in the right ventricle of the heart must reach the left ventricle by way of the lungs and not through a passage connecting the ventricles, as Galen had maintained. This formulation of the

pulmonary circulation, sometimes called the "lesser" circulation, was made three centuries before those of Michael Servetus (d. 1553) and Realdo Colombo (d. 1559), the first Europeans to describe the pulmonary circulation. It is known that Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on the last part of the *Ḳānūn*, concerned with compound remedies, was translated into Latin by the Renaissance physician Andrea Alpago (d. 1522), who had also prepared a new translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*. The translation of Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on compound remedies was not published until 1547, when it was printed at Venice, but the possibility remains that other parts of Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary might have been transmitted through unpublished translations. Within the Islamic world, Ibn al-Nafīs's commentary on Ibn Sīnā's anatomy remained relatively unknown. However, two 8th/14th century writers knew of his theory of pulmonary circulation, the 10th/16th-century physician 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī wrote two anatomical treatises dependent upon it, and passages from it are not infrequently encountered as marginalia in Arabic manuscripts.

While Galenic anatomy remained otherwise unchallenged in the Islamic world until the 17th century, in Europe new ideas on the subject emerged in the 16th century. Andreas Vesalius's Latin treatise *De humani corporis fabrica*, printed in Basel in 1543, signified a break with the classical Greek reliance on the application by analogy of animal anatomy to the human body, for in it he undertook systematic human dissection in an attempt to re-evaluate traditional Galenic anatomy. By the 17th century it is evident that Vesalius's treatise was known in the Ottoman and Ṣafawid empires. Illustrations from the *Fabrica* influenced the drawings of individual parts of the body included in the anatomical treatise by Shams al-Dīn 'Itāḳī. In his Turkish treatise, *Tashrīḥ-i abdān wa tardjumān-i ḳabāla-yi faylasūfān*, dedicated to Murād IV [*q.v.*] in 1033/1623, 'Itāḳī intermingled renderings of the Vesalian woodcuts illustrating the brain, skull, vertebral column, eye muscles, uro-genital systems and bones of the legs, feet and hands with schematic diagrams in the tradition of Ibn Ilyās.

Evidence of Persian interest in Vesalian anatomy is found in anonymous Persian manuscripts of the late 17th to mid-19th century which contain ink sketches of the skeletal and muscular figures, and some individual organs, based on diagrams in the *Fabrica*, as well as a large Ḳādjār oil painting apparently intended for didactic purposes. In western India, the continued blending of mediaeval/Galenic anatomy with early modern concepts is evident in a 19th-century copy of the Persian manual by Ibn Ilyās, accompanied by 24 unusual illustrations mixing the two anatomical traditions (Edinburgh University library, ms. Or. 416).

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(Emilie Savage-Smith)

TASHRĪḲ (a.), a special name for the last three days of the Muslim Ḥadjdj (11-13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja: *Ayyām al-Tashrīḳ*), during which the pilgrims, having finished their regular rites with the sacrifice on the 10th, stay in Minā and have to throw seven stones daily on each of the three piles of stones [see djamra; ḥadjdj] there. Legally, these stoning rites comprise one of the obligatory pilgrimage duties (*wādjibāt*) according to the four Sunnī schools (*al-Fiḳh 'alā al-madhāhib al-arba'a*, Cairo 1967, 649-51; cf. Ibn Rushd, *The distinguished jurist's Primer* [*Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*], tr.

I.A.H. Nyazee, Reading, U.K. 1994, 414-18). According to the Ḥadīth, fasting is not allowed on these days, for they are "days of eating and drinking", *ayyām akl wa-sharāb* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13 [*Siyām*], 144, 145; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭa'*, 20 [*Ḥadjdj*], 44, 134-7; al-Nasā'ī, 47 [*Īmān*], 7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 229, iii, 401, 460, iv, 335, v, 75-6, etc.). With reference to Ḳur'ān II, 184, these days are also said to be days that are to be devoted in addition to *dhikr Allāh* (Mālik b. Anas, *op. cit.*, 20, 44, 135). They are identified traditionally as *al-ayyām al-maʿdūdāt*, "the numbered (i.e. few) days" (Lane, 1971c; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13 [*ʿĪdayn*], 11).

In the early period of Islam, the name *tashrīḳ* was also given to the solemn *ṣalāt* on the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja. The term is probably a survival from the pre-Islamic period and therefore could no longer be explained by the Muslims with certainty. For example, the obvious explanation which derives the term from "cutting into strips and drying" the sacrificial meat left over on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, is doubtful. An isolated tradition derives *tashrīḳ* from the recitation of the words *ashriḳ thabīr kaymā nughīr* [see TAHLĪL; TALBIYA; TAKBĪR]. One would therefore have to assume that this formula was originally used not only, as we are told, on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja before sunrise but also at the lapidation on the following days, and that as an essential element it later became the name for the whole ceremony. In Islam, this lapidation is accompanied by *takbīr* (pronouncing *Allāhu akbar*) among other exclamations. This is perhaps why Abū Ḥanīfa explains *tashrīḳ* as *takbīr* (*TʿA*, vi, 393). See also ḤADJDJ.

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(R. PARET-[W.A. GRAHAM])

TĀSHUFĪN B. **ʿALĪ** b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, third Almoravid sovereign, ruled over the Maghrib and al-Andalus 537-9/1143-5.

During his father's reign, Tāshufīn served as governor of al-Andalus (522-32/1128-38) where he led several raids and counter-raids, mostly successful, against Christian strongholds and marauders in the regions of Toledo, Badajoz, Seville and Cordova. In 524/1130 he captured the fortress of Azeca, northwest of Toledo. Four years later, he beat off raiding parties in the vicinity of Badajoz, stormed Idania castle and Escalona, and at Albacar, north of Cordova, he narrowly escaped a surprise attack by a Castilian detachment of horsemen.

Growing jealous of Tāshufīn's popularity, Sīr, his half-brother and heir-apparent, prevailed upon his father to recall Tāshufīn to Marrakesh (early 532/1138). Following Sīr's death a few months later, Tāshufīn was enthusiastically acclaimed by Almoravid elders as heir-apparent and, upon his father's death, Tāshufīn succeeded him as *amīr al-muslimīn* on 8 Radjab 537/27 January 1143.

In Morocco, meanwhile, the power of the Almohad rebels, led by ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], was growing apace. At an encounter outside Tlemcen, the Almoravids, led by Tāshufīn, were routed and had to retreat to Oran. In the course of his retreat towards the coast where he had arranged for vessels from the fleet stationed in Almeria to arrive in order to transport him to al-Andalus, should the need arise, Tāshufīn fell from his horse off a cliff and died (27 Ramaḍān 539/23 March 1145).

Taking advantage of Tāshufīn's preoccupation with fighting the Almohads in the Maghrib, Alfonso VII of León seized a number of key Muslim strongholds, including Oreja, Coria and Mora, while Andalusian rebels rose against the Almoravids in the Algarve and at Cordova (539/1144-5).

In Morocco, ʿAbd al-Mu'min proceeded to capture Fez and the Almoravid capital Marrakesh, the latter's fall, after a two-year siege, on 17 Shawwāl 541/22 March 1147, marking the end of the Almoravid dynasty in the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

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(AMIN TIBI)

TASILI, conventionally TASSILI (Tamasheḳ Berber "plateau"), used by the Tuareg as a generic term for the sandy and rocky ensemble of plateaux of the central Saharan massif: Ahnet and Imidir in the north-west, Tassili N'Ajjer in the north-east, Tassili Tin Missao in the south-west and Tassili N'Ahaggar in the south.

They form an enceinte of heights, ringing at some distance the Ahaggar [*q.v.*] massif with its central position, with their rocky, impressive escarpments rising up to face it like posts for attack round a besieged town. They correspond to a primary geological layer (Ordovician and Devonian sandstones) set down on an ancient shelf of the African shield, which has been buckled under the impact of a great curving movement, pushing up in its centre the Ahaggar massif and leaving between this last and the scarps of the Tassilis a vast, ring-shaped depression. The symmetry of this phenomenon is, however, far from perfect, since the enceinte is at present composed only of the remaining reliefs, although that on the north is quasi-continuous. It is the north-east which is the most regular and which has the highest altitudes (1,700 m/5,100 feet, and even 2,100 m/6,300 feet in the volcanic massif of the Adrar), and which is accordingly a little more humid and a little more favourable to life; this is the region of Tassili N'Ajjer.

The Tassili N'Ajjer lies mainly within modern

Algeria, but stretches into Libya (lat. 26° 30' N to 24° N., long. 5° 30' E. to 10° 30' E.). It comprises two successive series of plateaux, ending in the south in several imposing escarpments, and growing lower towards the north and north-east by vast edges. The whole is gashed by water-made and wind-made erosion: whence the astonishing and grandiose topography, the existence of ramparts, canyons, towers, pinnacles and jagged and ruin-like sites. The altitude of the whole region and the sandy nature of the terrain are conducive to intermittent torrents in the wadis, permit watercourses at high levels and explain the presence of certain local species: the pools preserve various species of fish; a small crocodile was killed in 1924 in the wadi Ihérir; and several hundreds of the Tassili cypress (*cupressus dupresianus*), thousands of years old, survive in certain hollows (Tamrit).

The region owes its name to the Kel Ajjer, a confederation of Tuareg nomads, cousins and enemies of the Kel Ahaggar at the end of the 19th century. At that time they were organised in a very hierarchical society, made up of noble tribes (Oraren, five sections) and vassal tribes paying tribute (Imrad, twelve sections). At the beginning of the 20th century, the region, explored by Henri Duveyrier who has left some remarkable descriptions, was the subject of dispute between the Turkish power in Tripoli and the French army in Algeria. Today, the border leaves G̲h̲āt in Libya and D̲j̲anet in Algeria.

Prehistory has left the Tassili a fabulous legacy. Over a long period stretching from 8,000 to 2,000 B.C., when conditions were somewhat wetter, the peoples of these massifs painted or incised on the rocky faces the episodes which made up their life, and above all, the wild animals which they hunted. They have accordingly created one of the finest open-air museums in the world. The sites of Wadi D̲j̲erat, of Séfar, of Tamrit and of Jabbaren offer works which are quite beautiful, and now famous throughout the world; the name of Henri Lhote is linked with the recording of these discoveries. More than 10,000 of these paintings and carved drawings have been counted, making the Tassili one of the finest permanent records of the Sahara. The Libyan parts also contain sites with rock illustrations (the D̲j̲ebels Messak and Akakus).

Today, the massif has a small population of some 20,000 Tuaregs, nomads who either live off their herds or are grouped in small localities where they act as guides for tourists. G̲h̲āt, D̲j̲anet and Ihérir have small palm groves. D̲j̲anet in the south and Illizi in the north are two lively centres in Algerian territory. G̲h̲āt, the traditional capital of the Tassili and an important stage along the caravan routes, is now in Libyan territory and suffers a little from its frontier position. Because of the rugged terrain, the massif is difficult to cross: Illizi and G̲h̲āt are accessible by road, and D̲j̲anet by aeroplane.

In 1982 Tassili was classified by UNESCO as a "world heritage" region. Since 1972 it has been organised by Algeria into a National Park, reorganised in 1987 over an area of 72,000 km^2. The Tassili National Park Department, like that of the Hoggar, is dependent on the Ministry of Culture. It has the task of studying the cultural and ecological heritage which makes up the whole, and at the same time of controlling the influx of tourists which, for a decade now, has alighted at D̲j̲anet in order to ascend the plateau and find out about the rock paintings.

Bibliography: H. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, Paris 1864; Lt. Ardaillon, *Notes sur les Touareg Ajjer*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie d'Alger*, xvi (1911); R. Capot-Rey, *Le Sahara français*, Paris 1953; G. Gardel, *Les Touareg Ajjer*, Algiers 1963; G. Arduz, *La situation économique de Djanet en 1965*, in *Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes*, 105-27; H. Lhote, *A la découverte des fresques du Tassili*, Grenoble 1973; idem, *Les gravures rupestres de l'Oued Djerat*, Algiers 1975. See also AHAGGAR. (M. CÔTE)

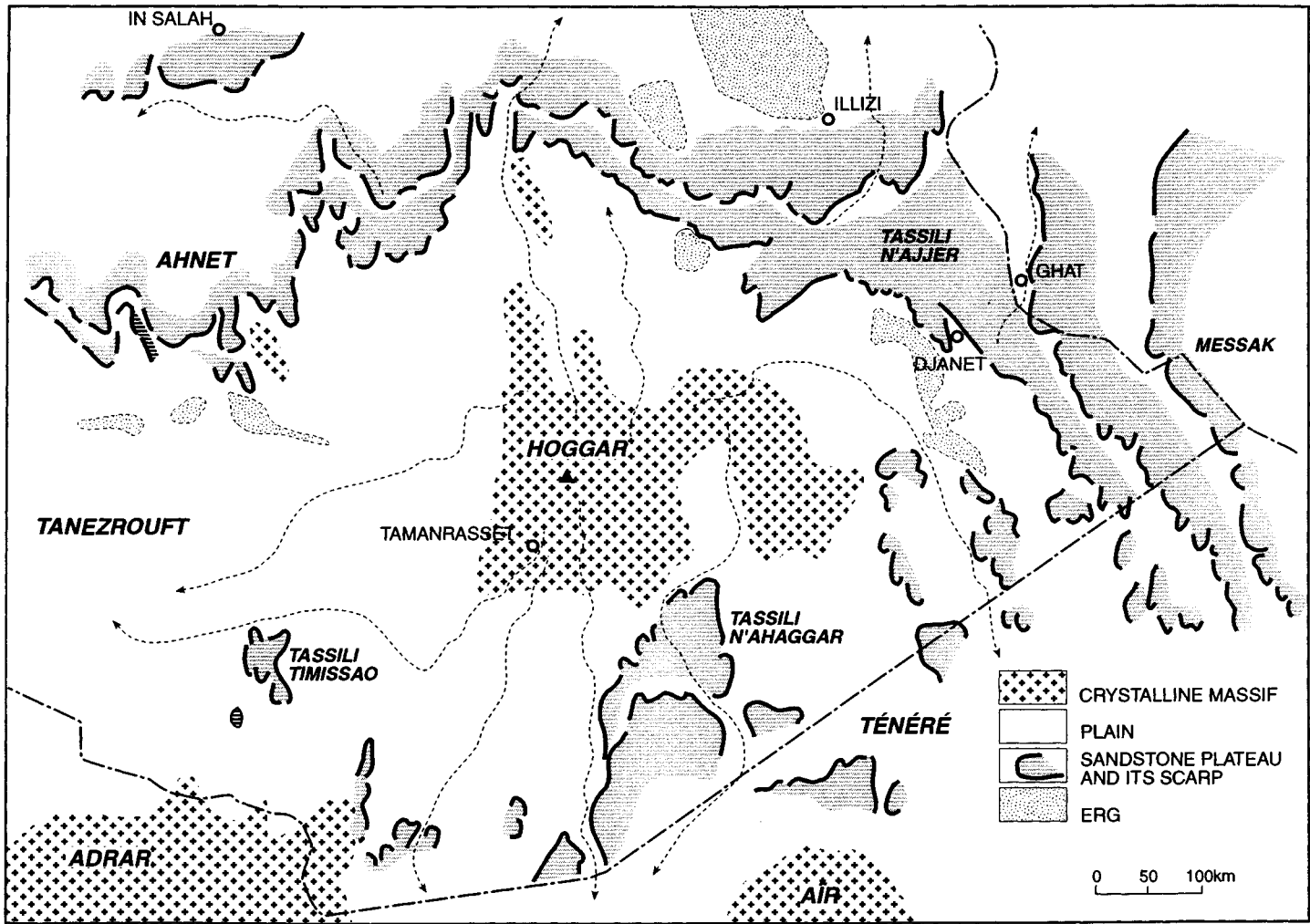
TASʿĪR (A.), verbal noun from the form II verb *saʿʿara* which means, according to Lane, "to assign a known and fixed price"; hence *siʿr* is "that upon which the value (*t̲h̲aman*) is established". The particle "that" gives *siʿr* a wider breadth than the concept of monetary value. In fact, a similar usage of "that" was included in the UAE Civil Code defining "price", which is presumably *t̲h̲aman* and not *siʿr*, as follows: "that which the parties have agreed in consideration of the sale, whether it is greater or less than the [true] value" (art. 503).

In Islamic law, the distinction between *siʿr* and *t̲h̲aman* appears subtle, owing to the proximity of the two concepts, and can easily be confused. However, it is clearer when one considers the verbal noun forms of the two words. *Tat̲h̲mīn* refers to estimating the value, *ḳīma*, of the subject-matter, whereas *tasʿīr* is concerned with the commodity's fixed price. The Prophet is reported to have declined to fix the price of goods on the grounds that "the one fixing the price, *musaʿʿir*, is God". The *LA* accordingly states that "no-one should fix prices". However, both ʿUmar and ʿAlī are reported to have advocated price fixing during their reigns, although the former's view was said to be merely a meritorious advice that he gave when he saw a tradesman selling his raisins at a price so low that it could have damaged the prices in the market (Ibn Ḳudāma). This apparently contrasting view led to conflicting opinions regarding the validity of *tasʿīr* even within the same school of law. Al-Mud̲j̲aylidī (a Mālikī scholar, d. 1094/1683), in his unique treatise on *tasʿīr*, bases its principle on the grounds of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*), postulating that it can only be practised on commodities of weight or measure. This principle had been accepted by other scholars like al-S̲h̲āfiʿī and Mālik. It is relevant to state here that, though *tasʿīr* is inherently a practical market device, the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] is not allowed to fix it himself. The fixing of prices requires a political decision, whereby "the Imām would gather and consult the leading figures (*wud̲j̲ūh*) of the market who deal in the commodity in question". Once the price is fixed by the Imām, all sale contracts according to it are valid and the Imām or the *muḥtasib* can punish the person who does not obey the ruling by discretionary punishment (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]).

Bibliography: *LʿA*, ed. Dār Ṣādir n.d, vi, 365; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1336; Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Mud̲j̲aylidī, *al-Taysīr fī aḥkām al-tasʿīr*, ed. Mūsā Liḳbāl, Algiers 1970, 51; Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, Ar. text 64-6, Eng. tr. 21, ed. M. Shaʿbān and S. Muṭayʿī, Cairo 1976, 120-1; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, Beirut 1984, vi, 303-4; Wahba al-Zuḥaylī, *al-Fiḳh al-Islāmī wa-adillatuh*, Beirut 1985, vi, 401-3; S.E. Rayner, *The theory of contracts in Islamic law*, London 1991, 143. (MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

ṬASḲ [see K̲H̲ARĀD̲J̲].

TAṢLIYA (A.), the invocation of God's blessing upon the Prophet Muḥammad.

The word has many applications, but commonly refers to the section of the *tas̲h̲ahhud* [*q.v.*] in the ritual *ṣalāt* [*q.v.*], following the *taḥiyya* ("greeting") and

s͟hahāda [*q.v.*], in which the worshipper recites the *ṣalāt ʿalā ʾl-nabī* (*taṣliya* being derived from this sense of "performing the *ṣalāt*", perhaps). One typical formulation of the *taṣliya* is known as *al-ṣalawāt al-ibrāhīmiyya*, see ṢALĀT. III. B. A *taṣliya* is also a part of the response to the *ad͟hān* [*q.v.*], also known as the *duʿāʾ al-wasīla* the "prayer of mediation": "O God, send your blessing (*ṣalli*) on our Lord Muḥammad and on the family of our Lord Muḥammad and greet them with peace! O God, the Lord of this completed call and of the prayer about to commence, give to our Lord Muḥammad mediation, merit and a high rank, and that praiseworthy station which You have promised him" (see prayer manuals commonly in use, e.g. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, *Salat or Islamic prayer book*, Lahore 1971 etc., 18-19). The term *durūd* is used to refer to the *taṣliya*, especially in India and Pakistan; *ḳunūt* ([*q.v.*]; see also S. Bashear, Qunūt *in* tafsīr *and* ḥadīth *literatures*, in *JSAI*, xix [1995], 36-65) also overlaps with the term in some contexts (e.g. the *witr* prayer), in which supplications are inserted into the *ṣalāt*, frequently being invocations of Muḥammad.

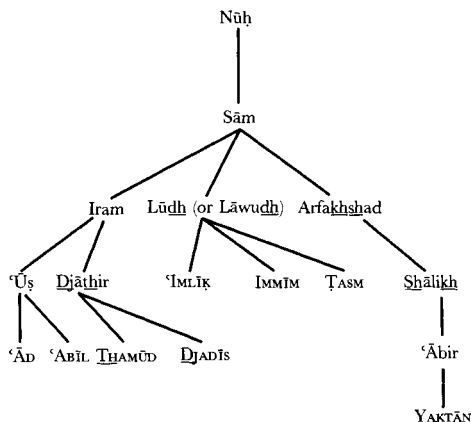
More broadly, *taṣliya* can be understood as (but, as a term, is not usually understood to be derived from) the repetition of the phrase *ṣallā ʾllāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama*, "May the prayers and peace of God be upon him" (and variations thereon), a phrase which, in later theory, is limited in application as a eulogy to Muḥammad alone (and thus consistent with *taṣliya* being understood as *ṣalāt ʿalā ʾl-nabī*) but, in fact, has been used widely in a variety of contexts throughout history.

The origin of the practices and phraseologies of the *taṣliya* is traced to the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt͟h*. The Ḳurʾānic statement in XXXIII, 56, "God and His angels bless (*yuṣallūna*) the Prophet. O believers, bless him (*ṣallū*) and pray for peace for him (*sallimū taslīm^an^*)", is cited in this regard, although the implications of God "blessing" Muḥammad in the way in which individual Muslims "bless" him did raise a number of concerns, leading to glosses of *ṣallā* here as "forgive" or "praise" when spoken of as the action of God. Similarly, statements of invocation are not conceived of as "intercession" by the believer on behalf of Muḥammad, who is certainly not thought of as being in need of intercession on his behalf. Rather, they are understood as pleas that Muḥammad's intercession be accepted by God on behalf of his followers.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Über die Eulogien der Muhammedaner*, in *ZDMG*, 1 (1896), 97-128 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv, 37-68); E. Calverly, *Worship in Islam being... al-G͟hazzālī's Book of the Iḥyāʾ on worship*, Madras 1925, 4-6; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim devotions. A study of prayer-manuals in common use*, London 1961, repr. Oxford 1996, 152-72; Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri. II. Qurʾanic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967, 88 and refs. there; F. Meier, *Die segenssprechung über Mohammed im bittgebet und in der bitte*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxvi (1986), 364-401, repr. in his *Bausteine—Aufsätze zur Islamwissenschaft*, 3 vols., Istanbul and Stuttgart 1992, ii, 837-75; K. Nakamura, *Al-Ghazālī. Invocations and supplications*, Cambridge 1990, 46-50 (= *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1397/1978, i, 311-13), which brings together many of the *ḥadīt͟h* reports on the subject.

(A. RIPPIN)

ṬASM, name of one of the legendary extinct tribes of the Arabs, *al-ʿarab al-bāʾida*. These tribes are genealogically directly linked up to Biblical genealogies and thus precede the split into Northern and Southern Arabs, symbolised by the eponyms ʿAdnān and Ḳaḥṭān. According to one of our earliest sources, Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], Ṭasm's relationship to the other tribes (in small capitals) is as follows:

Nūḥ
Sām
Iram — Lūd͟h (or Lāwud͟h) — Arfak͟hs͟had
ʿŪṣ — D͟jāt͟hir — ʿIMLĪḲ — IMMĪM — ṬASM — S͟hālik͟h
ʿĀD — ʿABĪL — T͟HAMŪD — D͟JADĪS — ʿĀbir
YAḲṬĀN

(see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 40, which see also for the vocalisation of "Immīm"; and cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 384; Ibn Ḥazm, *D͟jamhara*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 486, and, with variations, al-Ṭabarī, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm, i, 203-9 (mainly based on Ibn Isḥāḳ), tr. W. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1987, 12-20; the translator renders ʿAbīl, Immīm, and D͟jadīs as ʿUbayl, Umaym, and D͟judays, for which there seems to be no authority).

These tribes were the first to speak Arabic after the confusion of tongues at Babel and are, therefore, called *al-ʿarab al-ʿāriba*, in contradistinction to *al-ʿarab al-mutaʿarriba* (sometimes *al-mustaʿriba*), referring to the descendants of Ismāʿīl who learned Arabic by settling among the "true" Arabs (there is, however, much fluctuation among the sources with regard to the application of these terms).

When the tribes moved into the Arabian Peninsula, Ṭasm settled in the Yamāma, where they were later joined by D͟jadīs. The most famous story is set in this situation. Its main elements are the following: Ṭasm under their king ʿImlīḳ erect a tyrannical rule over D͟jadīs. An estranged couple from D͟jadīs with their young son come before the king asking that he act as an arbiter in their custody battle (a migratory anecdote); the king, however, treats them atrociously. The woman gives vent to her frustration in a poem. The king, greatly angered, institutes the *ius primae noctis*, though pertaining only to the virgins of D͟jadīs. One of the victims manages to shake D͟jadīs out of their fearful lethargy. Her brother, in a leadership position within the tribe, invites Ṭasm (i.e. the king and his court) to a large banquet, where they are all treacherously massacred, this against the advice of his sister who wanted a more manly procedure. A single Ṭasmī escapes and succeeds in persuading the King of Ḥimyar, Ḥassān, to mount a campaign of revenge against D͟jadīs. He informs the king that he has a sister (the famous *kāhina* Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma [*q.v.*]) married among the D͟jadīs who has an extremely far-reaching sight and might warn D͟jadīs of the approach of the army. They use the "march of Birnam wood" ruse (as in *Macbeth*); consequently, the abstruse report of Zarḳāʾ al-Yamāma meets with little credence among the D͟jadīs. They are taken by surprise and

wiped out, and only the regicide escapes. He goes to the Two Mountains of Ṭayyi', before even Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*] has settled there. The story of the migration of Ṭayyi' from the South is intercalated here. When they arrive in their new territory, they find this single giant-like and fear-inspiring man in possession of the area. They have one of their youngsters kill him (a David and Goliath motif).

The story seems thus to have attracted a number of well-known motifs. A close study of the variants in the various sources might prove fruitful.

Bibliography: The earliest attestation of the story is presumably in 'Ubayd ('Abīd) b. Sharya, *Akhbār al-Yaman*, ed. F. Krenkow, as an appendix to his ed. of Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tīdjān*, Ḥaydarābād 1347/1928-9, 311-492, here 483-7 (incomplete at the end due to defective mss.); see also *Aghānī*[3], xi, 164-9; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, Cairo 1340/1921-2, 62-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 351-4 (he dates 'Imlīḳ to the time of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* after Alexander); Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, 339-44; A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, i, 28-30; R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 4, 25.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TASMIYA [see BASMALA].

TAṢNĪF (A.), lit. "sorting out, distinguishing, classifying s.th.", whence "putting in order, composing a book, etc.", and then as a common noun "orderly presentation or classification". See INSHĀ'; KITĀB, and the *Bibl.* to this last article, to which should be added G. Bosch, J. Carswell and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic bindings and bookmaking. Catalogue of an exhibition*, The Oriental Institute, Chicago 1981; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book*, Eng. tr. G. French, Princeton 1984.

The associated noun form *muṣannaf* has a technical usage in Islamic religious literature for the arrangement of items of religious learning, e.g. *ḥadīths*, in a structured arrangement of chapters or other subdivisions; for this sense, see MUṢANNAF. (Ed.)

TASNĪM (A.). 1. The name of a fountain in Paradise, occurring in the Ḳur'ān, LXXXIII, 27, where it is said that its water will be drunk by the *muḳarrabūn* "those who are admitted to the divine presence" and that it will be mixed with the drink of the mass of the inhabitants of Paradise. The commentaries are uncertain whether *tasnīm* is a proper name—which, according to the *Lisān al-'Arab*, is inconsistent with its being a diptote—or a derivative from the root *s-n-m*, a root conveying the meaning of "being high" (cf. *sanām* "camel's hump"). In the latter case, the meaning of the verse would be: "and it (sc. the drink of the inhabitants of Paradise) will be mixed with water which is conducted to them from a high place". Al-Ṭabarī mentions a third explanation, sc. "hidden things gladdening the inhabitants of Paradise".

There seems to be no obvious etymology from other languages (see Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 91-2); Nöldeke (*Sketches from Eastern history*, 38) thought that it was an invention by Muḥammad himself.

Bibliography: Bukhārī, *Tafsīr* on sūra lxxxiii; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 59; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, vi, 502, and the other commentaries on the Ḳur'ān; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvi, 199.

2. The verbal noun of form II of *s-n-m* "raising graves above the level of the earth". It is said that Muḥammad's grave was *musannam* (al-Bukhārī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 96). On the other hand, it is said that Muḥammad ordered that graves should be levelled (Muslim, *Djanā'iz*, trads. 92, 93; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 18 bis, 21). Al-Shāfi'ī's opinion was that graves should be raised only so much that they could be recognised as such, lest people should sit or walk on them (al-Tirmidhī, *Djanā'iz*, *bāb* 56). The Mālikīs, however, preferred *tasnīm* (al-Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, ii, 344). See also ḲABR.

(A.J. Wensinck*)

TAṢRĪF, in Classical Arabic grammar, the term for one of the two main divisions of linguistic theory, the other one being *naḥw* [*q.v.*] in the sense of "syntax". *'Ilm al-taṣrīf* is the science that studies the alterations of words, excluding the declensional endings (*i'rāb*). According to the analysis of Bohas and Guillaume (1984, 15-21 and cf. Owens 1988, 98-104), *taṣrīf* is divided into two parts, which are roughly equivalent to the modern domains of morphology and morphonology. The first part studies the meaningful alterations of words, e.g. the changes in verbal measures, the plural patterns of nouns, or the diminutives. The second part analyses the morphonological changes in words (*'ilal*), e.g. the changes weak verbs undergo. Most definitions of *taṣrīf* emphasise its non-declensional character, for instance, that by al-Astarābādhī (*Sharḥ al-Shāfiya*, i, 1.15-16), *'ilm bi-uṣūl tu'rafu bihā aḥwāl abniyat al-kalim allatī laysat bi-i'rāb* "knowledge about rules by which one recognises the state of the patterns of words that are not declension". Others define *taṣrīf* in opposition to *naḥw*, for instance when Ibn Djinnī (*Munṣif*, i, 4.13-14) states that it is the *ma'rifat anfus al-kalim al-thābita* as against *naḥw*, which is the *ma'rifat aḥwāl [al-kalim] al-mutanaḳḳila*, where *aḥwāl* indicate the three cases of the word that alternate as the result of the action of an *'āmil*.

The origin of the term *taṣrīf* is unknown. The lexical meaning of both *ṣarafa* and *ṣarrafa* is "to send away, to avert, to inflect", as in the expression *tuṣarrif al-kalima 'alā wudjūh shattā* (Ibn Djinnī, *Munṣif*, i, 3.18). Form V of the verb means "to move freely", or in a legal sense, "to have the free disposition of finances". Applied to grammar this term is used for the free syntactic behaviour of some words (Versteegh 1990, 284). A similar meaning is manifest in other terms from the same root, e.g. *munṣarif (mutaṣarrif)* "fully declinable". In Classical grammar, this term is applied to the triptote nouns, but it also has a wider application meaning all words that occur in several forms (e.g. adverbials such as *ladun*) or words which may occur in several constructions. As a synonym for *taṣrīf*, the term *ṣarf* [*q.v.*] is used in later grammar; in modern Arabic publications this has become the usual term for "morphology". Originally, this term was used for a "divergence" between constituents in a sentence, which brings about a change in the endings, e.g. in the expression *lā ta'kul al-samaka wa-tashraba 'l-labana* (cf. Carter 1973).

In the translations of Greek philosophical and logical writings, *taṣrīf* is used as a general term for morphological changes of nouns and verbs, including declensional endings. Ibn Sīnā, for instance, uses it to translate the Aristotelian *ptōsis* (*Shi'r*, 191.24). Ibn Suwār (d. 408/1017) states that *taṣrīf* is *lafẓ yuzādu 'alā 'l-ism bi-ḥaraka 'alā istiḳāmatihi... wa-aṣnāf al-taṣārīf khamsa* "an expression that is added to the nominative of the noun in the form of a vowel... and there are five different *taṣārīf*", clearly referring to the five cases of Greek grammar (Georr 1948, 372.4-7 and cf. Versteegh 1977, 64-67). On the other hand al-Fārābī (*Sharḥ*, 32.15; 36.8; 42.21) assigns inflection to both nouns and verbs, perhaps reflecting a connection with the Greek *klisis*, which etymologically means approximately the same thing as Arabic *taṣrīf*.

In Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*, the term occurs only three times; once (ii, 315.6-7) *taṣrīf* denotes the procedure of the

analysis of words by means of the formal notation with the radicals *f-ʿ-l* (cf. Talmon 1982, 22). He ascribes this to the *naḥwiyyūn*, the preceding grammarians. In the other two passages it probably means the structure or pattern of a word (i, 341.14; i, 460.12). In al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* the term is more frequent; usually it means "structure" (e.g. *ʿAyn*, i, 326; i, 361.7). Once (*ʿAyn*, ii, 210.5) al-Khalīl refers to the *aṣḥāb al-taṣrīf*, who have a certain theory about the structure of a word. According to the Arabic tradition, the "invention" of *taṣrīf* was the work of the grammarian Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (d. 187/802), who was the first to use the notation with *f-ʿ-l* (cf. Abbott 1972, 6; al-Suyūṭī, *Iḳtirāḥ*, 84).

In the early period of Arabic grammar *taṣrīf*, therefore, was the term for a procedure of finding out the structure of a word, or the term for that structure itself. In later grammar this meaning of the term is still present, for instance when the grammarians define the function of *taṣrīf* as that of separating the radicals of a word from the additional consonants (Ibn Djinnī, *Munṣif*, i, 2.3-4 *bihi tuʿrafu uṣūl kalām al-ʿArab min al-zawāʾid al-dākhila ʿalayhā*). Because of its importance in the curriculum, it came to denote a separate domain of linguistics or a discipline *sui generis*. Where Sībawayhi had incorporated morphology in his *Kitāb*, dealing with it after the section on syntax and before the section of (mor)phonology, al-Māzinī (d. 248/862 [*q.v.*]) was the first to dedicate a monograph to this field; his *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* has been preserved in the extensive commentary on it by Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*] (cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 75). Other grammarians followed this example and wrote separate handbooks on morphology and syntax, for instance Ibn ʿUṣfūr, who wrote a *Kitāb al-Mumtiʿ fi ʾl-taṣrīf*, or al-Astarābādhī [*q.v.*], who wrote a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥādjib's [*q.v.*] *Shāfiya fi ʾl-taṣrīf*.

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ṬASSŪDJ (A., pl. *ṭasāsīdj*), a territorial division, a loan word in Arabic from the MP *tasōk* ("one quarter"). According to Frye, *tasōk* had been used under the Sāsānids for a subdivision of the city of Nīshāpūr [*q.v.*], but in the Arabic sources *ṭassūdj* is normally used for the rural subdivision of a *kūra*, mainly in the Sawād [*q.v.*] of ʿIrāḳ. There are said to have been 60 such subdivisions in ʿIrāḳ sometimes corresponding to canal districts. A *ṭassūdj* was sometimes equivalent to a *rustāḳ* [*q.v.*] (pl. *rasātīḳ*) or a *nāḥiya*, although the presence of a further subdivision at the village level might be reflected in the use of any of these terms as the subdivision of one of the others. Yāḳūt's account, following Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, that each *kūra* was divided into *rasātīḳ*, each *rustāḳ* into *ṭasāsīdj*, and each *ṭassūdj* into a number of villages, appears to be overly schematic. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, the *ṭasāsīdj* of the *kūra* of Ardashīr Bābakān in the Sawād were divided into *rasātīḳ*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 6-11; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, i, 39-41, cf. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yaqut's Muʿjam al-buldan*, Leiden 1959, 58; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 164-6; R.N. Frye, *Sasanian clay sealings in the collection of Mohsen Foroughi*, in *Iranica Antiqua*, iii (1968), 122, 131; idem, *Sasanian seal inscriptions*, in *Festschrift Franz Altheim*, Berlin 1970, 80-1; M. Morony, *Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-ʿIrāq*, in *Iran*, xx (1982), 4, 6. (M. Morony)

TAṢWĪR (A.), verbal noun from the form II verb *ṣawwara* "to form, fashion", then "depict, represent, illustrate". It is the principal term used in Arabic for both the representational arts including painting, drawing, sketching, engraving and photography (on which see 2. below) and the process of their creation. It is often contrasted to *timthāl* (sculpture) and synonymous with *ṣūra* and the rarer *taṣwīra* or their respective plural forms *ṣuwar* and *taṣāwīr*. Other synonyms of *taṣwīr* widely used in Persian texts are *naḳsh* (A.) and *nigār* (P.). Although in the usage of a particular author, period or region, *taṣwīr* and its synonyms may acquire more restricted or differentiated meanings, these terms remain virtually interchangeable. However, in a manuscript an individual painting, technical diagram, scientific illustration or map is more often labelled as *ṣūra* or *naḳsh* than *taṣwīr*.

1. In painting and other representational arts.

Although the art forms with which *taṣwīr* is usually associated are largely two-dimensional, Ḳurʾānic usage of the related verb *ṣawwara* suggests it had a primary meaning of giving form or shape to a person or thing (XL, 64; LXIV, 3; VII, 11; III, 6). The well-known strictures against idolatry in Islam inhibited the development of sculpture, so that the term *muṣawwir* which in the Ḳurʾān is applied to God as the fashioner of forms (LIX, 24), is normally used as the equivalent of "painter, draughtsman" when applied to a person. In Persian, *muṣawwir* is used as a professional epithet, as in "Mīr Muṣawwir", but in other contexts the terms *nigāranda* and *naḳḳāsh* are more often used for "painter, designer or engraver". In Ottoman Turkish, *naḳḳāsh* is the customary title for a painter.

There is no Ḳurʾānic interdiction of painting or the other representational arts, but reservations about their legality seem to appear in the theological literature from the late Umayyad or early ʿAbbāsid times. Widely-circulated *ḥadīth*s mention the reluctance of angels to enter a house which contains either a dog or a painting and predict dire punishment for a *muṣawwir* on the Day of Judgement when he will be held accountable for his inability to bring to life creatures which he has depicted. There are, however, countervailing *ḥadīth*s which narrow the focus of these

interdictions, such as the one describing how the Prophet ordered the destruction of all images in the Kaʿba except for one of the Virgin and Child. Some of the religious objections appear to spring from an aversion to idolatry, but others suggest a fear that images possessed quasi-magical powers (see further, ṢŪRA. 1).

The degree to which the concerns of theologians affected the practice of representational art, or shaped its character, appears to have varied considerably from region to region and period to period. Such strictures seem to have had the greatest impact in the Maghrib, where depictions of living creatures are rarely encountered, whereas in Persia and adjacent regions the objections of theologians seem to have been largely ignored. Nevertheless, an aversion from mixing worship with images ensured that, in Islamic communities, painting developed within the private sphere, and particularly in the context of the court. Its use in that setting could be compared with the patronage of music and the drinking of wine which often flourished, in private, despite criticism from the religious establishment.

A dichotomy between private and public spheres in the use of figural representations had already developed in the Umayyad period. The decoration of mosques with images of trees, vines and fruit in Damascus and Medina was counterbalanced by use of figural sculpture, painting and mosaic in luxurious private residences such as Khirbat al-Mafdjar and Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.vv.*]. This distinction continued under the ʿAbbāsids when figural wall-paintings, mentioned in texts, were also discovered in private areas of the Dār al-Khalīfa excavated at Sāmarrāʾ. This figural art used in early Islamic palaces is largely indebted to a widely diffused Greco-Roman idiom with some elements taken from the repertoire of Sāsānid art.

Although the dubious religious status of figural imagery did not prevent its use in a private context, such criticism probably lowered the social prestige of the profession and discouraged its growth. Moreover, comments in Islamic sources suggest that painting was a skill cultivated by non-Muslims, for they often praise Rūmī (Greek or Christian) and Čīnī (Chinese) painters. Thus Yāḳūt, in his description of the Sāmarrāʾ palaces, attributes their wall paintings to Rūmī painters.

The active pursuit of Greek learning in early ʿAbbāsid ʿIrāḳ also led to the importation of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts. The imprint of their paintings can be found in Arabic manuscript illustrations on subjects ranging from pharmacology and the antidotes to snake bites to the diseases of horses. There is, however, a curious chronological gap between the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries when Greek texts were translated, and the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries dates of their Arabic illustrated versions.

The most important Arabic illustrated text of the latter period was, however, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, and its illustrators drew upon the mood and setting of individual episodes to create images which portray many facets of life in ʿIrāḳ. The tendency to illustrate Arabic literary texts also spread to the Maghrib. The romance of Bayāḍ and Riyāḍ is known from a version illustrated in North Africa or Spain in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries. The novelty of its paintings is suggested by the fact that each is labelled and described. The production of Arabic illustrated books declined in ʿIrāḳ after the Mongol invasions but continued in Damascus and Cairo into the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries.

Persia was, however, the region where painting found its most congenial home, especially during the post-Mongol period when the patronage of painters became a standard feature of court life. During the first Islamic centuries, intellectual and cultural developments were largely focused on Khurāsān and Transoxania, the latter an area previously dominated by Soghdian principalities. Excavated buildings from Soghdian cities such as Afrāsiyāb and Pandjīkant show an extensive use of figural wall-paintings and sculpture in both temples and private dwellings. The most important legacy of Soghdian painting in the Islamic period was its use of images in conjunction with story-telling, a feature which may have been developed through contact with India, where itinerant story-tellers, who used portable images in their performances, were well established.

The linking of story-telling with pictures was carried into the Islamic period by the popularity of both moralising fables, such as the collection known as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], and heroic epics, notably the cycles included in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. Although evidence for the use of didactic or epic paintings in the early Islamic period is mainly literary rather than physical, such paintings are mentioned in both historical and poetic texts. The *Shāh-nāma* itself contains references to wall-paintings, including some with epic themes. One of the Sāmānid viziers is said to have owned an illustrated copy of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

The habit of decorating the walls of a palace with various kinds of paintings evidently continued during the period of Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳid domination. References in court poetry suggest that Ghaznawid pavilions were decorated with both figural and non-figural paintings, and excavated palaces in both Ghazna and Lashkar-i Bāzār [*q.vv.*] have yielded portions of wall paintings and figural relief sculpture. The most explicit reference to a connection between the recital of poetry and the use of wall-paintings comes in Ibn Isfandiyār's description of the palace of a ruler in the Caspian area. That ruler, who was particularly fond of the *Shāh-nāma*, arranged for its recital in a room, the walls of which were covered with paintings illustrating the stories themselves.

Illustration of themes from the *Shāh-nāma* appears to have been an important catalyst in popularising the use of both wall-paintings and book illustrations in Persia and adjacent regions. By the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, the *Shāh-nāma*'s popularity had spread to Saldjūḳ Anatolia, where it inspired the illustrations of a story detailing the travails of two lovers, Warḳa and Gulshāh. Later, the Ottomans were to use the *Shāh-nāma* as a model for the composition and illustration of their own dynastic epics.

The Mongol invasions were an important watershed in the development of painting within the Islamic Near East, since they introduced several new factors. The one most often mentioned by scholars is the incorporation of landscape features derived from Chinese painting into the repertoire of the Persian painter. This physical change, however, was also accompanied by other shifts in the scope and character of painting even more important for future developments. The preference of the Mongols and their successors for a peripatetic life encouraged the growth of a separate court culture at the expense of traditional cities. Gradually, the courts became centres for both the production and consumption of many luxury goods, including illustrated manuscripts.

Under the Mongols, the range of themes with which painters concerned themselves also expanded to include religious history. The development of didactic imagery

intended to illustrate important themes of Islam's history may have been stimulated by requests from the Mongols themselves, who were familiar with both Buddhist and Christian religious imagery. This avenue of development led to the creation of illustrative cycles devoted to themes such as the *Miʿrādj-nāma*, or epics which describe the exploits of ʿAlī. By the 19th century, this increased interest in religious imagery produced a genre of popular paintings celebrating important Shīʿī themes that acquired an almost iconic quality in commemorating the events depicted.

The most significant innovation of the post-Mongol period, however, was the use of painting as an instrument of dynastic prestige. This trend was initiated by the production of Rashīd al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, in which the achievements of the Mongols were integrated into a chronicle of world-wide scope. Although this text was written at the request of Ghazan Khān, the production of illustrated copies was entrusted to the author himself. This example of an illustrated dynastic chronicle was to provide a stimulus to the Tīmūrids, Mughals and Ottomans to have their own deeds illustrated. Although the stress varied from dynasty to dynasty, these illustrated histories helped further to expand the range of pictorial imagery and challenged painters to depict specific events in a recognisable setting. These books not only provide a kind of visual record of major accomplishments of a given ruler but also reveal that ruler's values and self-conception.

Among the successor dynasties of the Mongols, the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*] hold a special place in the development of painting, particularly because of the close connection that they established between painting and court life. Scenes depicting their palaces and courtiers were included not only in historical texts but also in poetic epics. This development created paintings which had a dual purpose: they both illustrate a text and refer obliquely to the manuscript's patron and the circumstances of his life. This innovation, which helped to create the pictorial equivalent of panegyric verse, also stimulated the inclusion of the ruler's portrait in the guise of a poetic hero.

The Tīmūrids were especially influential in their sponsorship of illustrated books. They made particular use of royal portraits placed in a book's opening pages, and one of the most impressive shows Sultan Ḥusayn with his drinking companions in a palace enclosure. A copy of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, which chronicles the life of Tīmūr, illustrated for Ḥusayn, later belonged to the Mughals and served as a model for their own dynastic histories. The Tīmūrid pictorial tradition was also influential in both Ṣafawid Persia and Ottoman Turkey.

The incorporation of painters into the entourage of rulers helped to increase the prestige of both painters and painting. This new prominence is signalled by a rise in the popularity of *murakkaʿ*s [*q.v.*] or albums containing choice specimens of painting and calligraphy, and also by the appearance of texts which chronicle the lives of painters. Although both genres existed in the Tīmūrid period, they were fully developed only under the Ṣafawids. The enthusiasm both for *murakkaʿ*s and for writing about the lives of painters soon spread to Mughal India and Ottoman Turkey. *Murakkaʿ*s prepared for members of the Mughal dynasty are among the most lavishly decorated of all Islamic books.

Although some paintings in *murakkaʿ*s were originally intended for inclusion in manuscripts, many others were made specifically for such compilations. Thus the increased popularity of albums is paralleled by a decline in the number of illustrated books. Many single-page paintings produced from the 10th/16th century onwards are figure studies; during the 11th/17th century the attention of painters turned increasingly to portraiture. In Persia, the portraits were usually idealised, but in Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India court painters emulated the European style of individualised portraiture. In Turkey, the primary focus was on portraits of individual Ottoman sultans which were collected in *murakkaʿ*s. At the Mughal court, however, painters also recorded the appearance of notable court personalities, and these studies were used to create both single-page paintings and composite group portraits.

The rate at which importation of European prints and even the presence of European painters at royal courts changed the approach of painters at Muslim courts varied from place to place, but by the 12th/18th century hybrid styles existed in Turkey, Persia and India. The introduction of photography during the mid-19th century provided a new standard of verisimilitude which undermined the idealised approach used by the Muslim painter, effectively ending a distinctive tradition.

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(PRISCILLA P. SOUCEK)

2. In the sense of photography.

Here we have, as well as simple *taṣwīr*, also *taṣwīr shamsī* or *ḍawʾī*, *fūtūghrāfiyā*; Ott. Turk. *taṣwīr*; mod. Turk. *fotoğrafçılık*; Persian *ʿakkāsī*, *fōtōgherāfī*.

This was introduced into Muslim lands soon after its invention in 1839. It was immediately reported in the Ottoman press (*Taḳwīm-i weḳāʾiʿ*, 15 August 1841). The first known photograph was of Raʾs al-Ṭīn Palace in Alexandria (7 November 1839). The first book on photographic techniques was Sarkīs Der Torosyān's *Risāle-yi fōtōghrāfyā* (Istanbul 1866), in Turkish with Armenian script. Others followed. Brought by West European travellers, scholars and artists, the spread of photography was encouraged by rising incomes in the West and increasing curiosity about the East—scientific, cultural, religious, political, commercial, or simply romanticising. Steady technical improvement, chiefly the invention of the inexpensive hand-held Kodak camera in the 1890s, fostered dissemination. In many books and albums, photographs more-and-more frequently replaced paintings, drawings and sketches; if less attractive, they presented realistic precision and authentic detail.

In the Muslim sphere, photography was first motivated by the European search for the roots of Western civilisation and culture. French and British visitors

focused on Egypt and Palestine, then on Syria, Lebanon, Persia and Turkey, photographing temples, inscriptions and archeological remains; a few visitors recorded Islamic architecture (e.g. J.-Ph. de Prangey, *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et de l'Asie Mineure*, 1846). Artists photographed mainly landscapes and city panoramas, concentrating on Jerusalem and Istanbul. Subsequently, ethnologists and anthropologists increasingly documented their findings with street scenes and festivities, and with people of all ages, crafts, tools and wares, both in towns and villages.

Scientific missions to the East promoted photography, first employing foreign, then local photographers, both amateurs and professionals. The number of local professionals grew slowly. Due to economic constraints, they had to live off the tourist trade, selling photo-postcards or photographic equipment. Because of Jewish and Islamic religious opposition to creating images, almost all professionals were Christians (Armenians, Greeks and others) or converted Jews; some were associated with local churches or missions. Except in Persia, where native photographers catered to wealthy customers, Muslim exponents were rare until the early 20th century: in 1910, Raḥmī-zāde Bahā' ül-Dīn opened a studio in Istanbul and in 1914 the first Ottoman Photographic Society was founded.

By then, initial Islamic opposition had diminished. In 1839-40, Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt had been impressed by photography, but considered it "the work of the devil". Later, however, the Ottoman and Persian rulers, as well as the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, had their own court photographers. Maḥmūd II was the first Ottoman Sultan to have his portrait displayed publicly, thus breaking the taboo on human representations. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was a patron of photography. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II commissioned photographic records of the social, educational and military modernisation of his empire. This did not prevent him from issuing an *irāde* (1900), forbidding the sale of photographs of the Kaʿba, other holy buildings, or unveiled women. As S̲h̲īʿīs are, in practice, less opposed than Sunnīs to physical images, Persia may have been the first Muslim state to encourage photography officially. Among the early practitioners were European teachers and military instructors, since 1844, followed later by local photographers. A department of photography was established at Tehran's *Dār al-funūn* in *ca.* 1860, and a court photographer nominated in 1280/1863. Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh collected 20,000 photographs of all aspects of Persian life, including his court and family; this interest was pursued by Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh.

Patronage of Sultan and S̲h̲āh notwithstanding, religious opposition to photography continued in some Sunnī regions like Turkestan and India. In Egypt, too, Muḥammad Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā issued a *fatwā* against *ṣuwar al-yad wa 'l-ṣuwar al-s̲h̲amsiyya* (*al-Manār*, xi/4, 30 May 1908, 277-8), as did the S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām in Istanbul in 1920. During the 1920s, however, and later, photography became accepted amongst all but the most traditional groups. One argument condoned photography since it did not create new images, but merely recorded shadows. Another declared that two-dimensional photographs were permissible, since they cast no shadows; see the *fatwās* in *Mad̲j̲allat al-Azhar*, vi (1936), 171, vii (1937), 327, xi (1940), 163-4. In the post-Second World War era, photographs of people and objects (but less of mosques) have become commonplace, even in Saudi Arabia.

Bibliography: Photographs of Muslim countries may be found in numerous libraries and museums, like Istanbul University (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's albums); the Albōmk̲h̲āna of the Gulistān Palace, Tehran; the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; The Semitic Museum, Harvard University; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Musée de l'Homme, Paris. See also G. Grant, *Middle Eastern photographic collections in the United Kingdom*, Durham 1989. For a specialised bibliography, Seyit Ali Ak and A. Modiano, *Türkçe fotograf yayınları katalogu, 1971'den 1993'e*, Istanbul 1993. Local periodicals: *Turkish Photography Year Book* (Istanbul) and *Mad̲j̲allat al-taṣwīr al-ḍawʾī* (Kuwait). Many useful studies in *History of Photography* (London, quarterly).

See also M. Du Camp, *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie. Dessins photographiques recueillis pendant les années 1849, 1850 et 1851*, Paris 1852; Auguste Salzmann, *Jérusalem, étude et reproduction photographique*, Paris 1856; Francis Frith, *Egypt and Palestine*, i-ii, London 1858-60; J. Andrieu, *Catalogue historique et descriptif des vues stéréotypiques de Palestine, Syrie et d'Egypte*, Paris 1869; *Alboum du Musée Boulaq, photographié par Délié et Bouchard*, Cairo 1872; Felix Bonfils, *Catalogue des vues photographiques de l'Orient*, Alais (Gard) 1876; *al-Fūtūg̲h̲rāfiyā al-Sūriya*, in *al-Muktaṭaf*, i/12 (1877), 284; *al-Fūtūg̲h̲rāfiyā*, in *ibid.*, vii (1882), 95-7, 155-8, 225-30, 270-2; J.M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958; J. Pardoe, *Yabancı gözü ile 125 yıl önce İstanbul*, Istanbul 1967; S. Abou and R. Chamussy, *Un photographe et son métier*, in *Travaux et Jours*, xxxiv (Jan.-March 1970), 51-6; A. Piemontese, *The photograph album of the Italian diplomatic mission to Persia (summer 1862)*, in *East and West*, N.S., xxii/3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1972), 249-311; W.J. Naef, *Early photographers in Egypt and the Holy Land, 1849-1870*, New York 1973; R. Desmond, *Photography in India during the nineteenth century*, London 1974; J. Scarce, *Isfahan in camera*, London 1976; A.D. Weinberg, *Majestic inspirations, incomparable souvenirs*, Waltham, Mass. 1977; Badrī Atābāy, *Fihrist-i albomhā-yi kitābk̲h̲āna-yi salṭanatī*, Tehran 2537/1978; E. Schiller (ed.), *The first photographs of Jerusalem*, i-ii, Jerusalem 1978; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *İstanbul anıları*, Istanbul 1979; D.W. Haas, *Early photographers of the Near East*, Boston 1979; Landau, *Abdul-Hamid's Palestine: rare century-old photographs*, London 1979; R.H. Allshouse, *Photographs for the Tsar*, New York and London 1980; E.G. Matson, *The Middle East in pictures*, i-iv, New York 1980; E. Onne, *The photographic heritage of the Holy Land, 1839-1914*, Manchester 1980; P.E. Chevedden, *Ahammiyyat taḳdīm al-ṣuwar ka-dalīl hāmm li-dirāsat taʾrīk̲h̲ sūr Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, Damascus 1980; idem, *The photographic heritage of the Near East*, Malibu, Calif. 1980; Engin Çizgen, *Photography in Turkey 1842-1936*, Istanbul 1981; L. Vaczek and G. Buckland, *Travelers in ancient lands*, Boston 1981; C.E.S. Gavin, *The image of the East*, Chicago 1982; Chahryar Adle and Yahya Zoka, *Notes et documents sur la photographie iranienne et son histoire*, in *St. Ir.*, xii/2 (1983), 249-80; D. Stein, *Early photography in Iran*, in *History of Photography*, vii/4 (Oct.-Dec. 1983), 257-91; W. Allen, *The Abdul Hamid II collection*, in *ibid.*, viii/2 (April-June 1984), 119-45; Chevedden, *Making light of everything*, in *MESA Bulletin*, xviii/2 (Dec. 1984), 151-74; Walid Khalidi, *Before diaspora*, Washington, D.C. 1984; Muḥammad Nabhān, *al-Taṣwīr wa 'l-ḥayāt*, Kuwait 1984; N.N. Perez, *L'Orientalisme dans la photographie française*, Paris 1985; T.N. Gidal, *Das heilige Land*, Munich and Lucerne 1985; Y. Nir, *The Bible and the image*, Philadelphia 1985; A.M. Abu Hakima, *Eastern Arabia: historic photographs*, i-ii, London 1984-6; C.E.S. Gavin, *Imperial self-portrait. The Ottoman Empire as revealed in*

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(J.M. Landau)

3. Modern painting in the Arab world.

"Modern painting", (*fann*) *al-taṣwīr/al-rasm al-ḥadīth/al-muʿāṣir*, designates a Western-influenced form of art, the practice of which began at the end of the 19th century, eventually replacing Islamic art. Western art was introduced by Orientalist painters travelling to the East (exhibitions of Orientalist painting in Cairo since 1891; *Salon Tunisien*, since 1894). The founding of art schools contributed to the spread of Western art: Cairo, 1908; Algiers, 1920; Tunis, 1923; Beirut, 1937; Baghdad, 1941; Damascus, 1959. Museums of modern art were also opened, the oldest in Cairo in 1931 (Wizārat al-Thaḳāfa, *Mathaf al-fann al-miṣrī al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1992). With its several galleries, Beirut was to become an important art centre in the 1960s and 70s.

Despite regional differences, some general trends can be pointed out. The first painters (*ruwwād*) were influenced by Western Orientalism, Impressionism and landscape painting. Through its art school, directed by European academic artists until 1937 (Guillaume Laplagne, Gabriel Biessy, Camillo Innocenti), and the yearly *Salon du Caire* (instituted in 1922), academic painting took root in Egypt. Maḥmūd Saʿīd (1897-1964), Muḥammad Nādjī (1888-1956), Rāghib ʿAyyād (1892-1980) and Yūsuf Kāmil (1891-1971) concentrated on life in the countryside and in the poor city areas (B. Abū Ghāzī, *Mahmud Saʿīd*, Cairo 1972; idem, *Yūsuf Kāmil*, Cairo 1978; *Muḥammad Nādjī, al-fannān al-ta'thīrī al-miṣrī/Mohammed Naghi, un impressionniste égyptien*, Cairo 1988). In Lebanon, painting first appeared at the end of the 19th century, when painters trained in the West such as Dāwūd Ḳurm (1852-1930), Khalīl al-Ṣalībī (1870-1928) and Ḥabīb Surūr (1860-1938) opened portrait studios in Beirut (S. al-Ṣalībī, *Khalīl al-Ṣalībī, muṣawwir min Lubnān/Khalil Saleeby, a painter from Lebanon/Un peintre du Liban*, Beirut 1986). The writer Djibrān Khalīl Djibrān (1883-1931) [*q.v.*] also produced pictorial works in a symbolist style (W. Kayrouz, *Gibran in his museum*, Jounieh 1995). Genre painting began in the 1920s and 1930s with Muṣṭafā Farrūkh (1901 or 1902-57), Ḳayṣar al-Djumayyil (1898-1954) and ʿUmar al-Unsī (1901-69), all of whom had studied in Europe (M. Farrūkh, *Ṭarīḳī ilā 'l-fann*, Beirut 1986; *César Gemayel, le pinceau ardent/The ardent brush*, Beirut (?) 1985; *Omar Onsi, le jardinier des apparences/The gardener of epiphanies*, Beirut (?) 1985). Their themes were chiefly Lebanese landscapes and folk scenes. In ʿIrāḳ, the first painters were students at the Istanbul Military School; in the 1930s Akram Shukrī (b. 1910), Fā'iḳ Ḥasan (1914-92), ʿAṭā Ṣabrī (b. 1913), Ḥāfiẓ al-Durūbī (1914-91) and Djawād Salīm (1919-61) were sent to Europe to study painting. Besides landscapes, the Syrian artists Tawfīḳ Ṭāriḳ (1875-1940) and Saʿīd Taḥsīn (1904-86) depicted historical motifs (Gh. al-Khālidī, *Saʿīd Taḥsīn, ʿindamā yuṣbiḥ al-fann... ta'rīkh^{an}*, Damascus 1994). In Tunisia, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Djilānī (1890-1961) was the first Muslim to be admitted to the *Salon Tunisien* in 1912; Yaḥyā Turkī (1901-68) is considered the pioneer of modern painting, together with the artists of the *Ecole de Tunis* founded at the end of the 1940s. In Algeria, only Muḥammad Rāsim (1896-1975) [see DINET, ALPHONSE, in Suppl.], a painter of miniatures, was admitted to the Algiers Academy (*Mohammed Racim, miniaturiste algérien*, exhibition catalogue, Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris 1992). Elsewhere, painting was to develop later.

After World War II, modern Western styles were adopted, accompanied by the search for authenticity (*aṣāla*). Authenticity could be expressed through elements of the popular arts, calligraphic signs, or pre-Islamic styles, all together forming the "heritage" (*turāth*). In Egypt, ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Djazzār (1925-66) and Ḥāmid Nadā (1924-90), members of the *Djamāʿat al-fann al-ḥadīth* (founded 1946) crudely depicted the life of the Cairo poor, drawing colours and symbols from the popular tradition (A. and C. Roussillon (eds.), *ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Djazzār, fannān miṣrī/Abdel Hadi al-Gazzar, une peinture égyptienne/An Egyptian painter*, Cairo 1990). In ʿIrāḳ, the *Djamāʿat Baghdād li 'l-fann al-ḥadīth*, founded in 1951 by Djawād Salīm, issued two manifestos (1951; 1955) asserting that ʿIrāḳī art had to accept Western (stylistic) modernity while seeking inspiration from local traditions (for the original texts of the manifestos published in ʿIrāḳ, see Sh. Ḥ. Āl Saʿīd, *al-Bayānāt al-fanniyya fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1973).

First examples of committed art (*al-fann al-multazim*) are to be found after the Suez crisis in Egypt; social concern was shown by many artists in the two following decades and often dominated figurative painting. As exemplified in the work of the two originators of this genre, Ismāʿīl Shammūṭ (b. 1930) and his wife Tamām al-Akhal (b. 1935), the struggle and the longing for the lost country is a central theme in Palestinian painting. In ʿIrāḳ, the idea of commitment was first expounded in the manifesto *Naḥwa al-ru'ya al-djadīda* (1969), as a reaction to the 1967 defeat. In the seventies and eighties, an officially sponsored "Arab realism" emerged; figurative and realistic, it did not conform to a specific style. In Algeria, a nationalist form of painting resorted to Orientalist patterns developed in the 1980s.

Abstraction (*tadjrīd*) as practised in the West asserted itself in the 1960s; the Lebanese Shafīḳ ʿAbbūd [Chafik Abboud] (b. 1926), and Yvette Ashḳar [Achkar] (b. 1928), but also, partly, the Moroccan Muḥammad Mulayḥī [Melehi] (b. 1936), are representative of this trend. Most Arab abstract artists, however, attempted to establish a connection to the local non-figurative traditions. Examples of this can be seen in the work of the Lebanese Ṣalībā al-Duwayhī [Saliba Douaihy] (1915(?)-94), the Moroccan Farīd Bilkāhiyya [Belkahia]

(b. 1934), and the Algerian Muḥammad Khadda (1930-91) (M. Bouabdellah (ed.), *Mohamed Khadda, une vie pour une œuvre*, Algiers 1994). The Lebanese artists Ḥusayn Māḍī (b. 1938) and Samīr al-Ṣā'igh (b. 1945) practice an abstract or semi-abstract art combining Islamic concepts of art with Western techniques.

The manifesto *al-Buʿd al-wāḥid* (Baghdād 1971) theorised the use of Arabic letters as a mere formal element allowing to arabise abstraction. The movement, called *ḥurūfiyya*, has followers throughout the Arab world. It takes its inspiration from Western artists such as Paul Klee more than from Islamic calligraphy [see KHAṬṬ]. Some of its main representatives are the Tunisian Nadjā Mahdāwī [Mahdaoui] (b. 1937), the Palestinian Kamāl Bullāṭa (b. 1942), the Algerians Rashīd Ḳurayshī (b. 1947) and Maḥdjūb b. Bīllā [Ben Bella] (b. 1946), the Egyptians Aḥmad Māhir Rā'if (b. 1926) and Muḥammad Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (b. 1929), the Sudanese Aḥmad Muḥammad Shibrayn (b. 1932), the Syrian Maḥmūd Ḥammād (1923-88), the ʿIrāḳīs Djamīl Ḥammūdī (b. 1924), Madīḥa ʿUmar, Shākir Ḥasan Āl Saʿīd (b. 1926) and Rāfiʿ al-Nāṣirī (b. 1940) (Sh. Dāghir, *al-Ḥurūfiyya al-ʿarabiyya, fann wa-huwiyya*, Beirut 1990; S. Naef, *L'art de l'écriture arabe, passé et présent*, Geneva 1992, 33-65).

Since the 1980s, figurative as well as abstract trends (*ḥurūfī* or not) continue to co-exist, but formal research has gradually replaced the political commitment of previous decades. The concern for local materials and styles is still an important issue.

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AL-TASYĪR (A.; in the West: atazir, ataçir, athacir, directio, prorogatio, ἄφεσις, théorie aphétique) a procedure used in astrology of artificial continuation of a planet or of an astrological house or any other definite part of the heavens to another star or its aspects, or other houses with the object of ascertaining the equatorial degree situated between these two places, the figure of which is used, by converting it into a definite period of time, to prognosticate the date of a future happening, either good or evil.

The astrological magnitude ascertained by this process played a very prominent part among the ancients as well as among the Arabs and in the West, for on the one hand, it made possible a *judicium speciale* (i.e. definitely laid down the time of fulfilment of statements made in the *judicium generale* of a nativity about future good or ill fortune, and in particular enabled the length of life to be calculated or the choice of particularly auspicious days (*al-ikhtiyār*) for beginning a journey, for holding weddings, for founding a city, for beginning a reign, etc.), and on the other hand, it was distinguished by special complexity in the method of its calculation.

The astronomical calculation of the arc of special importance for our task (we call it briefly the *tasyīr* arc) is not particularly difficult, once the limits of the places in the heavens defining the arc, the "advancing" planet or place (*al-mutaḳaddim, al-haylādj*, significator) and the "succeeding" or second (*al-thānī*, promissor) are ascertained. In Fig. 1 (and 2) A is the significator, B the promissor, P the visible pole of the celestial sphere, NBS (NAS) the circle of the promissor (significator), C the intersection of the circle parallel to the circle of position drawn through A (B). The circles of declination drawn through A (B) and C cut out the *tasyīr* arc *ac* (*bc*). The *tasyīr* arc is thus the curve of the equator, which in general does not exceed 90°, which crosses over the circle of position during the period in which the significator (promissor) is transferred by the apparent daily revolution of the celestial sphere on its parallel circle to the circle of position of the promissor (significator), assumed to be fixed within this period (for further information on the concepts that occur, see ʿILM AL-HAY'A).

According to the respective positions of the significator and promissor, two kinds of *tasyīr* are distinguished:

a. Direct *tasyīr* (*directio directa*), when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the signs of the zodiac. Here, the significator is the place to be "directed", the promissor regarded as fixed (Fig. 1).

b. Indirect *tasyīr* (*directio conversa*), when the significator precedes the promissor in the order of the daily motion of the celestial sphere. In this case, the promissor is moved to the circle of position of the significator which is assumed to be fixed.

A special form for application of the calculation of the *tasyīr* (a kind of inversion of the process) was developed in choosing days in this way that the position of only one star was given and also a definite time or what is the same thing on account of the conversion of periods of time into degrees of the equator, a definite number of *tasyīr* degrees. The problem is to find the degree which corresponds to the end point (the "goal") of the *tasyīr* arc. *Judicia* could then be deduced from the conjunction of planets occurring at this degree.

The mathematical calculation is a problem in spherical trigonometry and goes back to simple formulae with equinoctial time as the basis. In the equation *tasyīr* $a\ c = b\ a - b\ B' - B'\ c$ (Fig. 1), the right side is known, for $b\ a$ = right ascension B—right asc. A and
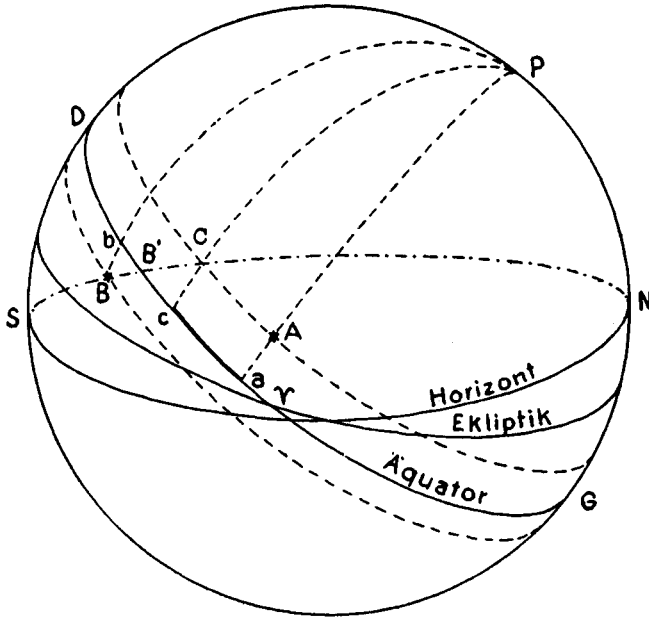
Fig. 1
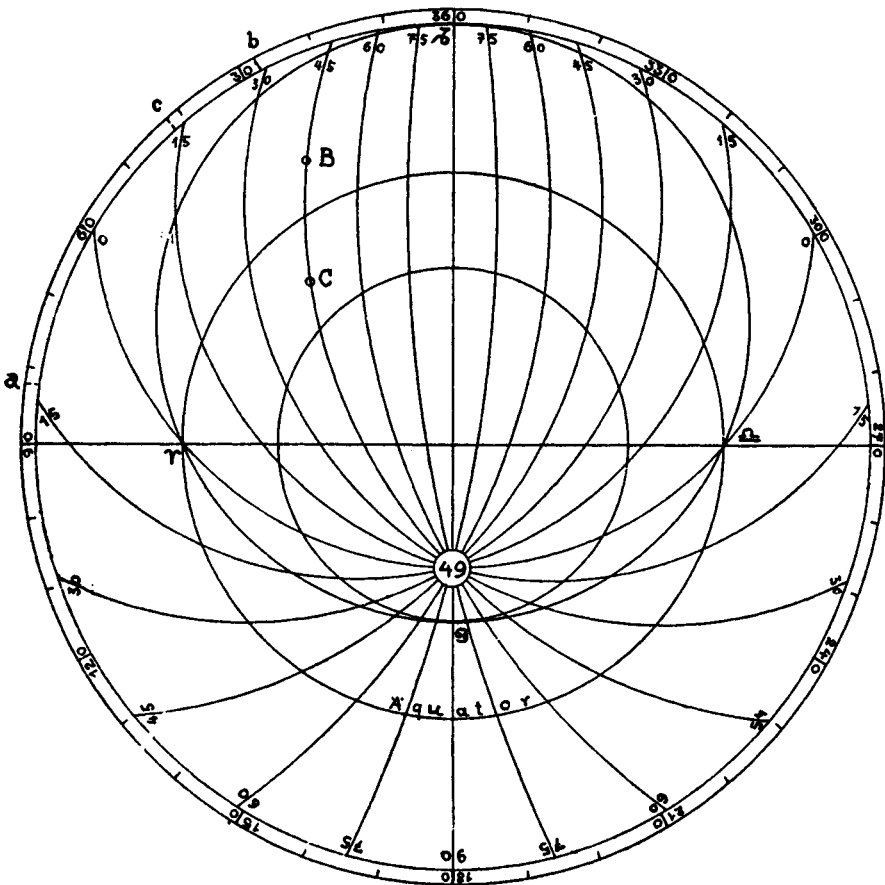
Fig. 3
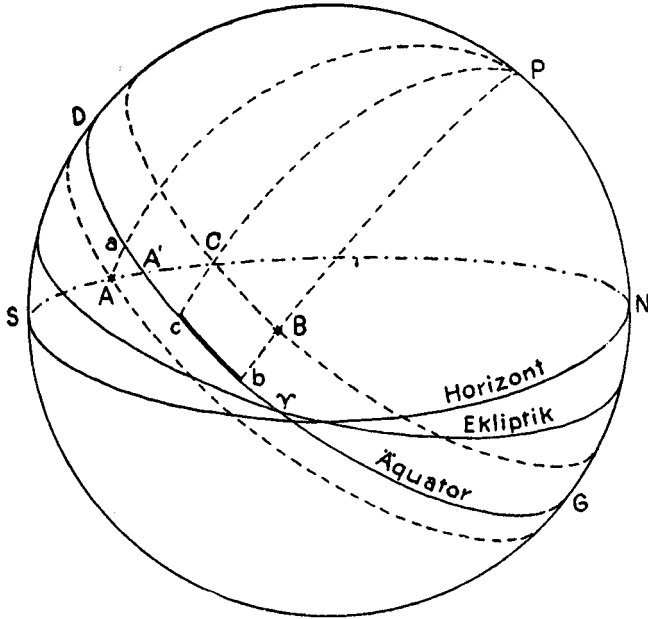
Fig. 2
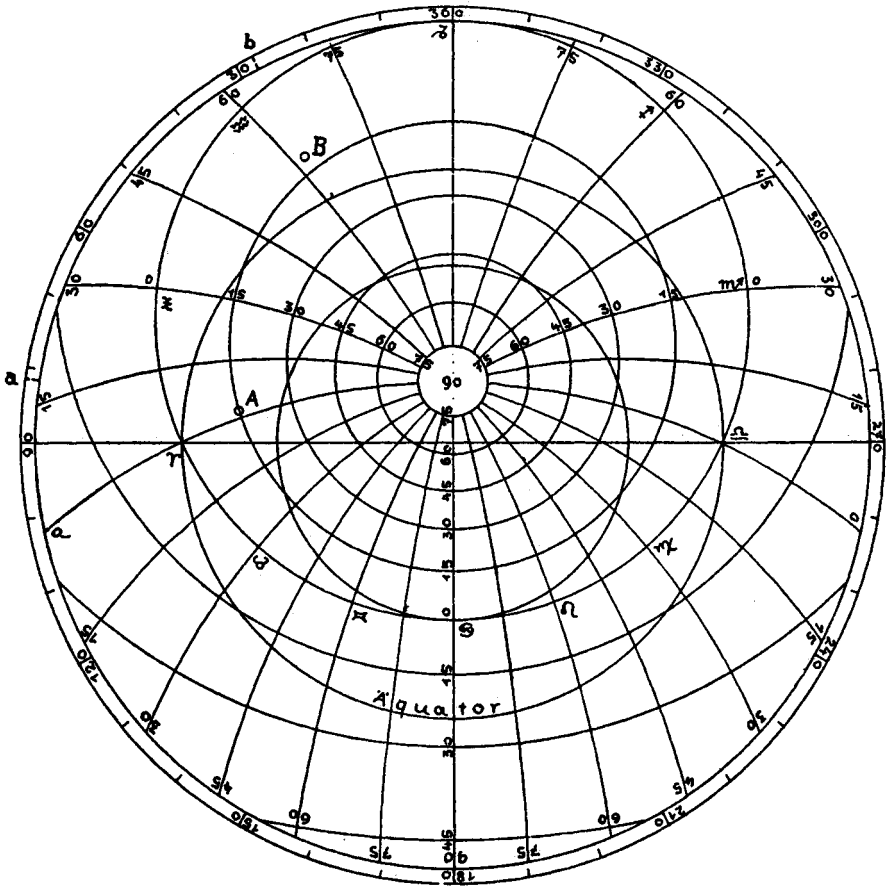
Fig. 4

the magnitudes $b\ B'$ and $B'\ c$ are found from the formulae:

$$\text{I. } \cos B' = \sin (\measuredangle\ D\ S\ B') \cos S\ D.$$
$$\text{II. } \sin b\ B' = \text{tg } B\ b \text{ cotg } B'.$$
$$\text{III. } \sin B'\ c = \text{tg } c\ C \text{ cotg } B'.$$

The Arabs, however, used other approximative methods of calculation based on hours of mean time (*zamāniyya*) which are given in the following formulae:

I. (According to al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī etc.):

number of *tasyīr* degrees:

$$= \left|\alpha \pm (\alpha - \beta)\,\frac{\text{dist. } B \text{ from upper [lower] culm. point}}{\text{half day [night] arc } B}\right|,$$

where

$$\alpha = \text{right asc. } A - \text{right asc. } B,$$
$$\beta = \text{obl. asc. } A - \text{obl. asc. } B.$$

The signs ± before the round bracket depend on whether α is greater or less than β, the expression in the square brackets are used when B is below the horizon.

Special cases:

a. B in the meridian: *tasyīr* = |right asc. A — right asc. B|.

b. B in the horizon: *tasyīr* = |obl. asc. A — obl. asc. B|.

II. (Second rule of al-Battānī):

Number of *tasyīr* degrees =
=|dist. B from upper [lower] culmin. point ×
half day [night] arc A ±
(right asc. A—right asc. of the upper [lower] culm. point),

where the—before the round bracket is for the case when A and B belong to the same hemisphere, the + when A and B belong to different hemispheres. The expressions in the square brackets are used for the western hemisphere or for the case when the lower meridian lies between A and B.

In both cases, the total result is positive in direct and negative in indirect *tasyīr*. For indirect *tasyīr*, B and A in the above formulae are to be interchanged. The number of degrees in the *tasyīr* arc thus obtained was converted into a period of time in this way: if it was a question of length of life, for example, 1° was equated to a solar year, 5' = 1 month, 1' = 6 days, in other cases 1° = 1 day.

The difficulty, continually emphasised by the Arabs, of calculating a *tasyīr* is on the one hand due to the regard paid to astrological demands, and on the other, particularly, to the amount of separate necessary astronomical calculations and measurements, which it would take too much time to detail here fully. The necessary knowledge of the different methods for accurately calculating the time of birth and the astronomical significance of the different times of being born, of the different houses of the heavens of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets and their aspects, of the most important fixed stars, first in themselves, then with respect to one another and with regard to their special positions (house, degree of elevation, triplicity, injury, fall) taking into consideration the very many rules for the strength, weakness or moderation, the beneficial or dangerous influence of the various planets and their aspects, of the houses and the arrow of fortune (*sahm al-saʿāda*), the calculation of larger, smaller or medium numbers of years for length of life according to the position of the influential planets, the choice of a lord of birth and of the horoscope after definite rules (ascendant, *al-ṭāliʿ* [*q.v.*]), of an interpreter of life (significator), of a foreteller of death or misfortune (promissor), of a giver of years (*al-kadkhudā*), the knowledge of the great, little or medium effect of definite direction, of auspicious or inauspicious directions and other things, demanded a perfect command of the astrological knowledge of the period. In addition, considerable skill in the carrying out of the necessary astronomical calculations was necessary, the reduction of the time to the meridian on which the Ephemerid tables were based; the longitude, latitude and declination of the most important fixed stars, the planets and their aspects and the application of their values to the time of birth, the astrological houses in the heavens and the signs of the zodiac and planets in them; the arrow of fortune, the circles of position of significator and promissor, etc. Simply for the calculation of the curve of the *tasyīr* after ascertaining its termini, there are necessary: right asc. of A and B, their distance from the meridian, their declination and half-day or half-night curve, the elevation of the pole over the circle of position (distance of the intersection of circle of position and equator from the meridian).

To simplify the long and tiresome process and to carry out an observation without calculation, the Arabs used mechanical (nomographic) aids, either single planes ("plane of the *tasyīr*" in al-Bīrūnī) which were placed in the astrolabe or a special instrument ("estrumente del leuantamiento" in Alfonso X of Castile) which was mainly used to obtain the *tasyīr* but also facilitated other calculations. The essential part of this instrument was a plane which contained on the front the projections of as many circles of position as possible or of hours for the latitude of the point of observation concerned (it is the same plane as the plane of the *tasyīr* in al-Bīrūnī; cf. Fig. 3), and on the back the projections of the circles of longitude and latitude according to the system of the ecliptic (Fig. 4). On the axis of the instrument, common to the two sides, was an undivided alhidade with two movable pointers placed as required on the front or back and kept in position by a fastener ("cavallo", *al-faras*). On the back could also be put the net ("spider") with the projections of different positions of fixed stars which is made exactly as in the astrolabe.

The mechanical calculation of the *tasyīr* curve was carried out as follows, when latitude and longitude of the places in the heavens A and B (cf. Figs. 1, 3 and 4) were known:

1. Place the moveable pointer of the alhidade on the place B on the back, and then read the degree of the equator b to which the alhidade now points.

2. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator b, and then ascertain the circle of position (from B) on which the moveable pointer falls.

3. Place the moveable pointer at the place A on the back, and then read the degree of the equator a.

4. Move the alhidade to the front, place it on the degree of the equator a, and turn the alhidade until the pointer running through the parallel circle from A points to the circle of position of B (in C).

5. Read the degree of the equator C through which the alhidade now points: the curve $a\ c$ is the *tasyīr* curve desired.

Works in Arabic on the *tasyīr* or the plane of the

tasyīr were composed by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Farrukhān (H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber* etc., in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, xlv, Heft 10 [1900], no. 34); al-Battānī (Suter, no. 89); Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzin (Suter, no. 124); and al-Bīrūnī (Suter, no. 218). But the complete astrological works of the former have not survived. The "Book of the Ataçir" in the astronomical works of Alfonso X is by Rabi Çag de Toledo (Isaak ibn Sid), the editor of the Alfonsine Tables, but seems to be merely a translation of an Arabic original.

In Ibn al-Ḳifṭī's *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ*, the following astronomers are honorably mentioned for their particular ability in calculating the *tasyīr*: al-Ḥasan b. Miṣbāḥ (163); al-Marwazī (170, Suter, no. 22); al-Khāḳānī (181, Suter, no. 206); Sind b. ʿAlī (206, Suter, no. 24); al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Djawharī (219, Suter, no. 21); Ibn Yūnus (203, Suter, no. 178); Ibn al-Aʿlam (235, Suter, no. 137); Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī (270, Suter, no. 1); Muḥ. b. Khālid al-Marwarrūdī (281, Suter, no. 46); Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr (357, Suter, no. 14); Yaḥyā b. Sahl al-Sadīd Abū Bishr al-Takrītī (365); Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Yāmīn (426).

Bibliography: Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, mss. London, B.L. Or. 1997 and Berlin, Cat. Ahlwardt, no. 5667; idem, *Kitāb al-Istīʿāb*, Leiden, no. 1066 (both tr. E. Wiedemann); A. Bouché-Leclerq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899; M. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie du Moyen-âge*, Paris 1819; J.G. Job, *Anleitung zu denen curiösen Wissenschaften*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1747; C.A. Nallino, *al-Battânî, sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903-7; D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas, *Libros del saber de astronomia del Rey D. Alfonso X. de Castillia*, Madrid 1863-7; M.L.P.E.A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des Tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, Paris 1853; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Geschichte der Astrologie*, in *Weltall*, Berlin-Treptow (1922-3); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften XLVII, Über die Astronomie nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erl*, xlvii (1915). See also the more recent studies on a related topic in mathematical astrology: E.S. Kennedy and H. Krikorian-Preisler, *The astrological doctrine of projecting the rays*, in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxv (1972), 3-15, repr. in Kennedy *et alii*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 372-84; and J.-P. Hogendijk, *The Mathematical structure of two Islamic astrological tables for "casting the rays"*, in *Centaurus*, xxxii (1989), 171-202. (O. SCHIRMER)

TAT (T.), a term used in earliest Turkish with the general meaning of "alien, non-Turk", but speedily coming to be applied par excellence to the Persians as opposed to the Turks, in any case with a somewhat contemptuous nuance of meaning, as likewise with the term *tādjīk* [*q.v.*]. It is clearly not in origin a proper noun, and Schaeder rightly dismissed the suppositions in Minorsky's outdated *EI*[1] art. *Tāt* of origins from such names as that of the Tangut or that given by the Voguls and Ostiaks of western Siberia to the river Irtish [*q.v.*]. Schaeder suggested, rather, that *tat* is a meaningless onomatopoeic word (*Schallwort*) analogous to Greek *barbaros*, used by the Turks opprobriously to designate non-Turkish speakers who stammered or who were generally incomprehensible; connected with it would be the root *tatmak* "to taste" and such derivatives as *tatïgh* "taste" and *tatlïgh* (Ottoman *tatlï*) "tasty, sweet", from the pleasurable clicking of the tongue in anticipation of something tasty.

1. Historical development of the term.

The first attestation of *tat* is in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions (KT S 12 and BK N 15), where one finds the phrase *on oḳ oghlïña tatïña tägi bunï körü biliñ* "see this [writing] and know this, [all of you], up to the progeny of the On Oḳ and their subjects (*tat*)". Here, the "Ten Arrows" are the remnants of the first Western Turk empire who had dwelt from north of the Tien Shan westwards to the Sïr Daryā [*q.v.*] and the Caspian Sea (see D. Sinor, in *The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia*, i, Cambridge 1990, 309 ff.), and the Tat must have been the people of various urban settlements in the lands of the Western Turks, essentially Sogdians who were subject to the Ḳaghans; thus *tat* was already coming to refer to Iranians (see the passages from the inscriptions in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington 1968, 232, 246, tr. 263, 281).

Tat does not occur in the Uyghur material from the 9th century onwards recovered from Eastern Turkestan, nor in such "high", courtly, early Islamic Turkish literature as the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*] of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib (later 5th/11th century), in whose prose introduction it is the *īrānlïḳlar* who are contrasted with the *tūrānlïḳlar*, or in the Khʷārazmian, Middle Turkish *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* of Rabghūzī (d. 710/1310 [*q.v.*]), which has *tāzī* and *fārsī* for "Arab" and "Persian". Nevertheless, use of the term *tat* had clearly continued on the popular level during the Ḳarakhānid period, as attest various mentions in the *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*], including the verbal derivative *tatlamaḳ* "to behave like a Persian" (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, iii, 217), corresponding to the "high" Ḳarakhānid form *täzhiklämäk* of iii, 251. Elsewhere, he states that all the Turks call the Persians *tat*, but qualifies this by saying that, in particular, the Turkish tribes of the Tukhsï and Yaghma (by the 5th/11th century living, respectively, north of the Ču river, and in the region of Kāshghar and south of the Narïn river in the Semirečye, see W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 75) used the term for the *kafara uyghur* "infidels of the Uyghur" (i, 378, ii, 224, Eng. tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 241, ii, 103). These last were probably the Iranian and "Tokharian" Manichaean subjects of the Uyghur Ḳaghan in the Eastern Turkestan oasis cities. *Tat* further occurs, with a clearly contemptuous sense, in some proverbs which al-Kāshgharī quotes and, significantly, in the jingling verbal coupling *tat tawghač* which, he says, can mean "Persians and Turks" but which he personally prefers to interpret as "Uyghur and Chinese (*ṣīnī*) (i, 378, Eng. tr. i, 341). Here we should interpret "Uyghur" as the non-Turkish subjects of the Uyghur Ḳaghans (see above) and "Chinese" as the people of the lands lying beyond the eastern half of the Ḳarakhānid confederation, the eastern khānate of Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan [*q.vv.* and ILEK-KHĀNS]. The phrase *Malik al-Ṣīn* is familiar in Ḳarakhānid titulature, including on their coins, as is *Tabghač/Tamghač Khān*, both the Arabic and the Turkish titles expressing the claim of suzerainty over lands stretching as far as northern China proper.

In the westwards expansion of the Turks into the Middle East from the 5th/11th century onwards, spearheaded by the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*], *tat* continues to apply exclusively to the Persians, and there is no evidence from this time that *tat* was ever applied e.g. to the Arabs or Armenians or Greeks whom the Turkmen invaders encountered in Anatolia and the northern Djazīra and Syria. In a mixed Turkish-Persian verse, Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī lists the Persian (*tat*), the Greeks (*rūm*) and the Turks (*turk*), and in his Turkish verses, Mawlānā's son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*] often contrasts *tatdja* "Persian" with *türkdje* "Turkish" (see E.J.W. Gibb,

HOP, i, 150). *Tat/tatdja* were thus clearly the standard renderings in 7th/13th century Saldjūḳ Anatolia for "the Persians/Persian language". They continue to be attested in the early 8th/14th century, e.g. in the Turkish *methnewī* called *Süheyl ü Newbehār* of the poet Mesʿūd b. Aḥmed, where *tat u mughal* = "the [non-Turkish] Persians and Mongols". Thereafter, however, *fārsī* for "Persian" seems to gain the upper hand in literary usage amongst both the Southwestern Turks and in Čaghatay Turkish; cf. for the latter, the works of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], who always uses either *fārsī* for the people and the language, or else *sart ulusî* and *sart tili* for the Persian people and their language respectively (see the discussion in Schaeder, 5-8, and also SĀRT). Schaeder did, however, note a survival of the usage of *tat* in its ancient Orkhon Turkish social rather than ethnic sense in a citation from the anonymous Čaghatay-Ottoman dictionary, compiled in 967/1560, called after its first word *Abushka* or, more properly, *al-Lughāt al-nawāʾiyya wa 'l-istishhādāt al-djaghatāʾiyya*, where *tat* = the personal following of a chief or leader, assembled out of subject races (*ibid.*, 8). Also, from its ethnic usage in Southwestern Turkish, *tat* seems to have lingered on in provincial Anatolian dialects right up to modern times but with such meanings as "stranger" and "dumb, speaking unintelligibly" (Jäschke, quoted in *ibid.*, 33), whilst Minorsky in his *EI*[1] art. noticed that the Ḳashḳāʾī of Fārs used *tat* in the sense of "non-Turks", as also the Turks of Transcaspia (i.e. what is now part of the Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan Republics) and possibly the Turkish-speaking Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] of Ādharbāydjān.

Other usages cited by Minorsky, *loc. cit.*, of *tat* = other peoples in addition to the Persians, are much more doubtful. Schaeder discussed passages which Minorsky adduced from the travel account of the Ottoman captive Hans Schiltberger (early 15th century), and he showed that the reading of some mss. of the *Reisebuch*, the language *Kuthia* "called by the heathens *That*", should really be *Churin* = the people of the northeastern Caucasus, in what is now southern Dāghistān [*q.v.*], the Kürin or Lezgin [see LEZGH], who would at that time have been near neighbours of the still-subsisting Iranian Tats of the Baku and Apsheron peninsula region [see below, 2. Language]. The correct reading *Churin* can thus have no connection with the remnants of the Goths (the putative *Kuthia*) in the Crimea, as asserted originally by W. Tomaschek. On the other hand, Schiltberger correctly located a group of Tats in the Crimea, the inhabitants of Karkery/Karkeri (= Ḳîrḳ yer, the name in later times for the "Jewish settlement" Čufutḳalʿe near Bāghče Saray) and Sutti/Suti (= the ancient Alan settlement on the southeastern coast of the Crimea, Grk. Sougdaia, Ital. Soldaia, Sodaia, etc., in Islamic rendering Sughdāḳ [*q.v.*], modern Sudak). Schiltberger's *Thatts* could not, however, have been Crimean Goths but were probably Greek-speaking Christians; *tat* was used over three centuries later by the Crimean Tatars for Greek Christians who migrated between 1775 and 1778 from the southeastern coast of the Crimea to Mariupol (modern Zhdanov) on the northern shore of the Sea of Azov and who spoke both a Neo-Greek dialect and Turkish (which they wrote in Greek characters). The considerable ethnic mixture of the Black Sea shores region, with various peoples there becoming Turkicised over the centuries, may be reflected in the titulature of a Crimean Tatar khān, Djānī Beg Giray, described in a *yarlîgh* of his from 1037/1628 as *tat bilä tawghačnîñ ulugh pādishāhî*, where the coupling *tat tawghač* is a survival from Ḳarakhānid times (see above): a piece of bombastic phraseology which nevertheless probably shows that a part of the mixed population of the Black Sea coastlands was still known as Tat (see Schaeder, 10-14).

The conjecture of Tomaschek, given hesitatingly by Minorsky, that the Magyar name for the Slovaks, *Tót*, came from *tat*, is rejected by Schaeder, 33, citing J. Melich, in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxv (1929), 326-8, that the older pronunciation, attested from 1240, was *tout*, originally also **taut*, and derived from the Thracian tribe of the Tauti, attested in the Roman province of Dacia Ripensis in the 4th century.

Finally, one should note a usage of *tāt* in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish sources for the military and social history of Syria after the conquest of that province by Selīm I in 922/1516. Here, *tāt* was used for foreign troops in Syria, those neither Arab nor Rūmī (i.e. Anatolian Turks), sc. Kurds, Albanians, Turkmens living within the Arab lands, etc.; hence within the Janissary garrison troops of a city like Damascus, the *tāt* are distinguished from the *yerlü*, i.e. locally-recruited troops (see Abdul Karim Rafeq, *The local forces in Syria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 277-8; and YERLIYYA).

Bibliography: Given in the article; the outstanding study, much used here, is H.H. Schaeder, *Türkische Namen der Iranier*, in G. Jäschke (ed.), *Festschrift F. Giese* (= Sonderband der *WI*), Leipzig 1941, 1-16. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Language.

Tātī is the name given to New Western Iranian dialects surviving in language islands in the eastern Caucasus region, mainly in the extreme northeast of the former Azerbaijan S.S.R. (now the independent Republic of Azerbaijan) and the Daghistan A.S.S.R. of the Russian federation. According to the 1970 census, there were 17,000 speakers of these. (These dialects are not to be confounded with the Ādharbāydjān Iranian dialects of northwestern Persia, supposed to be descendants of the indigenous Northwest Iranian languages spoken there before the spread of Ādharī Turkish [*q.v.*], which are also called Tātī by the local population.) Historically, Tātī belongs to the Southwestern branch of the New Iranian languages, showing a close relationship with the dominant language, New Persian.

The two main dialects of Tātī reflect religious differentiation. Northern Tātī (N) is spoken by the Jews of Dāghistān (Derbend) and northeastern Caucasus (Ḳuba, Vartashen). Southern Tātī (S) is spoken by the Muslims and, to a lesser extent, by Armeno-Christians in northeastern Ādharbāydjān (Diviči, Lakhidj, etc.).

Tātī dialects display some archaic features together with innovations (especially S) due to Turcophone (mainly Ādharī Turkish) interference. In phonology, note the preservation of initial Old Ir. **v* as opposed to New Persian *b*, or the rhotacism of Old Ir. **t* > New Persian *d*, Tātī *r* (**vata-* > New Persian *bād*, S Tati *vār*, N Tati *vor*). Morphology shows inflecting and agglutinating features. There is no gender. The noun can be followed by different suffixes indicating plural (N *khune-ho*, S *khuna-hā* "houses", N *kuk-un* "sons", S *mard-um* "people"), definite object (N- *r(e)*, S *-(r)a*), instrumental-comitative (N *-(r)evoz*, S *-(r)āz(ā)*, *(r)āvāz*). There are three possibilities of expressing possession: (1) the Persian-type *iḍāfa* without the connecting vowel except after final *-e* (N), *-a*, *-ā* (S), e.g. *khahar Khanon* "Kh.'s sister" (N); (2) the same construction with a possessive particle (N *en*, S *an*), e.g. *khahar en Kh.* (N); and (3) an inverse possessive construction with the

possessor first supplied with the suffix—*(r)a*, followed by the possessive determiner plus the pronoun correlating with its possessor: *pyar-a khuna i* "the father's house (his)" (only in S Tātī, an innovation).

In adjectival constructions, the adjective comes first supplied with the vowel *-e* (N), *-a* (S): *khub-e khune* (N), *khub-a khuna* (S) "good house". Pronouns (only stressed) can take the same morphemes as nouns: sing. 1. acc. N *me-re*, S *man-a*, instr.-comit. N *me-revoz*, S *man-āz*, poss. N *en-men*, S *al-man* or *al-man-kin* (borrowed from Ādharī). Reflexive pronouns: N *khishte(ni)*, S *khishtan*. Numerals have vigesimal formations (*sa-bist* "60") along with regular forms (*shast*).

Verbal forms are based on two stems: present (present-future, present or aorist, imperative, optative) and past (preterite, iterative past); on the past participle (perfect, past perfect and, only in N, past conditional); and on the infinitive (present, imperfect and, only in S, past conditional). The verbal endings are the same in the present and the past except sing. 3 (ø). There is in N an optative with special endings (S *-om*, *-osh*, *-o*, pl. *-oum*, *-oshit*, *-oshut*). Two verbal prefixes (durative *mi-* and perfective *ba-*) can be attached to certain forms displaying nuances of aspect and mood (e.g. the verb "to weave" in S, present-future *mi-bāf-um*, aorist *bāf-um*, iterative past *mi-bāft-um*, perfect *bāftā-m*, present *ba-bāftan-üm*, imperfect *ba-bāftan bürüm*). The verbal nouns are gerundive and absolute.

Bibliography: I.M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, The Hague 1975, 163-9; A.L. Gryunberg and I.Kh. Davidova, *Tatskii yazîk*, in V.S. Rastorgueva (ed.), *Osnovî iranskogo yazîkoznaniya. Novoiranskie yazîki*, Moscow 1982, 231-86; P. Lecoq, *Les dialectes tati*, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 297-8.

(Éva Jeremiás)

TATAR, the name of a Mongolic tribal grouping.

Their earliest attestation is in the 8th century Orkhon Türk inscriptions in which the *Otuz Tatar* ("Thirty T.") are noted (KT, e14, s1) together with other Proto-Mongolian peoples (the Ḳitan, Tatabî) as rebellious subjects of the Türk Empire. Elsewhere (BḲ, e35), the *Toḳuz Tatar* ("Nine T.") are reported as allies of the Oghuz who were defeated by Bilge Ḳaghan (Tekin, *Orhon yazıtları*, see also runic fragments from Tuva and Khakasia, Vasil'ev, *Korpus*, 33-4; Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 75) and in the late 740s by the Uyghurs. Attempts to connect the Otuz Tatars to the people called Shih-wei in Chinese sources are problematic (Gumilev, *Drevnie tyurki*, 31; Viktorova, *Mongolî*, 156). The colophon (*ca.* 825-32) of the Manichaean *Mahrnāmag* mentions an official *Tatar Apa Tekin* (Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, 9; Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 78). The earliest Chinese reference to the *Ta-ta* is recorded in a letter of 842 (Pelliot, *Comans*, 143). Tenth-century Chinese documents from Tunhuang place them around Suchou, indicating a polity in the Kansu-East Turkistan region. Ninth-10th century Khotanese Saka sources also report the involvement of the *ttättarä*/*ttattara* and *kūysa ttattara* [Kuz Tatars] in Uyghur and Northern Chinese affairs in the Kansu region (Bailey, *Culture*, 80, 85-7; idem, *Khotanese texts*, vi, 92-3). On occasion, they accompanied Uyghur embassies to China (e.g. in 958), offering assistance, in 996, against the Hsi Hsia/Tanguts (Pinks, *Die Uiguren*, 30, 107; Hamilton, *Les Ouïgours*, 89, 138; Malyavkin, *Uygurskie gosudarstva*, 75). A 10th-century Chinese embassy to the Uyghurs also notes the *Chiu-tzu Ta-tan* ("Nine T.") with whom the Kao-ch'ang Uyghurs had close ties (Pelliot, *Comans*, 147-48; İzgi, *Çin elçisi*, 48-50). This close connection is reflected in the early notices in Islamic sources. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 94, reports that the "Tatār too are a race (*djins*) of the Toghuzghuz".

Some of the Tatar groupings appear to have come under the control of the Ḳitan/Liao (907-1125) who vied for control of Northern China with the Sung (960-1279). The Chinese sources of this era make frequent reference to the Tsu-pu (cf. Tibet. *Sog-po* "Mongol"), a tributary tribal confederation of the Ḳitan/Liao, whom Wittfogel and Fêng, *Hist. Chinese soc.*, 50, 101, 102) view as either identical with or closely related to the Tatars. Viktorova (*Mongolî*, 163-4), argues, however, that *Sog-po* derives from the designation for Soghdian (now expanded to other peoples) and suggests that the Sung authors used *Tatar* as a collective term for the Inner Asian steppe nomads. The Tangut ruler Yüan-hao claimed in 1039, that the *T'a-t'a*, among others in the Kansu region, had submitted to him (Kičanov, *Očerk*, 134). Chinese sources of the 13th century use the term *Hei-Ta(-ta)* "Black Tatars" to designate all the Mongols, and *Pei Ta-ta* "White Tatars" to signify the Önggüd, a Turkic people (Olbricht and Pinks, *Meng-ta Pei-lu*, 4, 6).

Gardīzī (ed. Ḥabībī, 258), in his account of Kimek [see KIMÄK] origins (this people being an important Turkic or Turkicised tribal confederation in Western Siberia which had extensive trade relations with Muslim merchants), derives their ruling house from the *mihtar* of the Tatārs. Moreover, a tribe named "Tatār" constituted one of the seven core tribes of this union. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (Dankoff, i, 82-3, 312) considers the Tatārs "a tribe of the Turks", but notes them among the distant, Inner Asian nomadic peoples near China, the Ḳāy, Yabāḳū and Basmïl who each have "their own language but they also know Turkic well". According to the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 421, the "Pādishāh of the Tatār is called *symwn bywy ḥyār*".

With the overthrow of the Liao, the Tatars were forced to send hostages to the Djurčen/Chin who supplanted the Ḳitan. There then began a complex relationship with the Chin in which the Tatars until *ca.* 1190 alternately policed the Mongolian steppes for them or themselves revolted against Djurčen overlordship. At this time, they were located south of the Mongol tribe/union in Northeastern Mongolia. Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 159 ff. ed. Karīmī, i, 57 ff., in an extensive report on them, mentions two Tatar habitats, one on the Būyir Nor and the other on the Angara ("Anḳūra") river in South Siberia, the latter a memento, perhaps, of an earlier alliance with the Ḳirghîz (on this, see Kljaštornyj, *Das Reich*, 76). They were reportedly a bellicose, strife-ridden people famous for fighting with knives (*kārd-zanī*), who possessed a land rich in silver. Although "an *īl* and a subject people who paid tribute to the Pādishāhs of Khatāy", they frequently rebelled. Had they been more constant in their unity, he maintains, "the other tribes of the Khatāys and others would have had no success in resisting them". Nonetheless, they were more often than not victorious over their neighbours. As a consequence of their grandeur (*ʿizzat*) and magnificence (*hashmat*), other tribes "made themselves famous with their name and are all called Tatār". Herein, as Rashīd al-Dīn notes, i, 163, lies the origin of the widespread usage of this name as a general designation of the Mongol-speaking tribes and others of the Činggisid era. He further remarks that the name "Mughūl (Mongol) spread in much the same fashion", and names (i, 165) six Tatar tribes divided into three groupings: Tūtūḳlīyūt and Kūyīn, Alči and Tarāt,

Čaghān and Barkūy, with the Tūtūklīyūt (< Turk. *tutuk*, a title of Chinese origin + Turk suffix *-li* + Mong. pl. *-ut*), having the highest standing. The Tatārs had a long-standing blood feud with the Mongol tribe dating to the era of Kabul Khān (mid-12th century) who was the ruler "of the multitude of Mughūl". A Tatār shaman who failed to cure Sāyīn Tegin, a Kunghrāt and the brother-in-law of Kabul Khān, was murdered by his now deceased patient's brothers. The Mongols were obliged to make common cause with the Kunghrāt because of this marital tie and the two sides "repeatedly warred. On both sides, each time the opportunity presented itself, they killed one another and caused devastation". During the course of these struggles, the Tatārs captured Hambakāy (Mong. Ambaghay) Khān, a successor of Kabul Khān, and turned him over to Altān Khān (the "Golden Emperor" = Chin) who subjected him to a grisly death (Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 166-9, 485, repeats several variants of this tale, cf. also ed. Karīmī, i, 142, 188). The dying Ambaghay called on his people "till the nails of your five fingers disappear through wear ... strive to avenge me" (see *The Secret History*, tr. Cleaves, 11). The Tatārs also captured Ökin Tartāk, a son of Kabul Khān and the Kereyid leader, Sarik Khān/Marghūz (Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 195-6, 260), both of whom underwent the same fate in Chin captivity. This enmity, undoubtedly enflamed by the Chin's policy of divide and conquer in the steppe, continued up to the late 12th century, when the tribes of Mongolia were being organised by Temüdjin (named after a Tatar foe slain by his father), soon to be the Činggis Khān. It was the latter who "made sword-fodder (*ʿalaf-i shimshīr*) of the whole of the tribes of the Tatār and the Emperor of Khatāy" (Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 171). In May-June 1196, Činggis Khān and his allies attacked the Tatārs, who had now fallen afoul of the Chin, and came away with great booty for "at that time the Tatār tribes were the most blessed with bounty (*munʿamtarīn*) and wealthiest (*mutamawwiltar*) of all those who live in the steppe". In 1202, at a battle near the Khalkha river, the Mongols utterly routed the Tatārs. Činggis Khān, as a consequence of their long-standing hatred, "ordered that they be completely slaughtered and not one be left alive to the extent that the *yasak* allows, that women and little ones also be killed and the bellies of pregnant women be torn asunder completely. No one was permitted to give them sanctuary" (Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 172-3, 175). Many Tatārs, however, had intermarried with Mongols and in this way sizeable numbers survived and not a few of their descendants later became important personages in the Činggisid empire. Rashīd al-Dīn, i, 189, mentions among others Abishka (Abushka Noyan of Perso-Turkish sources), a descendant of a Tatār orphan taken in by one of Činggis Khān's Tatar wives, who ruled Rūm, and his nephew, Bektut, was the commander of the Karāūnas, the Turco-Mongol group found in the region of Transoxania and Afghānistān in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

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(P.B. Golden)

TATAR PAZARCIK, a town of central Bulgaria, on the upper reaches of the Marica, 120 km/75 miles from Sofia and 36 km/22 miles from Plovdiv. It had 88,000 inhabitants in 1991; since 1934 it has been officially known as Pazardjik (Пазарджик).

Situated on the great Belgrade-Istanbul axis, only a short distance from Plovdiv (Filibe [*q.v.*]), Tatar Pazarcik could only emerge as an urban centre in the imperial Ottoman context. After the conquest of Bosnia (1463), a caravan route was established between Sarajevo and Istanbul, via Priština, Skopje, Kjustendil and Samokov. At the junction of the two routes Tatar Pazarcik was founded in 1485, around a Tatar colony from Bessarabia, of which little is known. Regional centre of a *kaḍā* from the 16th century onwards, the town suffered from the proximity of Plovdiv, a traditional regional metropolis. It was nevertheless a flourishing commercial centre: iron from Samokov, wood from the Rhodopes, and rice, cultivation of which had been introduced in the 16th century; all of these were sent down the Marica by raft as far as Edirne or the Aegean Sea. In the 19th century, commerce in roughly-spun cloth (*aba*) and in corduroy (*gaytan*) was predominant; the fair of Maraš was held each year from 30 June to 15 August. In 1873, railway connections were established with Istanbul and Dedeaghač.

Located on a major axis, Tatar Pazarcik was described by numerous travellers, who hesitated to call it a village (Scheper, 1533), a *palanka* (Schweiger, 1577) or a town (Kuripešič, 1530; Vrančić, 1567). In 1578, Gerlach counted no more than 30 houses belonging to Christians, who had no church or resident priest. All admired the fine caravanserai constructed in 1574 by Ibrāhīm Pasha and its elegant fountain. Ewliyā

Čelebi enumerated 16 *maḥallas* and 870 houses. Quiclet mentions a clock-tower in 1664 (the current clock-tower dates from 1741). In 1718, Driesch found houses larger and more attractive than those of Niš or of Sofia.

The Bulgar population only began to grow from the 18th century onward. The town seems to have been spared the anarchy of the years between 1790 and 1815, being controlled at this time by a powerful family of *aʿyāns*, who entertained visitors in sumptuous style (Galt, 1811; Lamartine, 1833). Zahariev provides a detailed description of the place as it was in the 1860s: it comprised 33 *maḥallas* and 3,420 houses, 1,200 shops, 19 mosques, 6 churches, 1 synagogue and 4 public baths. There were 8 Turkish schools with 500 pupils, 6 Bulgar schools with 530 pupils, and Jewish, Vlach and Armenian schools. The population is said to have amounted to 25,000 inhabitants, of whom Bulgars comprised 57% and Turks 28.5%.

In January 1878 the town was burned and pillaged in the course of Süleymān Pasha's retreat (a moving description in de Lonlay's account). The majority of the Turkish population emigrated at that time, while the prohibition of rice-growing between 1879 and 1884 was intended to ruin the Beys. In the context of Eastern Rumelia (1878-85), then of the Principality of Bulgaria, Tatar Pazarcik managed to survive: in 1900 it comprised 17,000 inhabitants, including 2,000 Turks and 1,000 Muslim Gipsies. In 1923 it still largely retained its Ottoman appearance, although only four mosques remained; an assistant *muftī* was in residence there. At the present day, the Muslim presence is assured by a significant Gipsy community (Horohan and Kalajdži groups) and, unobtrusively, by Pomaks [*q.v.*] originally from the neighbouring mountains.

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(B. Lory)

TAṬARRUF (A., verbal noun of form V of *ṭ-r-f*), at present the usual Arabic word for extremism, radicalism. Metaphorically, the term is understood as the opposite of "moderate". The latter meaning is connected with the topos of the "the golden mean" between two extremes, which has been current since Antiquity and has served as a definition for the concept of moderation (A. *tawassuṭ*, *iʿtidāl*). After World War II the concept of extremism found its way into academic literature, and since the 1970s has been specifically used in Islamic and Orientalist literature for the phenomenon of militant religious-political groups. *Inter alia*, the term is applied to mark the difference between those groups and other ones for whom a number of more comprehensive neologisms such as "Islamists" (*islāmiyyūn*) and "fundamentalists" (*uṣūliyyūn*) appear to be appropriate. On the other hand, the concept of *taṭarruf* is also used as a synonym of the older concept of *ghuluww* [see GHULĀT] as well as that of *taʿaṣṣub*, *tanaṭṭuʿ*, *tazammut* or *tashaddud* "fanaticism, rigorism".

The concept of extremism, unless its contents are carefully defined, is problematic, for it can easily be politicised and used indiscriminately. In the Western world, the "democratic constitutional state" usually counts as the antithesis to "extremism", but in the Islamic world such a consensus is missing, as is clear from a quick glance at the literature. Here the existing state power, legitimised democratically only in rare cases, determines what political extremism is. It is even more difficult to determine *al-taṭarruf al-dīnī* and to define it against the *wasaṭiyya*—a concept often claimed by Muslim authors for their religion (usually with reference to Ḳurʾān II, 143, 185, and IV, 28), but in general without much elaboration. While many Muslims view the (militant) Islamists as extremists, the latter tend to apply that term to both their secular-minded co-religionists as well as to religious fringe groups (such as the Aḥmadiyya, the Bahāʾīs or the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.vv.*].

Basically, the word "extreme" may refer to: 1) Ideas and actions by groups of various types (among them circles of theorists, individual [isolated] activists, terrorist groups, merger movements, vanguard parties). They may be distiguished from one another according to the importance they attribute to doctrine, organisation and action, but are similar with regard to their aim to overthrow the established social order. 2) Countries and régimes which want to undermine the political authority and legitimacy of other states and régimes. 3) States which try to modify the existing power relations within the international system. In spite of the various aims and strategies, the term "extreme" always refers to movements or régimes which want to bring about a change in the *status quo*, occasionally with all possible means, and to counteract in the region the interests of the "Westerners", in particular those of the USA and of Israel.

The extremist doctrine is in general marked by the following structural patterns: claims to know the absolute truth, dogmatism, utopianism, friend-enemy stereotypes, conspiracy theories, fanaticism and activism. To its most important functions belong interpretation and explanation (but not the search for understanding) of what is going on in the world. In the case of religious extremism, there is also the certainty of salvation, which is connected, especially in the Shīʿa, with the idea of martyrdom and of messianic or millenarian expectations. Next to this, the doctrine also serves to indicate the way of action and to formulate the aim, to integrate members or to isolate alleged enemies. Further, it functions to both legitimate and justify action on the political level.

The particular nature of religious-political extremism lies in its claim to religious legitimacy and divine guidance; its followers consider themselves as possessors of the absolute truth, sanctioned by God. The specific dimensions of this extremism are:

1. Striving for the expansion of religious law; in this process, the *Sharīʿa* is indeed explained and accentuated in different ways, but is in general interpreted rigorously and selectively (idealisation of the early *Umma*, "founding myths").

2. Social isolation and the set-up of a counter-society serving as a model for the future. This implies among other things that during missionary activities precautionary measures are taken in order to prevent the dangers which may arise from contact with those who are not like-minded.

3. Rejection of cultural forms and values that are not perceived as indigenous to the religious tradition (the phenomenon of counter-acculturation or "defensive culture"). The unique nature of Islam is emphasised in comparison to all other existing ideologies and social systems.

The long-term aim is to destabilise and replace the present régimes, experienced as un-Islamic, illegitimate and unjust, by an ideal Islamic state, in which the Sharīʿa dominates public and private life. However, this objective presupposes the creation of a *homo islamicus* and must therefore be considered utopian. This aim is legitimised by the concepts of the *ḥākimiyya* (divine sovereignty) and of the contemporary *djāhiliyya*, influenced by Abu ʾl-ʿAlāʾ Mawdūdī (1903-79) and Sayyid Ḳuṭb (1906-66) [*q.vv.*].

As a result of the more or less inevitable failure of this aim, and because of the suppression by the state power, there occur controversies about strategy inside the extremist groups, which can lead to further schisms and increasing radicalisation.

In order to convert aims into practice, the following methods, which correspond to the "prophetical model", are applied: *daʿwa* (mission), *hidjra* (emigration), and (offensive) *djihād* [*q.vv.*]. These strategies can be pursued successively, but also separate from one another, depending on the method followed/utilised to seize power: a "gradualist approach" (including the undermining of the existing system with legal means), a "tendency towards withdrawal" or "a tendency towards conquest". Both dimension and intensity of the resort to violence depend on the political context and on the scope of the concept of *takfīr* [*q.v.*], used for sanctioning violence.

As in other cultures, extremist movements in Islamic societies have always found their origin in socio-economical, political, cultural and psychological crises during periods of upheaval and transition. These movements have been successful at mobilising the lower and middle strata of society which have been marginalised politically as well as socially. Their successes can be traced back mainly to the fact that such movements emphasise the (Islamic) ideal of equality and justice, and recently also to the broad supply of free social assistance, made possible through foreign support. However, the élite character of the movements, expressed in doctrine and organisation (centralised structure, charismatic form of leadership), contradicts this idealised picture.

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TATHLĪTH (a.), the verbal noun of *thallatha*, means literally "to make or call three". It is the normal Muslim designation for the doctrine of the divine Trinity, in the same way as *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] is used to designate the divine Unity. Its form expresses the Muslim understanding that the Christian doctrine entails plurality within the Godhead, and indicates that it has never been accepted in Muslim religious thought.

Condemnations of Christian beliefs about God start with the Ḳurʾān. In addition to denying that Jesus is identical with God (e.g. V, 17, 72), or taken by God as his son (e.g. IX, 30-1, XIX, 35), it warns Christians against saying God is three (IV, 171) or one of three (V, 73), and clears Jesus of claiming divinity for his mother and himself besides God (V, 116). Though the forms of belief which these verses may be refuting in their immediate historical context could well be heretical (discussions in G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, London 1965, 134-7; N. Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, London 1991, 20-1), it is definite that, from the earliest times, Muslims construed them in the light of such verses as XXIII, 91, XXV, 2 and CXII, 3-4, as rejections of all forms of Trinitarian belief. This understanding is expressed as early as 71/691 in the composite Ḳurʾānic inscription around the inner face of the arcade of the Dome of the Rock, which includes verses condemning Christian beliefs about Jesus and the Trinity (text in C. Kessler, *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription in the Dome of the Rock: a reconsideration*,

in *JRAS* [1970], 4-6, incorporating IV, 171). These verses had particular force in a building intended to convey to Christians the potency of Islam [see KUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA and AL-ḲUDS. B].

The first Arab Christian accounts of the Trinity written in the Islamic era, which date from the 2nd/8th century, reveal that their authors were fully conscious of the challenge of plurality. In reply they regularly used explanations and arguments inherited from patristic sources, among the most popular of which were numerical proofs based on the perfection of the figure three and analogies from the phenomenal world, e.g. the sun's disc, heat and rays, which intimate that the hypostases are in fact three functions of the one reality (see the anonymous *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid*, from the mid-2nd/8th century, ed. and tr. M.D. Gibson, *On the triune nature of God*, in *Studia Sinaitica*, vi, London 1899, 74-8 (Arabic) (on the dating see S.K. Samir, *The earliest Arab apology for Christianity (c. 750)*, in *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, ed. S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielsen, Leiden 1994, 57-114, though others suggest a slightly later date), and the debate between the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I and the caliph al-Mahdī, which took place in about 165/781, in A. Mingana, *The apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*, in *BJRL*, xii [1928], 159 ff., 198 ff.; Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāḳ [*q.v.*], *al-Radd ʿalā al-thalāth firaḳ min al-Naṣārā*, ed. D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam*, Cambridge 1992, 149). These arguments remained integral parts of the debate as it developed in the classical period, though they never proved as cogent in the new context as they had in the old.

By the time the first surviving sustained Muslim attacks appeared at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century the main issues in contention had become clear. The outlines of explanation employed by the main Christian denominations were well known to Muslims, and, more significantly, they were being presented in a shared Arabic vocabulary which served to focus the debate even more sharply upon the question of plurality. For the terms employed, usually *djawhar* (less often *ṭabīʿa*) for "substance" (οὐσία) and the Syriac borrowing *uḳnūm* (pl. *aḳānīm*) for "hypostasis" (ὑπόστασις), and the ways they were glossed, emphasised the differentiations within the Godhead and made it relatively easy for Muslim polemicists to argue that there must be more than one eternal.

There is considerable variety in the detail of Muslim attacks at this time, and three of the main surviving works exemplify the differences in approach. One of the earliest comes from the Zaydī Imām al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī's *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* (I. di Matteo, *Confutazione contro i Cristiani dello zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, in *RSI*, ix [1921-2], 301-64), where among other arguments the author identifies the hypostases as *ashkhāṣ* "separate individuals" (an identification supported at this time by such Christian authors as Theodore Abū Ḳurra and Ḥabīb b. Khidma Abū Rāʾiṭa) who are distinct and equal and are one in *ṭabīʿa*, nature (314.23-316.3), and employs the essentialist proof that since the titles "Father" and "Son" derive from the act of begetting they designate a contingent relationship rather than the eternal actuality of God (318.15-319.13). Following a more established form of logic, the philosopher Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī [*q.v.*] employs the Aristotelian categories enumerated in Porphyry's *Isagoge* (A. Périer, *Un traité de Yaḥyā ben ʿAdī*, in *ROC*, xxii [1920-1], 3-21, where portions of al-Kindī's *al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā* are quoted). He describes the hypostases as *ashkhāṣ*, individuals, each with its own *khāṣṣa*, individuating property, and shows that as such they cannot be eternal for three reasons: the description itself indicates they are composite (4.12-7); since they can be treated as Aristotelian predicables they must each include a number of categories within themselves (6.18-10.8); and, according to Aristotle, the proposition that they are both one and three, if not absurd, entails them being part of a species or genus (11.3-12.4). Each of these severely philosophical proofs relies on the principle that what is composite must derive from an anterior cause and so is not eternal. Adopting yet another approach, the Shīʿī theologian Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Warrāḳ, who in his *Radd ʿalā al-thalāth firaḳ min al-Naṣārā* (ed. Thomas, *Polemic*) composed one of the fullest and most influential attacks on the doctrine in the whole of the early period of Islam, accepts the explanations presented by the main Christian denominations without placing interpretative glosses on them, and subjects all aspects of them to a long and searching enquiry, from which he concludes that they are either incoherent or inconsistent with accepted norms of reason. He allows his opponents to speak for themselves, though like his two contemporaries al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Kindī, he treats the constituents of the Godhead as a series of discrete and separate entities, and so can repeatedly demonstrate that the doctrine is in actuality *tathlīth*, making God three.

As the arguments of these Muslim thinkers show, the problem with the doctrine for Arabic speakers was that, in the form in which it was expressed, it represented a plurality of real existences within the Godhead. Christian theologians did not find a means of overcoming this, although they employed many strategies. An innovation in the 3rd/9th century was to formulate the doctrine according to the logic of the *kalām*, which was, of course, the common ground of theological discourse for Muslim and Christian Arabic speakers, in which the hypostases were presented as *ṣifāt*, attributes of the divine essence, or something similar (see e.g. S. Griffith, *The concept of* al-Uqnūm *in ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's apology for the doctrine of the Trinity*, in *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, septembre 1980)*, ed. S.K. Samir, Rome 1982, 169-91; idem, *The* Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-ʿAql *of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: a profile of the Christian creed in tenth century Egypt*, in *Medieval Encounters*, ii [1996], 15-42). Typically, this took the form of saying that the Son and Holy Spirit are respectively the *ʿilm* or *nuṭḳ*, reason, and *ḥayāt*, life, of the Father, two irreducible attributes by which he is *ʿālim* or *nāṭiḳ*, endowed with reason, and *ḥayy*, living, meaning that the three realities can be distinguished from one another formally but are in actuality identical, since, according to *kalām* understanding, the divine attributes were not distinct from the being of God. This attempt to explain the doctrine in a manner familiar to Muslims may have been ingenious but it proved unsustainable, not least because there was no compelling reason to limit the *ṣifāt* to these two, or, according to Muʿtazilī thinking, to consider them distinguishable from the being of God in any way. Muslim theologians made short work of refuting the doctrine in this form (see e.g. Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī [*q.v.*] quoted in ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v, ed. M. Khuḍayrī, Cairo 1958, 80, 91-5; al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar [*q.v.*], *K. al-Awsaṭ fi ʾl-maḳālāt*, in *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 87 [Arabic]).

Intellectually, the 3rd/9th century marks one of the most fruitful periods of encounter between Muslims and Christians, and many of the arguments employed

against the Trinity by the *mutakallimūn* at that time greatly influenced polemicists in the next century, such as the As̲h̲ʿarī Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*] and the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] (see Thomas, *Polemic*, 42 ff.). Against what seem to be increasingly desperate opponents, these theologians employed many arguments which had stood the test of time to show that the separate itemisation of realities within the Godhead must entail plurality of eternals. Of course, there were new arguments: al-Bāḳillānī refutes the proposition that God can be *d̲j̲awhar* on the grounds that, according to *kalām* classifications (as opposed to the Aristotelian categories of the Christian opponents), if He were, He would have to be a substrate for accidents (*K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. R.J. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 75 ff.). But the main approach appears to have been generally agreed, and ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār's arguments, for example, which are substantially borrowings from earlier polemicists (*Mug̲h̲nī*, v, 86-113), serve as a convenient summary for the forms of proof employed against the doctrine up to the end of the 4th/10th century. The same can be said of the situation in al-Andalus, where at about the same time Ibn Ḥazm's [*q.v.*] attack on the Trinity bears close similarities to earlier arguments, though true to his Ẓāhirī sympathies, the latter curtly observes that if the three hypostases are all one then each must be the other, and also questions the justification for identifying God's attribute of *ʿilm* as His Son, something not commented on previously (*K. al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-ahwāʾ wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317, i, 50). In the following centuries Andalusian Christians also employed methods which had appeared in earlier *kalām* debates in the east to defend the doctrine (see T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden 1994, 163-72). The issue remained that Christians argued for a unity which differed from the absolute, dense oneness of Islamic doctrine. They continued to insist upon what may be called an open oneness in terms which retained connections with Greek philosophical triads, and for this reason had no difficulty in accepting the form *tat̲h̲līt̲h̲* for the doctrine with its implication of triple reality. Their conception of divine Unity could not be accommodated in a definition with which Muslims would agree.

Despite the fact that Christians habitually cited scriptural authority for their doctrine (particularly Gen. i. 26 and Matt. xxviii. 19), the Biblical sources were not discussed in most Muslim responses, presumably because any text which sanctioned a violation of *tawḥīd* must be corrupt [see TAḤRĪF]. One of the exceptions to this attitude was Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], who in his *al-D̲j̲awāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1905, ii, 87-156, places the whole debate in the context of revealed teachings and argues that, since none of the prophets would have taught anything other than divine Unity, the Trinity must be based upon misinterpretation of the Bible. He dismisses the philosophical terminology discussed so hotly by his predecessors as unwarranted jargon, though he touches the same theme as they, that the Christian doctrine does not conform to what God has revealed, whether this is found in the study of scripture or rational enquiry. M. ʿAta ur-Rahim, *Jesus, a Prophet of Islam*, London 1979, 9 ff., makes exactly the same point as he, and supports it with the tried argument that the doctrine resulted from the introduction of Christian beliefs into the world of Greek philosophical concepts.

Maybe the most thorough and influential refutation of the doctrine in modern times was that made by Raḥmat Allāh b. K̲h̲alīl al-Kayrānawī in his *Iẓhār al-ḥaḳḳ*, Constantinople 1867 (reissued many times and translated into many languages), which he wrote in the years following the debate in Agra in 1854 between himself and other Indian Muslims and the German missionary C.G. Pfander. In this he uses the Bible to show that there is no strong scriptural basis for the Trinity (i, 263-83), and logical arguments inherited from earlier times, supplemented by others inferred from such teachings as transubstantiation, to show that there is no rational validity in it (i, 283-8). Like all his predecessors in the succession from the Ḳurʾān, he demonstrates that it inescapably signifies a plurality in the Godhead which violates *tawḥīd*. It cannot be supported in reason and should not be accepted in faith.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): R. Caspar *et alii*, *Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien*, in *Islamochristiana*, i (1975) and onwards, for authors mainly from the early period; R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050)*, Paris 1985, for Christian authors and themes; Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Épitre sur l'Unité et la Trinité*..., ed. and tr. M. Allard and G. Troupeau, Beirut n.d., for an account of early Christian positions. See also ʿĪSĀ. X, XV, and IND̲J̲ĪL.

(D. THOMAS)

TAʿṬĪL [see TAS̲H̲BĪH WA-TANZĪH].

ṬĀʿŪN [see WABAʾ].

TAWĀBIL [see AFĀWĪH, in Suppl.].

TAWADDUD (A.), the title of one of the tales from the *Thousand and One Nights* (no. 387, according to Chauvin). The son of a wealthy merchant, having squandered his heritage, finds himself without any possession other than a young female slave, Tawaddud, who is well versed in all branches of knowledge. On the latter's advice, he introduces her to the caliph Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd who, wishing to put her to the test, organises a disputation (*munāẓara*) between her and ten scholars, including the renowned Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*], presented here as the most eminent man of his time. One by one, Tawaddud defeats each of her adversaries, stripping them of their *ṭaylasān*, insignum of their rank; charmed, the caliph showers her master with presents, gives him back his slave and makes him a member of his inner circle.

The narrative element, reduced to its simplest form, belongs to a type of tale abundantly represented in the *Nights* (cf. e.g. *Anīs al-d̲j̲alīs*, no. 58, according to Chauvin); it also evokes "stories with riddles", a genre well known in international folklore, and in particular, those where it is a woman who finds the solution, thus proving her superiority over men. It is, however, the content and the nature of the questions addressed (about 200) which have most of all excited the interest of specialists. In reference to the religious disciplines, discernible here is an ideological hard core which clearly belongs in the context of the "Sunnī restoration" of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries: the defeat of al-Naẓẓām, a famous Muʿtazilī—and a poor loser to boot—in confrontation with Tawaddud, who explicitly evokes Sunnism and the S̲h̲āfiʿī law school, is eloquent in this respect. It would, however, be a mistake to exaggerate the homogeneity of the whole, which bears the marks of successive additions, and which combines, with questions of deep doctrinal importance others which relate to a more "popular" vision, favouring spectacular erudition and spicy or sensational subjects, and sometimes taking the form of riddles.

The tale is also known in a Spanish adaptation, *La Doncela Teodor*, of which the earliest version dates back to the 13th century and which, in an enlarged form, became from the end of the 15th century onwards a classic of itinerant story-telling, before providing inspiration for a comedy by Lope de Vega (1617).

Bibliography: *Alf layla*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 327-55, *Nights* 436-62; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Liège-Leipzig 1903, 117-19; M. Menendez Pelayo, *La Doncela Teodor*, in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 483-511; W. Mettmann, *La Historia de la Donzella Teodor. Ein spanisches Volksbuch arabischen Ursprungs*, Abh. Ak. Wiss. und Lit., Geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl., Mainz 1962, no. 3; Cl. Gerresch, *Un récit des Mille et une nuits: "Tawaddud", petite encyclopédie de l'Islam médiéval*, in *BIFAN*, xxv (1973), 57-175 (contains a partial tr.); A. Miquel, *Tawaddud la servante*, in *Sept contes des Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1980, 13-49; Cl. Brémond and B. Dabord, *Tawaddud et Teodor: les enjeux ludiques du savoir*, in M. Picone (ed.), *L'enciclopedismo medievale*, Ravenna 1994, 253-73.

(J.-P. Guillaume)

ṬAWĀF (a.) verbal noun of *ṭāfa* with *bi* of place, "encircling"; in the language of religious cults the running round or circumambulation of a sacred object, a stone, altar, etc.

There are traces of the rite having existed among the Israelites, cf. especially Ps. xxvi. 6, and the ceremony of the feast of booths in the time of the Second Temple, where the altar is circumambulated once in the first six days and seven times on the seventh. The rite, however, was also found among Persians, Indians, Buddhists, Romans and others and is therefore very old. It played a very important part in the religious ceremonial of the ancient Arabs. We find the synonymous *dawār* (from *dāra*) also used. Thus Imru' al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa*, 63, compares the wild cows with young women in long trailing robes, who perform the circumambulation (*duwār*).

In Mecca, the Kaʿba which enclosed the Black Stone, sacred from very ancient times, used to be circumambulated, and Muḥammad adopted this old custom when he established the rites of his religion and centred them round the Kaʿba. When, in the year 8/630, he made his victorious entry into his native town, he is said by Ibn Hishām, 820, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1642, to have performed the *ṭawāf* riding on his camel, touching with his crooked staff the *rukn* (the eastern corner of the Ḳaʿba where the stone was). This was, however, exceptional, and according to Ibn Hishām, it was only shortly before his death at the time of the "farewell pilgrimage" that he laid down the authoritative rules for the circumambulation. It may, however, be assumed with certainty that he observed ancient traditional forms ("handed down from Abraham": Ibn Hishām, 51, l. 20) so that we can deduce from Muslim practice what the ancient pagan custom was; one feature of the latter was that the circumambulation had to be performed seven times in succession (see above on the feast of booths), the first three at a greater speed, beginning and ending at the Black Stone and keeping the Kaʿba on the right at all times; one should make a special effort to kiss the stone or at least touch it (*taḳbīl, istilām*). However, if Wellhausen is correct, it was an innovation that the *ṭawāf* which previously took place only at the *ʿumra* [*q.v.*] was inserted by Muḥammad in the great *Ḥadjdj* when the pilgrims visited Mecca. This suggestion is nevertheless disputed, see ḥadjdj in *EI*[1], at II, 199, where sūra III, 91, is quoted against it (but the expression *ḥadjdj al-bayt* is hardly decisive, since Muḥammad may have decided on the expansion of the rites of the *ḥadjdj*, if the expression was not inserted in the text later). The following are certainly Muslim innovations: the *ṭawāf al-taḥiyya* or *al-ḳudūm* (circumambulation of greeting or arrival) and the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ* (circumambulation of departure, cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 284), which are, it is worth noting, not obligatory. Of the old pagan customs, one at least was strictly forbidden by the Prophet, sc. making the *ṭawāf* naked; see sūra VII, 29; Ibn Hishām, 921; and cf. Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 6, l. 12, where there is a reference to a wooden object at the Kaʿba, where the heathen laid their clothes at the circumambulation. The pavement surrounding the Kaʿba on which the course was run is called *al-maṭāf*. At the al-Ḥaṭīm wall [see kaʿba] they run close to the outer side of it, not as usual alongside the Kaʿba.

The *ṭawāf*, except for the special forms mentioned above, is strictly compulsory and therefore it became an important factor in Islam. When the rule of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr made the visits of the faithful to Mecca difficult, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, is said to have proclaimed that a *ṭawāf* around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem would have the same value as that around the Kaʿba (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 35). The complete omission of this rite would have meant a serious gap in early Islamic religious practice, but doubts about the whole story have been raised [see ḳubbat al-ṣakhra]. In any case, if there really had been such an innovation, it must have soon disappeared with its cause, and in orthodox Islam any *ṭawāf* except that around the Kaʿba became more and more pointless. That the old ritual custom survived in the lower strata of Arab life is revealed in an interesting fashion by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUdjaymī al-Makkī, d. 1113/1702 (*Ihdāʾ al-laṭāʾif min akhbār al-Ṭāʾif*, cf. J. Horovitz, in *MSOS*, x [1907], 33, and Brockelmann, S II, 536), who says that the Bedouin endeavoured to perform the *ṭawāf* not only around the graves of their ancestors but also around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿAbbās in al-Ṭāʾif.

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(F. Buhl*)

ṬAWĀʾIF [see mulūk al-ṭawāʾif].

TAWAKKUL (a.), verbal noun or *maṣdar* of Form V of *wakala* "to entrust [to someone], have confidence [in someone]", a concept in Islamic religious terminology, and especially that of Ṣūfism, with the sense of dependence upon God. Tor Andrae pointed out that the verb *tawakkala* meant "to trust someone in the same way as I would trust my *wakīl*", i.e. the person whom I have chosen to be my procurator or *homme d'affaires*, to look after my business and to govern and dispose on my behalf. Here he was drawing largely on al-Ghazālī's etymological analysis of *tawakkul* in his *Iḥyāʾ*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 223, where he states that it is derived from *wakāla*, power of attorney or deputyship, "hence one says that one entrusts one's affairs (*wakala*) to someone, i.e. one

relies on him. The one to whom one consigns one's affairs is called an agent or trustee (*wakīl*). With respect to the one in whom one trusts, one says that one abandons oneself to one's agent. Thus one entrusts one's soul to him and depends firmly on him... Hence *tawakkul* expresses the heart's confidence in the One Trustee (*al-wakīl al-wāḥid*)" (sc. God).

In the earliest Ṣūfī writings is found just such a conception of "religion as *tawakkul*", the sum of all acts of pious devotion, the essence of the feeling of "absolute dependence", which, as Schleiermacher observed, itself is religion. In the Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīth* trust in God is a central topic. In the Ḳur'ān, *tawakkul* is mentioned some 60 times (II, 256, 283, III, 75, 122, 159-61, etc.), with such typical admonitions as "So put your trust in God, if you are believers" (V, 23). In *Ḥadīth*, we find e.g. "If you trust in God Almighty as it truly demands, He will certainly supply your daily bread just as He provides the birds who fly forth with empty stomachs in the morning but return surfeited at dusk" (*Iḥyā'*, iv, 211).

In early Ḳur'ānic exegesis, in al-Sulamī's recension of the *Tafsīr* ascribed to Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*], his description of the interior topography of the heart anticipates later Ṣūfī conceptions of *tawakkul* as an inner spiritual attitude rather than an external practice (ed. P. Nwyia, in *MUSJ*, xliii/4 [1967], 181-230); and early debates in Ṣūfism on the propriety of *tawakkul* in the spiritual life often focussed on the exegesis of Ḳur'ānic verses, e.g. Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) on XI, 6, "As long as one who trusts in God (*al-mutawakkil*) perceives secondary causes (*al-asbāb*), he is a false claimant".

From early Islamic times onwards, there were heated debates about the respective virtues of "earning a living" (*kasb, takassub, iktisāb* [see KASB]) versus pure trust in God (*tawakkul*) (summary of these in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Beirut n.d., ii, 5-6). Like other technical terms in Islamic thought, these discussions partook of the parity phenomenon, where ideas were discussed in terms of linguistic pairs of opposites representing contrary philosophico-mystical or mystico-theosophical positions, so that *tawakkul/kasb* was often paired with *djabr/ikhtiyār*, determinism vs. freewill (see e.g. the tale of the lion and the beasts of the chase in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, ed. and tr. Nicholson, i, vv. 900-1200, 1263-1371). It was the 'Irāḳī school of Baghdād, followers of al-Djunayd (d. 298/910 [*q.v.*]) and his reliance for sustenance on God's Providence alone, who became the main exponents of the doctrine of *tawakkul* in early Islam, whereas the Khurāsānian school of Nīshāpūr, following the teachings of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874 [*q.v.*]) based their doctrine on *malāma*, blame, and advocated the virtues of *kasb*. But these were general tendencies rather than clear-cut divisions, and we find individuals who did not fit easily into this categorisation; thus Abū Turāb Nakhshabī (d. 245/859), although a member of the Khurāsān school, was also famed for his *tawakkul* (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, Tehran 1370/1991, 49). Those fearful, like the Baghdādī Ruwaym (d. 298/310), of reliance on excessive *tawakkul*, stressed the Prophet's *sunna* on the virtues of *kasb*, and debates on the limits of *tawakkul* abounded in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. According to Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, Leiden and London 1911, 146, Abū Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī, an early advocate of *tawakkul*, reportedly fell into a pit and refused to call out to be rescued by a party of travellers lest he be thought to have committed himself to anyone but God (cf. further, Nicholson, *The mystics of Islam*, London 1914, 41 ff.). Perhaps the best-known advocate of *tawakkul* within the Baghdādī school was Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 290/903), who carried the idea of self-abandonment to God to its extreme; al-Djunayd commented on his death that "the expanse of *tawakkul* on the surface of the earth has been rolled up" ('Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Tehran 1362/1983, 348). But most Ṣūfīs by now were increasingly aware of the subtlety of the *tawakkul* doctrine, literal interpretation of which they tended to regard as naive. Thus al-Ḥallādj found it objectionable that al-Khawwāṣ based his entire mystical doctrine on *tawakkul*, taking it as "real faith" (Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 290). A subtle point was raised in such critiques as this and others: the sincerity of one's own devotion is blemished by consciousness of one's own reliance, and the annihilation of self (*fanā'* [*q.v.*]) must underlie true realisation of *tawakkul*. It is clear that most Baghdādī Ṣūfīs acknowledged the subtle connection of the two.

It was not long before many mystics began to criticise the classical doctrine of *tawakkul* as wanting in spiritual sophistication, especially those Khurāsānians who had little regard for the concept anyway. Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/931) considered it, with *zuhd*, renunciation, *riḍā*, contentment, and *taslīm*, submission, as one of the four stations which he regarded as unbefitting of true wisdom (*ma'rifa*), i.e. it was suitable only for dull pedestrians along the Ṣūfī path.

But the dominant attitude which prevailed amongst the mystics was that it was the interior reality, not the external paraphernalia, of *tawakkul* which really mattered. The great Ṣūfī poet Bābā Ṭāhir (*fl.* 5th/11th century [*q.v.*]) devoted the 26th chapter of his *Aphorisms* (*Kalimāt-i ḳiṣār*, ed. Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1354/1975) to the topic of trust, and voices the idea paradoxically: *al-tawakkul nafy al-tawakkul* "trust in God is the negation of trust in God", explained by a commentator as "the one who truly trusts in God denies himself any attachment to *tawakkul* in the sense that he has neither confidence in, nor pays attention to, his own trust". Here, the poet approaches al-Wāsiṭī's view that *tawakkul* is unbefitting of wisdom. It was also recognised that *tawakkul* and *tawḥīd* were interconnected and involved the attainment of perfect inner peace, as emphasised by al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyā'*, iv, 210 (cf. A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, 119).

Whilst there were debates about the degrees and authenticity of *tawakkul*, the classical Ṣūfīs nonetheless generally concurred that there was a moral quality which involved abandonment of freewill and volition whilst beholding God as the supreme source of causality, as the definitions cited by 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 338, show; in these last, human force and will are negated in favour of absolute divine Providence and Power. Thus *tawakkul* came to be considered a key component, a pillar of faith, *īmān*, as by al-Ghazālī, who devoted over 40 pages of his *Iḥyā'* to the subject of *al-tawḥīd wa 'l-tawakkul* and who laid down four degrees of *tawḥīd* revealed through the *'ilm al-mukāshafa*, science of mystical unveiling. A similar schema of four degrees, with *tawakkul* corresponding to one of them, was laid down by the 8th/14th century author Maḥmūd Shabistarī [*q.v.*] in his short Persian philosophical treatise *Ḥaḳḳ al-yaḳīn* (Tehran 1365/1986, 310-11), and nearly all the Ṣūfī manuals, whilst enumerating the "stations" (*maḳāmāt*) in different orders, list *tawakkul* as amongst the initial stages of the Ṣūfī way, preceded by *zuhd* (cf. e.g. Hudjwīrī, *Kashf*, 181). Al-Ghazālī further discerned three degrees of trust: (1) that of the confidence (*thiḳa*) of a client in his legal agent; (2) a

stronger kind, like the absolute reliance of an infant on its mother, which is however unconscious and lacks any deep knowledge of her abilities; and (3), the highest degree, when the devotee trusts in God "like a corpse in the hands of the corpse-washer", but is nevertheless conscious that his soul is being moved by the Eternal Will of the Divine Power. This tripartite typology of *tawakkul* proved, in fact, very popular in later Ṣūfī expositions, such as that of the great Čishtī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]).

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(L. Lewisohn, shortened by the Editors)

TAWAKKUL b. BAZZĀZ [see ibn al-bazzāz al-ardabīlī, in Suppl.].

TAWALLUD (a.), essentially indicating "cause and effect without intermediate point of volition", also means the generation of plants and animals directly from inanimate matter. Next to *tawallud*, this process may also be referred to as *takhalluḳ al-ḥayawān min ghayr al-ḥayawān* or *kawn min tilḳā' nafsihi*.

The idea that living beings could come into existence not only from parent individuals but also directly from inanimate matter was as widespread in Islamic culture as it was in ancient Greece and mediaeval Europe, and references to it can be found in a wide variety of texts. A rare reference to people who denied the possibility of spontaneous generation is found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 348-9.

The underlying notion is that, given the right circumstances, the four elements can, of their own accord, not only produce mineral substances but also plants (see e.g. *De Plantis*, §§ 113, 176, 205) and live animals, possibly including even human beings. It is then a matter of discussion how far transcendent powers need to be involved in this process. The matter was extensively discussed by Aristotle; well-known instances are *De Anima*, 415.a.26, *Historia Animalium*, 539.a.18-25, and *De Generatione Animalium*, 715.b.25 ff., 762.a.20 ff.

Within the context of Islamic philosophy, the problem of spontaneous generation is a side issue in the general discussion about generation (including sexual generation) in the sublunar world, a discussion which centres upon the role of the celestial world. The main point was that the movement of the celestial bodies, was supposed to act upon sublunar substances, causing movement and thus engendering processes of interaction between the elements that could eventually lead to the formation of animate creatures. Apart from causing movement, the celestial bodies did, in Neoplatonic view, also emanate soul-powers, which acted on, and fused with, earthly substances.

That spontaneous generation could take place in a more or less mechanistic way is the view set forth, for instance, in Ibn Waḥshiyya's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. This also seems to be the implicit view of many authors referring to the subject, many of whom apparently were not fully aware of the philosophical problems involved. There is usually a strong emphasis on the decisive influence of the natural environment, since conditions of climate (which implicitly depended on the celestial bodies) and soil decided the nature of the mixture involved in the process of generation, and thus also of the plant or animal that emerged from it. This implied that generation of specific life forms was often bound exclusively to particular places on earth; this is emphasised, for instance, by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā in his description of the generation of the Medina or Guinea worm, *Medical regime*, 72-6.

Animals that were generally supposed to come into being by spontaneous generation were, in general, anything that came under the heading of *hawāmm wa-ḥasharāt*, crawling and swarming creatures (usually also including mice, rats, hedgehogs, lizards and snakes). Some of these could also come into being by sexual generation (*tawālud*). In case of *tawallud*, they originated either directly from earthy matter, often fermenting matter, or from organic substances. As proof of the first are usually cited half-formed field-mice, see for instance al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 348-9 (also mentioned by many other authors). Some amount of humidity was considered essential for the generative process: cf. Aristotle, *De Gen. An.*, 736.b.30 ff.: moisture contains *pneuma*, which, activated by heat, becomes the principle of life which acts upon the available matter. Examples include generation of snakes from hairs dropped in water, al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 228; idem, bees from the flesh of oxen, and wasps from rotting meat; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḥayawān*, 76, about lobsters possibly generating from the eggs of other crustacaeans; gnats and worms generating in animal bellies, cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān*, 88. Animals could also be generated by plants: al-Djayhānī, quoted by al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*: leaves turning into bees, and scorpions formed out of figs and basil. See on all these topics, Kraus, *Djābir*, ii, 107, and Ullmann, *Naturwissenschaft*, 54-6.

Some people also allowed for the possibility that larger animals, such as camels, could be generated spontaneously. The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il*, ii, 155) say that originally all the "complete" (*tāmmat al-khilḳa*) animals, male and female, including man, originated from clay, under circumstances of perfect equilibrium which enabled matter to receive the ever-present form. Then they mated, brought forth and dispersed over the earth. The idea of a possible spontaneous generation of man is also brought up by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mabāḥith*, ii, 218-19, who discusses it in the context of the recreation of life after total extinction by deluge. The idea was pursued, mostly as an intellectual problem, by philosophers such as Ibn Ṭufayl and, in his wake, Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Ṭufayl describes the spontaneous generation of Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān out of mud as a result of the perfect equilibrium of the mixture and ideal constellation of the celestial bodies; this allowed the creature to form and to join with the emanated celestial soul, "the spirit which is God's". Ibn al-Nafīs, who used the idea in a treatise justifying Mamlūk rule, the *Risāla Kāmiliyya*, presents it in a more orthodox version by leaving out the emanated soul; his creature, Kāmil, is generated simply by an autonomous chain reaction set off in a perfectly-balanced mixture of inorganic matter. For the possibility that the generation of living beings could also be brought about by man, see takwīn.

It was a matter of dissent whether the same species could come into being both by *tawallud* and by *tawālud*, sexual procreation. Aristotle does not allow for this possibility, but Ibn Sīnā, followed by many others, thought it perfectly possible. He cites (*Ḥayawān*, 385 ff.) a certain occurrence in Khurāsān: as a result of copious rain, a large number of silkworms suddenly appeared, obviously produced by the rain. From their cocoons butterflies emerged that laid eggs. Because of the poor quality of the silk, however, peo-

ple did not want to breed from those eggs, and left them unheeded. Had they taken care of them in the usual manner, Ibn Sīnā says, caterpillars would very likely have emerged, thus proving that spontaneously generated animals can indeed continue to breed in the usual manner.

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(Remke Kruk)

al-TAWʾAMĀN [see minṭaḳat al-burūd̲j̲].

ṬAWĀRIḲ, Arabised form of the original Berber Twāreg, conventionally in French and English Touareg, Tuareg, a Berber tribal people of the Inner Sahara, living in what is now Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso.

1. Ethnography.

The Tuareg society is a society of nomadic cattle breeders organised in tribes and confederations of tribes. It is, moreover, a society strongly divided into classes or castes. The uppermost class are the nobles (*imaz̲h̲əg̲h̲ăn, imus̲h̲ay*; in the Hoggar: *ihăggarăn*). These have apparently come from outside and imposed themselves as rulers by subjecting an already existing society. Second come the maraboutic tribes (*inəsləmăn*), who by virtue of their religious status do not participate in warfare and depend on the nobles for their defence. Almost equal to these are the vassals (*img̲h̲ad*), Tuareg tribes who have had to accept the supremacy of the nobles. In the fourth place come the artisans, traditionally called blacksmiths (*inăḍăn*). Lowest-ranking are the negro slaves (*eklan*), owned by all four of the former castes. A particular status is that of the peasants of the oases, the so-called Hartanis [see ḥarṭānī] (*izeggaghăn*), who till the oases for the Tuareg owners of the soil. Intermarriage between the castes was traditionally rare.

Each tribe has an elected chieftain (*amg̲h̲ar* [*q.v.*]). The tribes were traditionally organised into 9 big confederations, each comprising up to 100 tribes, with an elected supreme chief called the *amănokal* [see aménokal]. His power was limited in times of peace, but he was the leader in time of war and decided on foreign affairs. The confederations corresponded to the main dialectal areas mentioned in 2. below plus a particular *amănokal* for the Udalăn of Burkina Faso. Since the times of colonial rule, the power of the *amănokal* has been extremely reduced. Chieftainship was traditionally inherited by the son of a sister of the old *amănokal*. This was formerly viewed as a vestige of an earlier matriarchical society, but modern anthropologists tend to be more reluctant to draw such farfetched conclusions. It is remarkable that the Tuaregs have never been able to unite into one supreme Tuareg state; tribes and confederations have never consented to delegating power to such a superior unit. A partial exception is the sultan of Agadez.

Tuareg economy is based on cattle and camel breeding. In the Hoggar [see ahaggar], only goats, short-haired sheep and camels are bred. In Niger, Mali and Udalăn, besides these, large herds of zebu cattle are also kept. Nomadism is of the small-scale type, each tribe having its own territory. In the Hoggar, the sheep and goats are successively taken to places of recent rainfall. The camels were regularly taken to pastures in the Tamăsna (Niger). In the south, where regular annual rains are prevailing, a transhumance of cattle towards the salty pastures at the height of Ingal (Niger) and back again is performed every autumn after the rainy season, and is a great occasion of interchange of goods and news. In the Ayr mountains of Niger [see aïr] small irrigated terraced garden plots are cultivated with date palms, cereals and vegetables, and even tobacco.

Caravan trading is another basic feature of Tuareg economy and has never been totally replaced by lorry transport. Salt, medicinal plants and hides are brought to the south from where millet, sorghum and cloth are brought home.

In former times, guiding Arab caravans through Tuareg territory against payment of duties for protection gave another boost to the economy. There was also looting of the black farmers in the south, including capture of slaves (as well as intertribal razzias), which have come to a standstill since colonial rule.

The Tuaregs live in mobile red skin tents, except for the Ayr and Geres people of Niger who have mat tents. In modern times, canvas tents tend to price out the above. Permanent straw huts and banco buildings in the towns and villages are also known. The main piece of furniture is the conjugal bed, dismountable and often richly ornamented. Other equipment includes riding gear: a variety of camel and horse saddles, special women's saddles with a canopy above, as well as pack-saddles. Moreover, there are kitchen utensils, including decorated calabashes, earthenware jars and wooden bowls and spoons. Among arms must be mentioned a large sword, the best ones being of European make and still cherished as a traditional male attribute; daggers; lances; spears; and the now obsolete antelope-hide shield, and in modern times, of course, rifles. Bows and arrows are still in use among boys for hunting small game. Women's jewellery consists principally of huge silver ornaments, richly engraved. Gold is much less favoured. Both sexes, including children, wear amulets for protection, often with inlaid Ḳurʾānic verses (*tirăwt*).

Clothing consists for both sexes of a large, loose tunic with sleeves (*tekătkăt*), often dark indigo-coloured. Under it men wear large trousers with a low crotch, women a skirt. To these are added the famous head-veil with which the man covers his entire face, except for the eyes (*tăgulmust*). The veiled nomads were already

known to the Arabs (first mentioned by al-Yaʿḳūbī, end of 9th century). Numerous hypotheses as to the original function of the veil have been suggested (protection against dust and dessication, or against evil spirits?). What is certain is that today it is closely connected with sexuality and common decency. A grown-up man does not show his face to members of the elder generation, especially not his parents-in-law, and does not eat or drink in their presence. The veil is adopted during puberty and is a sign of readiness to marry.

For water supply, the Tuaregs depend on wells and waterholes in their arid or semi-arid country.

The Tuareg diet is monotonous. It consists principally of milk, cheese and millet porridge, supplied with dates when in season. Meat from slaughtered cattle is not an everyday food, but meat from hunting game gives a nice supply, and even the boys hunt smaller animals and fowl. Famous and indispensable is the Tuareg tea ceremony, with a large variety of green teas taken with huge amounts of sugar.

The tent is pitched opening to the west, so that one sleeps with one's head to the east, in the direction of Mecca, the man to the north and his wife to the south. It is divided into two halves by the conjugal bed, placed in the middle. The children sleep on the sand, boys to the north and girls to the south. Likewise, the husband's affairs are deposited to the north, the wife's to the south. Women enjoy great independence. They have their own property, including livestock, and traditionally tend the sheep and goats near the camp. They sell the offspring of sheep and goats, as well as cheese and milk, and dispose of their income. The tent is the woman's property and she takes it with her in case of divorce, which frequently occurs.

The girls stay in their parents' tent until marriage, while the boys leave the tent at the age of seven to learn to provide for themselves from their father and older comrades. Unmarried young people have free social intercourse and hold grand parties (*ăhal* or *tende*) for themselves. It is, however, expected of them not to beget children out of wedlock.

When a young couple takes a special liking to each other, the young man begins to visit his fiancée secretly at night in her parents' tent. When they have agreed to marry, the young man approaches his own parents, who again contact the young woman's parents in order to get the consent of both families. When general agreement is obtained, a bride-price (*taggalt*) is paid by the young man's father to his fiancée's father, as a token of the common responsibility assumed for the offspring of that union. Then the young man gathers up the nuptial gifts (garments), and his fiancée gathers together the tent and the household utensils. The wedding takes place thereafter, preferably in the autumn after the rainy season when everything abounds. The ceremonies include a very summary Islamic rite performed by a marabout and a very elaborate traditional feast. A special nuptial tent is pitched, where the young couple stay for some days.

Normally, the marriage is not consummated until the third day as a token of the bridegroom's love and respect for his bride.

Children are born in the matrimonial tent. The father is not present during birth and stays away from his wife for about 40 days after birth. The new-born child is the object of many precautions, as it is supposed to be specially exposed to the pursuit of evil spirits until it has received its Islamic (Arabic) name, given to it by the father under the guidance of a marabout. In addition, it will receive a pet name from its mother and the women of the family. The latter is often a traditional Tuareg name.

At the age of 7, boys are circumcised by a marabout. Girls are not circumcised in Tuareg society.

The bodies of the dead are washed according to a traditional routine and buried in the bush, the grave being covered by 7 slabs and thorny branches. Graves are not regularly visited. It is believed that the spirits of the dead haunt the dwellings of their living relatives until such time when they have passed out of general memory. Tuareg women have, however, a custom of sleeping on the tumuli of the ancients in order to get news and instructions from the dead.

The Tuaregs definitively converted to Islam rather late (*ca.* 15th century), and many pagan beliefs still exist among them. Under the influence of the Sokoto sultanate in the 19th century, they greatly progressed towards orthodoxy.

The Tuaregs possess an alphabet of their own, consisting of geometrical consonantal characters called *tifinag͟h*; see further, 2. below, and TIFINAG͟H. The immense literature of folktales, poems, proverbs and riddles is purely oral. New poetry is still regularly composed, although the quality of the greater poets is said to be in decline. The metres, like the Arabic ones, are built on the opposition of short and long syllables. There is also music for the monocord violin (*imẓad*) and the flute (*tasənsəq*), which is of great variety, with new pieces still being composed.

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2. Language.

The Tuaregs speak a Berber dialect, or rather a separate Berber language, as it is not immediately mutually intelligible with northern Berber of Morocco and Algeria. The name Tuareg derives from Bedouin Arabic *Ṭwārəg*, a pl. of *Ṭārgi*, which is held to be a *nisba* adjective from Targa, the Berber name of the province of Fazzān [*q.v.*] in Libya, thus meaning a man from Fazzān. This dialectal form has been transposed into standard Arabic as *Ṭāriḳī/Ṭawāriḳ*. Several popular etymologies connecting it with the Arabic roots *t-r-k* and *ṭ-r-ḳ* must be discarded. This Arabic designation has given rise to the European name for the people and the language, originally Eng. Targi/Tuareg, Fr. Targi/Touareg. Modern scholars discard the original singular, using Eng. Tuareg, Fr. Touareg as a singular with a full European inflection: Pl. Tuaregs, Touaregs, fem. Touarègue(s).

The Tuaregs' name for their language is Tămažəq (Niger), Tămašăq (Mali), Tămahăq (Hoggar, Algeria), varying according to local dialect. Tamashek has become a general designation for the language in local African circles, e.g. the Literacy Services. The name is cognate with *tamaziɣt* [see TAMAZIG͟HT], the designation for central Moroccan Berber, which today has become a general designation for the Berber language. It is the fem. of *amaziɣ*, a central Moroccan Berber or a Berber in general. In Tuareg, Ămažəɣ means a Tuareg of the noble class or a Tuareg in general. The ordinary Tuareg designation for the people is Kel-Təmažəq, people of Təmažəq language, including all classes who speak Tuareg, even the slaves.

Tuareg is characterised by several, and partially

archaic, traits which distinguish it from northern Berber. The language has seven vowel phonemes: two short (ə ă) and five long ones (*a e o i u*), as opposed to three in northern Berber (*a i u*). A system of seven vowels is also established for the non-Tuareg dialect of Ghadāmis. Spirant plosives are unknown, except *ḏ*, which is spirant in the dialect of Ghāt and Djanet (*ð*). The number of Arabic loanwords is much fewer than in northern Berber. On the other hand, it has many loanwords from Hausa, Fulani, Songhay, etc. Tuareg has developed a special intensive perfect, e.g. *yəfrâs* "he has cut", as opposed to simple perfect *yəfrăs* "he cut".

Berber constitutes a separate branch of the Hamito-Semitic language family and is that branch which is closest akin to Semitic. The relationship is still easily perceptible in the grammatical system, including in Tuareg. Thus verbs and nouns have a consonantal skeleton of mostly 3 or 4 consonants, conveying the basic meaning, while vowels change during inflection. The verbs distinguish by vocalisation two basic tenses as in Semitic, imperfect and perfect: (*ad-*)*yəfrəs* "he will cut" or "he usually cuts", and *yəfrăs* "he cut". In addition, Berber has an intensive imperfect, characterised in the 1st conjugation by a gemination of the middle radical (cf. Akkadian *iparras*), and in Tuareg by an additional lengthening of the first vowel: *yəfarrăs* "he cuts (now or usually)". The nouns have both external and internal (broken) plurals like Arabic. Like Semitic they have 4 different feminine endings: *-t, -ăt, -a, -e*.

A special Berber, and Tuareg, trait is the state prefix of the nouns, which is held to be an original demonstrative. It varies according to the two numbers, the two genders, and the two states, called the free or absolute and the annexed state. The latter is the form of the subordinate phrase member and of the postposited verbal subject. In Tuareg, the initial *w-* (*y-*) of the masculine has been lost. Tu. *amγar*, ann. *ămγar* corresponds to Kabyle *amγar, wəmγar* "old man", pl. *imγarăn*, ann. *əmγarăn*, fem. *tamγart, tămγart/timγaren, təmγaren*.

The Tuaregs still use a form of the ancient Libyan alphabet, a system of geometrical signs. They call their letters *tifinaγ* (sg. *tafinəq*), which has also become the European name for the alphabet, *tifinagh* [see BERBERS. VI. Literature and art; and TIFINAGH]. Every second Tuareg seems to be able to use it, especially the women, for short messages and inscriptions on weapons and utensils.

Tuareg may be divided into eight main dialects, situated in the following regions: (1) Hoggar (Algeria), (2) oases of Djanet (Alg.) and Ghāt (Libya), (3) Adghagh (Mali), (4) Timbuktu-area (Mali and vassals of the Udalăn, Burkina Faso), (5) Western Iwellemmedăn (Meneka area, Mali, and noble Udalăn, Burkina Faso), (6) Eastern Iwellemmedăn (Azăwagh area, Niger), (7) Ayr (Niger), (8) Kel-Geres (Niger). The main dialectal cleavage separates nos. 7-8 from 1-5, no. 6 being an area of dialectal mixture.

Since 1966 Tuareg has enjoyed the status of national language (except in Algeria), selected for literacy campaigns in a modified Roman alphabet. Even before that, Christian missionaries used Roman transcriptions of the language for their Bible translations, etc.

Bibliography: Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, i-iv, Paris 1951-2 (Hoggar dialect, with verb tables); K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touarègue (tăhăggart)*, i-iii, *Phonétique, écriture, pronom*, iv-v, *Nom*, vi-vii, *Verbe*, Copenhagen 1972-4 (dialect of the Hoggar); Ghoubeïd Alojaly, *Lexique touareg-français*, Copenhagen 1980 (Niger dialects; ed. Prasse with a grammatical sketch); Prasse, *The values of the tenses in Tuareg (Berber)*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxxiii-xxxv = *On the dignity of man. Oriental and classical studies in honour of Frithiof Rundgren*, Stockholm 1984-6, 333-9; Prasse and Ekhya ăgg-Ălbosṭan ăg-Sidiyăn, *Tableaux morphologiques, dialecte touareg de l'Adrar du Mali (berbère)*, Copenhagen 1985. (K.-G. PRASSE)

ṬAWĀSHĪ [see KHĀṢĪ. I].

TAWĀTUR, verbal noun of form VI of a verb meaning "to come one after another". This article is meant as an extension of the art. MUTAWĀTIR [*q.v.*], the participle of the same verb.

Tawātur is a technical term in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], which means roughly "broad authentication". It is often adverbially used. It indicates that a historical report or a prophetic tradition is supported by such a large number of *isnād* strands, each beginning with a different Companion or other ancient authority, that its authenticity/truthfulness is thereby assumed to be guaranteed. The reasoning behind this was that a sizeable number of people engaged in transmitting one and the same text would never by sheer coincidence, or indeed collusion, all relate a falsehood. As far as historicity is concerned, something transmitted *tawātur*[an] is considered unassailable by mediaeval *ḥadīth* scholars. Although the term was already in existence, *ḥadīth* theoreticians such as al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 360/971 [*q.v.*]) and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014 [*q.v.*]) did not make use of it in their handbooks. Later in the Middle Ages the term began to be applied on a wide scale, but in a somewhat loose manner. As from the time of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]), the concept was studied in more detail and definitions as to what precisely the word stood for became refined by a subdivision, in which *tawātur lafẓī*, i.e. the verbatim *mutawātir* transmission of a text, became distinguished from *tawātur maʿnawī*, i.e. transmission according only to the gist or one salient feature of a given text. Examples of the latter type are the custom to use the *siwāk* [*q.v.*], the tooth stick, or the concession (Ar. *rukhṣa* [*q.v.*]) of *masḥ ʿalā ʾl-khuffayn* [*q.v.*], i.e. wiping the shoes instead of washing the feet as part of the minor ritual ablution (*wuḍūʾ*). The many different traditions dealing with both issues do not individually meet the criterion of *tawātur lafẓī* by a long shot, but references to the issues in all of Islam's earliest written sources, when viewed together, allow the practices to be seen as having originated in early times. It is generally believed that the number of traditions supposedly transmitted *tawātur*[an] *maʿnawiyy*[an] far outnumber those transmitted *lafẓiyy*[an].

Collections comprising both types of *mutawātir* traditions are relatively late. The work entitled *al-Azhār al-mutanāthira fī ʾl-akhbār al-mutawātira* of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) seems the first such collection, that is, according to what he himself said at least. The *ca.* one hundred traditions in it are arranged according to the *fiḳh* chapters to which they belong. This arrangement was copied by an early 20th-century author, Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Kattānī (1857-1927), but he succeeded in gathering together many more, altogether some 310 traditions allegedly transmitted *tawātur*[an], which he dug up out of all sorts of relatively late sources.

When the number of *isnād* strands, or *ṭuruḳ*, is mentioned, which a certain tradition must be supported by to deserve to be classified under the qualification *tawātur*, figures differ considerably: from four or five to several hundred, cf. al-Tahānawī, *Dict. techn. terms*, ii, 1472. Perhaps the best-known *mutawātir* tradition

of all times is the saying ascribed to the Prophet transmitted *lafẓiyy^an^*: *man kadhaba ʿalayya mutaʿammid^an^ fal-yatabawwaʾ makʿadahu min al-nār*, "He who deliberately tells lies about me should seek for himself a place in Hell". Its earliest proliferation can on good grounds be attributed to the Baṣran traditionist Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]).

A well-known tradition generally held to be weak in spite of its multiple strands is *ṭalab al-ʿilm farīḍa ʿalā kulli muslim*, i.e. "searching for knowledge (sc. of traditions) is incumbent upon every Muslim", but the message couched in this tradition is approved by all, and that is why it is quoted whenever the phenomenon of *tawātur* is discussed. Another famous tradition *innamā 'l-aʿmāl bi 'l-niyyāt* (or *'l-niyya*), i.e. "actions are to be appraised by the intention(s) behind them", is likewise often adduced when *tawātur* is dealt with, but it is almost invariably relegated to the lesser status of *mashhūr*, "well-known" rather than *mutawātir*, because it is supported by one single *isnād* strand, which only branches off into multiple sub-strands reminiscent of *tawātur* at the fourth *ṭabaḳa*. These strands sprouting forth from one central "knot" in the *isnād* bundle supporting *innamā 'l-aʿmāl* produce perhaps the clearest example in the entire Islamic tradition literature of what is called the *madār*, i.e. "pivot". This crucially important technical term is already found in the works of mediaeval Muslim scholars such as ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī (d. 365/976), as well as that of modern scholars like al-Kattānī and Aḥmad M. Shākir (d. 1958 [*q.v.*]). In this term *madār* we may discern these scholars' equivalent of what is called among certain western scholars the "[seeming] common link". Responsible for the proliferation of the quoted *mashhūr* tradition is this same *madār*, who is in all likelihood none other than Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Ḳays al-Anṣārī (d. 143-6/760-3 [*q.v.*]). It is indeed astonishing that, although Muslim *ḥadīth* scholars used both technical terms, *tawātur* as well as *madār*, they never seem to have adduced the latter as the indispensible yardstick for the former to be valid, or to have illustrated features or uses of each in connection with the other in one and the same *ḥadīth* context.

Bibliography: For a generally accepted definition, see Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1848, 74, 210; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *al-Muḳaddima* [sc. *fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*], ed. ʿĀʾisha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭiʾ, Cairo 1974, 389-94; Suyūṭī, *al-Azhār al-mutanāthira*, Leiden Univ. Library ms. Or. 474 (6), printed Cairo 1302/1885; idem, *Tadrīb al-rāwī fī sharḥ Taḳrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1966, ii, 176-80; Kattānī, *Naẓm al-mutanāthir fī 'l-ḥadīth al-mutawātir*, Aleppo 1328/1910; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 147-52; for discussions on *tawātur* among early theologians, see J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iii, 266-8, v, 453, vi, 180 ff. 479-82.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

TAWĀZUN AL-SULUṬĀT, FAṢL AL-SULUṬĀT (A.), two terms of modern Arabic political terminology meaning respectively "the balance of powers" and "the separation of powers". For concepts of authority or government in the pre-modern Islamic world, see SALṬANA and SULṬĀN. Amongst many other terms with the connotations of power and authority, the word *shawka* has the particular one of physical, coercive power, irrespective of any legitimacy.

The ideas of the Enlightenment and the main principles of modern democracy were transmitted to the Middle East mainly by the translations and accounts of European political theories and institutions, written by Muslim students in Europe [see IṢLĀḤ]. The same is true of the notion of "separation of powers", which is particularly associated with Montesquieu's (1689-1755) *magnum opus, L'Esprit des lois* (1748); this Western concept was taken up in the Muslim world from the second third of the 19th century. It was the Egyptian Shaykh al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*] who named separation of powers *faṣl al-ḥukm* or *infiṣāl al-ḳuwwa al-ḥākima* in his *Manāhidj al-albāb*. Today, the term *faṣl (bayn) al-suluṭāt* is generally accepted. Like other reformers of the first generation, such as Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*], al-Ṭahṭāwī was not a constitutionalist and held an élitist concept of state and government; he himself favoured an "enlightened absolute monarch" and laid emphasis on the limits imposed on the ruler by the existence of moral norms.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the three classical powers (legislative, executive and judicial) were translated into Arabic by loan translations (compounds) or paraphrases; in doing so power was rendered *sulṭa* or *ḳuwwa*, rarely *saṭwa, sulṭān*, and *wilāya*. The contemporary commonly used words, *al-sulṭa al-tashrīʿiyya, al-sulṭa al-tanfīdhiyya* and *al-sulṭa al-ḳaḍāʾiyya*, are attested in the Arabic press as early as 1909. In the 1870s, the leaders of the Young Ottoman movement, above all Nāmiḳ Kemāl, and Persian reformers (like Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān) were influenced by the ideas of separation of powers and popular sovereignty. With the call for the introduction of constitutionalism, parliamentary government, and the guaranty of civil rights and liberties [see MADJLIS; DUSTŪR; ḤURRIYYA] since the mid-19th century, reformist circles and statesmen tried to impose some form of restraints on the ruler's absolute power, which now was conceived as despotic. In an official document of 14 September 1879, the Egyptian President of the Council of Ministers, Sharīf, demanded for the first time a redefinition of the public powers (A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern!*, Zürich-Freiburg i. Br. 1973, 152). However, the first constitutions turned out to be purely nominal; they were mainly promulgated from above to facilitate the administrative streamlining of the states. The reformers paid more attention to how reasoning on popular sovereignty or similar ideas might justify national self-determination. A decisive break with the Islamic past took place with the proclamation of the Provisional Constitution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 20 January 1921, in which all essential principles of democratic constitutions were embodied. Despite the subsequent spread of constitutionalism and of different democratic conceptions, a close examination of the contemporary political thought and state systems in the Muslim world demonstrates that, in most cases, traditional Islamic attitudes toward authority and power are still much in evidence, though arguments may have European roots. The instruments for the limitation and the balance of powers (*tawāzun al-suluṭāt*) remain insufficient.

In classical theory, the concept of separation of powers was, of course, unknown. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had concentrated the three powers of government in his hands. As the political leader of the believers and as a military commander, he held the executive power; as the promulgator of the divine law, the legislative power; and as a settler of disputes he also exercised the judicial power. Moreover, his charismatic authority was manifested in his religious and spiritual leadership. After the charismatic leader's death the complexity and totality of his authority had

to be segmented into different spheres. Whereas the Shīʿīs aspired to the preservation and perpetuation of the comprehensive and all-inclusive Muḥammadan charismatic authority on a lower scale [see SHĪʿA], the Sunnīs began, in a general and gradual process, to divide it into a number of different constituencies. The caliph inherited only a part of the Prophet's functions and powers. He appropriated the political authority, and delegated further governmental functions to other groups of the religio-political core élite and/or institutions.

In theory [see KHALĪFA; IMĀMA] true sovereignty in the *Umma* rested with God. He was the source of all authority. Rulers, like other men, were not independent agents but the channels through which God worked. As His vicegerents on earth they were obliged to supervise the application of the divine law. Power was conceived as a delegation of God (*wilāya*). The *Sharīʿa* was supreme in society, and the sphere of legislation was in principle removed from the competence of the ruler. The caliph possessed neither God's power of making laws nor the Prophet's function of proclaiming them. Later, an interpretive function was, however, gradually vested in the body of *ʿulamāʾ* and, in the ideal case, the caliph was supposed to be a *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*]. Theoretically, the caliph inherited only the judicial and executive power. It was never questioned that the executive and judicial power were united in his hands. As a residuary of the Prophet's spiritual power, the caliph was the religious leader of the community and was entitled to lead the prayer. Most Muslim jurists held that the unity of the *Umma* implied a unity of political authority. By analogy with the case of trusteeship, they generally interpreted the Ḳurʾānic principle of authority, which goes back to sūra IV, 59, as being exercised by the trustee in a "general trust". In the last resort, the ruler was responsible to God and to his conscience alone. The idea of choice of the ruler, symbolised by the ceremony of *bayʿa* [*q.v.*], was always preserved, but even in theory it was rather a recognition than a process of election. In theory, obedience was only obligatory as long as the caliph ordered nothing contrary to the *Sharīʿa*, but no efficient mechanisms of control or peaceful means for dethronement were provided.

All mediaeval Muslim political thinkers (jurists and theologians as well as philosophers and authors of "Mirrors for princes") agreed on the principle that government should be in the hands of one or a few, although they had different views on the regime's size and functions and on the preconditions a ruler should possess (family lineage, moral virtue, practical wisdom, intellectual excellence, etc.). "State" and authority" *per se* were not discussed in their writings until very recently. Several parallels can be indicated between classical and mediaeval Western political thought on the one hand and mediaeval Islamic political thought on the other, despite differences in approach and even differences in opinion about the role of divine providence in human affairs. But there is nothing within Islamic history comparable to the radical break with the past effected in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, then refined into a doctrine of liberal democracy in succeeding generations so that the notion of popular sovereignty became an unquestioned principle (Butterworth, 91). The caliph-imām was portrayed as the representative of God on earth, the trustee for the revealed law and the one charged to carry out God's commands. In later thought, obedience tended to become an absolute duty, and even a despotic ruler was regarded better than none at all. This development shows the pessimistic view of what humans are capable of if left to their own devices. In contrast to Montesquieu, who regarded despotism as the supreme evil, the traumatic experience of *fitna* [*q.v.*] in the 1st century A.H. resulted in the fear of the turbulence of people much more than in the dread of despotism; the longing for social cohesion and ideal harmony, allegedly having existed in the golden age of Islam, was predominant.

Thus it is no surprise that, with the disintegration of political unity, the caliph's authority was transferred to another absolute ruler, the sultan; the caliph continued—for reasons of religious legitimation—to exist as a shadow, but the real power lay in the hands of the new military élite. As long as the caliph/sultan was able to manage the established strategies for the preservation of the always precarious balance of power, he continued to be the centre of the system. Only in the period of weak rulers could the result be a struggle for influence between various groups or the shifting of the centre of power to another person of the core élite (the *wazīr*, etc.); but as long as the latter's appointment and dismissal depended on the caliph's/sultan's will, his power was inherently weak.

With the gradual prevalence of Turco-Persian governmental practices, secular law-making by the actual sovereign increased significantly; as a matter of form only, the ultimate infallibility of the *Sharīʿa* in all matters was still acknowledged. Although this discretionary power to apply and to complete the sacred law had existed before [see SIYĀSA], the Ottoman sultans, particularly, assumed the legislative power. A body of public law was thereby created, known by the name of *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*], and only matters pertaining to private law were eventually left to the *ʿulamāʾ* to decide in the light of the divine law. In essence it was natural kingship [see MULK] or even military dictatorship, i.e. government overtly based on mere force, tempered by respect for Islam, for the caliph and the religious élite, and indeed deriving from this its moral claim.

Following the Weberian typology of traditional political systems, the pattern of leadership dominant throughout most of Middle Eastern history has often been described as an authoritarian-patrimonial one. The patrimonial form of rule is an extension and expansion of the patriarchal system. The strength of this pattern had fluctuated greatly, but in general, Islam fostered patrimonial patterns through ideals and by stressing relations of emanation.

The Western impact served to modernise the patriarchal-patrimonial society and culture by producing new social and cultural forms and institutions which were modelled on Western experience and mediated through Westernised native élites. The traditional system and dependency joined together gave rise to a particular socio-political structure which has been described as neopatriarchal or neopatrimonial. H. Sharabi's concept of neopatriarchy refers equally to macro-structures (society, state, economy) and to microstructures (family, individual personality). It offers an explanation for the stability and continuity of traditional authority patterns. Sharabi characterises neopatriarchy by the following attributes: social fragmentation, authoritarian organisation, absolutist paradigms, and ritualistic practice. From the micro-structure to the macro-structure the values and attitudes of heteronomy are nurtured. The result is an individual who is forever afraid of life and of authority and thus permanently creates anew the possibility that masses of people can be governed by a handful of powerful individuals.

I. Harik presents a more differentiated typology

of the traditional Arab states according to the bases of their authority. The origins of the Arab states are different and can be traced back in most cases to a period before the 19th century. He identifies the following types: (1) In the "imām-chief system" the authority is invested in a sanctified leader; this system comprises dissenter communities like the Zaydī state of Yemen, the Ibāḍī Sultanate of ʿUmān and mainstream orthodox communities in the Ḥidjāz and Morocco. (2) In the "alliance system of chiefs and imāms", authority lies in the hand of a tribal chief, whose legitimate authority beyond the confines of his tribes originates in his identification and/or alliance with a prominent religious leader and his teachings. The prototype of this category is Saudi Arabia. (3) In the "traditional secular system" authority belongs to a dynasty free from religious attributes (e.g. Ḳaṭar, Baḥrayn, Kuwayt). (4) In the "bureaucratic-military oligarchy" authority originates in urban-based garrison commanders, who gradually develop an extensive bureaucratic apparatus; this group includes countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. (5) The fifth category, the "colonially-created state system" emerged in the Fertile Crescent after 1920 at the hands of the colonial powers. With the exception of the last type, these states were in general locally rooted and enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of their people; they had at least a core territory where their authority endured through the vicissitudes of time.

Nearly all modern Islamic constitutions have adopted the principle of separation of powers (for the Arab constitutions, see in detail al-Ṭamāwī, 51 ff.) and have created specific legislative, executive and judicial organs. But, apart from the aforementioned reasons, the far-reaching powers of the heads of state have quite often distorted the meaning of this democratic principle. A striking example is offered by the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran from 1979. Article 57 first acknowledges the separation of powers by enumerating them (*ḳuwwa-yi muḳannina, ḳuwwa-yi mudjriya, ḳuwwa-yi ḳaḍāʾiyya*) and underlining their independence from each other, but then restricts it by conceding their supervision to the *wilāyat-i amr* and *imāmat-i ummat*. The "*rahbar*" has the right to interfere directly or indirectly in all classical functions of the state. This article is symptomatic of the whole Iranian constitutional order; it is a combination of two political systems in the course of which the constitutional institutions are subordinate to the "Shīʿī-theocratic" ones.

Apart from the secularist, liberal democratic approach, modern Islamic political thought shows two main tendencies concerning the question of separation and balance of power: (1) The majority of the traditionalists and fundamentalists reproduce the classical Islamic political theory, although they often use democratic rhetoric to explain their monolithic conception. According to their view, the state leader (either named President, Caliph or Imam) possesses absolute, unrestrained power. Moral norms constitute the only check on him. The control of the executive power through the legislative ("consultative") council would be only effective in the case of the ministers ("assistants"), who are appointed by the head of state. The legislative power is restricted nominally to the right to issue such administrative regulations as will enable the *Sharīʿa* to be enforced. The absolute sovereignty belongs to God, not to the people. Thus the Ḳurʾān and the authentic teaching of the Prophet and the whole or a part of the corpus of mediaeval jurisprudence is the source of legislation. The judicial power is not independent, pluralism cannot be accepted. The fundamentalist criticism of the principle of separation of powers points to a widespread misunderstanding of what Montesquieu had in mind: What the latter had intended was not the total isolation of the three powers, but a separation sufficient to prevent anyone from monopolising governmental power and a balance to deter its abuse, i.e. a system of interlocking and mutually-checking interests and powers. First and foremost, this principle involves the absolute independence of the judiciary from all agencies of government. In the fundamentalist and traditionalist theory, the democratic principle is replaced by the monism of power, including, however, a separation of functions. This is a logical consequence of this concept, because in a nomocracy a system of checks and balances does not make any sense, for this is a purely secular, mechanical arrangement originating in the idea that, in making laws and carrying them out, man has no way of looking to precise, absolute norms.

(2) The liberal modernist position admits the separation and balance of governmental powers, either by arguing in an apologetic way that it had already existed in early Islam, or by using a well-known reformist argument: because the divine law did not prohibit the principle, it is allowed to be applied, provided that it is in the public interest [see MAṢLAḤA]. The human legislative power is extended, because the principles and/or the spirit of the *Sharīʿa* should be the major source of legislation. The sovereignty of the people is accepted and should be exercised by popularly-elected assemblies and in some cases also by referendum. According to their conception, the government is accountable to the parliament, the presidential power restricted, and potential excesses of statesmen can be checked effectively. But in the last resort, the modernist position is not convincing either; it remains often vague and ambiguous in its expressions and details.

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TAWBA (A.), "repentance", verbal noun of *tāba*, "to repent, return (sc. from one's sins), be converted" to God (cf. Rabbinic *teshuba*). The definitive teachings on repentance in Islam are found in the Ḳur'ān, the *Ḥadīth*, and in the literature of piety, especially of the Ṣūfī type. The root *t-w-b* occurs frequently in the Ḳur'ān, mostly in Medinan passages, with the forms *tawba* ("repentance") and *tawwāb* ("oft-turning, relenting", of God) being exclusively Medinan. Verbal forms (e.g. *tāba, yatūbu*) often take *ilā* when referring to human repentance towards God; when God is the subject, *ʿalā* is used, as in II, 37 *rabbuhu . . . fa-tāba ʿalayhi innahu huwa al-tawwāb al-raḥīm* ("his [sc. Adam's] Lord turned towards him; for He is Oft-Returning, Most Merciful").

The Ḳur'ān's vocabulary of repentance is varied and nuanced. Two roots—almost exclusively of Meccan origin—are: *'-w-b*, with the forms *awwāb*, "frequent in returning, or repenting" (e.g. L, 32), *iyāb*, "return" (e.g. LXXXVIII, 25), and *ma'āb*, "place of return" (e.g. XXXVIII, 55, where it means Hell as the final stop for sinners); and *n-w-b*, Form IV (with *ilā*): as in *munībīna ilayhi* "[people] turning toward Him" in repentance (XXX, 31). A third, infrequent, repentance root is *n-d-m*, meaning "remorse, regret" for sin (for fear of punishment as much as a positive turning towards God), as in *nadāma* (XXXIV, 33) "repentance"; a second form is *nādimīn* (XLIX, 6) "[people] full of repentance" for harm inadvertently done to others. *T-w-b* dominated the Ḳur'ānic discourse on repentance by Medinan times, folding into itself the meanings contained in the terms just introduced. These other terms would later be used—especially by Ṣūfīs—in making distinctions within the semantic field of repentance. Hudjwīrī (d. 469/1077) asserts that "*tawbat* is to return from great sins to obedience; *inābat* is to return from minor sins to love; and *awbat* is to return from one's self to God" (*Kashf*, 295).

The *Ḥadīth* contains a variety of teachings on repentance and, as in the Ḳur'ān, often links it with seeking God's forgiveness (*istighfār*). The Prophet declared (according to Abū Hurayra): "God is my witness, that I seek forgiveness of God and turn to Him (*atūbu ilayhi*) more than seventy times a day" (al-Bukhārī). Ibn ʿUmar reported the Prophet as saying that: "God accepts the repentance (*tawba*) of a servant so long as the death rattle has not occurred (*mā lam yugharghir*)" (Ibn Mādja). Anas reported that Muḥammad said: "All of Adam's offspring are sinners, but the best of sinners are those given to repentance (*al-tawwābūn*)" (al-Tirmidhī).

Repentance discourse was well developed by the 4th/10th century, when it was widely considered to be the first station (*maḳām*) on the Ṣūfī path. Hudjwīrī defines *tawba* as "(1) remorse for disobedience, (2) immediate abandonment of sin, and (3) determination not to sin again" (*Kashf*, 294). He adds that contrition (*nadāma*) "may be due to three causes: (1) fear of Divine chastisement and sorrow for evil actions, (2) desire of Divine favour and certainty that it cannot be gained by evil conduct and disobedience, (3) shame before God" (*ibid.*, 295). Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) included a detailed chapter on *tawba* in his *Iḥyā'*, holding that repentance is a free act, obligatory on every Muslim as a life-long spiritual discipline.

Early Ṣūfīs debated whether the sins of a true penitent should be remembered or forgotten. Hudjwīrī relates that Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896 [*q.v.*]) held that "repentance consists in not forgetting your sins, but always regretting them . . . so that you will not be pleased with yourself on that account . . . [because] one who never forgets his sins will never become conceited. Al-Djunayd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]) and others [argued that] . . . repentance consists in forgetting the sin . . . . for remembrance of sin is a veil between God and those who contemplate Him" (Hudjwīrī, *op. cit.*, 296).

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TAWBA B. AL-ḤUMAYYIR, Abū Ḥarb, an Arab poet, accounted of ʿAdnān or the North Arabs and a scion of the Banū Khafādja branch of the ʿUḳayl of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa group.

He was born shortly before the advent of Islam near Medina, where his forebears had settled; he is said to have died, not in 85/704 or 76/695 or 75/694 or 71/690 as indicated by some ancient and modern sources (see introd. to his *dīwān*), but in the time of the caliph Muʿāwiya (41-60/661-80), according to Nallino (*Letteratura*), on the basis of a dubious anecdote related by al-Iṣfāhānī (*Aghānī*), according to which said caliph is said to have held a conversation with Laylā al-Akhyaliyya [*q.v.*] after the death of Tawba. The editor of Tawba's *dīwān* is more precise, placing his death in the year 55/674 or shortly after. Tawba appears in posterity in the guise of a dual personality: on the one hand, he was one of the first representatives of ʿUdhrī [*q.v.*], amorous poetry among the Bedouin, proclaiming his unhappy love for a kinswoman, Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, whom he was unable to marry; on the other, Tawba revealed himself as a bandit chieftain or brigand, a *ṣuʿlūk*, stealing camels and leading numerous incursions against neighbouring tribes hostile to his own. He is said to have met his death in the course of one of his incursions against the Banū ʿAwf b. ʿĀmir.

Tawba has left behind a *dīwān* which is said to have been compiled by Nifṭawayh (d. 323/934) and which al-Ḳālī allegedly took with him on his journey to al-Andalus. It was on the basis of a probable manuscript of this *dīwān* which apparently dates from the 6th/13th or the 7th/14th century (now in Fatih library, Istanbul) that Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-ʿAṭiyya edited the *dīwān*; this is presented in the form of 92 verses, divided between one short fragment of 2 verses and 4 poems comprising respectively 8, 14, 19 and 49 verses, to which should be added 6 other fragments totalling 12 verses, gleaned by the editor from ancient sources, in particular, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the *Amālī* of al-Ḳālī and the *Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī, and six other verses of dubious attribution which may be disregarded.

It may be noted that, in addition to the poetic corpus, the editor also includes *Akhbār Laylā wa-Tawba*, cited by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 167). The current state of the *dīwān* permits nothing more than general and entirely relative comments on the content and form of Tawba's poetry. The metres used by the poet are *ṭawīl* (8 times), *radjaz* (twice) and *kāmil* (once) and the rhymes *rāʾ* (three times), *hāʾ* (twice) and *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *fāʾ*, *lām*, *mīm* and *yāʾ* (once). Furthermore, it cannot be said to what degree the poet would have respected the tripartite structure of the classical *ḳaṣīda*, since the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] or amorous prologue features in only two of the eleven pieces considered. With his style and characteristic language Tawba shows himself to be an archaic, Bedouinising poet. The genre most frequently addressed is, naturally, amorous poetry or *ghazal*, where the important themes are the chastity of the poet and his fidelity to his loved one. Elsewhere, the poetry of boasting (*fakhr*), although decidedly less important, shows Tawba roaming the desert and facing all kinds of danger, testifying to his almost legendary warlike temperament. It may be noted finally that the fame of Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir also owes much to his love for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya, who composed numerous odes dedicated to him.

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AL-ṬAWFĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN [see AL-ṬŪFĪ].

TAWFĪḲ (A.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *waffaḳa* "to facilitate, make easy, direct aright", a term of Islamic theology. Here, *tawfīḳ* means "facilitating, helpfulness, predisposing towards", used especially of God's grace and help towards mankind. In Ḳurʾān, IV, 65/62, it is used by the Hypocrites of their own intentions; in XI, 90/88, by Shuʿayb [*q.v.*] for his hope from God of success in his prophetic mission amongst Midian; in IV, 39/35, of God's bringing harmony and peace amongst disputants. It is usually regarded by the Islamic theologians as being, with *hudā*/*hidāya* "God's guidance", the opposite of *khidhlān* [*q.v.*] "God's forsaking or abandoning a hardened sinner and withdrawing His grace from him".

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TAWFĪḲ AL-ḤAKĪM, modern Egyptian writer, d. in Cairo 1987.

As the most significant figure in the development of modern Arabic drama as a literary genre, al-Ḥakīm played a major role in the cultural life of his native Egypt and of the Arabic-speaking world in general. Besides his activities in the realm of theatre, he also made major contributions to fiction and was a vigorous participant in his homeland's cultural politics throughout his life.

Born into a wealthy Alexandrian family (probably in 1898, although other sources list 1902), al-Ḥakīm moved to Cairo to complete his secondary education and then enrolled, like so many of his literary contemporaries, in the prestigious School of Law. However, he was already deeply involved in the theatre; while still a student he composed a series of plays for the ʿUkāsha Brothers' troupe (although, to avoid parental opprobrium, he used the pseudonym "Ḥusayn Tawfīḳ"). When the results of al-Ḥakīm's final exams in law proved mediocre, his father was persuaded to send him to Paris to obtain a doctorate in law there. This was to be a transforming event in his life: instead of immersing himself in legal studies, al-Ḥakīm devoted himself to a thorough investigation of European, and especially French, culture and most notably the theatre. He went to performances of plays by Shakespeare, Maeterlinck, Ibsen and Pirandello, for example, and felt inspired to write compositions of his own, both dramas and works of fiction, some of which were to be completed and published later. In 1928, al-Ḥakīm was summoned back to Egypt by his father and began a career as a public prosecutor in the Delta region of Egypt. The 1930s also see the beginning of his fame as a littérateur: the publication in 1933 of both his important contribution to the development of the novel, *ʿAwdat al-rūḥ* (1933; *Return of the spirit*, 1990), and his pioneering drama, *Ahl al-Kahf* (*The People of the Cave*, 1933) based on the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus (a version of which is found in Ḳurʾān, sūra XVIII), was followed by a number of other important contributions to both fiction and drama. Thereafter, al-Ḥakīm combined the career of littérateur with that of civil servant and journalist: he worked in turn for the Ministries of Education and Social Affairs, and became the head of

the National Library (Dār al-Kutub) in 1951. In 1954 he was elected a member of the Arabic Language Academy, and that status (and the award of the State Prize for Literature in 1961) ensured that he remained until his death a senior figure on the Egyptian literary scene. During the presidency of Anwar al-Sādāt, he caused a stir with his pamphlet (later, a book), *ʿAwdat al-waʿy* (1974; *The return of consciousness*, 1985), in which he expressed his opinions about the course of the Egyptian revolution under Sādāt's predecessor, Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser). The final days of his public career were spent working as a columnist for the Cairo newspaper *al-Ahrām*.

The play *Ahl al-Kahf* was greeted by the great Egyptian critic, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973 [*q.v.*]) as a major milestone in Arabic literary history, in that its treatment of a serious universal theme and its attention to the stylistic demands of language were such as to place it firmly into the milieu of literature (as defined by the critical tradition). It was to be followed by other multi-act dramas based on themes culled from a variety of cultural sources, among the most famous of which are: *Shahrazād* (1934; *Shahrazad*, 1981), *Pygmalion* (1942), and *al-Malik Ūdīb* (1949; *King Oedipus*, 1981). While admired for their literary merits, these and other plays like them confronted two major problems connected with the dramatic genre in Arabic at the time: the lack of an indigenous tradition for the training of actors and directors; and, above all, the features of Arabic itself where the literary language is not the medium of habitual conversation. Al-Ḥakīm's initial reaction to these issues was to suggest that his plays were intended as *masraḥ dhihnī* (a translation of the French term, "théâtre des idées"), plays to be read but not necessarily acted on stage. During the 1940s, al-Ḥakīm was presented with the opportunity to write a series of shorter one-act plays, initially published in newspapers and journals, and later as two collections, *Masraḥ al-mudjtamaʿ* (1950) and *al-Masraḥ al-munawwaʿ* (1956). "Ughniyyat al-mawt" ("Death song," 1973, 1977) from the former collection, a wonderful evocation of an Upper Egyptian village in the throes of a blood feud, is an excellent example of al-Ḥakīm's mastery of dramatic tension.

These experiments in the shorter-length drama demanded by the press medium allowed al-Ḥakīm to hone his skills to good effect. Elected to the Arabic Language Academy and assured by the personal admiration of President Nasser of a favoured position in the cultural life of his country, al-Ḥakīm now extended his dramatic purview. Certain plays composed following the 1952 Revolution may be seen as commentaries on aspects of changing Egyptian social and political realities: *al-Aydī al-nāʿima* (*Soft hands*, 1954) is clearly a gesture of support for the egalitarian instincts of the earliest stages of the process of change; *al-Sulṭān al-ḥāʾir* (1960; *The Sultan's dilemma*, 1973, 1974, 1977), a well-crafted drama about the issues surrounding the manumission of a Mamlūk sultan, can also be seen as a subtle questioning of the nature of law and just rule in contemporary, as well as former, times. While these and many other plays like them continue the process of furnishing the Arabic literary tradition with a repertoire of dramas that take on large philosophical and historical topics, other plays by al-Ḥakīm set out to be more experimental and innovative. With *al-Ṣafḳa* (*The deal*, 1956) he explores further the problems associated with the language of drama; in a play that reflects Egypt's concerns at the time with land reform, al-Ḥakīm attempts to fashion what he terms a "third language" placed along a spectrum between the implied norms of the literary and colloquial registers of Arabic. This concern with the impact of dialogue on audience was also much in evidence in a later play, *al-Warṭa* (*The fix*, 1966), which concerns a university teacher conducting research into criminality. Experimental in an entirely different way was *Yā ṭāliʿ al-shadjara* (1962; *The tree climber*, 1966), an interesting essay in absurdist drama. It is perhaps ironic that this play seems to have been one of al-Ḥakīm's most successful performance texts, in that his continuing search for solutions to the issues of language became irrelevant; in the world of the absurd, the literary language provided a splendid medium for the conveyance of the concept of irreality.

The 1930s were, as noted above, a significant decade in the development of the Arabic novel in Egypt, and al-Ḥakīm was a prominent participant in the process. The autobiographical element is especially evident in his earliest essays in the novel form: *ʿAwdat al-rūḥ* (1933; *Return of the spirit*, 1990) recounts the tensions of a Cairo family as seen through the eyes of Muḥsin, a young boy who has been sent by his parents to live with his relatives in the capital city. The time is that of the political and social turmoil of 1919, and into the fabric of the narrative is woven the then popular theme of Pharaonism, with its celebration of the continuities of Egyptian history. The resulting work is not a little diffuse, but there is no denying the efficacy with which al-Ḥakīm's dramatic sense permits him to create a vivid and authentic family environment. In *ʿUṣfūr min al-shark* (1938; *Bird from the East*, 1966), the same character, Muḥsin, travels to France. The meeting and confrontation of cultures is here handled with an excessively heavy symbolism which makes this work one of several early novelistic essays on a topic that finds more accomplished expression among writers of the next generation. With *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fi 'l-aryāf* (1937; *The maze of justice*, 1947, 1989), however, al-Ḥakīm provides one of the classics of the early Arabic novel, as a public prosecutor finds himself forced to apply completely alien legal principles on unsuspecting peasants who persist in adhering to their time-honoured customs and beliefs. The resulting work is a masterly portrait, full of character and incident and narrated with an attractively ironic humour. Alongside these and other novels, al-Ḥakīm also published a small repertoire of short stories.

Al-Ḥakīm's role as something akin to a cultural statesman is reflected in his contributions to other forms of writing. He wrote about the problems of theatre and published two works of autobiography: *Sidjn al-ʿumr* (1965; *The prison of life*, 1992) about his earlier life and *Ẓahrat al-ʿumr* (*The flower of life*, 1943)—a series of letters to a friend—about later years. As *ʿAwdat al-waʿy* (mentioned above) clearly shows, he regularly inserted himself into the public controversies of his homeland, and his broad reputation as one of Egypt's, indeed the Arab world's, most illustrious intellectuals guaranteed his opinions a ready audience. His many works in dramatic and novelistic form can be seen as an eloquent testimony to the struggles and difficulties faced by writers during the earlier stages of the long process of generic development in modern Arabic literature, and his major monuments in both genres will clearly endure.

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3. Studies. Muḥammad Mandūr, *Masraḥ Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo 1960; 'Alī al-Rā'ī, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm: fannān al-furdja wa-fannān al-fikr*, Cairo 1969; J. Fontaine, *Mort-Resurrection: une lecture de Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*, Tunis 1978; R. Long, *Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, playwright of Egypt*, London 1979; J. Brugman, *An introduction to the history of modern Arabic literature in Egypt*, Leiden 1984, esp. 276-88; Ismā'īl Adham and Ibrāhīm Nādjī, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo 1984; Nādjī Nadjīb, *Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm wa-usṭūrat al-ḥaḍāra*, Cairo 1987; P. Starkey, *From the Ivory Tower: a critical study of Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*, London 1987; Mustafa Badawi, *Modern Arabic drama in Egypt*, Cambridge 1987, esp. 8-87. (R.M.A. ALLEN)

TAWFĪḲ PASHA, MUḤAMMAD, Khedive of Egypt 1879-92.

Born in 1852, he was the eldest son of the Khedive Ismā'īl Pasha b. Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] and, it is said, one of the women of the harem. Despite the dubious circumstances of his birth he was nevertheless heir-apparent and rather suffered from that position. His half-brothers were sent abroad to be educated while Tawfīḳ had to remain at home, being taught by traditional Muslim teachers. His father allowed him no role in public affairs and showed him very little affection as a child. He was rather shy and retiring and gave the impression to those who met him that he would rather have retreated to his estates than ascend the throne. He was cowed by his father as long as the latter reigned and never quite shook off the terror his father had inspired. Bearing this burden, he has been described as a weak person, vindictive and rather pathetic, being all the things his father was not. Yet it was his fate to be called to rule Egypt during one of the most decisive periods of its history, and, in a sense, to reap the whirlwind his father had sown.

Tawfīḳ became Khedive on 26 June 1879 after his father Ismā'īl had been deposed by the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] on the insistence of the European powers, representatives of which were at the time in Egypt attempting to straighten out the financial chaos caused by Ismā'īl. Tawfīḳ had already been president of the Council of Ministers under his father, appointed again on the insistence of Britain and France, who saw him as a pliable young man whom they might be able to control. He fell prey to the struggle between Ismā'īl and his European ministers and was soon dismissed. He had, however, had early experience of being trapped in the disputes between the Europeans and Egypt.

Although the Sultan had deposed Ismā'īl, real power in Egypt lay with the British and French. When the former tried to reassert Ottoman authority in Egypt, it was pointed out to him that the privileges of the Khedive were held under Anglo-French guarantees and that he could only rule over Egypt in co-operation with the European financial controllers. So Tawfīḳ had to attempt to govern a bankrupt, insolvent Egypt under foreign financial control and, in addition, had to face an increasingly rebellious army. Discontent had been growing among Egyptian officers who felt they were discriminated against in favour of the Turco-Circassians. Colonel Aḥmad 'Urābī [*q.v.*] emerged as their leader; young, dynamic and Egyptian, he soon came to the fore and was able to articulate the army's grievances. In February 1882 Tawfīḳ was forced to appoint him Minister of War. To the Egyptians, 'Urābī was leading a national movement of protest against the Khedive's policies; to the British and French he was the leader of a "mutiny" against the Khedive's authority. Tawfīḳ could exert little influence, and found himself both the captive and enemy of the revolt led by the army. Britain and France announced that they intended to support him, and in May a joint naval squadron appeared off Alexandria. The powers demanded the banishment of 'Urābī from Egypt. The government resigned, but Tawfīḳ was forced by popular pressure to reinstate 'Urābī as Minister of War.

The British in particular were disturbed by this move and, on the pretext of restoring order, bombarded Alexandria in July. This caused the final break between Tawfīḳ and 'Urābī. Tawfīḳ sought the protection of British troops in Alexandria and dismissed 'Urābī, while the latter proclaimed himself head of a movement of national resistance which moved to depose the Khedive. The British then invaded Egypt in support of the "legitimate authority", and after defeating 'Urābī's army restored the Khedive to the throne. In Egyptian eyes, he now held office thanks to the military might of the British army and he himself felt beholden to a foreign conquering power. From then on (1883) until his death in 1892 he was very much the flexible puppet of Lord Cromer (British Consul-General in name but the exerciser of British authority in practice).

The British were there to stay, and Tawfīḳ had to work with them, despite being considered a traitor to Egyptian nationalism. He co-operated with the British in restoring Egyptian finances, and reorganised the government, the judiciary and some parts of education, notably in law and agriculture. British control was tightened in most aspects of government with the appointment of British advisers and technical experts.

Tawfīḳ's relations with the nationalists were tense but he failed in his vindictive attempt to have 'Urābī hanged, the latter being eventually exiled. Viewed as a weak ruler and British puppet, Tawfīḳ could not have acted otherwise as long as he wished to avoid the fate of his father. Unless he abdicated, he had either to co-operate with the British or face exile and deposition. In co-operating, however, he was forever

tarred with having accepted British domination and having surrendered Egyptian independence to a foreign power.

Bibliography: E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; J. Berque, *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972; J.C.B. Richmond, *Egypt 1798-1952*, London 1977; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The history of modern Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*, London 1991. (D. Hopwood)

TAWḤĪD (A.), in the true sense of the term, the act of believing and affirming that God is one and unique (*wāḥid*), in a word, monotheism. For the Muslim, it is believing and affirming what is stated by the first article of the Muslim profession of faith: "there is no other god but God" (*lā ilāha illā llāh*). Often, this first *shahāda* is specifically called *kalimat al-tawḥīd*, just as the name *sūrat al-Tawḥīd* is sometimes given to sūra CXII (*al-Ikhlāṣ*) which declares that God is *aḥad*, and that He has no equal (cf. al-Ṭabrisī's commentary).

While the term *tawḥīd* is itself absent from the Ḳur'ān (as is the verbal form *waḥḥada*), the principle that God is single is definitely proclaimed there in many instances. To cite only a few examples, 13 times God is described as "sole divinity" (*ilāh*^{un} *wāḥid*), and 29 times it is said of Him *lā ilāha illā huwa* "[there is] no divinity other than He" (not to mention other formulae of identical meaning). This is most often expressed in refutation of polytheist "associators" [see SHIRK] but also, sometimes, in refutation of the Christians (IV, 171; V, 73; IX, 31), of the Jews (IX, 31) or of the Dualists (XVI, 51).

This oneness of God is something which the theologians, not content with invoking the above-mentioned verses, are at pains to demonstrate rationally, their major argument being that of "reciprocal hindrance" (*tamānu'*). If there were two gods, they assert, there would inevitably arise between them, at one time or another, a conflict of wills. Since it is impossible that their two contrary wills could be realised simultaneously, then either one of the two would admit himself powerless in this instance, or both would do so; now, a powerless being could not be a god (cf. D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ash'arī*, Paris 1990, 252-4, with references included). It is also claimed that the premisses of this argument may be observed in Ḳur'ān XXI, 22: "If there were numerous gods instead of one, [the heavens and the earth] would be in a sorry state".

The profession of monotheistic faith being characteristic of Islam, it should come as no surprise that certain authors have defined the totality of Muslims by the expression *ahl al-tawḥīd*: thus, among others, the Sunnī traditionalist Ibn Khuzayma (*K. al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Harrās, Beirut 1973, 306, 325, 327, 329), the Imāmī al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (*Awā'il al-maḳālāt*, Nadjaf 1973, 117, 119, 120, 124, 127, 128; variant, *al-muwaḥḥidūn, ibid.*, 118, 121, 123, 125, 131), also al-Ash'arī (*Maḳālāt*, Wiesbaden 1963, 146, 326, 571). However, certain movements in Islam have claimed to represent strict monotheist orthodoxy better than others and have therefore reserved the expression for themselves; such is the case with the Mu'tazilīs, who called themselves *ahl al-tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl* [see MU'TAZILA] and sometimes simply *ahl al-tawḥīd* (cf. al-Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Cairo 1963, 35; Abu 'l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī, *al-Tabṣira*, Damascus 1990, 200) or indeed the Muwaḥḥidūn [*q.v.*], the Almohads, disciples of the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart.

In Ṣūfī literature, the notion of *tawḥīd* has given rise to intense speculation; from a simple concept, it is transformed into a spiritual experience. A well-known text of al-Djunayd distinguishes four steps, starting from the simple attestation of unicity which is sufficient for ordinary believers, and culminating in the highest rank reserved for the élite, when the creature totally ceases to exist before his Lord, thus achieving *al-fanā' fi 'l-tawḥīd* (cf. R. Deladrière, *Junayd, enseignement spirituel*, Paris 1983, 150-2). In the *Iḥyā'* (Cairo 1968, iv, 305), al-Ghazālī proposes a categorisation which is in part comparable. On the Ṣūfīs' views of *tawḥīd*, see in particular the *Risāla* of al-Ḳushayrī, Cairo 1974, 581-8.

The importance in Islam of the dogma of divine unicity—although it is actually only *one* of the characteristics of God, among others—accounts for the fact that the word *tawḥīd* has, in certain cases, been invested with a much broader meaning. In the work of certain theologians, it has come to denote the totality of discussion of God, His existence and His various attributes: thus with the Mu'tazilī 'Abd al-Djabbār (cf. *al-Mughnī*, v, 259, l. 1: *tamma al-kalām fi 'l-tawḥīd*), but also with the Ḥanbalī Abū Ya'lā (*al-Mu'tamad*, Beirut 1974, §385). Going yet further, in the titles of certain books, it is sometimes the totality of the "principles of religion" (*uṣūl al-dīn*), as defined by the various theological schools, which the word ultimately represents. Such is the case, among others, of the *K. al-Tawḥīd* of al-Māturīdī, of the work of the same title by the Imāmī Ibn Bābawayh, or, more recently, of the *Risālat al-Tawḥīd* by Muḥammad 'Abduh. Finally, in current usage, the expression *'ilm al-tawḥīd* (or *tawḥīd* alone) denotes theology in general, and constitutes the modern equivalent of *'ilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*] (cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, index of technical terms, s.v. *tawḥīd*).

Bibliography: For further information regarding the proofs of divine unicity proposed by theologians, see in particular Shahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-aḳdām*, Oxford 1934, 90-102; Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Madjmū' fi 'l-Muḥīṭ*, i, Beirut 1965, 215-16; Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, Alexandria 1969, 345-401; Abu 'l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī, *al-Tabṣira*, Damascus 1990, 81-98. (D. Gimaret)

ṬAWĪL, lit. "the long one", an Arabic metre, the first metre in al-Khalīl's metrical system [see 'ARŪḌ]. Its most frequent type, *ṭawīl*-2, runs as follows:

/⏑–⏓/⏑–––/⏑–⏓/⏑–⏑–/
/⏑–⏓/⏑–––/⏑–⏓/⏑–⏑–/

(⏓ = either short or long syllable). The two other types differ only with respect to the last foot of the line (⏑––– for *ṭawīl*-1; ⏑–– for *ṭawīl*-3), and, exceptionally, with respect to the last foot of the first hemistich in lines with internal rhyme, as the rhyming feet must be metrically identical. In ancient poetry, the second foot of either hemistich sometimes has the form ⏑–⏑–. An occasional feature, mainly restricted to first lines of ancient poems, is *kharm*, the absence of the line's initial short syllable.

Data on metrical variations within this metre are given in G.W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 129-31, 161-78, and W.F.G.J. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, 147-8. Statistical data on the use of *ṭawīl* as compared with other metres are given in J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ²Paris 1989, 203-27 (with data from Bräunlich and Vadet); D. Frolov, *Klassičeskiy arabskiy stikh*, Moscow 1991, 171-84; and B. Paoli, *Aux sources de la métrique arabe*, in *BÉt.Or.*, xlvii [1995], 183-215. For Andalusian poets, see D. Frolov, *Notes on the history of 'Arūḍ in al-Andalus*, in *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* vi [1995], 87-110.

Although in ancient Arabic literature poems in *ṭawīl* outnumber those in any other metre, *ṭawīl* is rare in modern Arabic (but see e.g. Nizār Ḳabbānī's poem *Uktubī lī*, in *Ḳālat lī 'l-samrā'*, [5]Beirut 1964, 48-52).

In *nabaṭī* [*q.v.*] poetry (vernacular poetry from Nadjd) *ṭawīl*-like metres do occur: 10 out of al-Dindān's 31 poems published by P.M. Kurpershoek in *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, i, *The poetry of ad-Dindān*, Leiden 1994, have a *ṭawīl*-like structure. The frequent *nabaṭī* pattern /‒‒⏑‒‒‒⏑‒‒/ is often explained as an acephalous catalectic *ṭawīl* (A. Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, iii, Leipzig 1901, 58-64; S.A. Sowayan, *Nabaṭi poetry*, Berkeley etc. 1985, 162; H. Palva, *Artistic colloquial Arabic*, Helsinki 1992, 150 ff.; idem, *Quantitative or accentual? Metrical problems of the contemporary Bedouin qaṣīda*, in L. Johanson and B. Utas, *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry*, Uppsala 1994, 91-7; P.M. Kurpershoek, *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, ii, *The story of a desert knight*, Leiden 1995, 131-2).

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(W. Stoetzer)

ṬAWĪL, Banū, also called the Banū Shabrīṭ, an indigenous family of the Iberian peninsula, integrated into Andalusī society as *muwallads*, converted to Islam at some time near the first Muslim conquests, and playing a distinguished role in political life from the end of the 2nd/8th century until the 4th/10th one.

They originated from, and had their sphere of action in, the Upper March (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*) of al-Andalus, in particular, the region of Huesca [see washka], from where they extended their power to other parts of the march, including Barbastro. Like other great *muwallad* families of the Upper March, they began by collaborating with the Umayyad *amīrs* of Cordova, until their rise in fortunes allowed them to set themselves up against the central power from the middle of the 4th/10th century onwards, thereby beginning a period of autonomous authority in the Upper March, and disputing power there with other *muwallad* families. They even, in pursuit of this aim, had relations with the Christian lines dominant in Pampeluna and the Pyrenean enclaves, allying with them, if need should arise, against both Carolingian and Umayyad control.

They had a common ancestor, called Sh ... h, according to the geographer of Almeria al-ʿUdhrī, thus transcribing a non-Arab name. This same author, who provides the most information about the Banū Ṭawīl, cites amongst members of the family, in chronological order, a Shabrīṭ (end of the 2nd/8th century and beginning of the next one), his two sons ʿAbd Allāh and Mūsā; and ʿAbd al-Malik and Walīd (both sons of ʿAbd Allāh). A son of this ʿAbd al-Malik was the famous Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl ("the Tall", a nickname which became applied to the whole family), who married Sancha, daughter of Aznar Galindo II of Aragon and who fell in 301/913 during an expedition against the lands of Barcelona, leaving behind a daughter and six sons: ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 306/918), ʿAmrūs (d. 323/935), Fortún (d. 327/939), Mūsā (d. 434/954), Yaḥyā (d. 340/951) and Lubb (d. 344/955). The sources further mention the names of two succeeding generations, including a nephew of this Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl called al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Notable amongst them is the use of the Romance name Fortún.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, tr. M.J. Viguera and F. Corriente, *Crónica del Califa ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III*, Madrid-Saragossa 1981, index, 414; ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ ʿan al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, tr. F. de la Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdrī*, Saragossa 1966, 71-87; C. Escó *et alii*, *Arqueología islámica en la Marca Superior de al-Andalus*, Huesca 1988; C. Laliena (ed.), *Huesca. Historia de una ciudad*, Huesca 1990; E. Manzano, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid 1991; Laliena and Ph. Sénac, *Musulmans et Chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen-Age, aux origines de la Reconquête aragonaise*, Montrouge 1991; Sénac (ed.), introd. by P. Bonassie, *Frontières et espaces pyrénéens au Moyen Age*, Perpignan 1992; J.A. Souto, *Cronología y gobernadores de Huesca omeya*, in *Homenaje al Prof. J.M. Fórneas*, Granada 1994, 857-65; M.J. Viguera, *El Islam en Aragón*, Saragossa 1995, *passim*. See also washka.

(Maria J. Viguera)

TA'WĪL (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *awwala* (derived either from *awl* "return" or from *iyāla* "putting into right condition, managing properly"), signifies explanation, exposition, or interpretation as it is literally related to the notion of "returning to its origin or source". The word occurs in the Ḳur'ān seventeen times. In XII, 6, 21, 36, 37, 44, 45, 100, 101, and XVIII, 78, 82, it implies explanation or interpretation of a dream or an event. In III, 7 (occurs twice), it also means interpretation; in VII, 53 (occurs twice) and X, 39, it is used to denote the occurrence of a forewarned event, which implies foretelling or divination. However, in IV, 59, and XVII, 35, it indicates the end, result, or final sequel of a thing, hence it is similar in meaning to *ʿāḳiba*, *ma'āl* or *maṣīr*. The compilers of the *Muʿdjam alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo 1409/1988, i, 103), have taken *ta'wīl* in these two verses in its general meaning of explanation (*tafsīr*).

The word *tafsīr* [*q.v.*], on the other hand, occurs only once in the Ḳur'ān (XXV, 33) and connotes explanation or interpretation. Since the latter is also used as a technical term for the exegesis of the Ḳur'ān, there is considerable discussion in Arabic sources concerning the precise meaning of both *ta'wīl* and *tafsīr* and their relationship to each other (see A. Jeffery (ed.), *Muḳaddimatāni fī ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān: wa-humā muḳaddimat Kitāb al-mabānī wa-muḳaddimat Ibn ʿAṭīya*, Cairo, 1954, 172-3; al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl, [2]Beirut 1972, ii, 146-53; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl, Beirut 1988, iv, 167-73). From what we know of the early history and development of *tafsīr*, it seems that in the beginning both words were used synonymously. There is no hard evidence to suggest that *maʿānī* (meanings) was the earliest term used for the titles of works on Ḳur'ānic interpretation and that *ta'wīl* was introduced late in the 3rd/early 10th century and was supplanted in the following century (J. Wansbrough, *Quranic studies. Sources and methods of scriptural interpretation*, Oxford 1977, 117-246; the historical sequence of five categories of *tafsīr*: narrative, legal, textual, rhetorical, and allegorical, suggested by him is open to debate; A. Rippin, art. *Tafsīr*, in *Encyl. of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade; F. Rahman, *Approaches to Islam in religious studies. Review essay*, in *Approaches to Islam in religious studies*, ed. R. Martin, Tucson 1985, 198-202). Both al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) use the word *ta'wīl* in the very title of their Ḳur'ān commentaries: *Djāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan [wudjūh] ta'wīl āy al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Maḥmūd Shākir and Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo 1954-69; abridged tr. J. Cooper, *The commentary on the Qur'ān*, Oxford 1987); and *Ta'wīlāt al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Ibrāhīm and S. ʿAwaḍayn, *Tafsīr al-Māturīdī al-musammā ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna*, Cairo 1971, one volume only published), respectively. It should be noted that

the terms *ta'wīl* and *ahl al-ta'wīl* are used more profusely as synonyms for *tafsīr* and *ahl al-tafsīr* by al-Ṭabarī in his commentary. Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) in his *Sunan* (Beirut n.d.), whose main concern is legal and who does not devote any *kitāb* (book) to *tafsīr*, very often devotes a whole chapter to explain a Ḳur'ānic verse related to the issue. All those chapters are entitled *ta'wīl ḳawl Allāh*. Even much later, al-Nasafī's (d. 701/1301-2), al-Bayḍāwī's (d. *ca.* 716/1316), and al-Khāzin's (d. 741/1340) commentaries are also entitled *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaḳā'iḳ al-ta'wīl* (Cairo 1330/1912), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* (ed. Fleischer, Leipzig 1846-8), and *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī al-tanzīl* (Cairo 1321/1903), respectively.

'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān (*al-I'djāz al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, ²Cairo 1987, 210 ff.; eadem, *al-Tafsīr al-bayānī li 'l-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1962; and I. Boullata, *Modern Qur'ān exegesis. A study of Bint al-Shāṭi''s method*, in *MW*, lxiv [1979], 103-13), on the other hand, has shown that the Ḳur'ān chooses its vocabulary meticulously and that no word can be replaced by what some philologists call a synonym, even when it is derived from the same root. In his *Tafsīr* (ed. 'Abd Allāh Shiḥāta, Cairo 1969, i, 4-5), Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) implies a clear distinction between *tafsīr*, as what is known on the human level, and *ta'wīl*, as what is going to happen in the future and is known to God alone. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) also draws a fine distinction between the two terms, as his book on Ḳur'ānic rhetoric is entitled *K. Ta'wīl mushkil al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954), while his philological commentary on uncommon words is entitled *K. Tafsīr gharīb al-Ḳur'ān* (ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1378/1958).

In his *K. al-Zīna* (ms. Hamdani collection, fols. 254-5; a portion of it is edited by H. al-Hamdānī, Cairo 1956-8), which deals with the etymology of Islamic nomenclature, the Ismā'īlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934-5), states that the philologists disagree with regard to the meaning of *ta'wīl*. One group maintains that it is exactly the same as *tafsīr* while the other asserts that it is different from the latter. When al-Rāzī asked Tha'lab (a philologist, d. 291/904) about the meaning of *ta'wīl*, the latter stated on the authority of Ibn al-A'rābī (a philologist and a *rāwī*, d. *ca.* 231/845-6) that *ta'wīl*, *tafsīr* and *ma'nā* are virtually all one; however, he added that *ta'wīl* means knowledge of the true state of affairs (*ma'rifat al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*), which is the source (*al-'ayn*), the reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa*) and the end (*al-'āḳiba*). Al-Rāzī further states that those who contend that *ta'wīl* and *tafsīr* are different things affirm that *tafsīr* is what the commonality (*al-'āmma*), i.e. the Sunnīs, relate from the exegetes (*mufassirūn*), while *ta'wīl* signifies [discovery] of subtle, hidden meaning known only to the outstanding scholars (*al-'ulamā' al-mutḳinūn*). He then illustrates the difference between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* as follows: A man has a dream and goes to an interpreter (*mu'abbir*). The interpreter happens to be an Arabic-speaking person while the man who had a dream does not speak Arabic. Hence a translator (*mutardjim*) has first to translate the man's dream for the interpreter. The speech of the man is thus about his dream, while the utterance of the translator is called *tafsīr* and the interpretation of the interpreter is called *ta'wīl*.

A close scrutiny of a multitude of definitions of the two terms in a wide variety of sources reveals that, what was at stake in this debate, concerned the ways in which traditional material could be used for exegetical purpose. *Ta'wīl*, in the understanding of most scholars, was based upon reason and personal opinion (*ra'y*), whereas *tafsīr* was based upon material transmitted from the Prophet himself or his Companions or the Successors in the form of *ḥadīth* (or *athar*); hence the former is generally defined as *tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y* (interpretation by the use of reason), while the latter as *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr* (interpretation according to what has been handed down). *Tafsīr* is thus appropriately described as concerned with *riwāya* (transmission of reports), while *ta'wīl* with *dirāya* (to know the meaning by a sort of artifice or cunning skill). Al-Zarkashī's *al-Burhān* and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itḳān*, therefore, enumerate various qualifications of a *mufassir* and list the most important sources of *tafsīr*.

When one examines the question of exegetical methodology in al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, which is quite tradition-oriented and regarded as an exemplary example of *tafsīr bi 'l-ma'thūr*, it becomes obvious that the verse III, 7, was decisive to the development of Ḳur'ānic hermeneutics, as he refused to recognise the respective *muḥkam* or *mutashābih* character of constituent verses, because it can lead to distortion (J. McAuliffe, *Quranic hermeneutics. The views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr*, in *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin, Oxford 1988, 46-62).

The dispute over *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* (or *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl* in Shī'ī parlance), as these terms evolved over a period of time, can be traced back to the earliest sectarian disputes, especially between the Sunnīs and the Shī'īs wherein sūra III, 7, plays a crucial role. The original text of the Ḳur'ān, being without punctuation marks, does not indicate stops and pauses, hence grammatically it is also possible to read the phrase beginning with the conjunction *wāw* (and) and the substantive *al-rāsikhūna fī 'l-'ilm* (those firmly-rooted in knowledge) in the above verse as the second subject of the preceding phrase. Thus it means that both God and *al-rāsikhūna fī 'l-'ilm* share a portion of *ta'wīl* (al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, ed. A.A. al-Ghaffārī, i, 213 ff.; al-Ḳummī, *Tafsīr al-Ḳummī*, ed. Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Djazā'irī, Beirut 1991, i, 124; al-Ḳāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-islām*, ed. A.A. Fyzee, 3rd ed. Cairo 1969, 22; al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad al-'Āmilī, Beirut n.d., ii, 400; al-Ṭabrisī, *Madjma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. al-Rasūlī and al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Tehran 1379/1959, ii, 410). With such a reading, the task of interpretation was not merely linguistic or involving lexical concerns, but the door was opened for sectarian, allegorical, and esoteric *tafsīr*. Therefore, as long as *ta'wīl*, as it developed separately from *tafsīr*, did not contradict the obvious literal meaning of the Ḳur'ān or *ḥadīth*, the growing Sunnī orthodoxy had no reason to deny it its right to exist. However, when it diverged widely from the traditional sources and various groups used it as a suitable device to justify their claims and doctrines by interpreting the Ḳur'ānic verses, the situation was changed and *ta'wīl* became a technical term for the allegorical, esoterical exposition of the Ḳur'ān, especially with the Shī'īs (the Imāmīs or Twelvers [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA] and the Ismā'īlīs [*q.v.*]) and the Ṣūfīs, and formed a valuable and necessary supplement to the more external philological exegesis which now became distinguished as *tafsīr*.

Both the Shī'īs and the Ṣūfīs developed their own style of exegesis wherein they emphasised the difference between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl*. The foremost principle of Shī'ī *tafsīr* is that the Ḳur'ān has an outer dimension (the *ẓāhir*) and an inner dimension (the *bāṭin*); the elucidation of the inner dimension, called *ta'wīl*, is derived directly from the Imāms, the ultimate authority in matters of interpretation of the Ḳur'ān, as they are the repositories of special knowledge (M. Ayoub,

The speaking Qur'ān and the silent Qur'ān. A study of the principles and development of Imāmī Shīʿī tafsīr, in *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qur'ān*, 177-98). *Taʾwīl* not only plays an important role in the Shīʿī-Ismāʿīlī formulation of a synthesis of reason and revelation based on Neo-platonism and Shīʿī doctrine, but it is also considered a science *par excellence* (I. Poonawala, *Ismāʿīlī* taʾwīl *of the Qur'ān*, in *ibid.*, 199-222). For the Ṣūfīs, *taʾwīl* was a kind of spiritual realisation of the meaning contained in the Ḳurʾān and could be achieved through following the disciplines laid down by the Ṣūfī masters. The *tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) exemplifies the Ṣūfī trend of exegesis known as *al-taʾwīl al-kashfī* (illuminating, unveiling). Thus there emerged two distinct approaches to the Ḳurʾānic exegesis known as *tafsīr* and *taʾwīl*: the former could be accomplished by anyone who had the proper qualifications as it concerned the exoteric meaning, while the latter could be performed only by the Imāms or the Ṣūfī master since it involved knowledge of a special kind to interpret the esoteric meaning.

Bibliography (in addition to the references cited in the article): Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ghafūr ʿAṭṭār, [4]Beirut 1990, iv, 1627-8; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, ed. al-Ḳāḍī ʿAbd Allāh al-Djarāfī, Beirut n.d., i, 113-14; Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Cairo 1977; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, ed. ʿĀdil ʿAbd al-Mawdjūd *et alii*, Beirut 1993, i, 1-121; Fīrūzābādhī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1913, iii, 331; *LA*, xi, 32-6; *TA*, vii, 215; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 334; Zurḳānī, *Manāhil al-ʿirfān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1995; Lane, i, 125-8; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920 (although now dated in important respects, still a comprehensive work); Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 19-49; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, [6]Cairo 1416/1995, i, 15-24 (presents the modern orthodox Sunnī view); *al-Muʿdjam al-kabīr*, Cairo 1970, i, 615-19; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique: nouvel essai sur le lexique technique des mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1970; J. Smith, *An historical and semantic study of the term "Islām" as seen in a sequence of Qur'ān commentaries*, Missoula, Mont. 1975; G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam. The Qur'ānic hermeneutics of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-Tustarī*, New York 1980; A. Rippin, *The present status of tafsīr studies*, in *MW*, lxxiv (1982), 224-38 (contains a useful survey of the most important recent literature).

(I. Poonawala)

ṬAWĪLA [see larin].

al-ṬAWĪLA, a town and district (*ḳaḍāʾ*) lying to the north-west of the main town of Yemen, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], about 55 km/34 miles as the crow flies, and at the summit of Djabal al-Ḳarāniʿ at the height of 2,400 m/7,870 feet. It overlooks the area of al-Maḥwīt to the west and Ḥarāz to the south. Josef Werdecker (*A contribution to the geography and cartography of North-West Yemen*, in *Bull. de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte* [1939], 139) placed the town in 15° 30' latitude and 43° 42' longitude.

Wilson (*Gazetteer*, 223-4) can find no reference to the town before 607/1210. He suggests that it may have been first developed as a stronghold by the Zaydī Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (583-614/1187-1217). Al-Ṭawīla was visited by Eduard Glaser in late 1883 during his famous expedition to northern Yemen. He says (see Werdecker, 38) that "the little town, which is not without walls, is only made noteworthy by its fairly large market-place". It is now quite a sizeable town and the administrative centre of the *ḳaḍāʾ*.

Bibliography: Apart from Werdecker's study based on Glaser's expedition notes, see also Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Waysī, *al-Yaman al-kubrā*, Cairo 1962, 63; R.T.O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of historical North-West Yemen*, Hildesheim 1989, 223-4.

(G.R. Smith)

TAWḲĪʿ (a.), the verbal noun of the form II verb *waḳḳaʿa* in the sense of "to indite, register the decree of a ruler", hence with the meaning of a document with a signature or device (*ʿalāma*), equivalent to the ruler's signature.

1. As an administrative term.

From the meaning given above, *tawḳīʿ* comes to acquire the general sense of "edict, decree of the ruler" and its being drawn up in a written form. More particularly, it has the special meaning of the titles of the ruler (roughly equivalent to the *ṭughrā* [*q.v.*] of the Ottoman sultans) to be inscribed in the chancellery, which gives the document validity, in contrast to *ʿalāma*, the mark or device of the ruler put on it with his own hand, which was regarded as his signature. The use of the two words is, however, to some extent indiscriminate, for *tawḳīʿ* was also used for motto.

In the *inshāʾ* [*q.v.*] literature, edicts (*tawḳīʿāt*) of the Sāsānid emperors are mentioned. Under the Umayyads is said to have arisen the custom—no doubt really an old Oriental one—of the caliph himself deciding (*waḳḳaʿa*) in public audience on petitions (*ḳiṣaṣ*) brought to him; the secretaries had then to put the caliph's *tawḳīʿ* into writing. For the ʿAbbāsid period, Ḳudāma mentions a special *dīwān al-tawḳīʿ* (office for edicts). It may be considered an important increase in the power of the vizier under the ʿAbbāsids that Hārūn al-Rashīd for the first time entrusted the Barmakī Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā with the right of dealing with petitions (*al-tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*). According to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, there was in the Fāṭimid *dīwān* a special secretary for dealing with petitions. This secretary for the *tawḳīʿāt ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ* was one of the highest in rank. Under the Mamlūks, the private secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) received the right of *tawḳīʿ ʿalā 'l-ḳiṣaṣ*. As a general rule, however, the sultans exercised it themselves here also.

Amongst the Turkish dynasties which began to enter the Islamic world from the late 4th/10th century onwards, the use of emblems—these being probably brought by the Turks from their tribal, steppe past, as in the case of the *tamgha* [*q.v.*]—became notable. Such emblems were later to assume a specifically Islamic Turkish form in the ruler's stylised signature, the *ṭughrā*. But alongside this form of validation of documents, Turkish rulers followed the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the use of pious personal mottoes (which the sources call variously *ʿalāma* or *tawḳīʿ*) likewise affixed to official documents.

The Fāṭimids in Egypt had adopted the practice of using a motto from the ʿAbbāsids. There is a paucity of information concerning ʿAbbāsid usage in this field, but one might mention a document given *in extenso* by the Ghaznawid historian Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī. In this, the new ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ḳāʾim announces the death of his father al-Ḳādir and his own succession to the throne (422/1031), and the beginning of the letter mentions al-Ḳāʾim's "exalted signature" (*al-tawḳīʿ al-ʿālī*), *iʿtiḍādī bi 'llāh* "my request for aid is sought from God" (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 295). The Fāṭimids tended to use for this the term *ʿalāma* (*q.v.*; this article, however, contains nothing about the *ʿalāma*

as used east of the Maghrib, and deserves S.M. Stern's dismissal of it as "slapdash", *Fāṭimid decrees, original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, 123 n. 1) rather than *tawḳīʿ*, which seems to have been more current in the lands further east. According to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1270/1853, i, 403, the *ʿalāma* or motto of all the Fāṭimid caliphs was *al-ḥamdu li llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn* (cf. Stern, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.).

The Ghaznawids in the eastern Persian lands, in many respects heirs to the ʿAbbāsid administrative tradition, thus followed what was by now a well-trodden path. The anonymous general Persian history, the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh* (written 520/1126), contains a list of what the author calls *alḳāb wa kunyat wa tawḳīʿ-i Maḥmūdiyān*, giving Maḥmud of Ghazna's motto as *wa 'llāh huwa 'l-maḥmūd*, that of his son and successor Muḥammad as *tawakkaltu ʿalā 'llāh*, and so forth (ed. M.S. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 428). It then gives a similar list for all the Great Saldjūḳs, beginning with Ṭoghril Beg's *iʿtimādī ʿalā 'llāh* (whose attribution to this ruler is, however, dubious, see Stern, *op. cit.*, 146 and n. 1), and there is similar information on the sultans—with some discrepancies—scattered through Rāwandī's history of the dynasty, the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (see the discussion in Stern, *op. cit.*, 143-7). Even some Saldjūḳ viziers, on the evidence of al-Bundārī, had their mottoes. The practice was transmitted to the dynasties who succeeded the Ghaznawids and Saldjūḳs in the east. Thus the historian of the Khʷārazm Shāhs, al-Nasawī, gives mottoes (*ʿalāmāt*) for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and his son Djalāl al-Dīn (*ibid.*, 148-9).

One thus discerns a distinct confusion between the uses of *tawḳīʿ* and *ʿalāma*, whilst, amongst Turkish dynasties, *ṭughrā* subsequently appears as a third designation, although this last is more usually used for an emblem, the successor to a tribal mark (see further, DIPLOMATIC, at vol. II, 303a, 311b; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 34-6, who notes that, in some documents of the Khʷārazm Shāhs, *tawḳīʿ* also means "seal"). For *tawḳīʿ* = seal (gradually to be replaced by *muhr*) in Turkmen dynasties and Ṣafawid documents, see H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 51.

In the Mamlūk administrative system, *tawḳīʿ* was also used as the name of particular classes of diplomas of appointment, and according to Ibn Faḍl Allāh, it was applied to the diplomas of all officers, the lower as well as the upper, up to the great governors (*nuwwāb*), and therefore became the word most used for appointment generally. A little later it came into use for the appointments of "turban-wearers" (*mutaʿammimūn*), i.e. the *ʿulamāʾ* and *dīwān* officials. According to al-Ḳalḳashandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, *tawḳīʿ* was the fourth and lowest as well as the most extensive group of diplomas of appointment (*wilāyāt*).

In the Ottoman empire, the imperial edicts were dealt with by a special official, the *nishāndjî* [*q.v.*] or *tewḳīʿī*, who was responsible for the documents bearing the sultan's style and titles. He was one of the highest officials in the kingdom (the *Erkān-i dewlet*) and a member of the imperial *dīwān*. A device written by the sultan himself was no longer in use here; in Ottoman diplomatic *ʿalāmet*, like the Persian word *nishān*, means the imperial sign-manual (the *ṭughrā*), the style of the sultan drawn in the chancery of the *nishāndjî* by a special assistant, the *ṭughrākesh*. *ʿAlāmet* was in this case synonymous with *tawḳīʿ*.

Bibliography: See also W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 152 ff. and index; F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache*, Vienna 1921, 18 ff.; and the *Bibls.* to DIPLOMATIC and NISHĀNDJÎ.

2. As a type of script.

The script known as *tawḳīʿ* came into use in the *dīwāns* of the Mamlūks, the Turkmen dynasties and the Ṣafawids, as well as in those of the Ottomans. In it, the letters were compressed and rounded, often with many of the letters not usually joined to a following one, in fact joined up. From the 10th/16th century onwards, it was ousted in the Ottoman administrative departments by the so-called *dīwān* script. See KHAṬṬ. ii. In Persia, and iii. In Turkey, with an illustration of the *tawḳīʿ* script at Pl. XXXV, 4.

Bibliography: See also Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, 8; L. Fekete, *Einführung in der osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, p. xx. (F. BABINGER-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TAWḲĪT [see MĪḲĀT].

TAWRĀT (A.), Ḳurʾānic spelling *Twryh*. There are linguistic problems connected with the term, but it is certainly not from Hebr. *Torah*. It may represent a "crossbreed" between Hebr. *Torah* and Aramaic *Ōriyyah*. The term *Twryh*, appears in the Ḳurʾān 18 times, all in sūras from the Medinan period (of these, 13 times in sūras III and V). In half of these verses the word appears together with *Indjīl* [*q.v.*], and both designate two of the pre-Islamic heavenly Scriptures revealed to Jews and Christians respectively. The *Tawrāt* was revealed after the time of Ibrāhīm and Isrāʾīl (III, 65, 93), contains the law of God (V, 48) which the "People of the Book" [see AHL AL-KITĀB] should obey in order to be rewarded in Paradise (V, 65, 66, 67). Those who do not apply the law imposed upon them by the *Tawrāt* are "like an ass carrying books" (LXII, 5); The *Tawrāt* was confirmed by Jesus (see ʿĪSĀ and III, 48, V, 46, LXI, 6) and contains a prediction of the coming of *al-nabī al-ummī*, i.e. Muḥammad (VII, 157). Only one other Biblical book is mentioned explicitly in the Ḳurʾān, the Psalms of David [see ZABŪR], from which one verse is quoted exactly (cf. XXI, 105, with Ps. xxxvii. 29). Other pre-Islamic revelations mentioned include the *Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm* and *Ṣuḥuf Mūsā* (LII, 36, and LXXXVII, 19), the latter perhaps being another term for *Tawrāt*.

Actual quotations from the Torah in the Ḳurʾān are very few and inexact (cf. V, 45 with Exod. xxi. 25-6, and III, 87, with Gen. xxxii. 33). Some are taken from other books of the Hebrew Bible (cf. XLVIII, 29, with Ps. i. 3, lxxii. 16, or xcii. 14) and from the Mishna (see v. 32, which gives the original version of Sanhedrin iv. 5). This fact proves that the word had the wide meaning of the whole corpus of Jewish Scriptures, as Torah in ancient Jewish literature itself (see Bacher, *Exegetische Terminologie*, i, 197 ff.), but only late Muslim authors differentiate explicitly between "the wider and the specific meaning" of *Tawrāt* (see Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, Beirut n.d., 176-7). Some Ḳurʾān commentators and dictionaries acknowledge the foreign origin of the term (see al-Zamakhsharī, to III, 2, and *TʿA*, s.v. *w-r-y*, and cf. A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, Baroda 1938, 95-6).

The Ḳurʾān contains, however, a large amount of repeated Biblical material together with Midrashic elaborations and other additions and adaptations, based on the laws and stories of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets of the Hebrew Bible (the Later Prophets are unknown to the Ḳurʾān) as well as material from the New Testament, usually without

mentioning an exact source. These were later elaborated upon in Ḳur'ān commentaries, historiographies and in the literary genre of Tales of the Prophets [see ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ'], all of which contain very few exact quotations from the Hebrew Bible but a large amount of Biblical material. The contradictions between the Ḳur'ānic and Biblical stories, and the denial of both Jews and Christians that Muḥammad was predicted in their Holy Scriptures, gave rise to the Ḳur'ānic accusation of the falsification of these last by Jews and Christians respectively [see TAḤRĪF]. Also, according to Muslim theologians, the *Tawrāt* was abrogated and superseded first by the *Indjīl* and then by the Ḳur'ān [see NASKH].

The term *Tawrāt* was apparently known in pre-Islamic times (see the verse attributed to the unknown Jewish poet al-Sammāk, quoted by Ibn Hishām, 659, tr. J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, in *HUCA*, ii [1925], 194, and the verse of Kulayb b. Rabī'a, in Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 80), but it occurs seldom in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry (see e.g. Ibn Hishām, 712: Ḥassān b. Thābit; *Aghānī*,[3] xiii, 265: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥakam). The term *Zabūr* [*q.v.*] also occurs in poetry as a general term for pre-Islamic Holy Scriptures.

In the *Ḥadīth*, the term appears frequently, and the *Tawrāt* is usually quoted by well-known personalities such as 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and his disciples or Abū Hurayra, as well as by Jewish converts to Islam or by people of Jewish descent like 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, Ka'b al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih. The *Tawrāt* is considered to be the holy scripture revealed to Mūsā, but again, very few quotations are actually based on verses from the Pentateuch or the Hebrew Bible or on sayings from Jewish lore (cf., e.g., al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, Tafsīr*, on sūra XVII, trad. 12, with Prov. iv. 2). According to a widespread *Ḥadīth*, Muḥammad instructed his followers neither to accept sayings from the *Tawrāt* (translated for them by the *Ahl al-Kitāb*) nor to consider them untrue, but to stick to their own belief (al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, e.g. book 97, *Tawḥīd, bāb* 51, or book 65, *Tafsīr* on sūra II, *bāb* 11). Nevertheless, some traditionists are said to have read the *Tawrāt* every week, stating that each time the reading is finished God's mercy comes down (Ibn Sa'd, vii/1, 161).

Most quotations from the *Tawrāt* are not based on any known text, a phenomenon which became more and more widespread in mediaeval Muslim literature and has continued thus up to our times. Muslim authors explain that these unknown, often Ḳur'ānic-like quotations are taken from the "true", unfalsified *Tawrāt*. One can find even whole reconstructions of the "true", uncorrupted *Tawrāt*—sometimes called *Munādjāt Mūsā*—or of the Psalms (see Sadan, in *Bibl.*). On the other hand, Muslim authors used exact or almost exact translations of Biblical verses to prove that Muḥammad was indeed predicted in the Hebrew Bible (and in the New Testament), as stated in sūras VII, 157, and LXI, 6. This theme was apparently developed in Muslim literature by Christian converts to Islam and modelled after the Christian *Testimonia* as an answer to early polemics by Christians. In the *Ḥadīth* literature, the examples are few (see one which echoes faintly Isa. xlii. 2-3, in al-Bukhārī, book 34, *Buyū'*, trad. 50, or book 65, *Tafsīr* on sūra XLVIII, *bāb* 3). An early list of Biblical predictions of the coming of Muḥammad is to be found in the *Risāla* of Ibn al-Layth (*Djamharat rasā'il al-'Arab*, ed. A.Z. Ṣafwat, iii, 308-13), which he composed for Hārūn al-Rashīd and which was directed to the Byzantine emperor, urging him to embrace Islam. Approximately at that time a specific literary genre appeared in Arabic literature called *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* or *A'lām al-nubuwwa* ("Proofs or signs of prophethood"), which became very popular from the 3rd/9th century onwards. Books belonging to this genre tried to prove the authenticity and validity of Muḥammad's message through stressing the miracles he performed, his unique personality, his worldly success, etc., and the Biblical predictions of his coming. Two of the earliest existing examples of this literature, which contain many Biblical verses explained typologically, are the converted Nestorian 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Dīn wa 'l-dawla* (written *ca.* 855, ed. and tr. A. Mingana, *The book of religion and empire*, Manchester 1922, 1923), and Ibn Ḳutayba's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, which has survived only partially in Ibn al-Djawzī's *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1966, i, 62-72 (see tr. of Ibn Ḳutayba's list of Biblical predictions by C. Adang, *Muslim writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible*, Leiden 1996, 267-77). Later Muslim authors follow them with shorter lists of repeated Biblical verses (esp. from Genesis, Deutero-Isaiah and the Psalms), which are taken to predict not only the epithets and the coming of Muḥammad but also the rise and conquests of Islam, its way of worship, the *Ḥadjdj*, etc. (see H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton 1992, 75-110).

It is unclear whether mediaeval Muslim authors had direct access to an Arabic translation of the Hebrew Bible. Muslim authors (Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥazm) knew about early Bible translations—the Samaritan and the "Christian" Septuagint—as well as about Jewish and Christian Arabic translations (Ibn al-Nadīm mentions *inter alios* Saadia and his translation, see *Fihrist*, 23, tr. Dodge, i, 43-5; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 112 ff., mentions Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, Abū Kathīr of Tiberias and others). They even used them; Mālik b. Dīnār of 2nd/8th century Baṣra visited the library of a Christian monastery for this purpose (see Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā*, ii, 375, 381). Most of their information, however, seems to have been gathered orally from Jews, up to the 9th/15th century, with the exception of a few Muslim authors like Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn Ḥazm, who may have had at least parts of the Hebrew Bible in full translation before them (Lazarus-Yafeh, *op. cit.*, 111-29). Only with Burhān al-Dīn al-Biḳā'ī (d. 885/1480) do Bible quotations become exact and lengthy and the whole context of the quoted verses clear (see his 22-volume Ḳur'ān commentary, *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa 'l-suwar*, Ḥaydarābād 1969-84). On Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's Biblical scholarship, see AL-ṬŪFĪ.

The ambivalent attitude to the *Tawrāt* is apparent also in contemporary Arabic literature. Modern studies still try to prove, with the help of linguistic scholarship, the prediction of Muḥammad in the Bible (e.g. Ḥusām Arshad, *al-Bishāra bi-Muḥammad fī 'l-Tawrāt*, Cairo 1986, based on Ps. lxviii. 5); other studies use modern Bible scholarship to prove that the Pentateuch is composed of different layers and has thus been falsified [see TAḤRĪF].

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2. Studies. K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qoran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxiv (1930), 20-1; E. Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitate Ibn Ḥazms*, Münster 1933; C. Adang, *Some hitherto neglected biblical material in the work of Ibn Ḥazm*, in *al-Masāq. Studia-Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea*, v (1992), 17-28; C. Brockelmann, *Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā bi-Faḍā'il al-Muṣṭafā*, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischer Sprachkunde*, ii (1898), 1-59; I. Cardillo (Ḥardilū), *al-Tawrāt fī fikr Ibn Ḥazm*, Khartoum 1984; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 33-56; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Bonn 1833 (tr. F.M. Young, *Judaism in Islam*, Madras 1898); I. Goldziher, *Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl-al-Kitāb*, in *ZDMG*, xxxii (1878), 341-87 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii, 1-47); idem, *Ueber Bibelcitate in muhammedanischen Schriften*, in *ZATW*, xiii (1893), 315-21 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 309-15); Graf, *GCAL*, i; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926; A. Jeffery, *A Muslim Torah from India*, in *MW*, xv (1925), 232-39; M.J. Kister, *Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrā'īla walā ḥaraja*, in *IOS*, ii (1972), 215-39; G. Lecomte, *Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), 34-46; D. Masson, *Monothéisme coranique et monothéisme biblique*, Paris 1976; F. Rosenthal, *The influence of the Biblical tradition on Muslim historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 35-45; J. Sadan, *Some literary problems concerning Judaism and Jewry in medieval Arabic sources*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of David Ayalon*, Jerusalem 1986, 370-98; M. Schreiner, *Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Muhammedanern*, in *ZDMG*, xlii (1888), 591-675 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, 75-159); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel in der arabischen Literatur*, in *Semitic studies in memory of A. Kohut*, Berlin 1897, 495-513 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, 347-65); H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Grafenhainichen 1938, repr. Hildesheim 1961; C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundations of Islam*, New York 1933; G. Vajda, *Judaeo-Arabica. 1. Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qotayba*, in *REJ*, xcviii (1935), 68-80. (Hava Lazarus-Yafeh)

TAWRĪḲ (A.), the verbal noun from the form II verb *warraḳa*, literally, "the act of putting forth leaves, branches", used as a term of art and architecture in the sense of arabesque, pattern of vegetal adornment and decoration. *Al-tawrīḳ* was taken into mediaeval Spanish usage as *ataurique*, whence Pedro de Alcala's definition *pintura de lazos morisca*, tavrîq (Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*², Leiden 1869, 214). See further, ARABESQUE. (Ed.)

TAWRIYA (A.), also called *īhām*, roughly "double entendre", "Doppelsinnwitz", a frequently discussed figure in Arabic literary theory. Based on *ishtirāk*, homonymy, the figure depends on the "nearer" meaning (*maʿnā ḳarīb*) of a noun, adjective, or a verbal form "hiding" (*warrā*) the "farther" meaning (*maʿnā baʿīd*) intended by the poet. Personal names and place names may also hide this farther meaning. The *tawriya* is also known by a confusing number of other names: *tawhīm*, *takhyīl* [*q.v.*], *tawdjīh*, *mughālaṭa maʿnawiyya*, etc.

Probably the first scholar to devote a monograph to the *tawriya* was al-Ṣafadī (696 or 697-764/1296-7-1363; see S.A. Bonebakker, *Some definitions of the Tawriya and Ṣafadī's Faḍḍ al-xitām ʿan at-tawriya wa-'l-istixdām*, The Hague 1966 (here abbreviated *B.*). Al-Ṣafadī distinguishes four types: the *tawriya mudjarrada* or "bare *tawriya*" where the context of the homonym does not show "adjuncts", "attributes" (*lawāzim*; others: *ḳarā'in*, *B.* 15 ff., 57, 60, 75), i.e. elements in the context which point to either of the two meanings of the term on which the *tawriya* is based; the *murashshaḥa*, which contains attribute(s) supporting the *maʿnā ḳarīb* (or *al-muwarrā bihī*), which is *not* intended by the poet; the *mubayyana* supporting the meaning that is actually intended (*maʿnā baʿīd* or *al-muwarrā ʿanhu*); and, finally, the *muhayya'a*, which contains what is needed to discover the *tawriya* which would otherwise not be clear.

Al-Ṣafadī's theories and his four subdivisions were apparently not fully shared by other scholars, as appears, for instance, from Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik (d. 686/1287), *Miṣbāḥ*, Cairo 1341/1923, 119-20; *B.* 55, which actually preceded al-Ṣafadī's work, and from studies by later authors such as al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338-9), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*, in *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1317-9/1897-1901, iv, 332-6 (*B.* 57-9); [al-Ruʿaynī] al-Andalusī's (d. 779/1377) commentary on Ibn Djābir *apud* al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ ʿuḳūd al-djumān*, Cairo 1358/1939, 115 (*B.* 15-6 n. 17); ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731), *Nafaḥāt al-azhār*, Cairo 1341, 76-7 (*B.* 104); this is best illustrated by discussions on the rationale of al-Ṣafadī's theory of the *tawriya mudjarrada*, see W. Heinrichs, in *Oriens*, xx [1968-9], 399-403, see also 403-7 (important review of the *tawriya* theory); and *B.* 15-7. See also Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ*, ed. Sh.H. Shukr, Nadjaf 1388-9/1968-9, v, 5-15 who takes issue with several of his predecessors.

The first author to deal with the *tawriya* may have been Usāma b. Munḳidh (d. 584/1188), *al-Badīʿ fi 'l-badīʿ*, ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Muhannā, Beirut 1407/1987, 97-8, but he does not discuss the figure in great detail. The same is true of the Persian-Arabic *Ḥadā'iḳ al-siḥr* by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 578/1182-3), ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, 39-42, who uses the term *īhām*. Both authors offer interesting examples.

Some scholars tried to find examples of the *tawriya* in ancient poetry or interpreted as *tawriyas* examples from the Ḳur'ān, such as *al-Raḥmānu ʿalā 'l-ʿarshi 'stawā*, (Ḳur'ān XX, 5) where *istawā* is supposed to have the meaning of "dominating", "possessing", not "settling in a place", ruled out since this would lead to anthropomorphism, see Ibn Ḥidjdja (d. 837/1434), *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886-7, 240; *B.* 24-7, see also 101-3.

A related figure is the *istikhdām* (*B.* 18-20, 30-1), based on a compound sentence where the main clause and the subordinate each "make use of" one of the double meanings of the term on which the figure depends, e.g. *waswās* "confusion, perplexity" and "jingling" of ornaments, in *wa-idhā mashat tarakat bi-ṣadrika ḍiʿfa mā bi-ḥuliyyihā min kathrati 'l-waswāsī* where "confusion" applies to the heart, and "jingling" to the ornaments (*ḥuliyy*).

The *tawhīm* (false suggestion) and the *ibhām* (amphibology; *B.* 20, 22, 52-3) in their proper sense stand, strictly speaking, in no relation to either the *tawriya* or the *istikhdām*, but are often mentioned in connection with it. There exists, however, a *tawhīm al-tawriya* or *īhām al-tawriya* (*B.* 22, 29-30) "suggesting a *tawriya*" where the poet falsely creates the impression that his line of poetry contains a *tawriya*. This possibility suggests implicitly that the critics did not accept a *tawriya* or *istikhdām* that was not clearly supported by the context.

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Nuri Soudan, Wiesbaden 1980, 255-66, see also 242-55; Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī, *al-Ṭirāz*, Cairo 1332/1914, iii, 63-6 (*mug̲h̲ālaṭa maʿnawiyya*); A.F.M. (von) Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, repr. Hildesheim 1970, see index; F. Rückert-W. Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, Gotha 1874, 279-85.

(S.A. Bonebakker)

ṬĀWŪS, Ṭāʾūs (a.), masculine substantive (pls. *ṭawāwīs, aṭwās*) drawn from the Greek ταώς and denoting the peacock (*Pavo*) of the family of the Phasianidae, originally from Asia and comprising four species: (a) the blue peacock (*Pavo cristatus*); (b) the spiciferous peacock (*Pavo muticus*); (c) the Congo peacock (*Afropavo congensis*); and (d) the black peacock (*Pavo nigripennis*).

1. In Muslim lore.

This attractive and majestic large-tailed bird, an attribute in Greek and Latin Antiquity of the goddess Hera/Juno, was of no interest to the Arabs other than in the magnificence of its plumage, since it was regarded as maleficent and inauspicious; according to some beliefs, it is said to have been the cause of the entry of the Devil into Paradise and of the expulsion of Adam, with the injunction that he was never to return there for the whole duration of the terrestrial world; for this reason, the keeping of peacocks was not recommended. Furthermore, according to al-Damīrī, it is said that when Adam planted the vine, Satan came, cut the throat of a peacock over the plant and drank the bird's blood. When the vinestock sprouted foliage, the devil slaughtered a monkey there and drank its blood. When the grapes appeared, the demon slaughtered a lion there and drank its blood. When, finally, the grapes reached maturity, Satan slaughtered a pig there and drank its blood; this explains why one who is addicted to wine acquires the attributes of these four animals. Thus when he begins to drink he is soon crawling on hands and knees, his complexion becomes bright and he acquires the beauty of the peacock. But as the first symptoms of intoxication become evident, he waves his arms and dances like a monkey; as his intoxication increases, he adopts the behaviour of a lion, roaring and incapable of following a consistent line of thought. Finally, when thoroughly inebriated, he wallows like the pig, helpless and drifting into sleep.

Two proverbs summarise the Arab world's opinion of this beautiful bird; one is *azhā* or *aḥsan min ṭāwūs* "more magnificent than a peacock!", while the other introduces a gloomy prophecy with *as̲h̲ʾam min ṭāwūs* "more ill-omened than a peacock!".

In his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, as quoted by al-Damīrī, al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ gives some observations of the behaviour of peacocks. The peahen begins laying at three years of age; her clutch may be from five to twelve eggs. The male, driven by erotic fever and jealousy, may go so far as to break the eggs with violent pecking; he also often entrusts the clutch to a hen until the hatching of the chicks. Mating takes place in the spring. The peacock, justly nicknamed *Abu 'l-was̲h̲y* "he of the splendid coat", loses its livery in the autumn and regains its brilliant plumage in the spring, thus following the cycle of the leafing of trees.

In the Middle Ages, by contrast with Muslim opinion, Christianity showed a high regard for the peacock, calling it "the noble bird" and considering its meat "the food of the valiant"; thus, when carving the roasted bird, the knight enunciated the "vow of the peacock" or "vow of courage" or even "vow of love". In heraldry, the peacock was represented as "rouant", i.e. "making a wheel" or "peacocking" with the spreading of the variegated fan of its tail. In decorative art, the peacock was a motif often reproduced as an adornment on objects and for Christians it was a symbol of the Resurrection. In gastronomy, as it had been among the Romans, the meat of the peacock was considered a choice dish; Muslim opinion was somewhat divided as to the permissibility of consuming this meat, but as a general rule it was allowed in Sunnī circles.

Despite these disagreements, Arab naturalist authors who wrote on the subject attribute to the peacock certain specific qualities. Thus the peacock willingly kills venomous snakes and begins to dance, spreading wings and tail, when it senses a poisoned dish. The flesh of the peacock, which doctors proscribed on account of its heaviness, needed soaking in vinegar; it was reckoned to be an aphrodisiac and a treatment for maladies of the joints. The marrow of the bones mixed with honey was believed to cure colic and other stomach ailments. Similarly, the blood mixed with honey, gall and vinegar was a remedy for abdominal complaints and, mixed with salt, it was an effective ointment for the healing of purulent boils. Finally, the excrement of the peacock, when roasted and pulverised, constituted a powder effective in the removal of freckles from the face.

In oneiromancy, seeing a peacock in a dream would foretell an advantageous marriage with a stranger; it would also guarantee successful progeny.

On the description of the peacock in poetry, see e.g. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 216-17. On Malak Ṭāwūs, the Peacock Angel, see yazīdiyya.

From the same root (*ṭ-w-s*) is derived the word *ṭāwūsiyya*, denoting, from the family of Saturnidae, the greater peacock moth (*Saturnia pyri*) and the lesser peacock moth (*Saturnia pavonia*) and from the family of Nymphalidae, the peacock butterfly (*Vanessa io*).

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(F. Viré)

2. In art.

The splendid plumage of the male peafowl, whose colourful tail can be expanded erect like a fan, was a recurring motif in Islamic art since its very beginning. Taken over from Persian Sāsānid representations, particularly textiles and precious metals, the bird was depicted in nearly all media, and is always recognisable by its crest of three dots on short stems and its tail. In the majority of cases, the bird is shown either single or in antithetical pairs. In the last case, the long necks may be intertwined. The beauty of the tail, which often had royal or paradisiacal connotations, is enhanced in configurations in which the bird is shown *en face* with the tail deployed. Because of its symbolic meaning, the tail was also attached to other creatures like al-Burāḳ [*q.v.*], the Sīmurg̲h̲ [*q.v.*] or a harpy.

The beauty of the bird made it particularly suitable for decorative purposes. Single peacocks with raised, ovoid tails covered with "peacock eyes" occupy the inside of some 9th to 10th century Mesopotamian lustre painted bowls or fill the centre of the medallions of a 10th century Spanish textile fragment. They figure on Eastern Iranian and Sāmānid pottery, on 12th century North Persian champlevé dishes, on pot-

tery vessels manufactured in 12th to 14th century Persian workshops; in Turkey it remained a popular ornament as late as the 18th to 19th centuries. Similarly antithetical peacocks, facing a central design or linked by their necks, begin to decorate art objects from *ca.* the 9th century onwards. On one of the earliest examples—a Persian bronze ewer in the Hermitage on which they form its sole decoration—they face a palm tree, pick at one of its leaves and deploy their tails as if to reveal all their beauty. Often shown with intertwined necks they were a popular motif on Spanish Umayyad ivories, Ṭā'ifa period stone carvings and Almoravid silks. The most impressive of the latter is a chasuble in Toulouse, the Basilica of St. Sernine, on which the deployed tails of each pair form roundels which, horizontally aligned, are woven in different colours.

Since among all the birds only the male peafowl can expose its colourful tail feathers in a complete fan, Hispano-Islamic, and particularly Persian artists also depicted this ostentatious display. On the ivory pyxis of al-Mug̲h̲īra (357/968), this pose occurs twice, once in the upper register between the main medallions on the body of the pyxis, and again on the domed lid. On the body, the stately peacock, seen *en face*, is flanked by two peahens, while on the domed lid two peacocks with deployed tails face each other.

In Persia, the earliest examples are paintings on the inner walls of the K̲h̲arrāḳān tomb tower, dated 460/1067-8. A gold coin of the founder of the Ḳād̲j̲ār dynasty, Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, minted in Iṣfahān in 1210-11/1795, ranks among the latest specimens which portray the bird *en face*.

In mediaeval Islam, the peacock was associated with (a) royalty; (b) the prophet Sulaymān [*q.v.*], and (c) light and paradise. Al-Damīrī, in his dream interpretation, refers to al-Maḳdisī, according to whom the [peacock] indicates a "foreign" (Persian) king, and a dream about friendly relations with peacocks promises brotherly relations with the king of Persia. Thus many Persian 12th to 13th century ceramics depict an enthroned royalty with one or two peacocks in front or behind his throne. The same idea recurs in illustrated manuscripts. On the frontispiece of Sa'dī's *Bustān* in the Bodleian Library (ms. Fraser 73, fol. 2a, *ca.* A.D. 1515), one of the two genii who hovers over the canopy of an enthroned prince carries a peacock. Or, in a fragmentary *S̲h̲āh-nāma* manuscript from *ca.* 1590-1600 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Cat. no. 277), the picture of a peacock with deployed tail is shown above the seat of Farīdūn. A striking example of the close relation between Persian kingship and the bird is the gold coin of Ag̲h̲a Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, mentioned above, that shows a peacock with a huge deployed tail on its obverse. Finally, one is reminded of the famous "Peacock Throne" in Tehran, which almost certainly received its name from its precious stones, that suggested the plumage of the peacock [see further, TAK̲H̲T-I ṬĀWŪS].

The connection between the peacock and the throne of Sulaymān is referred to already by al-T̲h̲a'labī, who describes his throne as being surrounded by four golden palm trees, on the branches of which sit golden peacocks and eagles. In particular, 15th to 16th century S̲h̲īrāz manuscripts show Sulaymān enthroned like a Persian king, with an angel holding a peacock over his head, or with peacocks sitting in front of or behind his throne.

The association of the peacock with light, paradise and the Afterlife is suggested by paintings which depict the bird in conjunction with motifs that conjure up similar ideas. In the wall paintings inside the K̲h̲arrāḳān Tomb Tower, for example, peacocks enclosed in sun-disk-like medallions that alternate with six- and eight-pointed stars, were almost certainly meant to convey wishes for a heavenly abode. This also seems to explain the peacocks at the portal of the tombchamber of Hārūn-i Wilāya at Iṣfahān. Similarly, in numerous *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* manuscripts, large, colourful peacocks in assembly with other birds represent the "search for God".

Bibliography: A monograph on the peacock remains to be written. For numerous examples, see Ingeborg Luschey, *The pictorial tile cycle of Hašt Behešt in Isfahan and its iconographic tradition*, Rome 1978, 159-69. For the peacock tail, see Eva Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies in medieval Islamic art*, Jerusalem 1965, index. (EVA BAER)

ṬĀWŪSIYYA, a heterodox S̲h̲ī'ī sect of the later 19th and early 20th centuries in Persia. It is named after a certain Ag̲h̲ā Muḥammad Kāẓim Tunbākū-furūs̲h̲ of Iṣfahān, known as *Ṭāwūs al-'urafā'*, "Peacock of the (Ṣūfī) initiates" from his elegant dress, who broke away from the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order. On the death of Raḥmat 'Alī S̲h̲āh S̲h̲īrāzī, who represented the Ni'mat-Allāhīs in Iṣfahān, Ṭāwūs refused to recognise his successor there, and, on his expulsion from Iṣfahān in 1281/1864-5, moved to Tehran, dying there in 1293/1876.

He was succeeded as *ḳuṭb* of the group which had formed around him by one Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān Gunābādī, who may be considered as the real founder of the Ṭāwūsiyya. He had studied at Mas̲h̲had and the *'atabāt* of 'Irāḳ; he had taught at Tehran, but had fallen under suspicion for alleged Bābī sympathies; and then later, he joined Ag̲h̲ā Muḥammad in Iṣfahān. Dying in 1327/1909, he was succeeded by his sons Nūr 'Alī S̲h̲āh and Ṣafī 'Alī S̲h̲āh.

Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān's Ṣūfī doctrines involved three stages of teaching, from initiation to perfection, on the evidence of his disciple Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ 'Abbās 'Alī Kaymān (whose works, including the *Kitāb-i rāz-gus̲h̲ā ki pāsuk̲h̲-i pand̲j̲āh pursis̲h̲ ast*, written in Tehran in 1350/1931-2 and published there around the same time, are an important source for the sect). In the first, he merely regarded himself as a learned man, to be imitated as a *mard̲j̲a' al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*]; in the second, he claimed the imāmate; and in the third stage he claimed, by allusion and suggestion rather than directly, quasi-divine powers as the appointed representative of God on earth, designated for every age, the *muk̲h̲-tār-i muṭlaḳ* "Supremely Chosen One", who is called *payg̲h̲ambar, imām, ḳuṭb, g̲h̲awt̲h̲*, etc. The degrees of initiation amongst the Ṭāwūsiyya were certainly Ṣūfī in nature, but Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mullā Sulṭān himself claimed to synthesise the religions of the whole world.

As for Ṭāwūsī ritual, it presents certain features which relate it to the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*]. Notably, during the ceremony of initiation (*tas̲h̲arruf*) in the presence of the *dalāl*, initiator, followed by *bay'at* of the *murīd* alone with the *ḳuṭb*, the initiate contracts several obligations: obedience, charity, secret of the *d̲h̲ikr*, service for 12 years; presentation of the *dīg-i d̲j̲ūs̲h̲* (boiling pot), and offers five things: nuts, a ring, a coin, a piece of cloth and sweet-meats (which have acquired a particular virtue). The custom of *dīg-i d̲j̲ūs̲h̲* (boiled meat presented by the *murīd*, who carries the boiling pot on his head to the *ḳuṭb* who distributes it to his guests) exists, says S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Kaywān, among the 'Alī-Ilāhīs. "It is the custom for them to carry once a week the boiling pot to their superior, to make up for prayer omitted and as soon as the superior

1. Peacocks facing palm tree. Bronze ewer, 9th to 10th century. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

2. Peacocks with intertwined necks. "Pila of Jativa". Spain, *ca.* mid-11th century.

3. Peacock with deployed tail. Detail from frontispiece of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, painted about 1600. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

says "thy gift is accepted", the omitted prayer becomes accepted by the Lord. They call this custom *niyāz*, offering, as distinct from *namāz*, prayer. Hast thou said thy prayer? No, but I have offered *niyāz*." Among the Ṭāwūsiyya the custom of *dīg-i djūsh* seems to be connected with the custom, called *ʿaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*], on the seventh day after the birth of a child, when the parents sacrifice a lamb and give the meat to the poor. Here we have the comparison between the new-born child and the initiate, the latter receiving a new soul.

As to the term *niyāz*, the Ṭāwūsiyya have it also, but it is applied to an assembly in which there is no offering but which has a very elaborate ritual, not only of participation in preparation but also the actual ceremony itself, of which Kaywān refuses to give the real significance. He says, among other things, that the ʿAlī-Ilāhīs and the Ṣūfīs "are in the same valley". The former, observing *ḥaḳīḳat*, are, however, superior to the latter who stop at *ṭarīḳat*. Formerly, the rite of "breaking the nut" (*djūz shikastan*) was performed by the superior of the ʿAlī-Ilāhīs alone and the Ṣūfī *ḳuṭbs* had to give him for this purpose the nuts received from the disciples. Connections with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ must not be neglected, in spite of the differences which are also to be noted, remembering the part played by Bābā Ṭāhir among the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, as one of the divine manifestations, and the fact that Mullā Sulṭān ʿAlī Gunābādī is the author of commentaries in Arabic and Persian on the work of Bābā Ṭāhir [*q.v.*]. F.M. Stead, in *MW* (1932), 184-9, even mentions "one of the branches of the ʿAlī Ilāhī Cult, known as the Tausi or Peacock sect ... venerates the devil", but this would suggest rather a connection with the Yazīdīs [see YAZĪDIYYA], of which we have been unable to find any indication. The Ṭāwūsī teaching has, on the contrary, so far as we can judge, been strongly influenced by Bābī conceptions (the charge made against Ḥādjdjī Mullā Sulṭān was perhaps not entirely without foundation), and in consequence affords us a typical example of modern heterodox syncretism in Shīʿī circles, which has assimilated in its own way Ṣūfī, ʿAlī-Ilāhī and Bābī ideas.

Bibliography: The above is based essentially on the works of Shaykh Kaywān. (B. NIKITINE*)

TAWWĀBŪN (A.) "penitents", the self-imposed title of an early Shīʿī movement that arose in response to the defeat and martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn and his companions at Karbalāʾ in 61/680. The movement was led by five former close associates of ʿAlī, chief of whom was Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, whose honorific *shaykh al-shīʿa* suggests his prestige among his fellows, mostly elderly Arab males of Kūfa. This cohort of one hundred men over sixty felt a profound sadness and guilt for not having either been able or sufficiently willing to support Ḥusayn and his comrades at Karbalāʾ. Scholarly consensus holds that the *Tawwābūn* were a genuinely religious society who vowed revenge for Ḥusayn's blood or death as martyrs in the process of atoning for the ignominious loss of their hero at the hands of the Umayyads.

For three years the movement remained underground, but with the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd in 64/683 and the political confusion that followed, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad saw a chance for action. He gathered his followers and persuaded many new people to join the movement. Although 16,000 volunteers pledged support, when the time arrived for battle against the 30,000 troops of the Umayyad governor in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] (who had been responsible for the Karbalāʾ massacre), only 4,000 (all Arabs, with no *mawālī*) gathered at Nukhayla near Kūfa in Rabīʿ II 65/November 684 in support of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his leadership circle, pledging "revenge for the blood of Ḥusayn." Soon the force was reduced by absentees to 3,000. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad led the *Tawwābūn* first to Karbalāʾ, where great lamentation was raised (and the ritual visit to Ḥusayn's burial place was instituted). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's forces then advanced, finally engaging the Umayyads at ʿAyn al-Warda, near the Syrian border. A three-day battle broke out on 22 Djumāda I 65/ January 685 with the *Tawwābūn* crying "Paradise! Paradise for the Turābīs!" (al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, iii, § 1980; Jafri, 231-2, 234; "Turābīs" = followers of ʿAlī, whose *kunya* was Abū Turāb). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was the first of the leaders to fall and at the end only a few *Tawwābūn* survived.

Bibliography: The main source, quoted at length by al-Ṭabarī, is the respected ʿIrāḳī historian Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 204 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 497 ff., tr. G.R. Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xx, Albany 1989, 80-97, 124-59; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, §§ 1976-82; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, in *Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. v. 1, 71 ff., Eng. tr., *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, 121-4; S.H.M. Jafri, *Origins and early development of Shīʿa Islam*, London 1979, 222-34. On Abū Mikhnaf's *K. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad wa-ʿAyn al-Warda* and its sources, see Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, Leiden 1971, 108 (no. 23). (F.M. DENNY)

TAWWADJ, TAWWAZ, a town in the western part of the mediaeval province of Fārs in Persia. It lay on or near the Shāpūr river midway between Kāzarūn [*q.v.*] and the Gulf coastland, but the place fell into ruin by later mediaeval times and its site is no longer known for sure. For further details on the town, see SHĀPŪR, river, to whose Bibl. should be added Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1926, 74-5; J. Markwart-G. Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 94-5; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 163. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TAWZAR [see TŪZAR].

AL-**ṬAYĀLISĪ**, ABŪ DĀWŪD SULAYMĀN b. Dāwūd b. al-Djārūd, famous Baṣran collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], nicknamed "the mountain of knowledge", who died in 203 or 204/819-820 at the age of *ca.* seventy years. He was a *mawlā* of the clan of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*] and originally hailed from Persia. He is said to have owed his *nisba* to his custom (?) of wearing a certain Persian upper garment or hood (*ṭaylasān*, pl. *ṭayālisa*), a scarf-like wrapper worn around the head and neck, but the *nisba* more obviously relates to a maker or seller of *ṭaylasāns*, the cowl worn by scholars. He was renowned for his memory; he boasted that he could recite 30,000 traditions without pause. He was especially acclaimed for the many traditions he said that he had learned with Shuʿba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (d. 160/776 [*q.v.*]), the greatest Baṣran traditionist of his time. Al-Ṭayālisī died after drinking a medicine made of the semecarpus anacardium nut (*balādhur*, cf. Steinschneider in *WZKM*, xi [1897], 319, no. 315).

Al-Ṭayālisī is particularly famous for his collection of traditions, called the *Musnad*. It is preserved in an ancient Ḥaydarābād edition of 1321/1903 which contains 2,768 traditions, some two dozen of which strike one by their remarkable length. Since this number is positively modest in comparison with the figures of tens of thousands of traditions which all the sources

agree in attributing to him, it could be maintained that what we have in that *Musnad* does not constitute the entire collection but is only that part comprising solely prophetic traditions transmitted with more or less uninterrupted *isnād* strands by Companions, the so-called *musnad* [*q.v.*] strands. When his *Musnad* is compared with the collections entitled *Muṣannaf* made by his younger colleagues ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827 [*q.v.*]) and Abū Bakr b. Abī S̲h̲ayba (d. 235/849 [*q.v.*]), each of which does indeed contain several tens of thousands of reports, the surmise is tenable that al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad*, as we have it now, is a collection from which all the reports supported by less well-attested *isnād* strands have been removed according to the *isnād* criteria of post-classical times: it does not contain Companion reports (*mawḳūfāt*), hardly any Successor reports of the type called *mursal* [*q.v.*] and no personal opinions of early *fuḳahāʾ* that go by the term *aḳwāl*, all three categories occurring in abundance in the *Muṣannaf*s mentioned. Although this is not substantiated in the Ḥaydarābād edition or anywhere else as far as can be ascertained, al-Ṭayālisī's *Musnad* as we have it now may be an anonymously abridged version of an original corpus several times the size of the present *Musnad*, a corpus that is apparently no longer extant. But what this presumably larger collection may have contained in addition to the Ḥaydarābād *Musnad* is not entirely lost: Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba's *Muṣannaf* quotes dozens of reports on the authority of al-Ṭayālisī which cannot be traced in his *Musnad* and which may therefore conceivably have been part of the massive original. Since he allegedly relied so heavily on his memory, a certain number of mistakes he made in *isnād*s were imputed to him (only ten out of 40,000, according to some authorities), but they did not damage his overall reputation too much.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325, iv, 182-6; Mizzī, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-kamāl*, ed. R.ʿA. Maʿrūf, xi, 401-8; for some of al-Ṭayālisī's mistakes, see ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *al-Kāmil fī ḍuʿafāʾ al-rid̲j̲āl*, ed. Beirut 1988[3], iii, 278-81, and al-K̲h̲aṭīb al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād* ix, 24-9. His *Musnad* was edited again with the traditions arranged according to *fiḳh* chapters by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bannā al-Sāʿātī as *Minḥat al-maʿbūd fī tartīb musnad al-Ṭayālisī Abī Dāwūd*, 2 parts in 1, Cairo 1372/1952.

(G.H.A. Juynboll)

AL-ṬAYĀLISĪ, D̲j̲aʿfar b. Muḥammad [G̲h̲ulām T̲h̲aʿlab] b. D̲j̲aʿfar [b. Ḥātim al-Wāsiṭī], a philologist, who lived in the middle of the 4th/10th century. A pupil of the Kūfan and Baṣran schools of philology, he probably was a son of the *g̲h̲ulām* T̲h̲aʿlab Abū D̲j̲aʿfar Muḥammad b. D̲j̲aʿfar (d. 327/938-9; Yāḳūt, *Irs̲h̲ād*, vi, 464). He was connected directly with Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957 [*q.v.*]) and to Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid [al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz] (d. 345/957), another close pupil (*g̲h̲ulām*) of T̲h̲aʿlab's [*q.v.*].

His small work *Kitāb al-Mukāt̲h̲ara ʿinda 'l-mud̲h̲ākara* shows al-Ṭayālisī as a talented beginner. In a short introduction, he explains that it is his intention to present poets with similar names (*ism*) or surnames (*laḳab*) (87 of the former and 32 of the latter from pre-Islamic and Islamic times) with the purpose of distinguishing them from well-known bearers of this name or surname. He begins with the famous al-Aʿs̲h̲ā Maymūn b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] and adds 15 other bearers of this *laḳab*, together with verses and anecdotes, but omits, for example, the well-known Aʿs̲h̲ā Hamdān [*q.v.*]. The number of verses given by him which are otherwise unknown is not without importance. In the course of the work, the articles become shorter, to end as simple lists of names. The longest article is that on ʿUmāra (no. 56), a great-grandson of the poet D̲j̲arīr [*q.v.*]; it contains information on Wāsiṭ [*q.v.*] and on poems by Jews. A first, inadequate, edition after a modern copy (1317/1899) of an old manuscript (614/1217), was published by R. Geyer in *SB AK. Wien*, cciii (1927), Abh. 4; M. Tāwīt al-Ṭand̲j̲ī published a second edition, based on the old manuscript and on an even older one (523/1129), in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* (Ankara), i (1956), Appendix.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 43, 184; Sezgin, ii, 97, 101, 247. (R. Sellheim)

TAYAMMUM (a.), the recommendation or permission to perform the ritual ablution with sand instead of water in certain cases, is based on two passages in the Ḳurʾān, IV, 43/46 and V, 7/9. The latter passage runs as follows: "And if you are in a state of impurity (*d̲j̲unub*[an]) purify (*fa-ṭṭahharū*) yourselves. But if you are ill, or on a journey or if you come from the privy or you have touched women and you find no water, take fine clean sand (*ṣaʿīd*[an] *ṭayyib*[an]) and rub your faces and hands with it." Sūra IV, 43/46, is nearly identical except that the phrase "with it" is lacking from the sentence "and rub your faces and hands with it". According to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs (see al-Bayḍāwī on IV, 46), "with it" means that there must be some sand in the hand. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, consider the rite valid even if the hand has only been touched by a smooth stone. The word seems to have as its root-meaning "intention, desire" (see Lane, s.v. ʾ-*m*-*m*), and is regarded as "weaker" than either the *g̲h̲usl* or the *wuḍūʾ* (al-Ḥalabī, *Multaḳā al-abḥār*, Beirut 1409/1989, i, 30, commentary).

Drawing from the *Mīzān al-kubrā* of al-S̲h̲aʿrānī (Cairo 1279, i, 143 ff.), the points of difference between the *mad̲h̲hab*s may be summed up as: *a*) the material (earth, sand, etc.); *b*) the obligation to look for water; *c*) the question how far face and hands are to be rubbed and into what legal categories these rubbings fall; *d*) the question what one should do if one finds water after he has already begun the *ṣalāt*; *e*) the question whether a single *tayammum* suffices for two *farḍ* rites; *f*) the question whether one who has performed the *tayammum* before his *ṣalāt* may act as *imām* for a person who has performed the ablution with water; *g*) the question whether *tayammum* is permitted before the *ṣalāt* at festivals and for the dead, if one is not on a journey; *h*) the question whether one who is not travelling, and has difficulty getting water for a *ṣalāt*, the legal time for which is about to expire, should repeat the *ṣalāt* performed after *tayammum* as soon as he has found water; *i*) the question whether it is permitted to use the little water one has for a partial washing and do *tayammum* for the rest; *j*) the question of what is to be done in cases of injury; *k*) the question whether the *ṣalāt* is to be repeated in four cases in which it has been performed after *tayammum*.

There is agreement among the *mad̲h̲hab*s on the point that *tayammum* is only performed for the face or hands, regardless of whether the Muslim is *muḥdit̲h̲* [see ḤADAT̲H̲] or *d̲j̲unub*; whether it occurs in place of a washing of all or any parts of the body is a matter of indifference (al-Nawawī, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, i, 406).

In the *Talmud* (*Berakot*, fol. 15a), a permit to use sand in case of want of water similar to that of the Ḳurʾān is given, and Cedrenus, *Annales*, ed. Hylander, Basle 1556, 206, tells how on an occasion in a journey

through the desert, Christian baptism was performed with sand.

Bibliography: See also the commentaries on sūra IV, 46, and V, 9; Nöldeke-Schwally, *G. des Q.*, i, 190; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, 86; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, etc. Leiden 1925, 58; A.J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan traditions*, s.v. Tayammum; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī (d. 1360/1941), *al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-arbaʿa*, Beirut n.d., i, 148 ff.; Muḥammad Djawār, *al-Fiḳh ʿalā ʾl-madhāhib al-khamsa*, Beirut n.d., 76 ff.; A.K. Reinhart, *Impurity/no danger*, in *History of Religions*, xxx/1 (1990), 1-24.

(A.J. Wensinck-[A.K. Reinhart])

ṬAYBA [see al-Madīna].

ṬAYF al-KHAYĀL (a.), "the vision of the beloved", a motif of classical Arabic poetry. The two terms are explained as synonyms denoting an "apparition" or "phantom" coming in sleep. *Ṭayf* is derived from *ṭ-y-f/ṭ-w-f* "to move" or "move around". *Khayāl* (rarely *khayāla*, pl. *khayālāt*), from *kh-y-l* "to surmise" or "create" an image in one's fancy of a thing, basically means "an incorporeal form or image" (Lane, ii, 385c), anything seen indistinctly like a shadow. The terms occur separately, as a rule. Their combination first appears in Islamic texts and is sometimes reversed (*khayāl al-ṭayf*).

The original structure of the motif in the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] appears to be as follows: The poet on his desert journey rests at night. His companions are asleep, but he keeps awake or is awakened and suddenly perceives the fleeting image of his beloved, whose tribe dwells far away. He is startled, even frightened, and ponders how she was able to cross the mountains and deserts separating them. Emotions of longing and sorrow are evoked, but eventually he recovers and sends the *ṭayf al-khayāl* back. Mediaeval and modern scholars alike explained the *ṭayf al-khayāl* as a vision in a dream. However, several elements in the narrative, e.g. the poet's reaction and the deceptive character of the phenomenon, suggest that originally the *ṭayf al-khayāl* was conceived as an apparition confronting the poet in the external world (cf. R. Jacobi, *The Khayāl motif in early Arabic poetry*, in *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 50-64). This interpretation agrees with the etymological evidence and with the function of the pre-Islamic *nasīb*, to free the poet from his emotional involvement in a past love affair.

Since the early Islamic period, the *ṭayf al-khayāl* is described by poets as a vision in a pleasant dream. The motif is favoured in Umayyad poetry and elaborated in accordance with a new ideal of love, i.e. constancy after separation. In the *nasīb* of the panegyrical *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] the original narrative is changed in several ways. Poets now dwell on the beauty of the "vision", the pleasures of love enjoyed while asleep, and the disenchantment in the morning. They sometimes introduce elements of the *raḥīl* [*q.v.*] to the patron or use the motif as a transition (*takhallus*) to the following section of the ode [see nasīb]. *Ghazal* [*q.v.*] poets, on the other hand, concentrate on its psychological aspects and praise the *ṭayf al-khayāl* as the only means of communication between lovers kept apart.

This last aspect is developed with added sophistication in ʿAbbāsid poetry. The narrative structure of the motif is dissolved, but traditional elements are still alluded to, e.g. the *ṭayf al-khayāl*'s perilous desert journey. Poets reflect on the nature of the phenomenon, its causes and effects, the relation between the beloved and her "vision". Occasionally the roles are reversed, the poet's *ṭayf al-khayāl* visiting the beloved. The meeting of "two visions" (*ṭayfān/khayālān*) is a variant employed with ingenuity by several poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās and al-Buḥturī [*q.vv.*] (cf. R. Jacobi, *Al-Khayālāni—a variation of the Khayāl motif*, in *JAL*, xxvii [1996], 2-12). The motif never lost its appeal to later poets, and is also discussed by mediaeval critics. Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 430/1044) in his monograph *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1381/1962) contrasts praise (*madḥ*) and blame (*dhamm*) of the *ṭayf al-khayāl*, illusion and reality (5 ff.). Evidently, love in a dream had its attractions in a society where the meetings of lovers must have been both dangerous and difficult.

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(Renate Jacobi)

TAYM ALLĀH b. Thaʿlaba, an Arab tribe belonging to the branch of the Rabīʿa b. Nizār (tribes of ʿAdnān) and forming part of the great ethnical group of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. Genealogy: Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlaba b. ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil. We also find it mentioned under the form Taym Allāt, which may be the correct name, for a Muslim (or Christian) alteration of the name Allāt to that of Allāh is not at all unlikely, while the opposite is hardly conceivable.

This tribe, as usual with so many other tribes of Arabia, formed an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the sister tribe of the Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, and each of them was closely associated with the Banū ʿIdjl and the Banū ʿAnaza. This confederation bore the name *al-Lahāzim* (the word *lihzima*, according to the lexicographers, signifies the mastoid bone, and similar expressions are not unusual to indicate the solidity of an alliance); it was afterwards extended to the Banū Māzin b. Ṣaʿb and even, it appears, to the two great Bakrī subdivisions, the Banū Dhuhl and the Banū Shaybān. After Islam the Banū Ḥanīfa, another Bakrī tribe, also entered the alliance (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 276, 1-2; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 47, 10, 305, 9, 764, 9, and, especially, 725, 15. Wüstenfeld, misled probably by the statement in Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 48, thought that the name *al-Lahāzim* referred only to the Taym Allāh; cf. also Reiske, *Primae lineae*, 253 n. *f*, 255 n. *h*). The Taym Allāh took part with their allies in the wars of the Bakr b. Wāʾil against the Tamīm, and we find them specially concerned with the battles of Zubāla, Nibādj, Taythal, Djadūd and al-Waḳīṭ (the last two fall within the Islamic period). It does not appear, however, that they distinguished themselves by any particular exploits or that they numbered among their leaders any person of note. In the two latter expeditions, the command was held by al-Ḥawfazān b. Sharīk and by Abdjar b. Djābir, both of the Banū ʿIdjl. At a more remote period, the Taym Allāh had fought with the rest of the Bakrīs against the Lakhmid tribes of al-Ḥīra: they are mentioned in the stories of the *Yawm Uwāra*.

The Taym Allāh were Christians, like almost all the Bakr b. Wāʾil (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2032 ult.), but they were early converted to Islam and we find them fighting in the wars of conquest and the civil wars; one of them, for example, Iyās b. ʿAbla, took part in the murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān (*Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 918 ff.). But it was mainly in the history of the eastern provinces that the Taym Allāh played a part in the first two centuries of the Hidjra; among the members of this tribe who made a mark in his-

tory, the best-known is ʿAws b. Thaʿlaba b. Zufar b. Wadīʿa, who is also known as a poet (notice in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, i, 82, quoted from the *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* of Diʿbil and the *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ* of al-Marzubānī; verses in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 830, with reference to two ancient statues at Palmyra) and was governor of Khurāsān; during the civil war of 65/684-5 he valiantly defended Harāt against the troops of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzin and held out for a whole year, with the support of all the Bakr b. Wāʾil of Khurāsān, until he fell (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 484-90; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 414-15). Another poet of the Taym Allāh, Nahār b. Tawsiʿa (who was called the best poet of the Bakr in Khurāsān) took part in the campaigns of Ḳutayba b. Muslim, whom he had once satirised but finally joined (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, 342-3; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 431-2; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 359-60, 364-5, 368; al-Ṭabarī, ii, *passim*; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 201-12, etc.).

There were several other tribes, especially in the south, called Taym Allāh or Taym Allāt; Ibn al-Kalbī mentions the following: T. b. Asad b. Wabara; T. b. Zahw (?) b. Marr b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyiʾ; T. b. Ḥikāl... b. Māzin b. al-Azd; T. b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb; T. b. ʿĀmir al-Adjdār... b. Kalb; T. b. al-Namir b. Ḳāsiṭ; T. b. Wadm b. Wahballāt... b. Kalb.

A fraction of the Banū Taym Allāh installed itself in the high valley of the Wādī Taym (Allāh), which bears its name in Syria, at the foot of the Djabal al-Shaykh; this was one of the places of origin of the Druze during the 5th/11th century and numerous heretical groups still lived there in the 7th/13th century (see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987, i, 368-759, ii; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, index).

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

TAYM b. MURRA, a subdivision of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*] whose pedigree is Taym b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr.

All of the important figures among the Taym before Islam and in its early days belonged to the genealogical line of ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym. They included Abū Bakr [*q.v.*], Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] and Ṭalḥa's paternal uncle, Maʿmar b. ʿUthmān (cf. M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā*, in *SI*, lxxxi [1995], 71-100, at 77-83, 96-7; Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] was reportedly a *mawlā* of the Taym; on p. 263a of the entry about him read, instead of Ḥumayr, Ḥimyar; M.J. Kister, *The massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa: a re-examination of a tradition*, in *JSAI*, viii [1986], 61-96, at 77-9). The central figure among the Taym on the eve of Islam was ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān [*q.v.*] (b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb); "during his lifetime the Taym were like the members of one family and were fed by him".

In pre-Islamic Mecca the Taym were part of the coalition of Muṭayyabūn [see la'aḳat al-dam] and, later, of the coalition of Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] which was established in the court of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān.

The rise of Islam gave the former merchant, Abū Bakr, precedence over more prestigious Ḳurashīs. The leading families of the Taym accumulated in early Islam great fortunes, much of which came from agriculture. Abū Bakr received from the Prophet an orchard in Medina which had formerly belonged to the Banu 'l-Naḍīr [*q.v.*] and developed it by planting in it palm-shoots. Ṭalḥa, who was the first to sow wheat in Medina, had fabulous revenues from his estates in Arabia and ʿIrāḳ and is said to have supported all the destitute Taymīs.

Few Taymīs held positions of authority in early Islam. One of them was governor of Mecca under ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's [*q.v.*] governor in Egypt; and Ṭalḥa's son, who was the cousin of Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*], was put by this caliph in charge of the *kharādj* of Khurāsān.

The Taym rose to some prominence under ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], himself a grandson of Abū Bakr on his mother's side. A grandson of Ṭalḥa was then in charge of the *kharādj* of Kūfa (where his family owned a large estate); a great-grandson of ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān was Ibn al-Zubayr's *ḳāḍī* and *muʾadhdhin*; a grandson of Maʿmar was governor of Baṣra; and another grandson was governor of Fārs. In the ʿAbbāsid period, several Taymīs officiated as judges, mainly in Medina and Baṣra, and as commanders of the *shurṭa* in Kūfa.

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(M. Lecker)

TAYMĀʾ, an ancient oasis settlement of northwestern Arabia, now in Saudi Arabia (lat. 27° 37' N., long. 38° 30' E.). According to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, it lay in the region called al-Mahadjdjāt, and was four days' journey south of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*]; al-Muḳaddasī, 107, 250, 252, localises it at three stages from al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] (in fact, Taymāʾ is some 110 km/70 miles from al-Ḥidjr/Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ), four stages from Tabūk [*q.v.*] and four from the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*]. It lies in a depression, the length of which J.A. Jaussen and R. Sauvignac put at 3.2 km/2 miles, with a breadth of 460 m/1,500 feet. The subterranean waters collected and burst forth into a well 12-14 m/40-45 feet deep and about 18 m/60 feet in diameter, according to the same two travellers (*Mission archéologique en Arabie*, Paris 1909, ii, 133-63, Tables lxi-lxiv).

A Taymanite caravan is mentioned on a cuneiform tablet of *ca.* 740-730 B.C. and then in inscriptions from the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (7th century B.C.) (Akkad. *Te-ma, Te-ma-a, Te-ma-ʾ*), and in the Old Testament (Hebr. *Têmāʾ, Tēmāʾ*) as a major caravan town and oasis (Isa. xxi. 14; Jer. xxv. 23; Job vi. 19), apparently associated with Tema, "a son of Ishmael" (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chron. i. 30). Together with Dedan, it was the major urban centre of North Arabia. In early Christian times it came within the Nabataean realm. Various inscriptions in Imperial Aramaic and in the early North Arabian language Taymanite (formerly called Thamudic A; see thamudic) and then, from later times, in Nabataean, have been found there (see R. Degen, *Die aramäische Inschriften von Taimāʾ und Umgebung*, in *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphie*, ii, Wiesbaden 1974, 79-90; F.M. Cross Jr., *A new Aramaic stele from Taymāʾ*, in *Catholic Biblical Qtly.*, xlviii [1986], 387-94; A. Livingstone and K. Beyer, *Die neuesten aramäischen Inschriften aus Taima*, in *ZDMG*, cxxxvii [1987], 285-96).

Taymā' appears in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, as in Imru' al-Ḳays, *Muʿallaḳa*, v. 76: "it (the rain storm) does not leave a palm-tree in Taymā' nor a house unless it is built of stone". Like other oases in North Arabia, it was settled by immigrant Jews or Jewish proselytes. Among them was al-Samaw'al b. ʿĀdiyā [*q.v.*], the lord of the citadel of al-Ablaḳ al-Fard, mentioned by al-Aʿs͟hā and other poets. The Jewish inhabitants were not inclined to be friendly to Muḥammad, but when they learned how their co-religionists in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, who had resisted, had been treated, they voluntarily submitted and were thus allowed to retain their lands on payment of a yearly tribute (*d̲j̲izya*) (*ca.* 7/628); nevertheless, they were expelled from the land, like the other Jews in Arabia, by ʿUmar (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 34-5). In the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal describes it as more thickly populated than Tabūk and as the market and provisioning centre for the Bedouin of the surrounding area (*mumtār al-bādiya*) (ed. Kramers, 34, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 33). Al-Hamdānī says that, in his time, the region of Taymā' was in the territory of the Banū Ṭayyi' (*Ṣifa*, ed. Müller, i, 131). Al-Muḳaddasī (*loc. cit.*) gives a more detailed picture of its situation in a well-watered, wide depression with a spring, many wells, some of which have fallen in, fine gardens, and many palm trees with excellent dates; on the other hand, he censures the avarice of the inhabitants and laments the lack of distinguished scholars from this town. In the next century, al-Bakrī refers to its wealth in dates, figs and grapes (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 208-9). The densely populated town had a wall, a *farsak̲h̲* in length, running along a brook.

Of modern travellers, Doughty was in Taymā' in 1877, when the settlement had recently peacefully recognised the authority of Ibn Ras͟hīd of Ḥā'il [*q.v.*], but was still paying an annual *k̲h̲uwwa* [*q.v.*] or protection money to the older masters of the region, the Banū Ṣak̲h̲r. He describes the famous well-pit, al-Ḥaddād̲j̲, which irrigated the palm groves of the central one of Taymā''s three quarters (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, new ed., London 1921, i, 285-300 and index). Huber and Euting were there in 1884, and it was then that Huber purchased the famed 6th century B.C. stele, now in the Louvre. Euting gives a good description of the town, with its narrow streets and houses surrounded by orchards. Of antiquities, he found the ruins of temples and a quadrangular building with towers at the corners. Of the citadel of al-Ablaḳ, the ruins of which, according to Yāḳūt, were still visible in his time, he could find no traces; Jaussen and Savignac describe some peculiar round tumuli, the sides of which in the form of stairs led up to a small square building (J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, Leiden 1896-1914, ii, 148 ff., 199 ff.).

Philby visited Taymā' in 1951, just after its semi-independent chieftain ʿAbd al-Karīm of the Rummān family had been assassinated, with full Suʿūdī control for the first time exercised over it. He found Taymā' a "once prosperous, and now wretched, locality" (*The land of Midian*, London 1957, 72-103), but in recent decades Taymā', benefiting from its position on the main Jordan-Tabuk-Medina highway, has become more populous and prosperous. In 1413/1992 the population was 18,088, made up of 15,129 Saudis and 2,959 non-Saudis.

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(F. Buhl-[C.E. Bosworth])

AL-ṬAYR [see AL-ṬĀ'IR].

ṬAYYI' or **ṬAYY**, *nisba* Ṭā'ī, an Arab tribe, which like others such as al-Azd and Kinda, emigrated from the Arabian south and settled in the north, in the plateau of S͟hammar [*q.v.*], which contained the two ranges Ad̲j̲a' and Salmā, called after the tribe D̲j̲abalā Ṭayyi'. As a result of their occupation of S͟hammar, the north Arab tribe of Asad lost some of its territory but the two tribes fraternised and were called "the two allies", al-Ḥalīfān. The two main subdivisions of the tribe were al-G̲h̲awth and D̲j̲adīla, part of whom lived on the mountain, called D̲j̲abaliyyūn, part on the plain, called al-Sahliyyūn, and the third on the sands, called al-Ramliyyūn.

Ṭayyi' played an important role in pre-Islamic times, and its name became the generic one for the Arabs in the Syriac sources, *Ṭayyāyē* (West Syriac pronunciation, *Ṭayōyē*). It had important relations with Persia and its clients, the Lak̲h̲mids of ʿIrāḳ; and with Byzantium and its clients, the G̲h̲assānids of al-S͟hām. One of them, Ḥassān, lent his horse to K̲h̲usraw Parwīz, when the latter fled from Bahrām Čūbīn, and the last Lak̲h̲mid king, al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], married two women from the tribe, which, however, refused him *d̲j̲iwār* when he fled from K̲h̲usraw. After the death of al-Nuʿmān, Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa settled with some of his tribesmen from Ṭayyi' in al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and became its governor, A.D. 602-11; he also commanded the Perso-Arab troops against the tribe of Bakr at the battle of D̲h̲ū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. Ṭayyi''s relations with the G̲h̲assānids were chequered, but they improved when after the Ḥarb al-Fasād, the Fasād War, between al-G̲h̲awt̲h̲ and D̲j̲adīla, the latter, who were Sahliyyūn, left for Syria and settled near Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn, where they had a *ḥāḍir*, known as Ḥāḍir Ṭayyi'. The tribe adopted Christianity, but some of them obviously remained pagan, since these are known to have worshipped two idols, al-Fils and Ruḍā, the former of which was destroyed by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at the command of Muḥammad.

Ṭayyi' continued to play an important role in Islamic times. It sent a delegation to Muḥammad in Medina and adopted Islam. One of them, Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīra, was the guide of K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd during his famous march from ʿIrāḳ to Bilād al-S͟hām. That part of Ṭayyi' that had moved to Aleppo-Ḳinnasrīn in the 6th century fought with Byzantium, and Abū ʿUbayda found them in their *ḥāḍir* in 17/638, when some of them adopted Islam while others did not. Those of the Ṭayyi' that remained in Bilād al-S͟hām formed part of the Umayyad *ad̲j̲nād* and fought under Ḥābis b. Saʿd with Muʿāwiya against ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. Some members of the tribe distinguished themselves in this early Islamic period: al-Ṭirimmāḥ, the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ite poet; ʿUrwa b. Zayd al-K̲h̲ayl, who took part in the conquests, in Rayy and against the Daylamīs; and Ḳas͟hʿam, who fought and killed Dāhir, the Indian king. They did well in ʿAbbāsid times also: Ḳaḥṭaba, the prominent leader of the *daʿwa* for the ʿAbbāsids in K̲h̲urāsān, was one of them, and so was al-Hayt̲h̲am b. ʿAdī, the well-known *ak̲h̲bārī*, as well as two of the foremost poets, Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. The one, however, who entered the annals or world literature was the proverbially-generous pre-Islamic

poet Ḥātim, after the foremost poet of the German language assumed his name in the *West-östlicher Diwan*.

For the very important rôle the Ṭayyiʾ played in Syria in the 4th/10th century during the Crusades, see e.g. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fāṭimide*, Damascus 1987-9, index s.v. Ṭayy and s.v. Banū Djarrāḥ [see DJARRĀḤIDS].

Like some of the Arab tribes in Bilād al-Shām, a part of the Ṭayyiʾ emigrated to Umayyad al-Andalus; since then, vague recollection of their Arabian provenance is still echoed in the Arabia of the 20th century, in the region of Shammar.

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(IRFAN SHAHÎD)

AL-ṬAYYIBIYYA, a branch of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] with several subdivisions. The Ṭayyibiyya split off from the rest of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs soon after the death in 524/1130 of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh, recognised as the twentieth *imām* of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs. The official Mustaʿlī *daʿwa* organisation in Cairo recognised al-Āmir's cousin and successor on the Fāṭimid throne, al-Ḥāfiẓ, and the later Fāṭimids as the rightful *imāms*. However, some Mustaʿlī groups in Egypt and Syria as well as the majority in Yaman acknowledged the rights of al-Āmir's infant son al-Ṭayyib to the imāmate, rejecting the claims of al-Ḥāfiẓ and the Mustaʿlī Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa*. These Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs were initially known as al-Āmiriyya, but later, after the establishment of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman, became designated as al-Ṭayyibiyya.

In Yaman, which remained the chief stronghold of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism for several centuries, the cause of al-Ṭayyib was originally championed by al-Malika al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra, the effective ruler of Ṣulayḥid Yaman, who like her predecessors in the Ismāʿīlī Ṣulayḥid dynasty [*q.v.*] had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids. The queen al-Sayyida had earlier sided with the Mustaʿlī camp in the Nizārī-Mustaʿlī schism. By the final years of al-Āmir's rule, however, al-Sayyida had drifted apart from the Fāṭimid régime; and the Ḥāfiẓī-Ṭayyibī schism in Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlism provided the opportunity for al-Sayyida to assert her independence. The Ṣulayḥid queen now became the official leader of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman, severing her ties with Cairo. Al-Sayyida's decision was fully endorsed by the *dāʿī* al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿī, the then administrative head of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yaman. Due to close relations between Ṣulayḥid Yaman and Gudjarāt, the Ṭayyibī cause was also upheld in western India, which was eventually to account for the bulk of the Mustaʿlī Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlīs, known there as Bohras (Bohorās [*q.v.*]).

Nothing is known about the fate of al-Ṭayyib, who seems to have been murdered in his infancy. However, it is the belief of the Ṭayyibīs that al-Ṭayyib survived and went into concealment, and that the Ṭayyibī imāmate subsequently continued secretly in his progeny, during the current period of *satr* initiated by al-Ṭayyib's own concealment. At any rate, until her death in 532/1138, al-Sayyida made every effort to consolidate the *daʿwa* on behalf of al-Ṭayyib. It was soon after 526/1132 that al-Sayyida declared al-Dhuʾayb as *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ*, or the *dāʿī* with absolute authority empowered to conduct the *daʿwa* activities on behalf of the hidden Ṭayyibī *imām*. This marked the foundation of the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* (*al-daʿwa al-Ṭayyibiyya*) in Yaman. Having earlier broken her relations with the Fāṭimid state, she had now also made the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* independent of the Ṣulayḥid state, which ensured the survival of Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism after the downfalls of both the Fāṭimid and Ṣulayḥid states.

On al-Dhuʾayb's death in 546/1151, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*] succeeded to the leadership of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* as the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. Ibrāhīm (d. 557/1162) introduced the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* into the religious literature of the Ṭayyibī community in Yaman, and also formulated a new synthesis in the doctrinal domain, combining the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's cosmological system based on ten separate intellects as expounded in his *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* with mythical elements. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī's major work, *Kitāb Kanz al-walad* (ed. M. Ghālib, Wiesbaden 1971), provided the basis of the distinctive Ṭayyibī gnostic *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* system and was used as a model for later Ṭayyibī writings on the subject. The Ṭayyibī *ḥaḳāʾiḳ* found their fullest description in the *Ẓahr al-maʿānī* (ed. M. Ghālib, Beirut 1991) of Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the foremost Ṭayyibī historian and the community's nineteenth *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. In both Yaman and India, the Ṭayyibīs have preserved a good portion of the Ismāʿīlī religious literature produced during the Fāṭimid and later times.

In Yaman, Ḥarāz remained the traditional stronghold of he Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*. In general, the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman maintained peaceful relations with the Ayyūbids, Rasūlids and Ṭāhirids, but their hostile relations with the Zaydīs were often marked with open warfare. Meanwhile, the growth of the Ṭayyibī community of western India was closely supervised by the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* in Yaman who regularly appointed the heads of the Ṭayyibī Bohra community there. Large numbers of Hindus converted to Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlism especially in Cambay, Patan, Sidhpūr and, later, in Aḥmadābād, where the headquarters of the Indian *daʿwa* were established. In 946/1539, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* passed to an Indian, and in 974/1567 the twenty-fifth *dāʿī* Djalāl b. Ḥasan transferred the central headquarters of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* from Yaman to Gudjarāt. On the death of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh, the twenty-sixth *dāʿī*, in 999/1591 (or less probably in 997/1589), his succession was disputed, causing the Dāʾūdī-Sulaymānī schism in the Ṭayyibī community. The great majority of the Ṭayyibī Bohras, comprising the bulk of the Ṭayyibī community, acknowledged Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭbshāh (d. 1021/1612) as their twenty-seventh *dāʿī*; henceforth they became known as Dāʾūdīs. A small group of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs, too, supported the Dāʾūdī cause. On the other hand, a minority, consisting of the bulk of the Yamanī Ṭayyibīs and a small group of Ṭayyibī Bohras, upheld the succession of Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597), the deputy of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh in Yaman. These Ṭayyibīs became designated as Sulaymānīs. Henceforth, the Dāʾūdīs and Sulaymānīs followed different lines of *dāʿīs*. In both cases, the office of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* soon became hereditary, each *dāʿī* designating his successor by the rule of the *naṣṣ*.

The forty-second Dāʾūdī *dāʿī* Yūsuf Nadjm al-Dīn (1200-13/1785-98), transferred the headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* to Sūrat, where the famous seminary known as the Sayfī Dars was founded by his brother

and successor ʿAbd ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn (1213-32/1798-1817). The administrative headquarters of the Dāʾūdī *daʿwa* were established in Bombay, at the Badri Mahal, in the time of the fifty-first *dāʿī*, Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (1333-85/1915-65), the father of the present *dāʿī* Sayyidnā Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn. In India, several groups split off at various times from the Dāʾūdī Bohra community. The total size of the Dāʾūdī community is currently estimated at around 800,000. Since 1088/1677, the position of the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Sulaymānī Ṭayyibīs has remained in the Makramī family of the Banū Yām, with minor interruptions. After being expelled from Ḥarāz in 1289/1872 by the Ottomans, the Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* established their headquarters in Nadjrān [*q.v.*], in northeastern Yaman, now in Saudi Arabia. There have been no schisms in the Sulaymānī community, currently numbering to about 50,000 persons who live mainly in the northern areas of Yaman. There are only a few thousand Sulaymānī Bohras in India.

Bibliography: The main sources for the early history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in Yaman are Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan's *Nuzhat al-afkār*, 2 vols., and his *ʿUyun al-akhbār wa-funūn al-āthār*, vii, which are still in manuscript form. The later history of the Ṭayyibiyya, in Yaman and India, is covered in Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Sulaymāndjī, *Muntazaʿ al-akhbār* (unpubl.), relating the events until 1240/1824, and in Muḥammad ʿAlī Rāmpūrī's *Mawsim-i bahār* (Bombay 1301-11/1884-93), iii, completed in 1299/1882. Full bibliographical references to the literature of the Ṭayyibiyya are to be found in I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 133-250.

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(F. DAFTARY)

TĀZĀ, a town of northeastern Morocco (lat. 34° 16' N., long. 4° 01' W.) about 100 km/60 miles east-north-east of Fās [*q.v.*] (Fez). It lies in a trough between the Rīf [*q.v.*] massif and the northern spurs of the Middle Atlas which is drained by the Wadi Inaouene (Innāwen), an affluent of the Wadi Sebou. This trough carries the historic highway from Fez and Meknès to Oujda, Tlemcen and northwestern Algeria, and is also the route of the railway likewise connecting these points. Tāzā, situated at a gap between the mountains some 3 km/2 miles wide only, thus marks the rough boundary between the central Maghrib and the Extreme Maghrib (*al-maghrib al-aḳṣā*) [see AL-MAGHRIB. I, II]. The great importance of the east-west route through this depression, and the strategic and economic advantages secured by occupation of the site of Tāzā, in part defended by the steep ravine of the Wadi Tāzā flowing northwards to the west of the town, must have early encouraged a foundation of some significance there. Traces of habitation from Neolithic times have been found, although the role of the place in Classical Antiquity, including Roman and Byzantine times, is unclear.

In early Islamic times (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries), Tāzā was the most important settlement in the region occupied by one of the groups of the Miknāsa, semi-nomadic Berbers. According to Ibn Khaldūn, it was they who founded the *ribāṭ* of Tāzā. This statement is evidently inaccurate in this form. Tāzā was not yet reckoned a *ribāṭ*. It must nevertheless have played an important part in the defence against the Idrīsids as partisans of the Fāṭimids of Ḳayrawān, then against the Fāṭimids as partisans of the Umayyads of Cordova. Tāzā, however, as a fortified town and a *ribāṭ*, was properly a foundation of the Almohads. In 528/1133 ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, having made himself master of the High and Middle Atlas, had arrived in the depression of Tāzā. There the conqueror seems to have suspended his advance. It was not till later that he tackled the ranges of the Rīf and did not yet attempt to descend into the plains to meet Almoravid forces. He seems, however, to have felt the necessity of holding the important strategic point, of building a citadel there and placing a garrison it it. Those who held this frontier post of the Almohad dominions were naturally assimilated to the men of the *ribāṭs* (we know that the struggle against the Almohads had the attractions of a holy war). To call the new fortress a *ribāṭ* was giving it the value of a pious work. As a matter of fact, Tāzā never played the religious rôle of a *ribāṭ*. It remained, as before, a military post guarding the road to Fās. A great part of the ramparts built by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seems to have survived. It is a curtain of rubble flanked by towers unequal in size, with the remains of an outer wall in front of it at places.

For lack of defenders, Almohad Tāzā hardly made any resistence to the Marīnids, who took it in 613/1216. Its new lords also devoted attention to its defences; they restored the great mosque on two occasions (693/1294 and 754/1353) and endowed it with *madrasas*. In their time, Tāzā for once at least did its duty in guarding the pass when it was attacked by the ʿAbd al-Wādid sultan of Tlemcen, Abū Ḥammūd II, who besieged it for a week in 784/1382 and was forced to retrace his steps.

At the beginning of the 16th century, we have a description of Tāzā by Leo Africanus. He regards it as the third town of the kingdom; it was administered as a kind of appanage allotted to the second son of the Waṭṭāsid sultan of Fās. The population, which numbered about 5,000 householders, including many Jews, lived under a continual menace from the mountaineers around.

To secure control of the springs which watered the town, and to protect himself against the attacks of the Turks of Algiers, a Saʿdian Sharīf—perhaps Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in the late 10th/16th century—provided it with a *bastiyūn*, which still stands in the southeastern corner of the enceinte. It is noteworthy, however, that, as a result, this fortress of Tāzā never served as a defence against enemies from the east, but rather became "a citadel ready at hand for every pretender who rebelled in those regions against the *Makhzen* who had built it" (H. Basset and Campardou). This was the case in 1004/1596 when al-Nāṣir, a nephew of al-Manṣūr, rebelled against the sultan and made Tāzā his base of operations, and again in 1074/1664 when the first of the ʿAlawid sultans al-Rashīd made it his headquarters for his attack on Fās, and in 1084/1673 when Aḥmad b. Muḥriz held out there against his uncle, Sultan Mawlāy Ismāʿīl.

Mawlāy Ismāʿīl erected various religious buildings in the town, but Tāzā was by now becoming a place of secondary importance only. In 1844 Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān led the Ghiyāṭa tribesmen of the Tāzā region against the French general Bugeaud, but the

Moroccan forces were defeated at the Wadi Isly. It was also from Tāzā that Mawlāy al-Ḥasan in 1874 led a punitive expedition against these same Ghiyāṭa. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz despatched thither a powerful *maḥalla* [*q.v.*] or expeditionary force in 1895 in order to strengthen his authority there; but in 1902 the pretender Bū Ḥmāra [*q.v.*] (Abū Ḥimāra) seized power at Tāzā and proclaimed himself sultan there, and was not finally dislodged and captured till 1909. The town was much damaged in the unrest and fighting of 1903-5; the Jewish quarter or *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ] was destroyed, and its inhabitants fled to Melilla, Debdou and Tlemcen, only in part returning after the French occupation.

Tāzā was occupied by French troops on 10 May 1914, and used as a base for operations in the Rīf and in the mountains to the south against the Ghiyāṭa and Wazā'īn, who were not finally reduced until 1928. Under the Protectorate, Tāzā grew in population. On the uppermost terrace, at an altitude of 585 m/1,920 feet, lay the old town, with its walled medina. On the middle terrace, at an altitude of 500 m/1,640 feet, there was laid out in 1914 the military encampment and, from 1920 onwards, a new town, which eventually acquired a population of several thousand Europeans. The railway station was on the lowest terrace, at an altitude of 445 m/1,460 feet. With a population of around 35,000 before the Second World War, by the 1980s Tāzā had a population of 108,000. It is the administrative centre of the *muḥāfaẓa* or province of Tāzā, which in the 1980s had a population of 616,000.

The monuments of the very interesting medina of Tāzā include walls of Almohad construction, strengthened by the Marīnids; a Great Mosque, founded in the 6th/12th century by ʿAbd al-Mu'min before that of Tinmal [*q.v.*]; the mosque of the Andalusīs, with an Almohad minaret; the Dār al-Makhzan palace, probably by Mawlāy al-Rashīd in the 11th/17th century, now almost wholly in ruins; and the massive, square Basṭiyūn, in the ancient *ḳaṣba* (see above).

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(G. Marçais*)

TĀZARWĀLT, Tāzerwālt, conventionally Tazeroualt, a district of the extreme southwest of Morocco, within the Anti-Atlas mountains.

The region was probably originally occupied by Masmūda [*q.v.*] Berbers, but it only became of general significance in the history of Morocco with the career and charisma of the Idrīsid *sharīf* [see SHURAFĀ'] Aḥmad ū-Mūsā (d. 971/1563 [see ḤMAD U-MŪSĀ]). Aḥmad's *ḳubba*, containing also the tombs of some of his descendants, became the site of a major twice-yearly pilgrimage and fair (*mawsim*, or *amuggār* in the Berber Tashelḥit dialect) located at Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā (44 km/27 miles to the east of Tīznīt). Political power in Tāzarwālt was acquired by the saint's great-grandson, the marabout ʿAlī Abū Damīʿa (often referred to as Abū Ḥassūn), who became head of the *zāwiya* there in 1022/1613 and who fortified the town of Īlīgh in 1034/1625, making it his capital, from where he ruled until his death in 1070/1659. Taking advantage of the weakening of the Saʿdian dynasty after the death of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (1012/1603), ʿAlī was able to monopolise the western Saharan trade, with the help of Jewish traders who were attracted to Īlīgh and who established a *mellāḥ* [see MALLĀḤ]. ʿAlī also secured vast territories in the Atlas and Saharan regions by the mid-11th/17th century. During this period, a new ruling dynasty emerged from the ʿAlawī *shurafā'* of the southeastern district of Tāfīlālt [*q.v.*], which brought an end to Tāzarwālt's political power when Mawlāy al-Rashīd destroyed the fortress of Īlīgh in 1081/670 and dispersed ʿAlī's heirs into the Sahara.

Political power in Tāzarwālt was revived in Īlīgh at the end of the 18th century by the maraboutic family of Abū Damīʿa under the *sharīf* Hāshim b. ʿAlī (murdered 1825) and, especially, by his son Ḥusayn (d. 1886). Utilising the *mawsims* and a growing Jewish community in Īlīgh to conduct trade, Tāzarwālt became the most important commercial emporium in southwestern Morocco, linking European commerce from the port of Essaouira [see AL-SAWĪRA] with the trans-Saharan trade. Although recognising the sovereignty and the spiritual authority of the ʿAlawī sultans over all Morocco, Tāzarwālt constituted a virtually independent maraboutic principality until the late 19th century.

Following the expeditions of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan I in 1882 and 1886 to the Sūs, Īlīgh was brought under the authority of the sultan, and the town of Tīznīt became the centre of *Makhzen* authority in southwestern Morocco. A new mausoleum was built at Sīdī Aḥmād ū-Mūsā in the years between the two royal expeditions. The Tāzarwālt region, like the Sūs in general, was disturbed during the resistance from 1912 of the pretender Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] at the onset of French rule, and Īlīgh's trade was largely cut off from the coastal ports. The Sūs as a whole and the region of Tāzarwālt were not finally brought under control by the French Protectorate authorities until 1934. A census taken in 1936 counted 1,906 Muslim and 220 Jewish inhabitants in Tāzarwālt.

After Moroccan independence in 1955, Sīdī Aḥmad ū-Mūsā became the central government's administrative centre for Tāzarwālt, and its shrine continued to be the site of a major pilgrimage and fair (approximately 67,000 pilgrims came to the *mawsim* in summer 1981). Īlīgh's commercial and political significance was eclipsed when the government closed its weekly market and when, at the end of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, the remnants of the Jewish population emigrated, mainly to Israel.

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(D. Schroeter)

TAʿZĪR (A.), a term of Islamic law meaning discretionary punishment, e.g. by the *ḳāḍī*, for the offences for which no *ḥadd* [*q.v.*] punishment is laid down. It appears to be one of the *aḍdād* [*q.v.*], words with opposing meanings, since it means both showing respect (*taʿẓīm*) and disrespect by disciplining (*taʾdīb*) the person concerned.

Although the word does not occur in the Ḳurʾān and Sunna, both of them seem to contain practical examples of *taʿzīr* which involve the unspecified punishment of crimes that are not subject to textual punishments (*ḥudūd*). An example would be the case of a recalcitrant wife (*nāshiz*). In Ḳurʾān, IV, 34, the concept of "discretion", which is the bedrock of *taʿzīr*, seems to be underlined in such words as "And those [women] you fear may be rebellious, admonish them to their beds apart and beat them. If they then obey, do not look then for any way against them". In the Sunna, *taʿzīr* can also be traced in similar cases that are not subject to *ḥudūd*, such as in the Prophetic statement that, if a person does not give *zakāt*, he should be disciplined by taking part of his wealth in addition to the *zakāt*. Verbal reprimand (*tawbīkh*) is recorded in a few traditions, including one in which the Prophet said about a person who was being punished for drinking, "reprimand him (*wabbikhūh*)". *Taʿzīr* as a conveniently-executed punishment plays a major rule in the practice of the *muḥtasib*, since it can easily be applied at his discretion in the market place [see ḤISBA]. The distinction between *ḥadd* and *taʿzīr* is summarised by Muḥammad b. ʿIwaḍ al-Sunāmī, an Indo-Muslim scholar (d. 734/1333), in the following way. *Ḥadd* is specified by the text, unlike *taʿzīr* which is at the discretion of the *Imām*; *ḥadd* lapses if based on suspicion (*shubha*), whereas *taʿzīr* is obligatory if there are grounds for suspicion. *Ḥadd* is not applicable to a minor (*ṣabī*), while *taʿzīr* can be applied to minors. He also observes that *taʿzīr* cannot be seen as a purifying punishment (*taṭhīr*) (see further, *EI*[1] art. s.v.) when applied to a *dhimmī*, since the concept is only valid for Muslims.

The amount of *taʿzīr* should be lower than the lowest *ḥadd*, at least in theory. The Prophet is reported to have said, "he who extends the punishment of a non-*ḥadd* offence to that of *ḥadd* is a transgressor". This principle is seen by Schacht in his *Origins* as an early principle based on an abstract arbitrary decision rather than a positive doctrine, a principle evidently ignored by the modern penal laws in some Muslim countries. One example of this is the Egyptian law, which allows the death sentence to be implemented for *taʿzīr* crimes (article 77 and following). The Ḥanafīs accept this *taʿzīr* capital punishment which they term "killing as an act of punishment for the sake of upholding public order" (*al-ḳatl siyāsat^an*). Although *taʿzīr* can be executed in many ways, as also *ḥadd*, al-Sunāmī records the following instruments, which indicate that *taʿzīr* normally falls within the area of minor offences: the hand, whip, stick, and *dirra*, which is a whip of ox-hide, or made of strips of hide on which date-stones have been stitched.

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TAʿZIYA (A.), verbal noun from form II *ʿazzā* "to mourn, console, express sympathy with", the Shīʿī passion plays, the only form of serious drama ever to have developed in the Islamic world before the early modern period (for subsequent developments, see MASRAḤ; to the *Bibl.* of section 1. here should be added P.C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian theatre in the nineteenth century, 1799-1882*, London 1996; S. Moreh and Sadgrove, *Jewish contributions to nineteenth century Arabic theatre. Plays from Algeria and Syria, a study and texts*, Oxford 1996). The *taʿziya* is mostly performed in Persia and, to a certain extent, amongst the Shīʿī communities of the western Gulf shore and in Lebanon.

It re-enacts the suffering and death of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], third Imām of the Shīʿa, in a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphate at Karbalāʾ (61/680 [*q.v.*]). This battle actually took place on ʿĀshūrā day, 10 Muḥarram; this is now regarded as a martyrdom mourned vicariously by Shīʿīs worldwide. In Persia, the rituals of mourning for al-Ḥusayn came under royal patronage when Shīʿī Islam was established as the state religion in the 16th century under the Ṣafawid dynasty. On the Indian subcontinent, *taʿziya* signifies the bier and mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn carried in procession during Muḥarram (see below).

The *taʿziya* as a form of ritual theatre stems from the mid-18th-century fusion of ambulatory and stationary rites that had coexisted for over a millennium. At first, *taʿziya* plays were performed at crossroads, in market places and town squares; later they were performed in the courtyards of inns and private houses. Finally, special structures called *takiyas* or *Ḥusayniyyas* were built for their staging; some by the well-to-do as a pious public service; others with contributions from the citizens of the local district. Some *Ḥusayniyyas* were large, seating thousands of spectators, others were only large enough for family and friends. Many *takiyas* were temporary, erected by members of the community especially for the services from Muḥarram into the following month of Ṣafar, when the fortieth-day observances for the dead would take place.

The most famous *taʿziya* theatre was Takiya Dawlat, the Royal Theatre in Tehran, built in the 1870s by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, of whose splendour many Western visitors speak; but the building's structure was fundamentally weak, and the entire edifice had to be torn down in 1946.

Although the *takiya* became a major feature in Persian towns in the second half of the 19th century, a distinct *takiya* architecture did not evolve. There are, however, characteristics common to almost all *takiya* that preserve and enhance the dramatic interplay between actors and spectators. This is theatre-in-the-round. The main performing space is a stark, curtainless, raised platform in the centre of the building or courtyard. The shape of this central stage may vary from round to rectangular. The stage is surrounded by a broad circular strip which is covered by sand. This latter space is used for battles on foot and on horseback, as well as for sub-plots and action representing journeys, the passage of time, and changes of scene, the latter being indicated when performers jump from the stage and circle it. The actor may announce to the spectators that he is going to a certain place; when he climbs back on to the stage, it means that he has arrived there.

The action extends from the stage, through the sand-covered circle and into the audience. In unwalled *takiya*s, skirmishes often take place behind the audience. This centrifugal movement of the action, from the stage in the centre out to the *takiya*'s periphery and back, envelops the spectators and draws them into the play's action. The audience itself often becomes an actor outright.

Stage décor in the *taʿziya* is minimal, as the setting is meant to evoke the desolate, bleak desert of Karbalāʾ. The few props are symbolic as well: for example, a basin of water represents the Euphrates River; the branch of a tree stands for a grove of palms.

In the Takiya Dawlat during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the costumes were rich and splendid, though no attention was given to their historicity. To this day, the costumes are designed above all to help the audience identify and recognise the characters and their nature. The heroes dress predominantly in green; the villains wear red. Green symbolises Paradise and the family of the Prophet and thus Islam; red symbolises bloodshed, cruelty and oppression. The male actors who play women are dressed in baggy black garments covering them from head to toe, and their faces are veiled; thus even bearded men can play female roles as long as their voices do not give them away. When a protagonist drapes a white sheet of cloth over his shoulders which represents a burial shroud, it indicates that he is prepared to give up his life and will shortly be killed.

In addition to the colours of the costumes, there is another clear division between the protagonists and antagonists in the *taʿziya*. The protagonists sing their parts in the classical Persian modes (*dastgāh*); the antagonists speak theirs. All parts, heroic or villainous, are in rhymed verse.

The singers are accompanied by drums, trumpets, *nay* (reed flutes), large brass cymbals, and the *karnā*, a six- to eight-foot long piece of hollow bamboo with a cow's horn at the end. The instrumental music also serves to introduce battle scenes, as background music to scenes without dialogue such as travel scenes, and is played during pauses in the action.

In the past, actors were chosen in accordance with their physical suitability for a role, but those playing protagonists also had to have good singing voices. Both amateur and professional actors used to read their lines from folded scripts small enough to hold in the palms of their hands, although professional actors knew their lines by heart. Holding a script in one's hand also indicated that the actor was only a role-carrier, in other words, that he was not the character he portrayed. Nowadays, the members of professional troupes know most of their lines by heart, or if not, they pretend to and avoid referring to their scripts in a conspicuous manner. Frequently the antagonists are made to appear ridiculous and grotesque by their role-carriers, who deliberately "out-herod Herod", exaggerating their gestures and shrieking their lines at the top of their lungs.

The traditional attempt to distance the actors from the characters they portray is often swept aside in recent productions of *taʿziya*. Under the influence of films and television, the actors identify with the personages they represent to such a degree that they are carried away by their roles, as may also be their audience, with potentially explosive consequences.

The *taʿziya* director is at the same time the producer, music director, stage manager, public relations coordinator, and prompter. He is responsible not only for the music and *mise-en-scène* but for all props, arrangements with the local authorities, and financial returns.

The core of the *taʿziya* repertory is the plays devoted to the Karbalāʾ tragedy and the events surrounding it. The passage of al-Ḥusayn from Medina via Mecca to his martyrdom and those of his sons and followers is represented in some ten plays in as many days. In these plays, a hero singlehandedly fights the entire enemy army, allowing the rest of the protagonists, grouped on the central stage, to reflect on their state and to engage in discourse of a philosophical and religious nature. There is only one fixed day and play in the Muḥarram repertory: the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn on ʿĀshūrāʾ. The other plays may be performed in varying order. Usually the sequence starts on the first day of the month of Muḥarram with a play devoted to the death of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*], al-Ḥusayn's emissary to Kūfa. This is followed in daily sequence by the martyrdom of two of Muslim's children, and then by plays about the martyrdom of various members of al-Ḥusayn's family and his companions. On the sixth of Muḥarram, *The martyrdom of Commander Ḥurr* is usually performed (al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd [*q.v.*] left the forces of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I and went over to al-Ḥusayn). On the seventh, *The martyrdom of Ḳāsim the Bridegroom* is reenacted; on the eighth, *The martyrdom of ʿAlī Akbar* (the eldest and favourite son of al-Ḥusayn); and on the ninth, *The martyrdom of ʿAbbās* (one of al-Ḥusayn's half-brothers; ʿAbbās was his standard-bearer). The basic repertory of the *taʿziya* does not necessarily end with al-Ḥusayn's death. The performances may continue after ʿĀshūrāʾ to include the tragic lot of al-Ḥusayn's womenfolk, who were taken as captives to Damascus.

The Shīʿī cult of martyrology caused new plays about other Shīʿī martyrs before and after Karbalāʾ to be added to the *taʿziya* stock. Since the mid-19th century, plays based on the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and even current events have been written and performed. However, such plays retain their ties to the Karbalāʾ tragedy through the employment of the *gurīz*, or "digression", a direct verbal and pictorial reference to the events of Karbalāʾ shown through the staging of a short episode from al-Ḥusayn's passion in the form of a tableau, a panoramic vista or a brief scene. This expansion of the repertory was followed by the

expansion of the performing time from the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar to the entire year.

The *taʿziya* troupes of today are often family businesses, although they depend only partially on the income from performances. Nowadays, professional troupes usually stay in one place for ten days to two weeks, giving a different play every day. Sometimes there are two performances a day, one in the evening. A play can last from two to five hours.

In the 1930s, Riḍā S̲h̲āh's government, considering the *taʿziya* a backward ritual, imposed restrictions on its performance in urban areas, and the *taʿziya* retreated to the countryside. Āyatullāh K̲h̲umaynī (Khomeini), however, used the *taʿziya* and other popular S̲h̲īʿī rituals and beliefs as a means of mass mobilisation for the Islamic Revolution. During Iran's eight-year-long war with ʿIrāḳ, the heroism depicted in the *taʿziya* was enlisted to increase the fighting spirit of the Iranian combatants and to bring solace to those who had lost their loved ones.

In Muḥarram processions in the Indian subcontinent, *taʿziya* signifies the bier on which al-Ḥusayn's headless body was carried from the battlefield to its final resting place; it also stands for his tomb. The sizes and shapes of these portable *taʿziyas* vary greatly, from small, coffin-like structures to immense floats which are either carried by a crowd of men on their shoulders or moved along on wheels. *Taʿziyas* of whatever size are made of papier-mâché, coloured paper and bamboo. Usually it resembles neither the cenotaph nor the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn it purports to be. Even in this age of photography, film and international travel, when artists and artisans have the opportunity to become acquainted with al-Ḥusayn's actual tomb, the original is seldom depicted, as the builders of the *taʿziya* believe the artistic creation itself is a form of piety and of homage of al-Ḥusayn. The *taʿziya* more often resembles the architecture of a standard Indian mosque than it does al-Ḥusayn's mausoleum. Large and small *taʿziyas* in their thousands are carried in the Muḥarram processions. Those who take part in the processions like to touch the *taʿziyas*, as they are alleged to possess healing powers. Quite frequently, after the procession is over, the *taʿziyas* are buried or submerged in water, the latter doubtless a Hindu influence on this Muslim ritual.

In the mid-19th century, the *taʿziya* was brought to the Caribbean basin by East Indian indentured labourers. On the island of Trinidad, *taʿziyas*—called *tad̲j̲a*, due to phonetic transformation—are still being built, paraded, and immersed in water during the month of Muḥarram.

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TAZWĪR (a.), verbal noun of the form II verb *zawwara*, stemming from *zūr*, defined in the lexica as *kad̲h̲ib*, *bāṭil*, i.e. falsehood, falsification, embellishment of the truth (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXII, 31/30, XXV, 5/4, 72, and LVIII, 2). *Tazwīr* can therefore be used for the falsification or forgery of a document or piece of writing.

All three categories of manuscripts, that is, official documents, codices and single leaves (usually calligraphs or miniatures), have been objects of falsification. That forgery was known in the early years of Islam may be attested by the fact that, according to Arabic sources, Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd substituted the use of paper for parchment in the chancery as it was more difficult to erase a text written on paper or to scratch it out without this being noticed. Also, before paper was introduced into the government offices some caliphs preferred papyrus to parchment for their correspondence for the same reason. In order to prevent the counterfeiting of documents certain measures were developed. One such measure used in the drafting of contracts was to write out the original figure in question in the form of two equal parts instead of the full amount. Also, any erasures (*kas̲h̲ṭ*) and cancellations (*ḍarb*) had to be marked as such and the number of lines, as well as the number of sheets (*waṣl*) forming the document had to be accounted for (see e.g. *D̲j̲awāhir al-ʿuḳūd* of Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, Cairo 1955, i, 12-13).

Forgeries relating to authorship in the Middle Ages and earlier may not have been common, most probably because of the extensive use of certificates of audition (*samāʿ* [see samāʿ. 2.]) and the widespread knowledge of the author's works, the chains of their transmitters and the memorisation of their contents by many; however, there are many pseudo-works (not always intentional), and, especially in the occult sciences, many misattributions of works, e.g. to al-G̲h̲azālī or Ibn al-ʿArabī.

Forgeries involving the arts of the book, such as calligraphy, were certainly widespread. The favourite targets were master calligraphers. D.S. Rice, for example, discovered five faked colophons with attributions to Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] and it is well known that Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī's [*q.v.*] calligraphy was in such great demand that this led to the production of many facsimiles (not always acknowledged as such) and/or forgeries. The problem here is nevertheless somewhat complicated due to the prevalent and well-known phenomenon of imitation (*taḳlīd*). Thus it is not always possible to state whether the forgery was intended or not and whether it was intended for financial profit, since imitation constituted a fundamental element of the calligrapher's training and a form of admiration for the master. Islamic literature has recorded a number of cases of imitation involving such famous cal-

ligraphers as Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*], Ibn al-Bawwāb, Yāḳūt and Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. It is said, for example, that Ibn al-Bawwāb copied one of the thirty volumes of the Ḳur'ān previously executed by Ibn Muḳla. The volume in question was missing from the royal library, and the Būyid Bahā' al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] ordered that it be completed. The result was such that when the newly-executed volume was presented to him, he could not distinguish it from the others and the set was retained as being in the hand of Ibn Muḳla. Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī is said to have imitated the work of Ibn al-Bawwāb, whilst Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh imitated that of Yāḳūt.

Forgery for financial profit thrived among book collectors. Pieces of calligraphy signed by famous masters would fetch quite a lot of money and were often forged. Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī in his *Irshād al-arīb* relates a number of stories involving counterfeits. That these were not isolated cases is evident from the fact that the famous treatise *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb* (see *RIMA*, xvii, [1971]) of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs [*q.v.*] has a section on how to make paper look old (*taʿtīḳ*). A number of cases of some very notorious forgers have come down to us. One of them was Muḥammad al-Aḥdab (d. 371/981), who came to be known as al-Muzawwir (i.e. "the forger"). He is reported to have been able to forge the hand of any calligrapher. The existence of quite a number of forgeries in this field can be confirmed when investigating extant illuminated codices in various collections around the world. As an example, a collection of 18 Ḳur'ānic codices and 13 fragments preserved at McGill University Library contains two evident cases of forgery: one involving a Mamlūk Ḳur'ān attributed to Ibn Muḳla (*ḥarrarahu Ibn Muḳla al-Wazīr al-Aʿẓam*) and the other, a single parchment leaf supposedly from the famous *Muṣḥaf al-Ḥāḍina* ascribed to ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Warrāḳ, 410/1020.

Because of the great appeal and value of single images, one-page paintings and illuminated folios were particularly subject to forgery. The famous 10th/16th century painting of the "Seated scribe" by Bihzād [*q.v.*] and many 11th/17th century drawings of Riḍā ʿAbbāsī [*q.v.*] were often faked. Closer to our times, a number of cases of outright forgeries involving the alteration of images have come to light. The production of these fakes was done purely for commercial reasons and was aimed at collectors, who often failed to pay attention to the compatibility of text and image. The alterations involved, for example, the shaving of damaged images and pasting them on to folios from other manuscripts, adding an extra folio to create a bifolio, and separating illustrations from the verso and recto.

One should also mention here a number of early codices of the Ḳur'ān ascribed to the caliphs ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, as well as to some Imāms and Companions of the Prophet. The codices ascribed to ʿUthmān and ʿAlī are most certainly not authentic and belong to a much later period. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid put forward a suggestion that the reason for their ascription to the two caliphs was political and/or religious. F. Déroche believes that the misattributions were possible "because the scripts used in these Qur'ans looked so ancient to the Muslims of later periods that they believed they could only have been made in the 1st century." He and many other scholars are also of the opinion that a high proportion of the few surviving examples of colophons from the first centuries of Islam are nothing more than fakes.

Finally, one should note the existence of modern forgeries for the Western market, one notorious example being that of a forged manuscript of Kay Kāwūs's [*q.v.*] *Ḳābūs-nāma*.

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(A. Gacek)

TAZYĪF (A.), forgery of coins. There are many words associated with counterfeit coins: *tazyīf*, forgery, from *zāfa*, to be adulterated, forged, hence *zā'if* and *zayf*, pl. *zuyūf*, false coin, and *muzayyif*, forger; *zaghala*, to adulterate, counterfeit, hence *zaghal*, counterfeit coin; *ḳalaba*, to change, transform, hence Arabic *ḳallāb*, a counterfeiter, Arabic, Persian and Turkish *ḳalb*, false, base, impure, *ḳalpazan*, counterfeiter, from the Persian *ḳalb-zan*; *ḳallada*, to falsify, hence *taḳlīd*, counterfeit, and *muḳallad*, counterfeited. The term *bahradj*, counterfeit money, appears also in Arabic. Pejorative terms for coins include *bāṭil*, false, unsound, currency cancelled or withdrawn from circulation, *radhī*, bad, corrupt; *sattūḳ*, *suttūḳ*, base coins coated with gold or silver, *maghshūsh*, adulterated, alloyed, base coin, *ḳarḍ*, clipping coins with scissors. Laudatory terms are *ibrīz*, purified gold, *djayyid*, good, excellent, *khāliṣ*, *khāṣṣ*, *ṣafī*, *ṣurāḥ*, pure unmixed (metal), and *ṣaḥḥ*, the paraph or official mark on an ʿOthmānli gold coin testifying to its authenticity.

The chief motivation behind forgery, both ancient and modern, is to realise the material benefits derived from cheating people for gain, although forgery may also be used as an economic and political weapon in war, either to destabilise an enemy currency or to supplement the existing monetary stock to pay an army advancing through enemy territory. The falsification of precious metal currency used to be the main area of forgers' activities, but now that coins have no more than nominal values, the forger has turned to paper currency, other financial instruments and objects, and even brand-name items as a way to achieve riches. For the purpose of this article, however, the forgers' arts will be examined as they were traditionally practised in the Islamic world.

Despite repeated injunctions in the Ḳur'ān to deal fairly in commerce by giving full weight in exchange for both money and goods, several commonly used ways of exploiting public trust by falsifying the coinage and public weight standards are mentioned in Arabic, Persian and Turkish records. One was to roll or hammer out blanks from base metal, usually copper, which was both common and close in weight to silver, then plate it within thin sheets of gold or silver, strike it

into coin with official dies, mix the false pieces with the good and place the result in circulation. When well made by mint operatives, such pieces were hard to detect, because their outer skins were of virtually pure metal. Over time, however, the high points on the lettering and the edge wore away, leaving dark areas that revealed their core material. The skill needed for this method of counterfeiting required the complicity of the mint administration, if not the government authorities themselves, but a simpler process could be practised by a wider group, although it yielded poorer results at much higher risks of detection. This involved making a mould of a genuine coin and using it to cast counterfeits which could be rubbed in quicksilver to give a silvery appearance to dirhams [*q.v.*] or gold dust for dīnārs [*q.v.*]. Because the manufacturing process demanded little skill and no access to genuine dies, it was ideal for freelance counterfeiters who could quickly move from place to place with a minimum amount of equipment to escape detection and capture. It is said that the first type of counterfeit was often accepted in commerce but refused by the treasury. Today such pieces are regularly found in hoards of gold and silver coins, where they went undetected until surface corrosion revealed the corruption within. The second type was accepted only by the gullible.

The well-deserved distrust of coins by merchants and exchange dealers led to the frequent disfigurement of the thick fabric of Mug͟hal muhurs and rupees by "test marks" (small drillings into the surface or edges of the flan). The common practice of clipping the edges of thinner coins may also have been a way of detecting counterfeits while illegally acquiring a stock of precious metal. The widespread persistence of clipping may have been the main reason why the ʿAbbāsids abandoned a strict, fixed weight standard for their coinage early in the 3rd/9th century. The careful manufacture and regular weight of the dīnār and dirham under the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids had permitted payments by tail (numbers of actual coin), but clipping made this difficult to enforce, thus payment by weight (mass of metal) became the rule in Egypt, Syria and Iran for many centuries.

Another common way of cheating the public was to adulterate or debase the alloy of the coinage. In theory, Islamic dīnārs and dirhams were made from virtually pure gold and silver, but in practice the mint and government could, and frequently did, find it easy and profitable to adulterate the metal and pass off the results as coins of good alloy. These did not fool the experts, moneychangers and receivers for the treasury, but they often went undetected by the public. Similarly, oppressive régimes could force bad money on the people they ruled, which, once beyond their sway, was discounted to reach its real worth in precious metal. Moneychangers would maintain elaborate charts of cross-rates between the coinages of different governments which they altered in line with intelligence received on current minting practises.

Yet another way of counterfeiting was to strike more coins from a given weight of metal than the regulations allowed, and pocket the difference. This was the usual method of forgery under the Ottomans, where the government established the total number of *aḳčes* [*q.v.*] to be struck from a 100-dirham weight of silver. With a multiplicity of mints under loose governmental control, it was relatively easy to adulterate the silver and thus illegally and unobtrusively to expand the money supply.

There are two modern approaches to the forgery of Islamic coins. First, imitations of trade coins are produced to satisfy the demands of a mass market for gold in the Middle East. For instance, copies of popular gold bullion coins of the 19th and 20th centuries can bring the manufacturers profit from the small premium of coined over uncoined gold. The widespread faking of gold coins of the Ottoman ruler Meḥemmed V Res͟hād (r. 1327-36/1909-18 [*q.v.*]) during the 1950s and 60s was due to the exaggerated premium, often 50% or more, over the price for similar pieces of other sultans, willingly paid by country people in Turkey. This demand was met by jewellers in Syria and Lebanon as a sideline of their usual business. There was no faking of Islamic coins to satisfy the collector market until the mid-1980s, when the high prices paid for certain coins, especially Umayyad dinars of the year 77 A.H. and those bearing the mint name *Maʿdān Amīr al-Muʾminīn bi ʾl-Ḥid͟jāz* attracted the attention of well-known counterfeiters of classical Greek and Roman coins. The usual technique is to make moulds and casts using dentistry equipment. Another way is to select coins with common mint names such as *Miṣr* and *Wāsiṭ*, then to tool the letter forms to resemble rare or more popular mints like *Makka* and *Filasṭīn*. The commonest trick is to alter the unit *tisʿa* into *sabʿa* to transform a common Umayyad dīnār of the year 79 into the rare date 77. Unfortunately the growing interest in Islamic coins is certain to increase the number of counterfeits produced to meet this demand.

Bibliography: H. Sauvaire, Section 13, articles 1, 8, 26, 38, 53, 60, 63, 76, 99, 102, 110, 117, 125, 161, 171, in *La numismatique et la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1882. On the economic and religious problems of counterfeit money and debased currency, see Asadī, *al-Taysīr wa ʾl-iʿtibār wa ʾl-taḥrīr wa ʾl-ik͟htibār*, ed. ʿA.A. Ṭulaymāt, [Cairo] 1968, 115 ff.

(R.E. Darley-Doran)

TEBESSA, written by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut, ii, 13, as Tabissa, the Theveste of classical times, a town of eastern Algeria, situated 235 km/146 miles south of ʿAnnāba or Bône and 19 km/13 miles west of the modern Tunisian frontier (lat. 35° 21' N., long. 8° 06' E., altitude 850 m/2,790 feet).

The site of the town, on an elevated plain, has been inhabited since prehistoric times, as the dolmens at Gastel, petrographs on the rocks of Saf-Saf, *inter alia*, show, and legend attributed the foundation of the town to Hercules. It was a dependency of Carthage from the 7th century B.C. and passed under Roman domination after the Third Punic War (149-146 B.C.); Vespasian's stationing there the *Legio III Augusta* gave Theveste, now a *municipium*, a great boost, thanks also to the rich surrounding plain, and under Hadrian (117-38) it had 50,000 inhabitants. Septimius Severus erected it into a *colonia* and gave its people Roman citizenship. It furnished Rome with much of the *annona*, and received magnificent buildings, attested by the surviving ruins: an amphitheatre for 7,000 people, the Temple of Minerva, the Arch of Caracalla, and other buildings.

Christianity appeared there from the opening of the 3rd century, and the town produced such martyrs as St. Crispin (A.D. 305). There was also a Manichaean presence, and a Donatist council was held there, although Donatism did not take deep root. With Christianity made the official cult under Theodosius I (379-95), there was erected just north of Theveste the basilica of St. Crispin, the finest of Christian North Africa. But decline began with the Vandal occupation, and, during the Byzantine re-occupation, the town was

reduced to the citadel, a rectangle of 320 m by 280 m surrounded by a strong rampart with three gates.

It is not known exactly when Theveste passed under Arab domination, but this must have been by 84/703 when the Maghrib was definitively conquered. It now became part of the domains of successive dynasties, from the Aghlabids to the Ḥafṣids. Having lost its strategic importance, its history in mediaeval times was relatively untroubled until the Hilālian invasion (443/1052 [see HILĀL, BANŪ]), in which it suffered severely. Its name appears nowhere in Ibn ʿIdhārī's *Bayān*. It passed under Shīʿī Fāṭimid control without a struggle, and after 294/907 was used as a base for completing the conquest of Ifrīḳiyā from the Aghlabids; under the Fāṭimids it became the chef-lieu of a *kūra*. The Nukkārī Abū Yazīd, the "Man on the Donkey", seized it in 332/944 and demolished part of the wall. In 390-1 the Zīrid Bādīs had to intervene to save Tebessa from the attacks of rebels. In the time of the Ḥafṣid Abū Bakr (718-46/1318-46), the town enjoyed a semi-independence under a local *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūn, until 739/1339. In 1573 there was a Turkish garrison there, stationed in the locality of the present church. Intermarriage with local women produced the element of the *kulughlīs* [see KUL-OGHLU], which became dominant and spread the Ḥanafī *madhhab* at the expense of the traditional Mālikism. After Constantine fell into French hands in 1837, the Turkish garrison withdrew to Tunisia, and to fill the political void and protect the town from nomad attacks, some of the local notables appealed to the French.

Hence French occupation began in 1842 but was not definitive till 1851. In 1865 the troops of the Tunisian rebel Ibn Ghidhāhum [*q.v.* in Suppl.] were crushed on the heights of Tebessa. In the general revolt of 1871, Muḥyī al-Dīn, son of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, tried unsuccessfully to seize the town on 25 May, and was afterwards disavowed by his father. In 1881 it functioned as an important military base for the submission of southern Tunisia. In 1957 the "Ligne Morice", an electrified fence meant to cut off Algerian *mudjāhidūn* from their bases in Tunisia, stretched 200 km/125 miles from Bône to Tebessa. Since Algerian independence, Tebessa has been the chef-lieu of a *wilāya* or province and it now has a population of 67,000.

The decline of Tebessa's prosperity since classical times may have resulted from desertification and also from changes in the axes of trade; during the Arab period, there was no more prosperity from olive trees. It was not a major stage on trade routes, and is first mentioned, very briefly, by al-Muḳaddasī amongst the geographers (partial tr. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident musulman au IVe-Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950, 18/19). But on the evidence of al-Bakrī, who mentions its fruit and walnut trees and its role as a centre for the caravan trade (*Masālik*, Tunis 1992, § 1389), it enjoyed a revival of prosperity until the Hilālian invasions. The threshing of corn was done, as elsewhere, by animal power motivating sharp stones and iron blades, the *djarūsha*, the ancient *tribulum* (Brunschwig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 208), a technique not entirely disappeared today. But decline accelerated in the 6th/12th century, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, noted the extensive ruins and the Arab *ṣaʿālīk* there, i.e. the Banū Hilāl; the only manufacture was carpet weaving, carpets for use in tents, which has lasted until the present time. At the end of the 19th century, Pierre Castel noted the manufacture at Tebessa of carpets with a short pile and quite handsomely produced (*Tébessa, histoire et description d'un territoire algérien*, Paris 1905, i, 132). For Leo Africanus, the ruins of Tebessa recalled the Coliseum at Rome, but he found the inhabitants gross and rebellious and the land there infertile (*Waṣf Ifrīḳiyā*, Beirut 1983, ii, 63-5).

In the colonial period, Tebessa benefited from peace and security, and Castel noted the speedy increase of population, which included a Jewish element (*ibid.*, ii, 166). In the present century, Tebessa has been linked by narrow-gauge railways with Oued Kébérit and the standard-gauge line to Bône, and with Constantine via Ouled Rahmoun and continuing into Tunisia; it has also become an important road junction. The phosphate and iron mines of the region are especially valuable, the latter producing 60% of Algeria's iron ore (J. Despois, *L'Afrique blanche*, i, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958, 431).

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TEGÜDER, AḤMAD, third Īl-khān in Persia [see ĪL-KHĀNS], seventh son of Hülegü [see HÜLĀGŪ] and the eldest surviving at the time of his accession, ruled 680-3/1282-4.

He was the first Īl-khān to be converted to Islam, at which time he received the additional name Aḥmad. It was no doubt as a result of his conversion that he attempted to put an end to the long-standing hostilities between the Īl-Khānate and the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria; but his embassies were received without enthusiasm by the Mamlūk sultan Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. He had been the majority preference for the succession over Arghun, the son of his brother and predecessor Abaḳa, but relations between Tegüder and Arghun deteriorated throughout the reign. In mid-1284 Tegüder managed to take Arghun into custody, but neglected to have him executed. Within a matter of a few weeks the tables were turned: the *amīr* Buḳa, a former supporter of Tegüder, changed sides and released Arghun. Tegüder was captured and executed in Djumādā I 683/August 1284. It seems unlikely that it was Tegüder's espousal of Islam which cost him the support of the Mongol *amīrs*: his fall is more plausibly attributable to lack of vigour and competence and an unwise disposition towards clemency.

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(D.O. Morgan)

TEKĀLĪF (t.), the Ottoman Turkish form of the pl. of the Arabic verbal noun *taklīf* "the act of imposing something [on someone]", in this case, taxation. In Ottoman Turkish usage, *tekālīf* was used in the general sense of taxes, more or less synonymously with other terms like *resm* [*q.v.*]. Writings on fiscal topics distinguished *tekālīf-i sherʿiyye*, canonical taxes in accordance with the *Sharīʿa* (e.g. the *zakāt*, *ʿushr*, *kharādj* and *djizya*) from *tekālīf-i fewḳalʿāde* "extraordinary ones", which could include *ʿörfī* ones, those imposed by the sultan and his servants according to custom, also called *ʿawāriḍ* "accidentally arising taxes" [*q.v.*], and *tekālīf-i shāḳḳe* "oppressive, onerous" ones.

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TEKE-ELI "the country of the Teke", a region in southern Anatolia around the Gulf of Antalya. Roughly corresponding to the classical areas of Lycia and Pamphylia, which constituted the western and eastern parts of Teke-Eli respectively, it took its name from the Teke *beys* who, as leaders of the Teke-oghullarî [*q.v.*] Türkmen, established a principality there in the 8th/14th century. Except for the alluvial plains at the mouths of, and along, several rivers, especially those to the east of Antalya [*q.v.*], Teke-Eli was a rugged, mountainous country traversed by north-south branches of the Taurus range. In the Lycian part of the country, the Bey Dağları mountains rise to 3,070 m. In the 8th and 9th/14th and 15th centuries, the most important city in this region was the port of Antalya. Others of note were Finike, Elmalı [*q.v.*], İstanoz (Korkuteli), and Ḳarā Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] (Perge).

This region, the coast of which was densely settled in Byzantine times, suffered severely from Türkmen raids in the first half of the 7th/13th century. These raids, which had begun in the previous century, seem to have intensified after Kay Khusraw I, the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, conquered Antalya in 603/1207 and made it the home port for his Mediterranean fleet. The Türkmen presence in Lycia and Pamphylia also increased significantly after the Mongols invaded central Anatolia and defeated the Sultanate of Rūm in 641/1243. At the end of the 7th/13th century, the Türkmen family of the Ḥamīd-oghullarî [*q.v.*] established a principality in Pisidia immediately to the north of Pamphylia and quickly took control of Antalya and the coastal plain. By 721/1321, Antalya was in the hands of a branch of this family, the Teke-oghullarî, who proceeded to acquire the rest of Pamphylia as well as Lycia, thus founding their own principality. This state, the capital of which was either Elmalı or Antalya, survived more or less for about a hundred years. During this time, Teke-Eli was rather thoroughly Turkified. By the early 9th/15th century, the metropolitan seats of Antalya, Perge, and Side had disappeared. Nevertheless, the former city retained Greek and Jewish quarters, and pockets of Byzantine-Greek speaking populations survived in remote parts of Lycia as late as the 19th century. Turkification appears to have contributed to the nomadisation of the region and a decline in agriculture. The upper mountains and valleys provided excellent pasture for sheep. In particular, Teke-Eli became well known for camel raising.

The Türkmen groups who settled in Teke-Eli were closely bound to their old traditions and customs. Heterodox beliefs, expressed above all in various forms of Ṣūfism, were rife among them, as were varieties of ʿAlawī beliefs. The Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*] took root in this region shortly after the death of the patron of the order, Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh in 660/1270. The shrine of Abdāl Mūsā (*fl.* 8th/14th cent.), considered by some to be the second master of the Bektāshiyya, was located in Elmalı. Ḳalandarīs [*q.v.*] were also common and, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was in Antalya in 732/1332, testifies, the *akhīs* [*q.v.*] were well organised there. The Teke *beys* patronised these groups and endowed many of their lodges (*tekkes*, *zāwiyas*), which were found in all the major towns.

In 762/1361, the Lusignans of Cyprus captured Antalya. It remained in their hands until 774/1373. In 792/1390, Bāyezīd I took the city. He lost it briefly to the Ḳaramān-oghullarî [*q.v.*], but retook it and its coastal plain in 800/1397. After Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd at Ankara in 804/1402, his son Shāh Rukh plundered Teke-Eli and restored the Teke-oghullarî to some degree. In 826/1423, however, during the reign of Murād II, all of Teke-Eli fell permanently under Ottoman rule, becoming a *sandjaḳ* of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans reaffirmed all the privileges (*berāt*, *nishān*, etc.) that the Ḥamīd-oghullarî and Teke-oghullarî had granted the local notables. Thus the *sipāhīs* and others retained their positions.

Nevertheless, there was later much religious ferment in this region directed against the Ottoman state. The Türkmen there were attracted to various Shīʿī or ʿAlawī movements. In 1500, some of them visited Ardabīl as *murīds* of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Indeed, many Teke Türkmen joined Shāh Ismāʿīl and went on to play an important role in the founding of the Ṣafawid state. In 1511-12, in Teke-Eli itself, Shāh Ḳulu Bābā Tekeli led an uprising of these Türkmen. Before their revolt was crushed, there was much destruction and loss of life. According to the Ottoman cadastral surveys, the cities of Teke-Eli suffered a significant drop in population because of this uprising and Bāyezīd's subsequent deportation of many of its supporters.

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TEKE-OGHULLARÎ, a Türkmen dynasty that ruled a principality located around the Gulf of Antalya from *ca.* 708/1308 to 826/1423.

The origin and date of appearance of the Teke-oghullarî are obscure. According to Yazîdjî-oghlu ʿAlī, they were descended from the Igdir Türkmen who were one of the tribes constituting the *üč oḳ* branch of the Oghuz (*Taʾrīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, written 827/1423-4 or 840/1436-7 and based on Ibn Bībī's *al-Awāmir al-*

ʿAlāʾiyya, Turkish text ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 88, 322). When Kay Khusraw I, the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm, conquered Antalya in 603/1207, he settled the Igdir in that region and gave it to them as winter quarters. Yazîdjî-oghlu adds that the *ketkhudā* (chief) of the Igdir had a son named Teke, who appears to have lived in the last quarter of the 8th/14th century.

After the Saldjūḳ Sultanate of Rūm was defeated in 641/1243 by the Mongols and transformed into a shadow state, it gradually dissolved into a number of Türkmen principalities, or *beyliks*, that were subject to the Mongol governors of Anatolia. Near the end of the 7th/13th century, one of these principalities was founded by the Ḥamīd-oghullarî [*q.v.*] in the classical region of Pisidia. At the beginning of the following century, they also controlled Antalya to the south. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ states that Falak al-Dīn Dündar Bey of the Ḥamīd-oghullarî captured Antalya and gave it to his brother Yūnus (*Taḳwīm al-buldān*, Dresden 1846, 210). This probably occurred no earlier than 708/1308, when the Saldjūḳ Sultanate of Rūm disappeared. Up to then, the coast of Antalya appears to have belonged to the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. The descendants of Yūnus conquered all the territory around Antalya, the classical regions of Lycia to the west and Pamphylia to the east, and thus established their own principality.

Yūnus' son Maḥmūd succeeded him in Antalya, and another son Sinān al-Dīn Djālis (or Djālish) Khiḍr (Sinān al-Dīn Djālis and Khiḍr may have been two different brothers) ruled in Istanoz (Korkuteli), while his slave Zakariyyāʾ held Ḳarā Ḥiṣār (Perge) and several other towns (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarīs Bericht über Anatolien nach den Masālik al-abṣār*, Leipzig 1929, i, 48). Maḥmūd was a close associate of the Mongol governor Demirtash. When the latter revolted against the Il-Khānid ruler Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khān in 727/1327, Maḥmūd was forced to flee with him to the Mamlūk court in Cairo, where he was imprisoned. Khiḍr then took control of Antalya. According to al-ʿUmarī, he had 12 cities and 25 fortresses. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Khiḍr in Antalya in 732/1332 (tr. Gibb, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Cambridge, 1958-71, ii, 421). Al-Ḳalḳashandī reports that Khiḍr was succeeded by his son Dadī. Maḥmūd's son Mübāriz al-Dīn Meḥmed subsequently replaced him (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, viii, 17).

Meḥmed was the most dynamic member of the dynasty. He was undoubtedly the Teke mentioned by Yazîdjî-oghlu. He appears to have used the title Teke Bey, which was then applied to both his dynasty and the territory that they ruled, Teke-Eli [*q.v.*] (*ibid.*, v, 346, viii, 17). Indeed, the chronicles of the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus, against which Meḥmed spent much of his life fighting, often refer to him as the *amīr* of Taka/Takka. In 762/1361, Peter I took Antalya by storm. Meḥmed failed to retake the city. Although he later raided Cyprus, he eventually paid homage to Peter. After Peter was murdered in 770/1369, Meḥmed attacked Antalya again, probably in 771/1370, but failed once more. Finally, as a result of their difficulties with the Genoese, the Lusignans negotiated the return of Antalya to Meḥmed in 774/1373. The latter, who had the title *sulṭān al-sawāḥil*, died at some time after 779/1377. In that year, he built a *türbe* in Antalya for his son ʿAlī. This is the only significant surviving Teke structure, which is in the traditional style of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm.

Meḥmed was succeeded by his son ʿOthmān Čelebi who resided in Istanoz, leaving Antalya to his own son Muṣṭafā. During this time, the principality lost its former importance. In 792/1390, it was conquered by Bāyezīd I, and Muṣṭafā fled to Egypt. When the Ottoman governor of the region, Fīrūz Bey, was transferred to Menteshe-Eli [*q.v.*], the region fell under the influence of the Ḳaramān-oghullarî [*q.v.*]. In 800/1397, Bāyezīd returned to defeat the Ḳaramān-oghullarî and re-incorporated the region in his empire. In 804/1402, after Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd at Ankara, he sent his son Shāh Rukh on an expedition to Teke-Eli. He restored much of the principality, minus Antalya, Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, and other cities, to ʿOthmān who remained in Istanoz. ʿOthmān subsequently formed an alliance with the Ḳaramān-oghullarî in an attempt to take Antalya, but he was killed by the Ottoman *subashî* (constable) of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār in 826/1423. This ended the dynasty and marked the final absorption of its remaining territory into the Ottoman Empire. Although the Teke-oghullarî founded a *de facto* independent state, no coinage struck by them has been positively identified.

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the text): Sir George Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1948, ii, 320-3, 351, 376-7, 388; Barbara Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, esp. 93-126; *İA*, art. *Teke-oghullarî* (M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ) (these latter two authors differ on a number of points).

(G. Leiser)

TEKFUR, Tekvur, a title used in late Rūm Saldjūḳ and early Ottoman times. It is most probably of Armenian origin (< *taghavor* "crown bearer", MP *tāg-āwāra* (see Hubschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*. i. *Armen. Etymologie*, Leipzig 1897, s.v.; I. Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destān d'Umūr Pacha*, Paris 1954, 47 n. 6, and index, 144b) or, less likely, from the Greek name Nikephoros > Nikfor > Tekfur (see Zenker, *Türk.-arab.-pers. Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866, s.v.; E. Zachariadou, *Hist. and legends of the early sultans 1300-1400* [in Gk.], Athens 1991, 215). It was employed by historians in Persian and Turkish mainly to denote Byzantine lords or governors of towns and fortresses in Anatolia (Bithynia, Pontus) and Thrace. It often denoted Byzantine frontier warfare leaders, commanders of *akritai*, but also Byzantine princes and emperors themselves (whence the 13th-century *tekvurs* of Trebizond, and the late 13th-century "Emperor's Palace", Tekfur Sarayî, in Constantinople (refs. in C. Mango, art. s.v. in *The Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, 2021-2; cf. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, Istanbul 1934, 39).

Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers in the 13th century to the first emperor of Trebizond, Alexius I Grand Comnenus (1204-22), as "Kir Aleks, *tekvur* of Djānit (= Pontus)" (see German tr. H.W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 64 ff.; Gk. tr. A. Savvides, in *Archeion Pontou*, xxxix [1984], 185 ff.), and to the ruler of Cilician (Little) Armenia as *tekvur* (Duda, 238-9, 336 n. 220). In the *Dede Korkud* epic, there is reference to the Grand Comnenus *tekfur* of Djānit in *ca.* 1352, i.e. Alexius III (1349-90), who subjected the Türkmen *amīr* of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], Turalî Khān, to the task of performing three miraculous feats to gain the hand of his daughter (ed. Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, Istanbul 1952, 117-18, ed. E. Rossi, Vatican City 1952, 180-1; Eng. tr. G.N. Lewis, Harmondsworth 1974, 119; cf. A.A. Bryer, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxix [1975], 134-5, and in *Byz. and Modern Greek Studies*, xi [1987], 197 ff.).

Several powerful Muslim equivalents of *tekfurs*, like Köse Mīkhāl [see mīkhāl-oghlu, and cf. H. İnalcık, in *SI*, ii [1954], 103-4; A. Failler, in *Rev. Etudes Byzantines*, lii [1994], 110), were at times allies or vassals of ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*], when the latter was bey of a semi-nomadic Türkmen band in conflict with the

tekfurs who controlled summer and winter pasture in northwestern Anatolia (see İnalcık, in *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, 267). In 710/1308 Meḥmed Bey of the Aydïn Oghlus accepted the surrender of the Byzantine *tekfur* of Keles or Kilas in the Aydïn amīrate's territory (Mélikoff-Sayar, *op. cit.*, 47 ll. 29-32). Between 761-2/1359-61, according to Yakhsï Faḳīh, in ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde, German tr. R. Kreutel, Graz 1959, 80, Gk. tr. in Zachariadou, *op. cit.*, 192-3 and n. 201, the *tekfurs* of Thracian Messene or Misini and Didymoteichon or Dimetoka [*q.v.*] surrendered their fortified towns to Orkhān (and not to Murād I; cf. İnalcık, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iii [1971], 196 n. 45, 197) (see P. Schreiner, *Byz. Kleinchroniken*, ii, Vienna 1977, 289-91; P. Soustal, *Thrakien, tabula imperii Byzantini*, 7, Vienna 1991, 242-3; T. Gregory, art. *Didymoteichon*, in *Oxford dict. of Byz.*, 620).

Finally, Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ's conquests after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 show him as a perceived reviver of the Byzantine empire under Muslim rule, in that Kemāl-pasha-zāde states (facs. ed., Ankara 1954, 186, 613) that he sought to leave "no-one amongst the Byzantine Greeks who could be named *tekfur*", thus eliminating in turn the Despotate of the Morea [see MORA; MEZISTRE in Suppl.] in 1460-1 and the Empire of Trebizond [see TRABZON] in 1461, and annexing the semi-autonomous Greek states of Thessaly [see TESALYA] between 1454-70 and of Epirus by 1479.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. SAVVIDES)

TEKIRDAGH, modern Turkish TEKİRDAĞ, the former RODOSTO, a town and port of Turkey, on the European coast of the Sea of Marmara (eastern Thrace), named after the schistous massif of the Tekir Dağ or Tekfur Dağı (924 m/3,030 feet) which skirts the coast to the southwest, and also the administrative centre of the province (*il*) of the same name.

The town stands on the site of the ancient Bisanthe (Βισάνθη), later Rhaidestos (Ῥαιδεστός). In *ca.* 759/1357 it fell to the Ottomans after they crossed the Straits (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 147). The old Ottoman chronicles give details of the ruse used by the general Evrenos Beg [*q.v.*] in order to gain control of the fortress (see on this, Johannes Leunclavius, *Hist. musul. turc.*, Frankfurt 1591, cols. 224, 43 ff.). Under the Ottoman empire, the town, then part of the *wilāyet* of Edirne and the seat of a Greek archbishop, did not play any significant role in politics, but it was the home for several notable figures in the intellectual history of Turkey, such as Nāmïḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], who was born there in 1840. A certain Aḥmed Luṭfī b. Ḥādjdjī Ḥasan in 1160/1747 compiled a list of the contemporary poets originally from Tekfūr Daghï (see Babinger, *GOW*, 284 n. 1, and on this topic, R. Hartmann, in *OLZ* [1929], n. 1, col. 43 n. 1).

Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier to Süleymān the Magnificent 951-60/1544-53, had the architect Sinān [*q.v.*] construct there a fine mosque (the present Rüstem Paşa Camii), a covered market (*bedesten*) and a hospice for the poor, where travellers passing through the town were fed and sheltered gratis (see von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 61). Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa [*q.v.*] describes the place Rodosdjïḳ, as he calls it, towards the middle of the 11th/17th century, as being a town strongly fortified, coming within the *sandjak* of Gallipoli, with fine streets, a capacious *ʿimāret* for the poor, baths and caravanserais. The house where the hero of Hungarian independence Francis II Rakoczi died on 8 April 1735 after 18 years of exile with several of his companions, including Count Anton Eszterhazy, has now been made into a museum (see the inscriptions in the Roman Catholic church at Rodosto published by von Hammer as an appendix in his *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa*, Pesth 1818, 198 ff.). Other travellers in the early 19th century like Lord Keppel (1829, see his *Narrative of a journey across the Balkan*, London 1831, i, 68, 126 ff.) described Rodosto as a miserable place, but the town, having developed as far as the surrounding intensively-cultivated market gardens and extensive vineyards, had grown to around 40,000 inhabitants, at least half of whom were Greeks, by the beginning of the 20th century.

The town and its *sandjak*, like the greater part of Thrace, were invaded by the Bulgarians at the time of the First Balkan War of 1912, but in the end restored to the Ottoman empire. It was attached to Greece, together with the whole of eastern Thrace, by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) and occupied by the Greek army until its recapture by the Turkish army in October-November 1922. The exchange of Greek and Turkish populations provided for by the Treaty of Lausanne (14 July 1923) brought the town's population—it was now the centre of a *wilāyet* and henceforth officially called Tekirdağ—down to 14,387 at the first census of Republican Turkey in 1927. Since then, the town has grown once more from its role as the commercial and administrative centre of the province and as an industrial centre processing the products of a rich, mechanised agriculture and viniculture (the first wine factory in the country was there) and accommodating the spill-over from the industrial growth of greater Istanbul. In 1990 it had a population of 80,442.

The *il* of Tekirdağ (6,218 km^2) comprises nine districts (*ilçe*): Tekirdağ Central, Çerkezköy, Çorlu, Hayrabolu, Malkara, Marmara Ereğlisi, Muratlı, Saray and Şarköy. Its rich agriculture includes the mechanised cultivation of cereals and sunflowers on the plateaux and hillsides of the Ergene basin and vines in the coastal districts of Tekirdağ and Şarköy. Crossed by the railway, the road and the motorway from Istanbul to Edirne which links Turkey with western Europe, the province has vigorously developed varied industries (agricultural and food processing, textiles, mechanical and chemical industries), including in the extensive industrial estate of Çerkezköy. Its population increases regularly, leaping from 132,122 in 1927 to 468,842 in 1990.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see on Rodosto's commercial role, W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, i, 243, 257, 285, 431, 512, ii, 177; A. Boué, *Recueil d'itineraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, i, 145; Aḥmad Rifʿat, *Lughat-i taʾrīkhiyye we djoghrāfiyye*, ii, Istanbul 1299/1882, 270 ff.; Sāmī Bey Frāsheri, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1661 ff. See also the historical works of the local scholar Hikmet Çevik, *Tekirdağ tarihi araştırmaları*, Istanbul 1981; the monograph of Osman Yalçın, *Tekirdağ*, Istanbul 1981; and the art. *Tekirdağ* in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 6964-7000, x, 7007-61, very full on the province and with many useful references for the town.

(F. BABINGER-[M. BAZIN])

TEKISH B. IL ARSLAN, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Tādj al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, one of the Khʷārazm Shāhs of Anūshtigin's line, reigned 567-96/1172-1200. The name (thus vocalised in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 368) means something like "confronted, attacked, struck [in battle]"; see Hikmet Bayur, *Harizmşah Alâü'd-Dîn "Tekiş" 'in adı hakkında*, in *Belleten*, xiv, no. 56 [1950], 589-95.

Tekis͟h had been governor of D̲j̲and [*q.v.* in Suppl.] during his father's lifetime, and only succeeded to the throne after a struggle with his younger brother Sulṭān S͟hāh, who was supported by his mother Terken K͟hātūn [*q.v.*]. Although Tekis͟h owed his throne to help from the Ḳara K͟hitay [*q.v.*], he came to chafe against their demands for tribute; however, he successfully repelled a Ḳara K͟hitay invasion of K͟hwārazm under the Gurk͟hān Fu-ma (576/1181) and subsequently, in 578/1182, led an expedition into Transoxania and temporarily occupied Buk͟hārā. Tekis͟h's wife, another Terken K͟hātūn, was a Ḳangh͟lï or Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.vv.*] princess, and connections with the steppes to the north of K͟hwārazm, the Das͟ht-i Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], enabled the S͟hāh to recruit large numbers of Ḳïpčaḳ tribesmen into his armies (not all of these were necessarily Muslims, and the K͟hwārazmian troops in Persia were later to achieve an unenviable reputation for their violence and barbarity). Nevertheless, he had on various occasions to lead expeditions against recalcitrant steppe peoples, e.g. in 591/1194-5 against D̲j̲and and Sïg͟hnāḳ [*q.v.*].

Tekis͟h's rival Sulṭān S͟hāh had established himself at Marw, and the S͟hāh became involved in a three-cornered struggle in northern K͟hurāsān with his brother and the G͟hūrids [*q.v.*], who were endeavouring to extend their power westwards. In this tortuous warfare, Tekis͟h was on one occasion allied with the Ḳara K͟hitay against the G͟hūrids, but the K͟hwārazmians were not finally victorious against the G͟hūrids here until after Tekis͟h's own death. In the last decade of his life, Tekis͟h also saw the possibility of expansion into northern and western Persia, where the last Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan, Ṭog͟hrïl III b. Arslan [*q.v.*], was at odds with the Eldigüzid Atabegs of Ād͟harbāyd̲j̲ān [see ELDIGÜZIDS]. In 588/1192 a K͟hwārazmian army advanced as far as Rayy, and two years later, Tekis͟h defeated and killed Ṭog͟hrïl there. He could then occupy the whole of D̲j̲ibāl as far as Hamad͟hān, and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] had willy-nilly to invest him with the governorship of K͟hurāsān, Turkistān and western Persia. But in 591/1195 the K͟hwārazmians defeated a caliphal army, and relations were always uneasy; the news of Tekis͟h's death in Ramaḍān 596/July 1200 was the signal for a general massacre of K͟hwārazmian troops in D̲j̲ibāl.

Tekis͟h had expanded his original province of K͟hwārazm into a vast empire, which was now handed on to his second son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, only to fall prey within two decades to the ferocity of the Mongols.

Bibliography: The main primary source is Ibn al-At͟hīr, to be supplemented by information from such other sources as Rāwandī, D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī, Nasawī and D̲j̲uwaynī. Of studies, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 337-49; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi* (*485-617/1092-1229*), Ankara 1956, 84-146; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 163-4, 181-3, 188-92. See also K͟HWĀRAZM-S͟HĀHS.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TEKKE, TEKIYYE or TEKYE (T.), from Arabic *takiyya* pl. *takāyā*, derived, via *takīʾa*, from form VIII of the root *w-k-ʾ*, which signifies "to rely on", "receive support", and, in the nominal forms *takiyya* and *muttakaʾ*, "place or thing on which one relies, where one rests" (R. Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*, Paris 1970, ii, 1062-3). The term (in its Turkish form *tekke* or *tekiyye*, Pers. *takiya* or Ar. *takiyya*), conventionally denotes an establishment belonging to a group of Ṣūfīs, where the latter gather around a *s͟hayk͟h*, perform their ritual (*d͟hikr*) and their devotions, etc. It is thus similar in meaning to such words as *ribāṭ*, *k͟hānḳāh*, *dergāh*, *zāwiya* and *āsitāne*, also used to refer to various types of dervish convent (see, in particular, the views of J. Chabbi on the *ribāṭ* as an establishment for mystics and its relations with establishments of the same order, *k͟hānḳāh*, *zāwiya* and *tekke*, in RIBĀṬ).

No study has apparently yet been undertaken which would make it possible to determine in definitive fashion under what circumstances the word *tekke/takiyya* was, or is, employed in preference to the other terms cited, according to times and regions. It seems that its use was first developed in an Ottoman context, from the 10th/16th century onwards. It was at this time that the *zāwiya*, an institution corresponding to establishments formed of cells adjoining a prayer-hall and designed for a "mobile" Ṣūfism (i.e. for the accommodation of dervishes and transient guests), was losing its importance. The development of the *tekke* would thus be associated with the rise of an organised Ottoman network of brotherhoods, controlled by the state and responding to the needs of mystical communities more stable and more permanent than was previously the case (cf. Semavi Eyice, *İlk osmanlı devrinin dini-içtimai bir müessesesi. Zâviyeler ve zâviyeli-camiler*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xxiii/1-2 [Ekim 1962-Şubat 1963], 3-80; A.Y. Ocak-S. Farûki, art. *Zâviye*, in *İA*; M. Kara, *Din, hayat, sanat açısından tekkeler ve zaviyeler*, [3]Istanbul 1990). In fact, in the central provinces of the Ottoman empire (Anatolia and Rumelia), the term *zāwiya* continued to be used as a synonym of *tekke*, the latter often (although not invariably) bearing the implication of a smaller scale. In *waḳf* documents, as well as in biographical collections, it is the term *zāwiya* which remains the most often found, at least until the 18th century. In the works of Ṭas͟hköprüzāde and Med̲j̲dī, *al-S͟haḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyye*, Istanbul 1985, and *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-S͟haḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1989, composed in the second half of the 10th/16th century, it seems that only the term *zāwiye* is used. In the same period, in the *Menāḳib-i s͟herīf ve ṭarīḳatnāme-yi pīrān we mes͟hāyik͟h-i ṭarīḳat-i ʿaliyye-i k͟halwetiyye* of Yūsuf Sinān, Istanbul 1290/1873, the word *k͟hānḳāh* is used for important establishments, whereas centres founded in *ḳaṣaba*s are called *zāwiye*; in the *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* of ʿAṭāʾī ([*q.v.*], written in 1633-4, Istanbul 1989), it is still *zāwiye* which is most often encountered, but it should be noted that the author writes (603) of a certain Hōd̲j̲a K͟husrew organising the building, in Istanbul *ca.* 994/1585-6, for the *s͟heyk͟h* Ramaḍān, of a mosque and a *k͟hānḳāh*, known by the name of Bāzergān Tekyesi, and subsequently he states (608) that in the Rūmeliḥiṣār quarter there existed the *zāwiye* of ʿAlī Baba "currently called Durmus͟h Dede tekyesi" or "Bektās͟hīler tekyesi". A logical conclusion to be drawn from this could be that contemporary usage preferred to use *tekke* as a generic term, rather than the more technical terms *zāwiye* and *k͟hānḳāh*. Thus Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], who wrote in a Turkish very close to the spoken language, most often uses the word *tekke* in his *Seyāḥat-nāme* when he supplies the number of dervish establishments in the towns and cities which he has traversed and when he cites some of them by name (although he still uses, occasionally, the words *zāwiye*, *k͟hānḳāh* and *āsitāne*). A study which would clarify these hypotheses has yet to be undertaken.

Since the end of the Ottoman period, in Anatolia and in the Balkans, it has essentially been scale which distinguishes a *tekke* from a *zāwiye*. A *tekke* is a building, or a complex comprising several buildings, specifically designed for the confraternal life, whereas the *zāwiye* is a place where dervishes congregate, in a building

which is not necessarily exclusive to them (usually a section of a residential house or a mosque). As for the *āsitāne*, they are the principal centres of certain brotherhood networks, the term *dergāh* also being common (and perhaps the preferred usage when the tomb of a major saint is associated with the establishment). The *tekke* generally comprises a section for ritual (*semāʿkhāne* or *tewḥīdkhāne*), a room reserved for the tombs of the *sheykhs* (*türbe*) (on the spatial relationship between these two entities, cf. B. Tanman, *Settings for the veneration of saints*, in R. Lifchez, *The dervish lodge*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1992, 130-71), a *ḥarem* (accommodation for the *sheykh*'s family), a *selāmlïk* (reception rooms and units for the lodging of dervishes and transient guests), a kitchen, sometimes a mosque, a niche intended for spiritual retreats, etc. (on this subject see especially Lifchez, *The lodges of Istanbul*, in *ibid.*, 73-129, and M.B. Tanman, art. *Tekkeler*, in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1994). The word *tekke* has also become a generic term denoting Ṣūfī establishments; whence the expressions "*tekke* literature", "*tekke* music", etc.

In the Arab provinces, the term *tekke/takiyya* (sometimes considered a Turkish word) only appears in the Ottoman era [see e.g. AL-ḲĀHIRA]. According to G. Delanoue (*Moralistes et politiques musulmans (1798-1882)*, Cairo 1982, i, 249), in Cairo the *takāyā* were distinguished from the *zawāyā* because they were "convents for Turkish and Persian Ṣūfīs". In fact, among the *takāyā* of Cairo, some were intended specifically for non-Arab dervishes, others were establishments linked to *ṭuruḳ* imported from the Turkish provinces: the Mawlawiyya *takiyya*, the Gulshaniyya *takiyya*, the Demirdāshiyya *takiyya*, the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAynī *takiyya* (of the Bektāshiyya), the Uzbak *takiyya*, the Bukhāriyya *takiyya*, the Ḥasan al-Rūmī *takiyya*, etc. In Alexandria, too, there was a "*takiyya* of Turkish Ḳādirī dervishes" (F. de Jong, *Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 77-86, 120). However, according to this same author (29-30), around the end of the 19th century the distinction between the two terms *zāwiya* and *takiyya* does not seem to have been very consistent. The larger establishments, having substantial revenues deriving from *awḳāf* and sheltering a community of Ṣūfīs administered by a *shaykh*, were in general called *takāyā*, whereas *zawāyā* tended to be institutions of more modest scale but also eligible to receive financial subsidies. In Damascus, the terms utilised to denote Ṣūfī establishments were primarily those of *ribāṭ*, *khānḳāh* and *zāwiya*. According to E. Geoffroy (*Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans. Orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels*, Damascus 1995, 166-75), *khānḳāhs* were associated with a controlled and subsidised Ṣūfism, whereas the *zawāyā* accommodated an "unofficial" Ṣūfism, compatible with the principle of spiritual poverty and unselfishness. The Ottomans, for their part, constructed *zawāyā and tekiyyes* but not *khanḳāhs*. As in Egypt, the word *tekke* is thus applied to establishments of dervishes associated with the Ottomans or with Turkish *ṭuruḳ* such as the Mawlawiyya; e.g. *takāyā* of the Mawlawiyya in Damascus, but also in Ḥimṣ, Antioch, Lattakia, Tripoli and Aleppo (see de Jong, *Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les ordres mystiques musulmans dans l'islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, Paris 1985, 214). In short, it seems that in the Arab provinces, *tekkiye/takiyya* would have denoted Ṣūfī establishments which conformed to one or more of the following three criteria (these criteria often going in pairs): association with Ottoman authority and/or Turkish dervishes, a relatively large scale, and support from fairly substantial *waḳfs*.

Outside the Ottoman domain, use of the word does not seem to have been widespread. In Persia, according to R. Gramlich (*Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Dritter Teil: Brauchtum und Riten*, Wiesbaden 1981, 2), only old-style Khāksārs called their "convent" a *takiyya*, the term having been subsequently replaced by that of *khānḳāh*, the word customarily used in these regions. In India, *takiyya* seems to apply only to small-scale dervish establishments (M. Gaborieau, *Les modes d'organisation*, in A. Popovic and G. Veinstein, *Les voies d'Allah*, Paris 1996, 207).

It should be noted finally that today, in certain regions where the brotherhoods have virtually disappeared, such as Greece, the term *tekke* (in Greek, *tekkés*) is frequently employed to denote a *türbe* (saint's tomb). It may be supposed that, in the majority of cases, this shift in meaning derives from the fact that such tombs were often associated in the past with a *tekke*.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(NATHALIE CLAYER)

TELINGĀNA or TILANG, a region of the mediaeval Deccan, i.e. South India. The name comes from *telingā*, *trilingā*, referring to the three lingams of Śīva, the region being noted in ancient India for three famous temples there dedicated to the godhead. It lay in the northeastern part of what later became Ḥaydarābād State and the adjacent part of Madras, extending to the shores of the Bay of Bengal and bounded on the northeast by the Godivari river, beyond which lay the other Hindu kingdoms of Kalinga and Orissa.

Telingāna figures frequently in accounts of the Khaldjī and then Tughluḳī Dihlī Sultans as they endeavoured to extend their authority into the eastern Deccan, and then in those of their successors in the south, the Bahmanīs [*q.v.*], likewise extending their power; its Hindu rulers at times submitted to the Muslims, but equally often fought off Muslim control.

Bibliography: See *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiii, 275-6, vii, 367.

(ED.)

TELKHĪṢ, from the form II Arabic verb *lakhkhaṣa* "to make a précis", meant in the official language of Ottoman Turkey a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the sultan. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the sultan were the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. On account of its change of significance, *telkhīṣ* is included among the *ghalaṭāt-ï meshhūre* [*q.v.*] "popular solecisms", cf. Muḥammad Ḥafīd, *al-Durar al-muntakhaba al-manthūra fī iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭāt al-mashhūra*, Istanbul 1221/1806, 115; Pakalın, iii, 449; *İA* art. *Telhis* (Cengiz Orhonlu).

(J.H. KRAMERS)

TELKHĪṢDJI, or in the official style, TELKHĪṢĪ, was the individual of the Ottoman Turkish administration appointed to prepare the précis called *telkhīṣ* [*q.v.*] and to take it to the palace, where it was handed over to the chief of the eunuchs. The *telkhīṣdji* was therefore an official of the Grand Vizier's department; in addition to preparing the *telkhīṣ*, he took part in several official ceremonies. The *telkhīṣdji* of the *Shaykh al-Islām* was not—at least in the later period—in direct communication with the palace; documents presented by him had to pass first of all through the hands of the Reʾīs Efendi and of the Grand Vizier.

Bibliography: d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, ii, 260, iii, 343; von Hammer, *Des osmani-*

schen Reiches Staatsverfassung, i, 31, 475; *İA*, art. *Telhisci* (Cengiz Orhonlu). (J.H. KRAMERS)

TELL [see TALL].

TELL BĀSHIR [see TALL BĀSHIR].

TELL EL-**KEBĪR** [see AL-TALL AL-KABĪR].

TEMESHWĀR, ṬĪMĪSHWĀR (?), the Ottoman rendering of Magyar Temesvár, Romanian Timişoara, a town and centre of a *wilāyet* in Ottoman Hungary, belonging to Romania since 1919.

First mentioned in an 1177 charter, Temesvár acquired regional importance as the seat of a county; even the royal court functioned here between 1315 and 1323. Situated near the Ottoman-Hungarian border, it gained strategic significance. In *ca*. 1480 a captainship-in-general was created around Temesvár in order to organise the defence of the eastern frontiers; the fortress resisted an Ottoman attack in 1551.

Although the Turkish sources mention the *sandjaḳ* of Temesvár as early as 1542, this is merely a sign of political ambitions. The creation of a *beglerbegilik* of lower rank and a *liwā* of this name was possible only after the capturing of the town by the forces of the second Vizier Aḥmed Pasha on 27 July 1552. The seat of the *wilāyet* was in Lippa (Lipova) between 1555 to *ca*. 1557-8, and alternatively in Jenö (Yanova, Rom. Ineu) from 1658 until 1693. The often-changing territory of the province was divided into six *sandjaḳ*s in 1568, into five around 1632, and into eight in 1658. Besides, the timariots of three *liwā*s in Rūmeli were also subordinated to Temesvár in the 16th century. The number of *ḳaḍā*'s amounted to twelve in 1664 and ten after 1699. By and large, this latter administrative scheme was taken over by the Habsburg authorities after 1716-17, when Prince Eugene of Savoy led his successful campaigns against the region.

The financial balance of the treasury of the *wilāyet* showed a large deficit until 1567, while a considerable surplus can be witnessed from 1569 onwards, by means of which the shortfalls of the Buda treasury were partly covered.

There were some 4,000 paid soldiers in the castles and approximately 3,000 timariots, together with their *djebelü*s in the province throughout the Ottoman rule.

The first *ṭapu defteri*s in the province were finished in 1554, and renewed in 1567-69 and 1578-79 (several studies based on the 1579 register of Temesvár were published by Tibor Halasi-Kun; for details, see his bibl. in *Acta Or. Hung.*, xlvii [1994], 13-4). The relevant volumes testify to great population movements in Temesvár. While the ratio of the Hungarian element constituted two-thirds of all Christians in 1554, it diminished to less than one half of them by 1578, with an even more radical numerical decrease. Immigrating Muslims took their place, keeping the town among the most populous cities in Ottoman Hungary with some 7-8,000 souls. The rest of the settlements of the *wilāyet* had almost completely lost their Hungarian inhabitants by 1554, presumably mainly due to earlier Ottoman incursions. Comparing 16th century *mufaṣṣal defteri*s, a *djizye* list of 1711, and a Habsburg house register of 1717, a slight population growth between the 16th and the 18th centuries can be ascertained, which gave way to stagnation at the level of 180 to 200,000 people for the years before and after the reconquest.

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(G. DÁVID)

TEMUČIN, TEMÜDJIN [see ČINGIZ-KHĀN].

TENEDOS [see BOZDJA-ADA].

TEPEDELEN [see ʿALĪ PASHA TEPEDELENLI].

TEPTYAR, the Russian rendering of Tat. Bashk. *Tiptär*, a social term and subsequently ethnonym, the "people of the register" (< Pers. < Arab. *daftar* "book, record, register" ult. Gr. διφθέρα), used of a grouping speaking a Tatar dialect (influenced by Bashkir) in Bashkortostan/Bashkiria.

It denoted populations of Volga Tatar, Mishär, Bashkir, Čuvash and Volga Finnic origins which were allowed to settle on and farm Bashkir lands after the Russian conquest of the Tatar Volga khānates (mid-16th century). The Finnic element, in the early 19th century, was estimated at 20-25%. Initially obliged to pay part of the *yasaḳ* (tribute) due from their Bashkir overlords, the Teptyar, in 1737, because of their support of the Tsarist government, were given their lands and their fiscal obligations were mitigated and regularised. Further legislation in the early 19th century created eight cantonments with the obligation of military service. Having begun as a social class, which subsequently acquired certain privileges, the Teptyars were in the course of the 19th century transformed into a distinct ethnic grouping in which the Turkic (Tatar and Bashkir) elements predominated. In the middle years of that century, there were still distinctions between the increasingly Sunnī Muslim majority and pagan minority (largely Finnic), some of whom were being converted to Islam by Tatar and Bashkir missionaries. Sizeable numbers were absorbed into the Bashkir people. The 1858 census appears to indicate that some 300,000-350,000 of the one million Bashkirs were Teptyars. In the 1927 census, only 27,387 persons listed themselves as Teptyars without any other ethnic designation.

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(P.B. GOLDEN)

TERAḲḲĪ-PERVER DJUMHŪRIYYET FİRḲASİ (Progressive Republican Party), the first opposition party of the Turkish Republic. It was founded on 17 November 1924 by a number of leading members of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk)'s People's Party (Khalḳ Fırḳası). Among the founders of the party were a number of military and civilian figures who had played a leading role in the national resistance movement out of which the republic was

born: Kāẓim Ḳarabekir (the party chairman), ʿAlī Fuʾād (Cebesoy), Refʾet (Bele), ʿAdnān (Adıvar) and Ḥüseyin Raʾūf (Orbay [*q.v.*]). The reasons for their leaving the People's Party were both personal and political. They objected to the growing autocratic tendencies of Muṣṭafā Kemāl and to their own gradual marginalisation, but they also favoured a slower pace of reforms. At first, they had tried to influence policies from within the ruling party, but when that turned out to be impossible, they started preparations for a new party during the summer of 1924. The actual split took place in November over the government's alleged mishandling of the population exchange with Greece.

In the immediate aftermath of the split, Muṣṭafā Kemāl adopted a conciliatory line, replacing prime minister ʿIṣmet (İnönü) [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was considered a hard-liner, with the moderate Fetḥī (Okyar [*q.v.*]). In this way he managed to limit the number of defections to 32, far less than expected. From the end of 1924, however, the hard-liners in the People's Party, led by Redjeb (Peker) became more influential. When a Kurdish revolt broke out in February, they forced Fetḥī out of office and reinstated ʿIṣmet. The new government was given dictatorial powers with the "Law on the Maintenance of Order" on 4 March, under which political opposition became almost impossible. The P.R.P. was closed down by the government on 3 June for encouraging religious reaction. This was a pretext, since both the behaviour of its representatives in parliament and the two official publications of the P.R.P., its manifesto and its 58-article programme published on 18 November 1924, made it clear that the party was moderate, rather than reactionary. It was in favour of decentralisation, separation of powers and liberal economic policies, but supported the basic Kemalist tenets of republicanism, nationalism and secularism.

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TERDJĀN, present-day Tercan, is an *ilçe* (*kaza*) of the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Erzincan [see ERZINDJAN], in eastern Turkey, on the Tuzla branch of the Euphrates between Erzurum [*q.v.*] and Erzincan.

Terdjān, in the frontier territory between Byzantines and Armenians, then between Byzantines and Muslims, and later between Ottomans and Russians, was called variously Tertzan, Deržan and Terghān under Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] domination. Also known as Mama Khātūn, from the nearby tomb of a reputed princess of the Turkish principality of the Saltūḳids [see SALTUḲOGHLU], Terdjān was in Ottoman times a *sandjaḳ* of Erzincan, itself part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum. The area was described as largely Armenian by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who also encountered Turkish-speaking Muslims. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Selīm I [*q.v.*] received the news of the submission of the Kurdish tribes while on the plain of Tercan during the Čāldirān campaign in 920/1514, and it is at this time that the area was incorporated into Ottoman territory. The victory of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] over Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] in 878/1473 (also according to Ewliyā Čelebi) is sometimes called the Battle of Tercan, evocative of its strategic position as part of the continually contested borderlands of eastern Anatolia.

Bibliography: *İA* arts. *Erzurum* (Besim Darkot, M. Halil Yınanç, H. İnalcık) and *Erzincan* (Darkot); M. van Bruinessen and H. Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbakır*, Leiden 1988, 117, 119; R. Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*, Leiden 1990, 57. (Virginia Aksan)

TERDJÜMĀN (A., T.).

1. In the sense of "dragoman, interpreter" [see TARDJUMĀN. 2.].

2. In mysticism.

Here it is a technical term used by the members of *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] groups and also by the Turkish dervish orders of the Mawlawiyya and Bektāshiyya [*q.vv.*], for speech utterances, generally in verse, recited during the ritual, or, outside this, during the accomplishment of some piece of work or some particular act. These formulae, which are made up of a prayer, are theoretically pronounced in order to seek pardon for some offence. This term can also denote a sum of money or a sacrifice made in order to secure pardon for an offence.

In practice, the Bektāshīs and Mawlawīs often mix up the term *terdjümān* with that of *gül-bank* or *gülbenk* [see GÜLBĀNG], in principle reserved for longer prayers, in prose (sometimes recited in unison). According to Birge, amongst the Bektāshīs, the *terdjümāns* are recited by persons like the *mürshid* or the *rehber*, who occupy a precise function during the ritual (*aynidjem*); the words recited correspond to the reciter's function as well as to the situation in the course of the ritual. One should note that, amongst the ʿAlawīs-Bektāshīs, there exist *terdjümāns* in prose (*dār terdjümānī*, *meydān terdjümānī*, etc.).

Bibliography: J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London-Hartford, Conn. 1937, 166-7; and above all, the very full art. *Tercüman* in *İA* (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı). (Nathalie Clayer)

TEREK, a large river of the northeastern Caucasus region (length 600 km/373 miles, with a breadth in some places of up to 547 m/1,500 feet). It rises from the glaciers of Mount Kazbek in the central Caucasus, and cuts its way through spectacular gorges, eventually into the Noghay steppe to a complex delta on the western shore of the Caspian Sed. Even the lower course through the plains is too swift for navigation to be possible on it, but much water is now drawn off for irrigation purposes.

During the golden period of Arabic geographical knowledge (4th/10th century), the land of Terek must have belonged to the kingdom of the Khazars [*q.v.*]. This portion of the Khazar dominions is not described by Arab geographers, and the Terek is not mentioned. The name seems to appear for the first time in the history of the fighting between the Golden Horde Khān Berke [*q.v.*] and the Il Khānid Hülegü or Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], at the beginning of 661/Nov.-Dec. 1262, in Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongoles*, 394). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions the Terek (ed. Le Strange 259, tr., 250: Turk) along with the Itil (Volga) as a river in Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The lands of the Terek at that time belonged to the kingdom of the Golden Horde, and the peoples there probably adopted Islam at the same time as the latter in the 8th/14th century. A few years after the conquest of Astrakhān [*q.v.*] in 1554, Russian Cossacks began to appear on the Terek and formed the "Terski Cossack army" (*Terskoe kazačye voisko*); at first independent of Moscow, it was afterwards incorporated in the Russian empire. For much of the 19th century, the line of the Terek represented the frontier of Russian settlement in the Caucasus, and the Cossack fortified villages then established on its northern bank formed the setting for Tolstoy's novel *The Cossacks*.

For the political life of the Muslim world, the Terek lands have never been of great importance; even the

fortress of Ḳizlar on the north bank of the Terek (the modern city of Kizlyar) was, in spite of its Turkish name, built by the Russians in 1735.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the text, see E. Weidenbaum, *Pudevoditel' po Kavkazu*, Tiflis 1888; *BSE*³, xxv, 470.

(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

TERENGGANU, a state of Malaysia, located on the east coast of the Malay peninsula. The first evidence of a Muslim ruler is provided by the Terengganu Stone, one of the most important Islamic finds in Southeast Asia and the earliest example of Malay written in Jawi, the modified version of the Perso-Arabic script. The partly illegible date has been read as between 702/1303 and 789/1387. The content deals with debt relationships and punishments for perjury and sexual transgressions.

Terengganu was under Malacca [*q.v.*] and its successor Johor until 1186/1722, when an independent ruler was installed. From about 1188/1775, Terengganu came under Siamese overlordship, which may have sharpened Islamic feelings, especially when combined with periodic British intervention. The first *Muftī* was appointed in the early 19th century and Sultan Omar (1255-93/1839-76) gave greater attention to the enforcement of *Sharīʿa* law, with members of the local Sayyid community gaining prominence in religious affairs. By the beginning of the 20th century, Terengganu was known as a centre for Islamic studies. Although there was little Islamic organisational structure, a network of Muslim schools provided an effective channel for communication. Terengganu's *ʿulamāʾ* wielded considerable influence among the largely Malay population, and their leadership was enhanced after the inception of British rule in 1919. A peasant revolt between 1922 and 1928 was led by *ʿulamāʾ*. In recent times, rural Malay poverty has resulted in some electoral support for the Islamic party PAS, although this only succeeded in gaining control of government between 1959 and 1961.

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(Barbara Watson Andaya)

TERKEN KHĀTŪN, the name of the wives of various Turkish rulers of the eastern Islamic world in mediaeval (essentially pre-Mongol) times. In old Turkish, *terken* was a royal title, often but not invariably applied to females, and in these cases being roughly equivalent to "queen". It may be a loan word in Turkish, being found, according to G. Doerfer, amongst the Kitan or Western Liao, the later Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] of Central Asian Islamic history (see his *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-7, ii, 495-8 no. 889; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 544). *Khātūn*, on the other hand, derives from Sogdian *xwt'yn* "wife of the lord or ruler", and is already used in the Orkhon inscriptions for the wife of a Kaghan; it is spelt by Kāshgharī as *ḳātūn* in Turkish and *khātūn* in Arabic (tr. Atalay, i, 410; cf. Doerfer, *op. cit.*, iii, 132-41 no. 1159; Clauson, *op. cit.*, 602).

In the history of the Saldjūḳs and Khwārazm Shāhs, Terken as applied to a male appears as a component in the name of one of the sons of the later Kirmān Saldjūḳ *amīr*, sc. Terken Shāh b. Ṭoghrïl Shāh. However, much more frequent are queens bearing the name Terken (usually written T.rkān) Khātūn. These include a wife of the Khwārazm Shāh Il Arslan, mother of the claimant to the throne Sulṭān Shāh, and then a wife of Il Arslan's other son Tekish [*q.v.*] and mother of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 337, 349, 350, etc.; İ. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi (485-617/1092-1229)*, Ankara 1956, index). But the most celebrated Terken Khātūn was the Saldjūḳ queen (originally a Kara Khānid princess), the wife of Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], who played a leading role in the political life of the court during that sultan's reign and thereafter. Her own household was a focus of opposition to the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], and she vigorously promoted the interests of her own sons as future heirs to Malik Shāh's authority. When her husband died in 485/1092, she endeavoured, from her base at Iṣfahān, to place her four-year old son Maḥmūd on the throne against Berk-yaruḳ and his support from most of the Niẓāmiyya [*q.vv.*]; however, she could not make much headway against Berk-yaruḳ, and both she and the young Maḥmūd died in 487/1094 (see C.E. Bosworth and A.K.S. Lambton, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 76-7, 82, 103-5, 220-1, 255, and the *Bibl.* to MALIK SHĀH).

Bibliography: Given in the article, to which should be added M.F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938, 8-13.

(C.E. Bosworth)

TERNATE, the most northerly one of a chain of volcanic islands west of Halmahera, in northeastern Indonesia. On it is located the chef-lieu of the Kabupaten (residency) Maluku Utara (Northern Moluccas). The island has a population of 78,000, most original Ternateans being Muslim, but a number of newcomers (officials, teachers, service personnel, etc. from neighbouring islands) are Christians. Its area is 64.39 km².

Known in older times for its spices, especially nutmegs and cloves, Ternate had once been a member of the "alliance of the four [volcanic] mountains", besides Tidore [*q.v.*], Jailolo and Bacan, but in the 15th-16th centuries Ternate rose to especial power and prominence. Muslim traders had appeared in the area whilst the Hindu Javanese empire of Mādjapahit still exercised its influence (sc. before 1478), calling the region "the royal islands" (*djazīrat al-mulūk*). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, son of Kaicil Gapi Baguna, who reigned 1486-1500, is said to have adopted the Islamic title of *sulṭān* and to have been the first Muslim ruler in the region and to have studied under a famed scholar of Java, Sunan Giri. Closeness to the Javanese tradition facilitated Ternate's acquiring a grip on nearby areas such as southeastern Sulawesi, formerly in the Javanese sphere of influence. Eventually, Halmahera was subdued and Ternate's influence extended to Buru, the Banggai islands, parts of north and central Sulawesi and the islands of Sangihe and Talaud; at times, even parts of Mindanao, the Sulu Islands and northern Borneo came within its sphere.

In 1522 the Portuguese obtained permission to build a factory and some forts in Ternate and the areas under its control, but their efforts to monopolise the spice trade and, to some extent, their Christian evangelising zeal, caused strained relations with Ternate, though many inhabitants, and even some local rulers, preferred the Portuguese to the cruel and exploitatory rule of the Ternate sultans. Baabullah (1570-83), after the killing of his father by the Portuguese, waged

a violent war against indigenous Christians, killing and forcibly converting thousands of them. The Portuguese were expelled from Ternate, but in 1578 got permission to build a fort on Tidore island. By now other European powers, including England, the Netherlands and Spain, were competing in the region, and the latter were able to exert pressure from Manila so that sultan Modafar (Muẓaffar) allowed reconstruction of the old Portuguese fort of São Paolo, which was used by Spain till 1666, including as a centre for Roman Catholic missionary work.

In 1606 the Dutch made an agreement with the sultan concerning the return of converts between Islam and Christianity and vice-versa to their respective territories, with the Dutch thereby acknowledging the political independence of Ternate. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) gradually acquired a monopoly of the spice trade, although the local chieftains or *sangajis*, who ruled under the sultan's supreme suzerainty, resisted this in order to retain their own trading relationships. But the Dutch were able to take advantage of internal strife in the region, and in return for aid to the Sultan Mandarshah in 1650-2, the ruler agreed that all clove trees outside the areas directly controlled by the Dutch should be cut down. The VOC's supremacy in the spice trade was officially acknowledged by Ternate in 1683 and by the Sultan of Tidore in 1687. Pensions were paid to the ruling families to compensate for their loss of income, but the actual growers were impoverished, causing unrest, insurrections and an increase in piracy.

Nevertheless, Ternate still resisted Dutch control successfully when king William IV was an exile in England from the French-dominated Batavian Republic and suggested that the Dutch possessions should be placed under British custody, and it did not surrender until 1810. The end of its history came in 1915, when, after an abortive revolt, Sultan Uthman was exiled to Java and his territory placed under direct Dutch rule, with a "council of the *sangaji*" to care for the interests of the residency.

Bibliography: See art. s.v. in *EI*[1]; Katrin Polman (ed.), *The North Moluccas. An annotated bibliography*, The Hague 1981 (= Bibliographical series, 11).

(O. Schumann, shortened by the Editors)

TERSĀNE (t.), "dockyard, maritime arsenal". The word seems to derive from the Genoese *tersana*. In the Ottoman period, the term referred in particular to the Ottoman Imperial Arsenal—the *tersāne-yi ʿāmire*—on the eastern side of the Golden Horn, at Galata, opposite Istanbul.

The dockyard at Galata [see ghalaṭa, in Suppl.] was not the first Ottoman naval installation. The Sultans had maintained a fleet at Gallipoli [see gelibolu], probably from the time of its reoccupation in 779/1377. During the 1390s it was the base from which Bāyezīd I's [*q.v.*] fleet raided the coasts and islands of the Aegean, and was to retain its place as the largest Ottoman dockyard until the extension of the arsenal at Galata in the second decade of the 10th/16th century. Documents from this century also record the existence of small naval arsenals at Iznikmid (Izmit) and Sinop. However, although Sinop was a regular site of naval construction, it does not appear to have had any storage facilities for equipment, or permanently employed craftsmen or administrators.

After his conquest of Galata in 1453, Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] inherited the naval installations of the Genoese, and established the Ottoman arsenal, presumably on the site of the Genoese *vetus tersana*, on the Golden Horn. Selīm I's [*q.v.*] plans to enlarge the fleet led to a major extension of the arsenal during the last years of his reign, with work continuing during the early years of his successor. It seems to have been at this time that Galata superseded Gallipoli as the largest Ottoman naval dockyard, with 123 docks by 1557. The 1526 map of Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*] shows the arsenal as stretching along the eastern side of the Golden Horn from ʿAzab Ḳapïsï almost to Hasköy, and containing, apart from the docks, a storehouse for oars, the administrative offices (*Dīwān-khāne*) of the Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]), a depot and the arsenal garden. During his tenure of the admiralty between 1546 and 1549, Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] built a warehouse behind each dock to house the equipment of each galley, and walled off the area to make it invisible from the land.

Before the late 11th/17th century, Ottoman warfleets consisted almost entirely of oared galleys. Since the construction of these ships was within the capacity of any skilled shipwright, the Ottoman government frequently ordered the construction of hulls at coastal and river sites, especially around the shores of the Black Sea and on the Sakarya river, bringing them to Galata or Gallipoli only for fitting out with rigging and artillery. With the introduction of galleons as the standard warship in the late 11th/17th century and with steamships and ironclads in the 19th century, this practice was no longer possible. Galleon-building became the preserve of the arsenals. However, the destruction of the Ottoman fleet by the Russians at Çeşme in 1184/1770 emphasised the shortcomings of Ottoman warships, leading the Admiral Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] to undertake naval reforms, which included the construction of an engineering school (*Mühendis-khāne-yi baḥrī-yi hümāyūn*) at the Galata Arsenal in 1190/1776, and to introduce new shipbuilding techniques under the supervision of the French engineers, Le Roi and Durest. The first steamship was built in the Galata arsenal by the American Foster Rhodes in 1254/1838. An arsenal, building and repairing ships, still exists on the same site.

Bibliography: İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948; C. Imber, *The navy of Süleyman the Magnificent*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 211-82; Idris Bostan, *Piri Reîs'in Kitâb-i bahriyyesinde bulunan Tersâne-yi Âmire plânları*, in *Sanat Tarihi Araştırma Dergisi*, i/2 (1988), 67-8; Ali İhsan Gencer, *Bahriyede yapılan ıslahat hareketleri ve Bahriye Nezaretinin kuruluşu (1789-1867)*, Istanbul 1984; Mücteba Ilgürel, *Buharlı gemi teknolojisinin Osmanlı devletinde kurma teşebbüsleri*, in Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Çağını yakalayan Osmanlı*, Istanbul 1995, 143-58.

(C. Imber)

TESALYA or Teselya, the Ottoman name for Thessaly, the geographical part of central Greece between Greek Macedonia on the north, Sterea Hellas on the south, Epiros on the west and the Aegean Sea on the east. Its cardinal strategic and economic importance resulted in a series of raids and settlement throughout the late mediaeval period by Franks, Catalans, Navarrese, Serbs and Albanians, until the initial stages of the Ottoman conquest in the late 14th century, heralded by raids on the part of the Aydïnoghlu Turcomans of Umur Beg [*q.v.*] between 1336-41 (see Enweri, ed. Mélikoff, 87 v. 1159; cf. P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydïn*, Paris 1957, 157).

The gradual Ottoman annexation by a series of non-violent capitulations occurred in three phases: 1386-7, *ca.* 1392/3-1396/7 and *ca.* 1414/23 onwards, until the period 1454-70 (detailed refs. in A. Savvides, *Problems on the Ottoman conquest and the expansion of the conqueror in the Thessalian area* [in Greek], in *Th.H.*,

xxviii [1995], 33-64). A steady source of cereal provisioning of Venice and, since the 15th century, of the Ottoman Empire (H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire... 1300-1600*, London 1973, 134, 145; idem, *The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of Ottoman economy*, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, Oxford 1970, 214), Tesalya administratively became a *sandjak* with its seat at Tirhala [*q.v.*] within the massive *wilāyet/eyālet* or *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli [*q.v.*], whose chef-lieu was at Manastir [*q.v.*] (A. Kurat-J. Bromley, in Cook (ed.), *A history of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*, Cambridge 1976, 178). The sparsely-populated area made the conqueror bring in settlers from Anatolia, especially from Konya (the "Konyalis" or "Koniarēdes" in Greek), who settled in the valleys together with the descendants of the conquerors (the *ewlād-i Fātiḥ*), while local Christian resistance moved to the mountainous regions of Olympos and Kissabos on the north, Pindos on the west and Pelion in the east. Tesalya was thus distributed in *tīmārs* and *zi'āmets* [*q.vv.*] to Muslims, to Islamicised ex-Christian *sipāhīs* [*q.v.*] and Jewish communities, or in *wakfs* [*q.v.*] or pious foundations, while the ruling house retained some privileged areas as crown lands (see N. Beldiceanu, *Timariotes chrétiens en Thessalie 1454-5*, in *Südost-Forschungen*, xliv [1985], 45-81; cf. idem, *Une acte sur le statut de la communauté juive de Trikala, 1497*, in *REI*, xl/1 [1972], 129-38). The Ottoman tax registers (*taḥrīr defteri*) for 1454-5 and 1506 give important information on early Ottoman Tesalya (see Beldiceanu and P. Nasturel, *La Thessalie entre 1454/5 et 1506*, in *Byzantion*, liii [1983], 104-56). Of particular importance were the privileges granted to Christian ecclesiastical/monastic institutions, like the Meteora monasteries of Kalampaka, destined to become an outpost of Orthodoxy in the early Tourkokratia (see J. Alexander, *The monasteries of Meteora during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule*, in *Jahrbuch d. österr. Byzantinistik*, xxxii/2 [1982], 95-103; D. Sophianos, in *Trikalina*, xi [1991], 101-34 and xiv [1994], 37-68; idem, in *Mesaionika & Nea Hellenika*, iv [1992], 177-282) and the monastery of Dousikon near Trikala, founded by the Larissa metropolitan St. Bessarion (1527-40) (cf. Alexander, *The Ottoman Turkish documents of the holy monastery of Dousikon: the monastery until the mid-16th century* [in Gk.], in *Trikalina*, xiv [1994], 101-20; Th. Nemas, *ibid.*, 129-48, on the contribution of Meteora and Dousikon in the development of the Trikala area in the Tourkokratia).

The gradually deteriorating conditions of banditry in the area, however, necessitated the institution of autonomous enclaves known as *armatoliks* [see MARTOLOS], firstly applied here and most notably at Agrapha, probably since Meḥemmed II's years, later recognised by Süleymān II Ḳānūnī in 1525 (cf. E. Mpoukouvālas, *The armatolik of Agrapha* [in Gk.], Athens 1980) and then spread throughout the Greek territories with extensive grants, salaries and privileges (*ulūfe*) to the *martoloi*. In 1570 a Venetian force raided the area of Phanarion-Karditsa/Fenarbekir, while the following period witnessed a series of Greek abortive insurrections: in 1600-1 led by the Larissa/Yeñishehir [*q.v.*] metropolitan; in 1612 fomented by the Duke of Nevers, who had laid claims to the lost Byzantine imperial title; in the late 17th century (during the Turco-Venetian war of 1684-99) in Agrapha, Pharsalos/Čataldja, Karditsa/Fenarbekir and Tyrnabos (see G. Drongoules, *Tyrnabos and its region in the first years following the Turkish conquest* [in Gk.], in *Acts 1st Congr. of Tyrnabian Stud.* [1991]); and in 1769 led by the Larissean landlord Gregory Papazōgles. Moreover, Thessaliotes based on Olympos and Chasia participated in the Turco-Russian war of 1769-74, although Albanian troops of the Porte quelled the insurgents once more.

By mid-17th century the prevailing banditry, in combination with the decline in Ottoman provincial administration and military effectiveness, had resulted in the transformation of the Thessalian *tīmārs* and *zi'āmets* to *čiftliks* [*q.v.*], as in the characteristic case of Aghia-Ayia/Büyük-Köy, north-east of Larissa, the main occupation of the inhabitants in the plains being cattle-raising and agriculture (cotton production) as opposed to the thriving mountainous guilds (*synetairismoi* in Greek), like that of Agrapha (with a distinctive development in handicrafts and dyes) and the female guild of Tirhala. A rapid growth of the area's major commercial centres took place since the 17th century, with notable local fairs and markets, like those at Larissa/Yeñishehir (a city visited by the sultan Meḥemmed IV himself in 1668: see C. Spanos, in *Makedoniko Hemerologio* [1972], 349-52; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1 [1983³], 415-16), Elasson, Trikala/Tirhala, Ampelakia, Zagora, Halmyros/Ermie, Tyrnabos, Kalampaka, Karditsa/Fenarbekir, Pherrai, Velestinon/Ferendjik, the birthplace of the precursor of Greek independence, Rhēgas Pheraios, and Livadi, north of Elasson (on which see recently, B. Spanos, in *Th.H.*, xxvii [1995], 145-68). On the prevailing conditions see [in Gk.]: D. Tsopotōs, *Land and farmers in Thessaly during Turkish domination*, Athens 1974², N. Pantazopoulos, *Communal life in Thessalian Magnesia during Turkish domination*, Thessalonika 1967; L. Arseniou, *Thessaly during Turkish domination*, Athens 1984; on the main settlements see R. Lawless, *The economy and landscapes of Thessaly during Ottoman rule*, in F. Carter (ed.), *An historical geography of the Balkans*, London-New York-San Francisco 1979, 501-33; C. Spanos, *Thessalian settlements... 1613/14-19th century* [in Gk.], *Th.H.*, xxiii [1993], 81-112 and xxiv [1993], 112-80.

Of major importance were the various Ottoman monuments in Tesalya, like the *tekke* of Ḥasan Baba in Tempe valley (see A. Vakalopoulos, *The fortresses of Platamon and Oriā of Tempe and the tekke of Hasan Baba* [in Gk.], Thessalonika 1972), the mosque of 'Ömer Bey in Larissa [see YEÑISHEHIR], the Bektāshī *tekke* in Pharsalos (see ČATALDJA and L. Vairakliotes, in *Th.H.*, xxx [1994], 239-40), the pious foundations in Karditsa/Fenarbekir/Fener (see Beldiceanu-Nasturel, in *Byzantion*, liii [1983], 112) and, above all, the celebrated *medresse* of 'Othmān b. Turalī (d. 1567), governor of Trikala, a work of the famous architect Sinān [*q.v.*] according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 172, viii, 203-4) and Ibrāhīm Pečewi (*Tārīkh*, i, 45) (refs. in TIRHALA, also in *EI*¹). Valuable pertinent information is drawn from the accounts of various travellers in the area like Kātib Čelebi, Ewliyā Čelebi (his visit in Larissa in 1668), and the English doctor Edward Brown (*Rélation de plusieurs voyages*, Paris 1674) in the 17th century; Paul Lucas (*Voyage... fait par ordre du roi dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macédoine...*, i-ii, Amsterdam 1714), the English theologian Richard Pococke (*Voyages en Orient..., la Grèce, la Thrace etc.*, i-iv, Paris 1772), the Swedish orientalist Jacob Jonas Björnstähl (*Briefe auf seinen ausländischen Reisen...*, Rostock-Leipzig 1777-83) in the 18th; François-Charles Pouqueville (*Voyage de la Grèce*, i-vi, Paris 1826-7², Gk. tr.-comm. N. Molpheta, Athens 1995) between 1798 and 1801; and, finally, in the 19th, William M. Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, i-iv, London 1835, repr. Amsterdam 1967, cf. iv, 261-328) in 1809, David Urquhart (*The spirit of the East*, i-ii, London 1839) in 1830 and Léon Heuzey (*Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*, Paris 1927).

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Tepedelenli [*q.v.*] was appointed *derbend-nāẓir* of Rumeli in 1780 and his rule in Tesalya, following his Albanian chieftains' liquidation of the 1808 local uprising, resulted in the privatisation of state land, which heralded the period of the private *čiftliks* (cf. C. Spanos, in *Th.H.*, xviii [1990], 97-118). ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's attempts, however, to impose heavy taxation on the thriving commercial centres resulted in the latter's decline, while the population declined, too, estimated at *ca.* 200,000 in 1820 on account of the 1813 plague (in 1688, too, a plague had decimated the inhabitants of Bathyrema at Aghia/Büyük-Köy; see D. Agraphiotes, in *Acts 1st Congr. of Larissean Studies* [1992], 155-75 [in Gk.]).

In the Greek War of Liberation (1821-30), in spite of the hesitant attitude of the local *kod̲j̲abas̲h̲īs*, Tesalya initially participated in actions at Pelion, Magnesia (1821), in Olympos and Chasia (1822) as well as in Karditsa/Fenarbekir and Halmyros/Ermie, but all these attempts were crushed by Meḥmed Res̲h̲īd Pas̲h̲a (the "Kioutachēs") and Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a (the "Drāmales") [*q.vv.*] (see S. and E. Shaw, *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, ii, Cambridge 1978, 18). The predominant rôle of Larissa/Yenis̲h̲ehir as seat and passing-point of Ottoman armies constantly moving to and from Southern Greece and the Peloponnese [see MORA] proved a negative factor in the Tesalyan rebellion's success.

Following the creation of the Greek Kingdom (1830), Tesalya became the Ottoman Empire's frontier zone with the Greeks and new abortive uprisings occurred in 1841, in 1854 during the Crimean War (southern and western Thessaly) and, especially, in 1877-8 during the Turco-Russian war (Magnesian Pelion), where a provisional government was temporarily established. In the 19th century during the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era, the Porte took measures to improve social and economic conditions for Christians (*K̲h̲aṭṭ-ı̊ S̲h̲erīf* of Nov. 1839, *K̲h̲aṭṭ-ı̊ Humāyūn* of Febr. 1854), yet the continuation of the *čiftlik* system resulted in a real predicament of the farmer workers in the field (the "kollēgoi"), who thus became completely dependent on their landlords, to whom they were forced to deliver half of their produce, with the lamentable result that in 1881, the year of Greek annexation of Tesalya, most of the land belonged to a few magnates. In the second part ot the 19th century about 460 villages out of 658 farm estates/*čiftliks* were owned by great landlords (İnalcık, *Land problems in Turkish history*, in *MW*, xlv [1955], 227).

The same era, however, witnessed the beginning of a new upsurge in the development of Tesalya's urban centres, the notable new addition being Volos/Golôs, near Byzantine Demetrias (see J. Kordatos, *Hist. of Volos and Aghia province*, Athens 1960; D. Tsopotos, *Hist. of Volos*, Volos 1991 [both in Gk.]; and WOLOS). By 1880 the entire area's population was estimated at *ca.* 285,000 Greeks, *ca.* 40,000 Turks and *ca.* 40,000 Jews. The 1878 Treaty of Berlin allocated Thessaly to Greece and the annexation occurred on 26 June 1881, except for the Elasson territory, north of Larissa and Tyrnabos. Edhem Pas̲h̲a briefly recaptured Tesalya in the 1897 Greco-Turkish war (Shaw, ii, 190, 196, 206-7) but soon afterwards the 1881 treaty's items were slightly modified and adhered to until, in 1912, Greek troops finally annexed the Elasson region as well.

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; see also BĀYĀZID I; ČATALD̲J̲A; EWRENOS G̲H̲AZI; EWRENOS OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; TIRHALA; TURAK̲H̲AN; WOLOS; YENIS̲H̲EHIR. General accounts (in Greek): N. Georgiades, *Thessaly*, Volos 1894², repr. Larissa 1995; B. Dousmanes, *History of Thessaly*..., Athens 1925; A. Valtadoros, *Hist. of Thessaly... until 1947*, Athens 1984; Th. Papakonstantinou, *Enlightenment and social evolution in Thessaly 1453-1821*, Athens 1984. Detailed bibliographies on the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods in A. Savvides, *Thessaliko Hemerologio* [= *Th.H.*], xxiii (1993), 33-68, xxiv (1993), 101-5, xxvii (1995), 77-80, xxix (1996), 280-88. (A. SAVVIDES)

TES̲H̲RĪFĀT [see MARĀSIM. 4].

TEWFĪḲ BEY [see EBÜZZIYA TEVFIK].

TEWFĪḲ FIKRET (originally named Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, Fikret being the pen-name which he assumed), late Ottoman Turkish poet, b. 1867, d. 1915 in Istanbul. He was the son and the second child of Ḥüseyin Efendi, from a Čerkes family of notables of Çankırı, and the governor of ʿAkkā, and of K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Refīʿa, from the island of Chios. He started his elementary education in the Aksaray Maḥmūdiyye Wālide Rüs̲h̲diyyesi, and moved to Galatasaray Lycée at nine. His mother died in 1879, after which he and his sister were brought up by his grandmother and uncle's wife. At Galatasaray, he was taught literature by the leading authors of the time, such as Muʿallim Nād̲j̲ī, Muʿallim Feyḍī and Red̲j̲āʾī-zāde Ekrem, and started writing poetry himself under their influence. Eventually he became, in 1898, a civil servant in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1890, he began to teach French at the Gedikpas̲h̲a Tid̲j̲āret Mekteb-i ʿĀlīsi, and during the same year, married his uncle's daughter Nāẓima, who was studying to be a teacher.

In 1892, he won a poetry competition run by the Journal *Mirṣād*, and in 1894, began to teach Turkish literature at the Galatasaray Lycée, editing the journal *Maʿlūmāt* with his friends Ḥüseyin Kāẓīm and ʿAlī Ekrem. In 1895, his son K̲h̲alūḳ, who became the subject of many of his poems, was born, but in this same year, he left Galatasaray and began teaching at Robert College. By this time, Fikret was a recognised poet, and in 1896 he was appointed to edit the literary journal *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] around which the literary movement known by the name of the journal or as *Edebiyyāt-ı d̲j̲edīde* [*q.v.*] was taking shape with the contributions of young authors such as K̲h̲ālid Ḍiyā, D̲j̲enāb S̲h̲ehābeddīn, Meḥmed Raʾūf and Süleymān Naẓīf. He had by this time become familiar with the work of such French poets as François Coppé, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Verlaine, etc. In 1900, Fikret published his collection of poems under the name *Rübāb-i s̲h̲ikeste*; during this period, his poems express his rebellion against the oppression of the Ḥamīdian regime, and his love for freedom of speech and liberty. Also, the Ottoman defeat in the Graeco-Ottoman War of 1898 impelled him to write his patriotic poems. In 1901, he ceased editing *T̲h̲erwet-i Fünūn*, and later the journal closed down. By now he had become well-known with his poems *Sīs* (written in 1901, but not published until 1908) and *Tārīk̲h̲-i ḳadīm* (written in 1905), again in revolt against the social and political trends of the time. After the restoration of the Constitution (1908), Fikret wrote *Rüd̲j̲ūʿ* and *Dog̲h̲an günes̲h̲e* reflecting his hopes for a brighter future, and began to publish *Ṭanīn* newspaper with his friends Ḥüseyin D̲j̲āhid and Ḥüseyin Kāẓīm. He was offered the post of Minister of Education, but refused, and became instead Director of Galatasaray, which was going through a period of decline, and which he tried to revitalise; but following a dispute with the conservative Ministry of Education, he resigned and went back to teach at Robert College. In 1910, he published an enlarged edition of *Rübāb-i s̲h̲ikeste*, and in 1911,

Khalūḳʾun defteri in his own handwriting, whose poems had the themes of love, optimism for the future of humankind and hope, and idealism. He believed that human beings were capable of changing the world for the better with their intelligence, as long as they set themselves free of ancient traditions and superstitions. During this period, his poems and articles which criticised religion, society and the government (especially the Committee of Union and Progress) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ] produced a reaction which attacked his personality and beliefs. Meanwhile, his son Khalūḳ became a Christian in Glasgow, and emigrated permanently to the United States, causing further criticism of Fikret. When *Ṭanīn* became the semi-official newspaper of the C.U.P., he left it, and also resigned from several of his societies. In 1912, following the closure of the Ottoman parliament, he wrote his famous poems *Doḳsan beshe doghru* and *Khān-ī yaghmā*. Fikret opposed Turkey's participation in World War I, and his satirical poem *Sandjak-ī sherīf hudūrunda* reflected his bitterness. His unpublished poem *Tārīkh-i ḳadīm* (1905) was circulating in manuscript form and became very popular, but this led the eminent poet Meḥmed ʿĀkif [*q.v.*] to accuse Fikret of being anti-Islamic and corrupting the younger generation; Fikret replied in *Tārīkh-i ḳadīme dheyli* (1914), this time denying all organised religion, and repeating his belief in secularism as the only way of progress. Fikret's poems of this era, for example *Khān-ī yaghmā*, satirise the way the country was being impoverished by corrupt administrators and bureaucrats. They are powerful in language and style, and contain many memorable lines, such as

Eat, gentlemen eat; this tasty feast is yours:
stuff yourselves until you gag and burst

and became popular even before they were actually published. In 1914, he also published his collection of children's poems *Shermīn*, which he wrote in syllabic metre [see PARMAḲ ḤISĀBI] using simple syntax and lexicon, and it is the best early example of children's poetry in Turkish.

On 18 August 1915, Fikret died after a long illness of chronic diabetes in Istanbul. Following his will, he was later buried (1961) in Aşiyan, on the grounds of his home on the Bosphorus, which is now a museum. Following his death, as during his lifetime, much was written about his personality, political and social beliefs; while he was criticised at the time for being a materialist by more religious elements, he has been celebrated as a humanist by his admirers.

Although Fikret wrote many articles on art, literature and society, and translated poems from Western languages, which were published in journals and newspapers, he is best known as a poet. One of the innovations he brought to Turkish poetry is his introduction of dialogues and natural conversations to his poems which made them closer to prose (for example in *Khasta čodjuk* and *Balīkčīlar*). He used quantitative metre, *ʿarūḍ/aruz*, masterfully, and his careful choice of patterns reflected the topic and the mood of his individual poems. His command of the Turkish language helped to make his verses visually vivid and memorable. Fikret succeeded in showing that poetry, like other forms of art, had to be meticulously composed, and that the language of poetry had to be refined and educated. Fikret is remembered and often quoted for his firm belief in freedom of thought and speech, which he expressed in his memorable line:

I am a poet, my thoughts are free, wisdom free, conscience free.

Bibliography: Poetical collections. *Rübāb-ī shikeste*, Istanbul 1900; *Khalūḳʾun defteri*, Istanbul 1911; *Rübābīn djewābī*, Istanbul 1911; *Tārīkh-i ḳadīm*, Istanbul 1928; *Shermīn*, Istanbul 1914.

Studies. For older sources and studies, see *EI*[1] art. s.v. (Th. Menzel). Kenan Akyüz, *Tevfik Fikret*, Ankara 1947; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 448-54; Mehmet Kaplan, *Tevfik Fikret ve şiiri*, Istanbul 1971; Akyüz, in *PTF*, ii, 514-18; Attila Özkırımlı, *Tevfik Fikret*, Istanbul 1978; Mahir Ünlü, Ömer Özcan, *20. yüzyıl Türk edebiyatı 1900-23*, Istanbul 1987; Şükran Kurdakul, *Çağdaş Türk edebiyatı I: Meşrutiyet dönemi*, Ankara 1992; Ismail Parlatır, *Tevfik Fikret: dil ve edebiyat yazıları*, Ankara 1993; Hüseyin Tuncer, *Servet-i fünun edebiyatı*, Izmir 1995; Kemal Sılay (ed.), *An anthology of Turkish literature*, Bloomington, Ind. 1996.

(ÇIĞDEM BALIM)

TEWFĪḲ MEḤMED [see ČAYLAḲ TEWFĪḲ].

TEWFĪḲ PASHA [see TAWFĪḲ PASHA].

THĀʾ, the fourth letter in the Arabic alphabet. In the *abdjad* order [*q.v.*] it has a numerical value of 500.

The phoneme represented by this letter may be defined as the voiceless member of the apico-interdental triad of fricatives, as opposed to the voiced /dh/ [see DHĀL] and the "emphatic", i.e. velarised, /ẓ/ [see ẒĀʾ]. Sībawayh (ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1395/1975, iv, 433) describes the point of articulation for the triad as "between the tip of the tongue and the tips of the incisors" and he is followed herein by—*inter alios*—Ibn Djinnī (*Sirr ṣināʿat al-iʿrāb*, ed. Ḥ. Hindāwī, Damascus 1405/1985, 47; and cf. M.H. Bakalla, *Ibn Jinni: an early Arab Muslim phonetician*, London and Taipei 1402/1982, 76), al-Zamakhsharī (*al-Mufaṣṣal*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 394), and al-Sakkākī (*Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Nuʿaym Zarzūr, Beirut 1403/1983, 12). This is also true for their modern standard pronunciation. Strangely, however, al-Khalīl calls these sounds *lithawī*, because, according to him, their point of articulation is the gums (*litha*), in which case they are clearly "gingivals" (more commonly called alveolars) rather than interdentals (*al-ʿAyn*, ed. M. al-Makhzūmī and I. al-Sāmarrāʾī, n.p. [Baghdād] 1400/1980, i, 58). It seems, then, that al-Khalīl describes a different realisation of these sounds. This pronunciation is also corroborated by the description of Ibn Sīnā in both versions of his treatise on phonetics (*Asbāb ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Ṭayyān and Y. Mīr ʿAlam, Damascus 1403/1983, 79-80, 122; cf. the tr. of the second version in Kh. I. Semaan, *Arabic phonetics. Ibn Sīnā's Risālah on the points of articulation of the speech-sounds*, Lahore 1963, 44). He describes it as essentially a fricative /t/, thus as a dental or alveolar fricative. Writing as a physician and physicist outside the tradition and terminology of the grammarians and orthoepists, his testimony carries special weight. The term *lithawī* continued to be used, even by phoneticians who clearly describe interdentals (see e.g. Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, *al-Daḳāʾiḳ al-muḥkama fī sharḥ al-Muḳaddima al-Djazariyya fī ʿilm al-tadjwīd*, ed. N. Nishāwī, Damascus 1400/1980, 36). Scholars have noted the discrepancy (Bravmann, 74-5; Cantineau, 40-1; Fleisch, 213-14), though without much comment. G. Wallin (*ZDMG*, xii [1858], 618) observed the pronunciation of /th/ among the Arabian Bedouins and describes it as articulated with the tip of the tongue against the rim of the upper gums; this accords well with the term *lithawī*. If this should be the original Arabian pronunciation of this sound, the interdental realisation may have developed later (under Aramaic influence?). Since al-Khalīl and Sībawayh were contemporaries, both pronunciations must have been current at the time.

The phoneme /th/ occurs only as a radical, never as a derivational affix. It belongs to the "sun letters" (*al-ḥurūf al-shamsiyya*), which require assimilation of the /l/ of a preceding article, though in pronunciation only, not in spelling. For optional assimilations, see Cantineau, 42-3.

There are a number of cases in which words containing /th/ have variants with /f/ in its place: *djadath/djadaf* "grave", *lithām/lifām* "veil", *thūm/fūm* "garlic" (*fūm* attested in Ḳur'ān, sūra II, 61). The explanation for this is that the auditory impressions of /th/ and /f/ are barely distinguishable (cf. S.H. al-Ani, *Arabic phonology. An acoustical and physiological investigation*, The Hague and Paris 1970, 34; both appear as "random noise", the /th/ a little weaker than the /f/). The converse has happened with the word *fam* "mouth", which must have developed into **thu/im(m)* to account for the modern dialect forms *thəm* (Oman, cf. A. Brockett, *The spoken Arabic of Khābūra*, Manchester 1985, 69), *thəmm* (Mardin, cf. O. Jastrow, *qəltu-Dialekte*, 39), *ithim* (Dēr iz-Zōr, *ibid.*), and the well-known *təmm* in Syrian Arabic.

In loan-words and foreign names, /th/ represents pretty regularly the post-vocalic spirantised /t/ (= /th/) of Aramaic: *kummathrā* > *kummathrā* "pear", *karrāthā* > *kurrāth* "leek", and likewise the Greek /θ/: θεολογία > *uthūlūdjiyā*, Πυθαγόρας > *Fīthāghūras*.

In Neo-Arabic, /th/ and the other interdentals (/dh/ and /ẓ/ [= ḍ]) are, according to a rule of thumb, preserved in the dialects of the Bedouins and former Bedouins, while shifted to the dentals (/t/, /d/, and /ḍ/) in those of sedentary populations. However, there are sizeable exceptions to the second part of the rule (see W. Fischer and O. Jastrow (eds.), *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1980, 50, 104-5, 142, 174, 208, 251; for details of the complex situation in Mesopotamian Arabic, see Jastrow, *qəltu-Dialekte*, 34-9; and for ʿUmān, see C. Holes, *The Arabic dialects of South Eastern Arabia in a socio-historical perspective*, in *ZAL*, xxxi [1996], 34-56, esp. 43-4): the interdentals are preserved in various Palestinian, Syrian, Mesopotamian, Tunisian, and ʿUmānī rural and some Algerian and Mesopotamian urban dialects; they are shifted to the sibilants (/s/, /z/, /ẓ/) in certain Mesopotamian dialects and in Uzbekistan; and to the labiodentals (/f/, /v/, /ṿ/) in the Siirt group of Mesopotamian dialects. The shift of the interdentals to dentals is attested already in pre-Islamic times in transliterations of Arabic names in Greek inscriptions: *Αρετας* for *al-Ḥārith* and *Ḥāritha*, *Γαυτος* for *Ghawth*; however, spellings with /θ/ are also attested (Cantineau, 41).

Speakers of sedentary dialects in which the interdentals have been shifted to dentals use another sound-shift, when borrowing words from Standard Arabic: they try to imitate the interdentals by using the equivalent sibilants. This often leads to root-splitting: *talāte* "three" vs. *musallas* "triangle" (the root *th-l-th* engenders two new roots: *t-l-t* and *s-l-s*). In addition, the three representations of Standard Arabic /th/, i.e. /th/, /s/, and /t/, are often used for stylistic purposes to characterise the formality of a speech situation. For details on this highly complex and regionally varying situation, see T.F. Mitchell, *Pronouncing Arabic*, ii, Oxford 1993, 265-70.

For a similar substitution of /th/ by the dental affricate /ts/ amongst Maghribī Arabic speakers, see Cantineau, 41.

The grapheme for /th/ was originally identical with that for /t/, a fact that results from the "cognate principle" of Nabataean spelling: since Aramaic /t/ etymologically corresponds to both /t/ and /th/ in Arabic, both these phonemes are represented by the Nabataean grapheme for /t/ (see W. Diem, *Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie. II. Die Schreibung der Konsonanten*, in *Orientalia*, N.S. xlix [1980], 67-106). Thus the name *Ghawth*[un] appears as *ʿwtw* in Nabataean inscriptions. The three dots on top that serve as a diacritical mark to distinguish the grapheme for /th/ from other "one-tooth" letters is attested for the first time on the dam inscription of al-Ṭā'if, dated 58/677-8. On the early palaeographic development of the grapheme for /th/, see Beatrice Gruendler, *The development of the Arabic scripts*, Atlanta, Ga. 1993, 40-3.

In Persian and the "Persianate", i.e. those languages affected culturally by Persian, languages, the letter /th/ in Arabic loan-words is pronounced /s/.

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ, ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (b. Tunis 1876, d. 1 October 1944), Tunisian political figure and founder of the Liberal Constitutional Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī*), commonly called the "Vieux-Destour" as opposed to its successor in 1934, the "Néo-Destour".

Of Algerian origin, he studied at the Zaytūna Mosque, but was early attracted to politics and journalism, and in 1896 founded a cultural weekly, *Sabīl al-rashād*, suspended a year after its first appearance. He made several journeys within the Maghrib and to Crete, Greece and Turkey, in which last place he came into contact with ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II's *imām* and adviser Abu 'l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī. In Egypt, he was in touch with the leading figures of Arab nationalism in exile there, including Rashīd Riḍā, Muhammad Kurd ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.vv.*], etc., as well as Muḥammad ʿAbduh and ʿAlī Yūsuf, chief editor of the newspaper *al-Mu'ayyid*.

Returning to Tunis in 1902, he became known for his strongly nationalist and reformist views, as a disciple of Shaykh Sālim Bū Ḥādjib and of Bashīr Ṣafar, who was a graduate of the Ṣādiḳiyya [*q.v.*]. Between 1904 and 1912, he took part, in person or by his pen, in all the great movements of resistance to the French presence, notably the "Jeunes Tunisiens" of ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥamba, until in March 1912 the French authorities, in accord with the Bey, expelled al-Thaʿālibī, Bāsh Ḥamba and five others; but after an amnesty he returned in August 1913 and then travelled widely in the Near East, Yemen, India and Southeast Asia, returning home when the First World War broke out. On Bāsh Ḥamba's death in 1918, he was in the forefront of the formation of the "Jeunes Tunisiens" and in 1920 founded *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī*. It had a directing committee and cells scattered throughout the Regency, and, unusually, was open to Tunisian Jews as well as Muslims. Its financial backing came from rich bourgeois of Tunis, Djerba, etc. Its initial strategy was to isolate the French Residency and the ruling group by arousing public opinion in France and loosening links with the Beylical palace. Its demands included a constitution, election of a parliament and responsible government.

In July 1919 al-Thaʿālibī left for France, and had contacts with President Herriot, head of the Radical

Party and with members of the parties of the left. In December 1919 he published, with his fellow-party member Aḥmad Saḳḳāʾ, a violently anti-French pamphlet called *La Tunisie martyre.* In March 1920 *al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī* came into the open, and decided to send a delegation to France and one of 40 notables to the Bey, but on 23 June 1920 al-Thaʿālibī was arrested in Paris for plotting against state security and imprisoned in Tunis. Two delegations sent to Paris achieved nothing, whilst the delegation to the Bey suffered harassment from the Resident-General, but al-Thaʿālibī, freed and in June 1921 granted an amnesty by the Bey, had some successes, including publication of the opinion of two French jurists that the 1861 Constitution granted by the Bey was incompatible with the law of the Protectorate established in 1881; hence the Bey, in collaboration with the French authorities, should re-introduce the Constitution. At the same time, the Resident-General Lucien Saint helped create dissensions within the Destour Party. A new, very moderate party, the "Reform Party", was formed under Ḥasan Gellātī; a Ministry of Justice was created and entrusted to Ṭāhir Khayr al-Dīn, son of the general Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]; and the Bey Nāṣir gave an interview to a newspaper correspondent in which he was reported to have denounced the actions of the Destour, one which later, under pressure from the Destour, he denied; nevertheless, he was forced to abdicate. Demonstrations were organised on 5 April 1922 in front of the palace. The Party maladroitly charged the Bey with defending its demands before the Resident-General; the latter promised to satisfy them, but made the Bey revoke his abdication and publish a denial.

In July 1922, Lucien Saint by-passed the Party by creating a Grand Council and councils of the caïdate, and adopting the role of strong supporter of reforms. The Party's representative in Paris, Farḥāt Ben ʿAyyād, returned to Tunis and accepted a high post in the Tunisian administration, and his defection, and that of others, had deleterious effects on the Party's evolution. The dislocation of the Party and the new Bey Ḥabīb's hostility to al-Thaʿālibī drove the latter into exile in July 1923 for fourteen years. From 1925 onwards he taught philosophy at the Āl al-Bayt University in ʿIrāḳ. In 1930 he settled in Cairo, and in 1931 organised, with al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *muftī* of Jerusalem, the Islamic Congress in Jerusalem (7-17 December).

Returning to Tunis in 1937, he found the Party sunk in lethargy. It had split in 1933, and on 2 March 1934 the Néo-Destour had been founded. The new party gave an enthusiastic welcome to the old leader of the Destour, but after timid efforts at conciliation, it hooted the old Shaykh off the stage when he returned from the Sahel in September 1937. It even made attempts on his life at the time of the Mateur incidents.

Al-Thaʿālibī then retired from political life and devoted himself to study, publishing in 1938 a life of the Prophet (see *Bibl.*). After the bloody events of 9 April 1938, the Liberal Constitutional Party ceased all political activity, and only its weekly *al-Irāda* continued to appear until after Independence in 1956, al-Thaʿālibī himself having died in 1944.

He left behind a varied and abundant oeuvre. In addition to his press work, he published *L'esprit libéral du Coran* (in French, with C. Banattar), Paris 1905; *La Tunisie martyre* (see above, also in Arabic, *Tūnis al-shahīda*, Beirut 1984); and *Muʿdjiz Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, 2 vols. Tunis 1938, also Beirut 1984. Various works of his have appeared at Beirut recently, most of them edited by Ḥ. Saḥlī, including *Masʾalat al-manbūdhīn fi ʾl-Hind* (1984); *Rūḥ al-taḥarrur fi ʾl-Ḳurʾan* (1985); *Muḥāḍarāt fi ʾl-taʾrīkh al-ḳadīm* (1985); *Taʾrīkh Shimal Ifrīḳiyā* (1987); *Khalfiyyāt al-Muʾtamar al-Islāmī bi ʾl-Ḳuds* (1988); *Riḥla Yamāniya*, in press.

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(Moncef Chenoufi)

AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Makhlūf al-Djazāʾirī, Abū Zayd, Mālikī theologian and Ḳurʾānic scholar of North Africa (786-873/1384-1468).

Born in Algiers, he studied in the eastern Maghrib and Cairo, and made the Pilgrimage, before returning to teach in Tunis, where he died. His main work is a Ḳurʾānic commentary, *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (printed Algiers 1323-8/1905-10), but he wrote several other works on aspects of the Ḳurʾān, on the Prophet's dreams, on eschatology, etc., most of them still in manuscript.

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AL-THAʿĀLIBĪ, Abū Manṣūr, the author of a history in Arabic, the *Taʾrīkh Ghurar al-siyar* or *al-Ghurar fī siyar al-mulūk wa-akhbārihim*, which he dedicated to the Ghaznawid Abu ʾl-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Sebüktigin, governor of Khurāsān, d. 412/1021. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, tr. Flügel, iv, 319 no. 8592, this universal history comprised four volumes, going from the Creation to Maḥmud of Ghazna [*q.v.*] in the author's own time. From the first part, H. Zotenberg published a text and French translation, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, Paris 1900. It is especially valuable in that al-Thaʿālibī used the same sources for early Persian national history as Firdawsī in the *Shāh-nāma*, in many places using them more accurately than other Arabic historians like al-Ṭabarī. The author seems to have used the New Persian *Book of Kings* prepared *ca.* 950 for the local ruler of Ṭūs, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ. A section on the years of the early Islamic period 75-158/694-775 is also extant in manuscript.

This author was given a separate entry in *EI*¹ by C. Brockelmann under the heading "al-Thaʿālibī, Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Marghanī" (see

also his *GAL*, S I, 581-2), since he thought it unlikely that this al-Tha'ālibī could be identical with the much more celebrated *adīb* and philologist of Nīshāpūr Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālibī. However, F. Rosenthal noted that Brockelmann's full name for the author was taken from one manuscript only, and could have been a copyist's addition. All we firmly know from the text of the *Ghurar al-siyar* is that the author was called Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī *tout court.* On stylistic grounds, and from the appearance of certain characteristic locutions, Rosenthal originally followed Zotenberg and G. Gabrieli in identifying the author with the great Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'ālibī (*From Arabic books and manuscripts: III. The author of the Gurar as-siyar*, in *JAOS*, lxx [1950], 181-2). In this case, one should consult the following article. However, Rosenthal no longer regards this identification as at all firmly established (personal communication), and the whole question remains open.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-THA'ĀLIBĪ, Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (350-429/961-1038), prominent connoisseur and critic of Arabic literature and prolific author of anthologies and works of literary scholarship.

Born in Nīshāpūr, he spent his entire life in the eastern Islamic world, participating in and above all documenting the extraordinary cultural efflorescence which in his generation was making of the city and region a serious rival to Baghdād and 'Irāḳ. Despite his considerable fame, biographical notices in later sources offer few details about his life, and can be supplemented only modestly by information gleaned from his own writings. His family background was apparently undistinguished, and of his education we know only that he studied *adab* with the famous Arabic stylist Abū Bakr al-Khʷārazmī [see al-khʷārazmī]. We are told that he worked for a time as a schoolmaster, but he also seems early in his life to have forged ties with the Mīkālīs [*q.v.*], the most prominent family in Nīshāpūr, and especially with the cultured littérateur Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Mīkālī, who was to remain a close friend throughout his life, as well as Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Sebüktegin, the governor of Khurāsān and brother of the reigning Ghaznawid monarch Maḥmūd. An early journey to Bukhārā, during the death throes of the Sāmānid dynasty which Maḥmūd was to supersede, was followed by at least two sojourns in Djurdjān, where he stayed with members of the city's leading family and dedicated a series of works to the ruling *amīr*, Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*], whom he had probably met during the latter's long exile in Nīshāpūr before recovering his throne. From Djurdjān, al-Tha'ālibī was invited by the Khʷārazmshāh Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn to his court in al-Djurdjāniyya; during his stay there he dedicated works to both the Khʷārazmshāh and his vizier, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāmidī, and enjoyed the illustrious company of such fellow protégés as Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī [*q.vv.*]. He then moved on to Ghazna, capital of the recently established Ghaznawid dynasty, residing there for some time before returning, probably by way of Harāt, to Nīshāpūr, where he spent his later years and died at an advanced age.

The bibliography of al-Tha'ālibī's works is extensive and presents numerous problems, which modern scholarship is only gradually managing to unravel. The longest of several lists of titles compiled by mediaeval biographers is that of al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, xix, 194-9), which numbers eighty-six but which certainly includes a number of duplications as well as erroneous attributions. A total of approximately thirty authentic works have been printed. Virtually all of them consist of compilations of Arabic poetry and artistic prose, philological discussions, or collected anecdotes from Islamic political and cultural history. Al-Tha'ālibī did not aspire to contribute seriously to any of the intellectual debates of his day, either religious or secular, except to a limited extent in the field of literary criticism; his primary objective was to celebrate the aesthetic possibilities of the Arabic language and its literature and to retail, rearrange, and preserve the legacy of that literature for his contemporaries and later generations.

By far his most celebrated work is the *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-'aṣr* (recent ed. M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1956-8), a four-volume anthology of poetry and artistic prose intended as a comprehensive survey of the entire Arabic-Islamic world in the second half of the 4th/10th century. The arrangement is geographical, ranging from Andalusia (sketchily covered) to Khurāsān and Transoxania (the fourth and richest volume of the book). A total of 470 poets and writers are included, with individual sections extending to fifty or a hundred pages for such major figures as al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās, the Būyid viziers Ibn al-'Amīd and Ibn 'Abbād, and Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.vv.*]. Critical comment, while not completely lacking, occupies a relatively minor position in the work, as does biographical information, the bulk being given over to poetic and prose selections. Late in his life, al-Tha'ālibī composed a supplement to this work, the *Tatimmat al-yatīma* (ed. A. Iḳbāl, 2 vols., Tehran 1353/1934), following the same principles of organisation and including writers who had emerged to prominence during his own adult lifetime. The obvious attractiveness and utility of the *Yatīma*, and the example of the author's own *Tatimma*, encouraged the production over the following centuries of numerous sequels, of which the most important are the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* of al-Tha'ālibī's own student al-Bākharzī and the massive *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.vv.*].

Al-Tha'ālibī's enthusiasm for anthologising may have been initially encouraged by his friend Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī, as suggested by an early collection of poetry from all periods, arranged by genre, *al-Muntaḥal* (ed. Aḥmad b. Abī 'Alī, Alexandria 1321/1901), which is attributed in various manuscripts to both men (see also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 77-8, where it is called *al-Muntakhab al-Mīkālī*), and may represent a revision by al-Tha'ālibī of his friend's work. Later in his life he was repeatedly asked to extract his particular favourites from the material which he had collected, with a decided emphasis on recent and Eastern poets, in a number of slim anthologies, dedicated to various patrons, such as *Aḥsan mā sami'tu* (ed. A.'A. Tammām and S. 'Āṣim, Beirut 1989) and *Man ghāba 'anhu al-muṭrib* (ed. N.'A. Sha'lān, Cairo 1984). A more specialised collection of descriptive erotic poems on young men, the *K. al-Ghilmān*, remains in manuscript. Other works concern themselves as much with prose as with poetry, such as *al-I'djāz wa 'l-īdjāz* (ed. M. al-Ṭūndjī, Beirut 1992; French tr. O. Petit, *La beauté est le gibier des cœurs*, Paris 1987), which begins with examples of rhetorical figures in the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth* and proceeds to offer prose selections and anecdotes from a wide range of political and literary figures, balancing these in its second half with verses by major poets from the pre-Islamic era to the author's own day. A similar combination of prose and poetry appears in

the *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ* (ed. M.M. al-Djinān, Beirut 1994), a virtual epitome of a number of al-Thaʿālibī's earlier works.

More in the tradition of collections of prose *fuṣūl*, brief sentences or paragraphs in rhymed prose arranged by topic and intended as a reference for aspiring prose stylists and epistolographers, are two early works, *al-Mubhidj* (Cairo 1322), which is dedicated to Ḳābūs, himself a noted stylist, and the more ambitious *Siḥr al-balāgha* (ed. ʿA. al-Ḥūfī, Beirut 1984), which was rewritten three times, each time dedicated to a different dignitary, the final version being intended for the library of Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mīkālī. The material in both these works is presented without attribution (except for the final chapter of the *Siḥr al-balāgha*, excerpting phraseology from the writings of such figures as Badīʿ al-Zamān and Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī), and may thus be considerable more "original" than what we find in al-Thaʿālibī's more straightforward anthologies—albeit only to a limited degree.

Another group of works, while essentially compilations, focus on one or another rhetorical principle or trope. For example, both *al-Ẓarāʾif wa 'l-laṭāʾif* and *al-Yawāḳīt fī baʿḍ al-mawāḳīt* present poetry and prose in paired "praise and blame" of various things; these two works survive in a single combined edition put together by al-Thaʿālibī's younger contemporary Abū Naṣr al-Maḳdisī and entitled (confusingly) *al-Laṭāʾif wa 'l-ẓarāʾif* (Cairo 1300, and other editions). Similar material appears in *Taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ wa-taḳbīḥ al-ḥasan* (ed. Sh. al-ʿĀshūr, Baghdād 1981), "making the bad seem good and the good seem bad", and *al-Kināya wa 'l-taʿrīḍ* (or *al-Nihāya fī fann al-kināya*, ed. M.F. al-Djabr, Damascus 1994), on euphemisms. All sorts of elegant examples of quoting from the Ḳurʾān are collected and discussed in *al-Iḳtibās min al-Ḳurʾān al-Karīm* (ed. I.M. al-Ṣaffār, 2 vols., al-Manṣūra 1992). Paronomasia is treated in *al-Mutashābih*, also known as *Adjnās al-tadjnīs* (ed. I. al-Sāmarrāʾī, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb, Djāmiʿat Baghdād*, x [1967], 33-6), and is also the subject of *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tadjnīs* (ed. H. Nādjī, in *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāḳī*, xxxiii [1982], 369-80), whose authorship, however, is somewhat problematical. A related trope, the use of two or more semantically related terms in a single figure (*talfīḳ*), is the subject of *al-Tawfīḳ li 'l-talfīḳ* (ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, ²Damascus 1990). Examples of the rhetorical exercise of recasting verses in elegant rhymed prose are collected in *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿiḳd* (Cairo 1317, and other editions).

More broadly philological are three of al-Thaʿālibī's most popular works. The first half of the two-part *Fiḳh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya* (ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, I. al-Abyārī and ʿA. Shalabī, Cairo 1938) is lexicographical, grouping vocabulary by semantic field, while the second half, cribbed primarily from the *Fiḳh al-lugha* of Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], discusses a variety of grammatical and lexicographical topics. *Al-Tamthīl wa 'l-muḥāḍara* (ed. ʿA.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1961) is a comprehensive collection of proverbial and quasi-proverbial expressions, culled from the widest variety of sources. Equally rich, despite its apparently narrower base, is the *Thimār al-ḳulūb fī 'l-muḍāf wa 'l-mansūb* (ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1965), an alphabetically-arranged lexicon of two-word phrases and clichés, which teems with recondite and fascinating lore.

Some further collections of miscellaneous information are less tied to formal linguistic characteristics. The *Mirʾāt al-murūʾāt* (Cairo 1898, and other early editions, all defective) assembles more anecdotal material under the rubric *murūʾa*, "honour, virtue", than one might expect, and the *Bard al-akbād fī 'l-aʿdād* (Istanbul 1325) does the same under the numbers two to ten. The *Laṭāʾif al-ẓurafāʾ* (facs. ed. Q. al-Samarrai, Leiden 1978; also edited as *Laṭāʾif al-luṭf* by ʿU. al-Asʿad, Beirut 1980) is a straightforward collection of entertaining anecdotes, while the delightful *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif* (ed. I. al-Abyārī and H.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1960; English tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968) would appear to assemble bits of historical lore purely for their entertainment value.

A unique excursion into serious historiography which may have been made by al-Thaʿālibī is represented by the *Ghurar al-siyar* or *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyarihim* (other variants also), a universal history from the creation to the author's own time of which only the first half, up to the caliphate of Abū Bakr, is extant, and of which only the section dealing with pre-Islamic Persian history has been published; see the preceding article regarding the question of its authorship. While the published section of this work is of unquestionable importance for elucidating the background of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], it is striking that neither here nor anywhere else does the putative author al-Thaʿālibī ever make reference to his illustrious Persian contemporary. He was, in fact, a consistent and strident supporter of the Arabic language and its literature, and, despite his occasional references to bilingual poets and Arabic translations of Persian verse, his works are essentially silent about the extraordinary efflorescence of New Persian literature that was taking place, especially at the Ghaznawid court, during his lifetime.

Two other apparently uncharacteristic works by al-Thaʿālibī are the Fürstenspiegel which he composed at the Khwārazmian court for the *amīr* Maʾmūn and his vizier al-Ḥāmidī, *Ādāb al-mulūk* (ed. Djalīl al-ʿAṭiyya, Beirut 1990), and *Tuḥfat al-wuzarāʾ* (ed. Ḥ. al-Rāwī and I.M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdād 1977), the text of the latter apparently representing a re-working by a much later author, the title of al-Thaʿālibī's original work being uncertain. A number of other works in manuscript may eventually be shown to be his as well, and some of the many preserved titles of lost works are certainly also authentic. Several works attributed to him in print are, however, to be rejected, including in particular *al-Djawāhir al-ḥisān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (Algiers 1985), a Ḳurʾānic commentary by his much later namesake ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468-9), and *al-Farāʾid wa 'l-ḳalāʾid* (Cairo 1317, in the margin of *Nathr al-naẓm*, and, with quite a divergent text, Cairo 1327, under the title *al-Amthāl al-musammā bi 'l-Farāʾid wa 'l-ḳalāʾid*), which is to be assigned rather to the rather obscure Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī, although yet another version, published with the title *Aḥāsin al-maḥāsin* and attributed to the equally obscure Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Rukhkhadjī (in *Madjmūʿat khams rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1301) probably represents a case of plagiarism by the latter author.

Scattered through al-Thaʿālibī's various works are quite a number of his own verses, which are on the whole quite unremarkable. His student al-Bākharzī reports having a volume of these in his possession (*Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī, Baghdād and Nadjaf, 1971, ii, 226), but no *dīwān* has come down to us. Al-Bākharzī, the son of one of his closest friends, was the most prominent of his students; he and several others are generously accorded publicity by their master in his *Tatimmat al-yatīma*.

Bibliography: In addition to references cited in

the article, see Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, indices; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, iv, ii, 560-83; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, Baghdād 1959, 250; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 178-80; Kalāʿī, *Iḥkām ṣanʿat al-kalām*, Beirut 1966, 232; Brockelmann, I, 284-6, S I, 499-502; Q. al-Samarrai, *Some biographical notes on al-Thaʿālibī*, in *BiOr*, xxxii (1975), 175-86; E.K. Rowson and S.A. Bonebakker, *A computerized listing of biographical data from the Yatīmat al-dahr by al-Thaʿālibī*, Malibu 1980; eidem, *Notes on two poetic anthologies: Thaʿālibī's* Tatimma *and Bākharzī's* Dumya, Paris and Los Angeles 1982; M.A. Djādir, *al-Thaʿālibī, nāḳid^an wa-adīb^an*, Baghdād 1976 (including a very full discussion of bibliographical problems); M.H. Bakkāʾī, *Muʿdjam wa-dalīl Fiḳh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya li 'l-Thaʿālibī*, [2]Beirut 1988; Ḥ.I. Khaṭīb, *al-Thaʿālibī nāḳid^an fī Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1988; *Dīwān al-Thaʿālibī*, compiled by M.ʿA. al-Djādir, [2]Beirut 1990; Abū Mūsā al-Ḳurashī al-Umawī, *Farīdat al-ʿaṣr fī djadāwil Yatīmat al-dahr*, Calcutta 1914. (E.K. Rowson)

THABĪR, a mountain outside Mecca, on the north side of the valley of Minā [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 72-4, enumerates several mountains of this name, and also gives a tradition that Thabīr was, with Ḥirāʾ [*q.v.*] and Thawr, one of the three most significant mountains outside Mecca. It seems to have played a role in the ceremonies of the pre-Islamic *ḥadjdj* or pilgrimage outside Mecca. In Umayyad times, in the early 8th century A.D., the governor of Mecca Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], on the orders of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, piped water from a spring on Mount Thabīr to the courtyard of the Great Mosque in the centre of Mecca.

Bibliography: See also Azraḳī, *Akhbar Makka*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Djamāl, Madrid 1385/1965-6, ii, 107; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 74-5. (Ed.)

THĀBIT, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, (modern Tkish. Sabit), Ottoman poet born at Užice in Bosnia *ca.* 1060/1650, died at Istanbul 11 Shaʿban 1124/5 September 1712. Thābit had his early education locally, but then moved to Istanbul. He showed early aptitude for poetry, but entered the ranks of the scholarly and judicial hierarchy, serving in a series of posts across the Empire. His *dīwān* includes many poems written to men in power soliciting posts or bemoaning his financial straits between appointments.

Classified by Gibb (*HOP*, iv, 15) as a Traditionalist, between the Classical and Modernist periods, Thābit ranks second only to Nābī [*q.v.*] among 11th/17th-century poets, and himself influenced such men as Nedīm and ʿIzzet Molla [*q.vv.*]. Described as possessing an original but undisciplined poetic temperament (J. Rypka, *Beiträge zur Biographie, Charakteristik und Interpretation des türkischen Dichters Sabit*, Prague 1924), Thābit brought innovation to the literary tradition with wide use of the popular language, proverbs and popular sayings, but his frequently ribald humour tended to be considered "below the dignity of poetry" (Gibb, iv, 16; and see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Divan şiiri. XVII. yüzyıl*, İstanbul 1954, 22).

In addition to his *dīwān* (Turgut Karacan, doctoral diss. Atatürk Üniversitesi 1981) and a translation and commentary on the *Ḥadīth-i arbaʿīn*, Thābit's works include the following *mathnawīs*: (1) *Zafer-nāme* ("Book of Victory"), twice printed by the Ebüzziya Tevfik Press, also referred to as *Ghazā-nāme* or *Selīm-nāme*, a work of some 426 *bayts* relating in epic tones the participation of the Crimean Khān Selīm Giray [*q.v.*] in Süleymān III's [*q.v.*] Austrian campaign. It includes a description of Selīm's reception by Süleymān and of his victory over the Russian-Polish army at Perekop. (2) *Edhem ü Hümā* ("Edhem and Hümā"), the story of a pious young man of Balkh who falls in love with his ruler's daughter but, convinced that he cannot win her, immediately dies, giving up his life for love. (3) Three short *mathnawīs* entitled *Berber-nāme* ("The Barber Book"), *Dere-nāme* ("The Valley Book", also known as *Ḥikāye-yi Khodja Fesād* "The Story of Hodja Fesād"; see Karacan, *Derename*, Sivas 1990), and *ʿAmr-i Layth*.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article and their bibls., see J. Rypka, *Sâbit's Ramazânijje, herausgeben, übersetzt und erklärt*, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 435-78; idem, *Über Sâbits romantisches Epos Edhem ü Hüma*, in *ArO*, i (1929), 147-90; idem, *Les Müfredât de Sâbit*, in *ArO*, xviii (1950), 444-78, xx (1952), 347-50; Akün's art. s.v., in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*; Th. Menzel, *EI*[1] art. s.v.; A. Bombaci, *La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969. (Kathleen R.F. Burrill)

THĀBIT B. ḲURRA, Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī, outstanding mathematician and scientist, born probably in 21/826 at Ḥarrān [*q.v.*], died at Baghdād on Thursday, 26 Ṣafar 288/19 February 901 aged 77 lunar years (see R. Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitesimales*, 139-45). His maternal language was Syriac, he knew Greek very well, and wrote his scientific work in Arabic. Famed primarily as a mathematician, he wrote original works in all the practical sciences of his age.

Originally a money-changer in Ḥarrān, his meeting with the eldest of three famous mathematicians and astronomers, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*], was a turning-point in his career and his life. When he met Thābit, Muḥammad b. Mūsā appreciated his intelligence and linguistic skills so much that he decided to take Thābit back with him to Baghdād. It was under the Banū Mūsā that Thābit received his education in mathematics, astronomy and also philosophy. He succeeded the Banū Mūsā as head of their school and himself founded a veritable dynasty; there were many famous scholars amongst his descendants, including his grandson Ibrāhīm b. Sinān, a mathematician of genius.

Thābit's scientific output was divided between translations and research work. The names are known of a considerable number of Greek texts which he rendered into Arabic, and which included as well as Archimedes' *The sphere and the cylinder*, or Books V-VII of Apollonius's *Conics* (in fact, lost in the original Greek), Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Introduction to arithmetic*. He further revised many translations made by others, such as Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and others.

His work in astronomy is important. The ancient Arabic bio-bibliographical works list between 30 and 40 titles in this subject, only nine of which have come down to us under his name. These treatises have been edited, with translations and commentaries, but out of these one should omit the *Book on the solar year*, falsely attributed to him. We thus possess just eight complete works and a few fragments of others on which to work in order to pronounce on his contribution to astronomy. The great interest of this last rests on three crucial points: the connection between observation and theory, Thābit himself being more of a theoretician than an observer; the mathematisation of astronomy; and the conflicting relationships between "physical astronomy" and "mathematical astronomy".

All through his work is to be found a very clear exposition of the link between theory and continuous observation of the stars. Moreover, if Ptolemy had preserved in his work a large share of empiricism,

Thābit nevertheless took up a certain number of pieces of reasoning and geometrical models from Ptolemy, treating them then in a rigorous mathematical way and reducing this part of the empiricism in them. Finally, Thābit placed the accent—we find this above all in the sparse fragments of his work—on the conflict between a global conception of the universe and a purely theoretical and mathematical analysis of the movement of each of the bodies in that same universe. This conflict would subsequently become one of the driving forces for the progress of research in astronomy all through the history of the development of Arabic astronomy.

Thābit's mathematical work, the part not directly linked with mathematical astronomy or statics, is also considerable. It embraces both geometry and also geometrical algebra and the theory of numbers. Thus he wrote three magistral treatises on "infinitesimal mathematics". In the first, *The measure of the section of a cone, called a parabola,* he gives the area of a part of a parabola by using a method different from that of Archimedes. In the second, *The measure of paraboloids,* he calculates the volumes in a manner different from that of Archimedes in his *Conoids and spheroids*—which moreover had no more been rendered into Arabic than Archimedes' studies on the parabola. Finally, in his *On the sections of the cylinder and on its lateral surface,* he determined the area of an ellipse and of elliptical segments. It was in this treatise that he developed the new geometrical methods elaborated by the Banū Mūsā.

Furthermore, the study of infinitesimal processes runs through Thābit's work in various parts. In astronomy, he had recourse to procedures meant for examining the problem of the visibility of the crescent moon, as also in his study *How the movement of the ecliptic appears to be held back, accelerated or retained at a midpoint according to the place of the eccentric where it is produced.* In the field of statics, Thābit equally applied infinitesimal processes in his book *al-Karastūn.*

Many other spheres were covered by his activity, including the theory of numbers with the first theorem on amicable numbers which bears his name.

Thābit, a talented translator, was thus also one of the outstanding mathematicians of all time. His fame both in the Islamic East and the Islamic West, the Latin translations of certain of his works and the Hebrew ones of others, bear adequate witness to this. In the history of Arabic mathematics, leaving out the name of Thābit b. Ḳurra means not being able to understand the history of the mathematical sciences between the 9th and 12th centuries.

Bibliography: This is vast. For a list of his works (respectively in medicine, mathematics, astronomy, astrology and meteorology), see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 260-3, v, 264-72, vi, 163-70, vii, 151-2, 269-71. For secondary literature, see *Dict. of scientific biography*, xiii, New York 1976, 288-95. On his work as a translator, see e.g. W. Kutsch, *Thābit b. Qurra's arabische Übersetzung der* Arithmetikè Eisagogè *des Nikomakos von Gerasa zum ersten Mal herausgegeben*, Beirut 1959. On his mathematical works, see especially R. Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales entre le IXᵉ et le XIᵉ siècle*, i, London 1996, 139-673, and also B.A. Rosenfeld and A.P. Yousschkevitch, *Thabit matematičeskie tractari*, Moscow 1984. On his astronomical works, see R. Morelon, *Thābit ibn Qurra, œuvres d'astronomie*, Paris 1987, and idem, *Thābit ibn Qurra and Arab astronomy in the 9th century*, in *Arab Sciences and Philosophy. A Historical Journal*, iv (1994), 111-39. On his works in the field of statics, see W.R. Knorr, *Ancient sources on the medieval traditions of mechanics*, Florence 1982 (= Suppl. agli Annali dell'Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, fasc. 2). On his influence in the medieval Latin world, see e.g. F.J. Carmody, *The astronomical works of Thābit b. Qurra*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1960; also F. Buchner, *Die Schrift über der* Qarastūn *von Thābit b. Qurra*, in *Sb. phys.-med. Sozietät in Erlangen*, lii-liii (1920-1), 141-88; A. Björnbo, *Thābit's Werk über Transversalensatz*, in *Abh. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften*, vii (1924).

(R. Rashed and R. Morelon)

THĀBIT ḲUṬNA, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Thābit b. Kaʿb b. Djābir, of the Banū Asad b. Ḥārith of Azd or one of their clients, minor poet of the Umayyad period (b. in Baṣra at an unknown date, probably in the 640s, d. 110/728).

He was mainly notable for his participation in expeditions on the eastern frontiers of Khurāsān, and even became governor of one of its component provinces. He had close ties of friendship with the governor Yazīd b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, and remained faithful to him until his death at al-ʿAkr in ʿIrāḳ in 102/720 when he tried to seize power from the Umayyads by attacking Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a policy in which he was encouraged by Thābit [see MUHALLABIDS]. In the course of one of his campaigns with Yazīd he was wounded in the eye and henceforth wore a kind of cotton pad over the eye, whence his nickname Thābitᵘ Ḳuṭnaᵗᵘⁿ. But after Yazīd's death, he rallied to the Umayyads and took part in expeditions against Transoxania under Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī, in the course of which he was killed in 110/728.

His *dīwān* existed in ancient times (see Sezgin, ii, 377), but has not survived; however, Mādjid Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī has tried in his *Shiʿr Thābit Ḳuṭna al-ʿAtakī* (Baghdād 1390/1970) to reconstitute it, basing himself on al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*; the *Aghānī*; Ibn al-Athīr; and al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*. Apart from a few doubtful verses, the *dīwān* is made up of 13 poems and 27 fragments with a total of 221 verses, in seven metres, mainly *ṭawīl* (14 times), *basīṭ* (9 times) and *wāfir* (8 times). Since short fragments make up two-thirds of his known work, it is not possible to say how much Thābit respected the conventions of the classical *ḳaṣīda*. His language is rather archaic, and is to be grouped with old, and especially, Bedouin poetry in general. He uses the usual genres: personal and tribal *fakhr*, and satires against persons like the minor poet Ḥādjib al-Māzinī or against a family or clan, like the Banu 'l-Kawwāʾ al-Yashkuriyyūn, who were opponents of his friend Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Most of his poetry is, in fact, connected with this latter person, including encomia, exhortations to battle and elegies.

But most important is the heresiographical aspect of Thābit's poetry. There is a poem in his *dīwān* which at its beginning expresses the ideas of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]: abstention from judgement on the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the Umayyads and their actions, since God alone is competent to judge; these questions are clearly connected with the dominating topic for early Islam, the nature of the caliphate or imāmate.

Bibliography: See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 82; Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ*, ii, 128; Nallino, *Letteratura*, tr. Pellat, 199-214; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 376-7, ix, 282; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, iv, index (esp. i, 166-71).

(T. El Achèche)

THĀDJ, an ancient pre-Islamic walled site in northeastern Arabia, some 90 km/56 miles

almost due west of the port of Djubayl on the Arabian Gulf (see General map, Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, xx). Located in Wādī al-Miyāh, the site covers an area of about 990 m by 825 m and lay on the trans-Arabian route linking southern Arabia with ʿIrāḳ, and in Islamic times both al-Hamdānī and Ibn Khurradādhbih mention the route, called by the 7th/13th century traveller Ibn al-Mudjāwir (214) *Ṭarīḳ al-Raḍrāḍ*, the "Gravel Road". It has in recent years been suggested that the ancient emporium of Gerrha was Thādj (see e.g. Beeston, *Observations*, 7 n. 5, and Potts, *Thaj*, 87-91). The published Hasaitic inscriptions (written in the Monumental South Arabian script, but in the north Arabian language) are listed by Potts, *Arabian Gulf*, 70-1.

Potts (*Arabian Gulf*, 34-5, after Mandaville, *Thaj*, 15-19) also lists in neat chronological order the mention of Thādj by the pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets and in the Arabic works of geography and travel. Water and stone structures are commonly alluded to as being found at the settlement: "the flowing wells of Thādj" of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (pre-Islamic), Rashīd b. Ḳays b. Shihāb al-Yashkurī's "a castle of stone" (pre-Islamic), etc. Thādj is variously described in these works as being in the area of al-Yamāma (al-Aṣmaʿī, 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century), on the outskirts of al-Baḥrayn (Abū ʿUbayda, 3rd/9th century), a village in al-Baḥrayn (al-Bakrī, 5th/11th century) and a spring several nights' journey from al-Baḥrayn (Yāḳūt, 7th/13th century). Abū ʿUbayda adds that the taxes of Thādj were sent to al-Yamāma and that it belonged to Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba and ʿAnaza b. Asad.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4; J.P. Mandaville, *Thaj, a pre-Islamic site in Northeastern Arabia*, in *BASOR*, clxxii (1963), 10 and n. 8; A. Jamme, *Sabaean and Ḥasaean inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, Rome 1966, 72, 76-82; A.F.L. Beeston, *Some observations on Greek and Latin data relating to South Arabia*, in *BSOAS*, lxii (1979), 7 n. 5; D.T. Potts, *Thaj and the location of Gerrha*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, xiv (1984), 87-91; idem, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, Oxford 1990, ii, 30-8, 70-1, 87-8, 197-203.

(G.R. SMITH)

THAGHR [see AL-THUGHŪR].

AL-**THAGHRĪ**, ABŪ SAʿĪD YŪSUF b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī, ʿAbbāsid commander of the middle decades of the 3rd/9th century, who presumably derived his professional *nisba* from service along the Byzantine frontiers (*thughūr* [*q.v.*], sing. *thaghr*; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 136-7, gives two scholars with this same *nisba*, connected respectively with Tarsus and Adana). Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he was the patron of his fellow-Ṭāʾī, the poet al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*]. (ED.)

THAILAND (formerly Siam), Islam in. Thailand is now and has always been overwhelmingly Buddhist (about 90% of the population). Islam is the second largest religion, although data on numbers are difficult to establish with certainty. The best estimate seems to be that there are about a million and a half or perhaps more in Thailand. Of these about half are ethnic Malay-Muslims, concentrated in the four southern provinces [see PATANI]. The remainder is made up of a number of disparate groups, of which we may identify the following. First, the Muslim-Thai, i.e. those who are ethnically Thai and culturally Thai in all respects except that they are Muslim. Second, the Cham [see ČAM] from western Cambodia, who are mainly concentrated in the east coast districts and in Bangkok. Their numbers have increased from the 1970s with the refugee exodus from Cambodia. Third, the West Asian group, comprising Persians and Arabs. This group is prominent in business and also in Muslim administration, having close ties with government and government officials. Fourth, there is a heterogeneous group of South Asians, mainly from the Pandjāb and Bengal. Finally, there are the Thai-Malay, i.e. ethnic Malays who have acculturated themselves into Thai society, speaking Thai and taking Thai wives. Over the course of time, they will probably assimilate with the Muslim-Thai. Apart from the Persians, the great majority are Sunnī Shāfiʿīs, though the Ḥanafī school also has adherents.

Thailand is often described as a "bureaucratic polity," and this is demonstrated in the national system for the administration of Islam. There is a three-tier system of control.

(i) The Mosque Committee. The functions of the Committee are specified in fairly detailed legislation (the Mosques Acts of 1947, 1955, and Regulations of 1948, 1949). The main duties are to manage the mosque and its property according to Islamic and state law, to ensure the proper observance of Islam, and to provide for and maintain the registration of the mosque. Registration is not compulsory, but without it a mosque is not entitled to government financial aid. The great majority of mosques (well over 2,000) are registered.

(ii) The Provincial Committee for Islamic Affairs. Each of the provinces of Thailand has such a Committee. Primarily, it has two functions: first to supervise the competence and practice of the mosque committees, and, second, to act as adviser to and liaison with the secular provincial authorities.

(iii) The Central Committee for Islamic Affairs. This Committee, located in Bangkok, is the apex of the Islamic administration system. It is headed by the Chulamontri (Sheikhul Islam), the King's adviser on matters relating to Islam. He is appointed directly by the King, on the advice of the Minister for the Interior, and can only be removed by the King. His tenure is for life. The Committee is located jointly in the Ministry of Interior (Dept. of Local Authority) and Ministry of Education (Dept. of Religious Affairs). The Committee has responsibility for the overall supervision of mosques, provincial committees, and for the allocation of finance. It also has attempted a number of translations from Arabic to Thai with variable success. However, its primary function is to incorporate Islam and the Muslims into the state administration, again with varying degrees of success, especially in the south [see PATANI].

The main problem for Muslims, or for any other minority in Thailand, lies in government policy. This oscillates between integration and assimilation. While a good degree of religious freedom has always been permitted, a plurality of culture has never been accepted. So far as Islam is concerned, it will be of little concern to the Thai authorities, provided that individual Muslims have achieved a reasonable degree of assimilation. On the other hand, where Islam is identified with a non-Thai culture, as in the Malay-Muslim south, then conflict is inevitable.

Bibliography: Omar Farouk, *The Muslims of Thailand*, in Lutpi Ibrahim (ed.), *Islamika*, Kuala Lumpur 1981, 97-120; R. Scupin, *Cham Muslims of Thailand*, in *Jnal. of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, x (1989), 486-92.

(M.B. HOOKER)

AL-**THĀʾIR FI ʾLLĀH**, ABU ʾL-FAḌL DJAʿFAR b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shāʿir, Zaydī ʿAlid ruler of Hawsam [*q.v.*] 319-50/931-61.

His mother was a daughter of his paternal grand-

father's brother, the Zaydī imām al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ [see AL-ḤASAN AL-UṬRŪSH], who had been active in Hawsam teaching Zaydī Islam among the Gīlīs and the Daylamīs before conquering Āmul and Ṭabaristān. As Zaydī ʿAlid rule collapsed in Ṭabaristān, al-Thāʾir was able to establish it further west in Hawsam on a durable basis. Following the example of al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ, he repeatedly invaded Ṭabaristān, seizing Āmul, but was never able to hold the town for more than a few months. The first time, in 320/932, he was allied with the Daylamī Mākān [*q.v.*]. In three further invasions between 337/948 and 341/953, he was first allied with the Ustandār of Rūyān, then with the Ziyārid Wushmgīr, and finally with the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla. He died in 350/961 and was buried in Miyān Dih, 30 km/20 miles east of Hawsam (Rūdisar), where his tomb still exists. His descendants, several of whom adopted his regnal name al-Thāʾir fi ʾllāh, continued to rule in Hawsam, at times in competition with descendants of al-Nāṣir li ʾl-Ḥaḳḳ and other ʿAlids. When Lāhīdjān in the 6th/12th century replaced Hawsam as the centre of Zaydī scholarship in eastern Gīlān, a branch of the family was active there.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-**THAḲAFĪ**, IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, Abū Isḥāḳ, Shīʿī writer and scholar, b. at an unknown date around the beginning of the 3rd century A.H., d. 283/896.

His ancestors, from the Thaḳīf, had always been faithful partisans of the ʿAlids, and his great-grandfather, the Companion Saʿd b. Masʿūd, had been governor of al-Madāʾin for ʿAlī, with his loyal qualities displayed at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] in 37/658 (al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 144). Regrettably little is known of Ibrāhīm's life and intellectual development, but he was brought up in Zaydī Shīʿī circles in Kūfa, showing a tendency, however, when he grew up for a moderate Imāmism. His vast knowledge and talents were appreciated by his contemporaries (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1350/1971, 279; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 294-5). His moderation and objectivity caused him to leave his natal town under pressure from extremist Shīʿīs after having difficulties with the dissemination of his *al-Maʿrifa fi ʾl-manāḳib wa ʾl-mathālib* (sc. of the *Ahl al-Bayt*), and despite receiving offers from colleagues in Ḳumm, he preferred to move to the freer atmosphere of Iṣfahān, where he lived till he died.

Al-Thakafī was a fertile author. According to Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, Nadjaf 1380/1961, 27-8, he wrote some 50 works, mainly on Imāmism and ʿAlid history, fields in which he was a recognised authority. One may mention particularly the *K. al-Imāma al-kabīr*, *K. al-Ashriba*, *K. al-Ruʾyā*, *K. al-Taʾrīkh* (a universal history), *K. Ṣiffīn*, *K. al-Djamal* (i.e. the Battle of the Camel), *K. Maḳtal Amīr al-Muʾminīn* (sc. ʿAlī), *K. Maḳtal al-Ḥusayn*, *K. Rasāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn wa-akhbārihi*, etc. From all this rich production, only one work has survived, the *K. al-Ghārāt* or *al-Istinfār wa ʾl-ghārāt* (ed. ʿAbd al-Zahrāʾ al-Khaṭīb, Damascus-Beirut 1410/1990), dealing with the conflict of ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya and stressing the latter's raids into the lands controlled by ʿAlī after Ṣiffīn and the arbitration at Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*]. The Muʿtazilī Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḥadīd gives long passages from it in his *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* (Cairo 1385-7/1965-7, ii, 6, 9-15, 85-8, 113-25, 286, 291, 294, 301; iii, 127-48; iv, 34-53, 57, 80, 83-7, 89-92, 94, 96-100, 106; vi, 56-1010, 128, 136-7; vii, 46-7) used by the editor al-Khaṭīb to supplement the unique Ẓāhiriyya ms. of the *K. al-Ghārāt*.

Bibliography: See also Samʿānī, iii, 137; Ṣafadī, vi, 120-1; Abū ʿAlī al-Astarābādhī, *Muntahā al-maḳāl*, Tehran 1302/1884, 25-6; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *Dharīʿa*, v, 62, 64-5; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, v, 414-23; Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, 2; Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 45, 355; al-Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-Shīʿa*, Kāẓimiyya 1370/1951, 72; Brockelmann, S I, 225; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 56; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, i, 95, 109; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 321; ʿAbd al-Zahrāʾ al-Khaṭīb, *Maṣādir Nahdj al-balāgha*, Nadjaf 1386/1966, i, 62-4; idem, introd. to ed. of the *K. al-Ghārāt*, 3-8.

(MOKTAR DJEBLI)

AL-**THAḲAFĪ**, YŪSUF B. ʿUMAR, governor of ʿIrāḳ between 120/738 and 126/744 under the Umayyad caliphs Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd II b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His father, ʿUmar, was a cousin of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], both being grandsons of al-Ḥakam b. Abī ʿAḳīl of the B. Saʿd b. ʿAwf of Thaḳīf. As governor, his residence was in al-Ḥīra rather than in al-Kūfa, the more usual gubernatorial seat.

Before his appointment over ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf had been governor of Yemen, where he had been installed by the caliph Hishām, probably in 106/725. Reports about his activities there mainly concern his suppression of various Khāridjite rebellions. There is also a tradition that he was responsible for the death of Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*] during his governorate in Yemen.

Hishām commanded him to go to ʿIrāḳ in 120/738 in order to depose and take over from Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*]. Much of the material relating to Yūsuf in the sources concerns the circumstances of his takeover from Khālid and his subsequent prolonged and interrupted attempts to extract from the latter the wealth he had accumulated during his lengthy governorship over ʿIrāḳ. After the death of Hishām, al-Walīd b. Yazīd is reported to have sold the former governor to Yūsuf for a considerable sum of money, and Khālid died under Yūsuf's torture at the beginning of 126/late 743. The other major event connected with Yūsuf's period of office was the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in al-Kūfa in 121-2/739-40, which was suppressed by him.

The coming of Yūsuf to ʿIrāḳ was associated with an intensification of the rivalry between Yemen and Muḍar and with a shift from Yemeni to Muḍarī dominance. Thaḳīf were part of Ḳays (Muḍar), and Yūsuf replaced the Yemeni governors and officials with men of his own. There are accounts in the sources of Yūsuf's maltreatment and torture of several of Khālid's appointees. It is not clear how far he was responsible for the appointment of Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] over Khurāsān. Naṣr is generally portrayed as owing his appointment to the caliph Hishām, but some reports have Yūsuf playing a part (others show him as being opposed to Naṣr), while al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1665) cites a verse which claims that Yūsuf himself chose Naṣr for the job.

His own fall from office followed the murder of al-Walīd II and the succession of Yazīd III b. al-Walīd as caliph (Djumādā II 126/April 744). When

the latter sent Manṣūr b. Djumhūr al-Kalbī to replace him as governor over ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf fled to the Balḳāʾ, where he was subsequently captured. Imprisoned in Damascus, as Marwān b. Muḥammad advanced towards that town late in 744 or early in 745 in the aftermath of the death of Yazīd III, Yūsuf was killed in his prison, together with the two sons of al-Walīd II who were also prisoners there. The sources refer both to Yūsuf's stupidity and his cruelty, and to his lavish public displays of generosity.

Bibliography: Caskel-Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, index; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vi,b, ed. Kh. ʿAthāmina, Jerusalem 1993, index; anon., *al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, part 3, in M.J. de Goeje (ed.), *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, Leiden 1871, index; Khalīfa b. al-Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī, Nadjaf 1967, index; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, Ḥaydarābād 1975, viii, 108 ff.; al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ wa'l-kuttāb*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1938, index; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ li-Ibn ʿAsākir*, Damascus 1989, xxviii, 85-9; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vii, 101-12, tr. de Slane iv, 435-48; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. Tadmurī, Beirut 1991, *ṭabaḳa* 13 (121-30 A.H.), pp. 315-18; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902 Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, index; F. Gabrieli, *Il Califatto di Hishâm. Studi di storia omayyade*, Alexandria 1935, esp. 27-33; P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, Cambridge 1980, 44, 149-53; eadem, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?*, in *Isl.*, lxxi (1994), 1-57, esp. 28-31, 52-54.

(G.R. HAWTING)

THAḲĪF, a tribe of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*], more precisely, of the Hawāzin [*q.v.*]. Before Islam the Thaḳīf controlled the walled town of al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*]; groups of the Thaḳīf, some settled and some nomadic, still live in al-Ṭāʾif and its vicinity.

In the early Islamic period, the Thaḳīf were divided into two rival subdivisions, the less prestigious Aḥlāf or "allies" and the Mālik. The Aḥlāf included the ʿAwf branch of Thaḳīf as a whole and a group from the Djusham branch, while the Mālik were the descendants of Mālik b. Ḥuṭayṭ b. Djusham. Although there is evidence of fighting between the two subdivisions before Islam, they probably neutralised each other, thereby safeguarding internal peace in al-Ṭāʾif. The division of the Thaḳīf was reflected, e.g., in the battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] shortly after Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca, where each subdivision fought under its own banner.

The relationship between the Thaḳīf and the Ḳuraysh was a matter of major importance in Islamic history. Already before Islam the two tribes were trade partners, while at the same time competing for agricultural land in the fertile area surrounding al-Ṭāʾif. Intermarriages were commonplace. For example, al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] was married (at different times) to three daughters of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Thaḳafī (Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam), whom Muʿāwiya I [*q.v.*] appointed governor of al-Kūfa [*q.v.*], was the caliph's nephew. Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, the grandfather of Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ, had four daughters who married prominent Thaḳafīs. Obviously, when the Marwānids [*q.v.*] came to power, their Thaḳafī in-laws were their natural partners.

The Thaḳīf were among the staunchest Arabian tribes in their opposition to Muḥammad. After his unsuccessful siege of al-Ṭāʾif in 8/630—supported by Ḳurashīs who feared a Thaḳafī takeover of their estates near al-Ṭāʾif—Muḥammad changed his tactics. He played against the Thaḳīf their Bedouin allies who, under Mālik b. ʿAwf [*q.v.*] al-Naṣrī, blockaded their town. The Thaḳīf delegation who under this pressure came to Medina to negotiate conversion to Islam managed nonetheless to secure for the tribe some significant concessions (M.J. Kister, *Some reports concerning al-Ṭāʾif*, in *JSAI*, i [1979], 1-18, at 1-11). Muḥammad's peaceful victory for evermore established the supremacy of the Ḳuraysh over the Thaḳīf.

The Thaḳīf were soon to occupy in the Islamic state a position befitting their cultural level and prestige and their share of power was larger than that of many stronger tribes. The conquests opened up for them new economic horizons, especially in ʿIrāḳ, and they benefited from the liberal policy of the rulers with regard to economic activities by the governors. Their success made them a popular target for inter-tribal polemics and Shīʿī propaganda, and hostile claims concerning their origin abounded. For instance, the Thaḳīf were said to have descended from the Thamūd [*q.v.*] (Kister and Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1977], 48-68, at 60-1).

During the "golden age" of Arabic philology, detailed attention was given to the Thaḳīf. For example, al-Madāʾinī compiled *Akhbār Thaḳīf* ("Accounts about the Thaḳīf") and *Man tazawwadja fī Thaḳīf min Ḳuraysh* ("The Ḳurashīs who married into the Thaḳīf"), Ibn al-Kalbī compiled *Mathālib Thaḳīf* ("The faults of the Thaḳīf") and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār dedicated a monograph to the pre-Islamic poet Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*]. Several monographs dealt with the famous governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.vv.*].

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(M. LECKER)

THAʿLAB (A.), masculine substantive (pls. *thaʿālib*, *thaʿāl*[in]) denoting the fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), carnivore of the canine tribe, belonging to the class of Canidae and the family of Vulpinae; in Persian *wāwi*, *rūbāh*, and in Turkish *tilki*. The vixen is called *thaʿlaba*, *thuʿala*, *thurmula*, *thuʿlubān* and the fox-cub is *hidjris* and *tanfal*. Furthermore, the fox bears the nicknames of *Abu 'l-Ḥuṣayn*, *Abu 'l-Nadjm*, *Abu 'l-Nawfal*, *Abu 'l-Wathab*, and *Abū Hinbiṣ*, while the vixen is *Umm ʿUwayl*.

The guile which is the dominant feature of the fox is acknowledged by the expressions *amkar min thaʿlab* "more cunning than a fox" and *arwagh min thaʿlab* "more crafty than a fox". Guided by innate mistrust, it uses numerous ploys when in search of food; thus it only approaches prey furtively and indirectly (*thaʿlaba*, *tathaʿlaba al-radjah*, *rawaghān*), preferring hard and dry ground (*tawbīr*) so as to avoid leaving footprints and, finally, feigning death (*tamāwut*), inflating itself to the maximum and lying with paws in the air, resembling a corpse several days old. By this means it catches the porcupine (*shayham*) which it devours gladly. To repel potential enemies such as the wolf, it leaves particularly vile-smelling droppings (*sulāḥ*) in its wake. To rid itself of infestation by fleas, the fox goes and wallows in a swamp, leaving only the end of its muzzle out of the water and holding between its fangs a ball

of vegetal material on which all the fleas seek refuge; once it is covered with these parasites, the fox throws the ball into the water, thus drowning its occupants. A country where foxes abound is called *mut̲h̲aʿlib*. The Arabophone countries know only the geographical forms of the fox *pallidus* and *niloticus*.

According to al-Damīrī, the fox has certain properties which counterbalance its reputation. The quality of its pelt has always made it a highly-prized item of clothing, supplying both warmth and elegance. Its head, placed in a dovecote, drives away all the pigeons. One of its fangs, fastened to an infant, suppresses the pain of teething; applied to an epileptic it brings rapid relief, as does the gall when dried, pulverised and inhaled through the nostrils. Its flesh is beneficent in the treatment of elephantiasis (*d̲j̲ud̲h̲ām*), although Islamic law prohibits its consumption. Its fat is a useful ointment in the treatment of gout (*nikris*) and otitis (*iltihāb al-ud̲h̲un*). One of its testicles, hung on an infant, has the same effect as its fang in soothing teething pain. One of its ears, when applied to a neck affected by scrofula (*k̲h̲anāzīr*), suppresses them rapidly. Its testicles, pulverised and dissolved in boiling liquid, have an aphrodisiac property; its excrement, applied to the penis in the form of a lotion, has the same effect. The blood of the fox, smeared on an infant's head, causes the hair to grow, even if the child has scabies (*d̲j̲arab*). Finally, holding its testicles in the hand dispels all fear of dogs.

In oneiromancy, seeing a fox presages an affectionate spouse and a happy conjugal life. The term *t̲h̲aʿlab* occurs in the expression *dāʾ al-t̲h̲aʿlab* "fox disease", applied to alopecia and baldness, while *ʿinab al-t̲h̲aʿlab* "fox grape", denotes the currant. In astronomy, *al-t̲h̲aʿlabiyyāt* applies to several stars of the Great Bear. Finally, *t̲h̲aʿlab* is, in the context of the date-palm, a synonym of *fasīl*, secondary growth which needs to be pruned away.

Bibliography: D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938-45, *passim*; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1937, ii, 174-9; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt* (on the margins of Damīrī), ii, 221; Dr. Chenu, *Encyclopédie d'histoire naturelle*, Paris 1875, ii, 80-94; M. Fillion, *Atlas d'histoire naturelle de la Bible*, Paris 1884, 98; A. Malouf (Amīn Maʿlūf), *Muʿd̲j̲am al-ḥayawān. An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1937, ii, 174-9; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, Berlin 1990, index s.v. Fuchs.

(F. Viré)

T̲H̲AʿLAB, Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. Sayyār al-S̲h̲aybānī (*mawlā* of the Banū S̲h̲aybān), famous grammarian and philologist of the so-called "Kufan school". He was born in 200/815-16 in Bag̲h̲dād, where he lived and worked throughout his entire life. T̲h̲aʿlab died, old and deaf, in a road accident on 13 D̲j̲umādā I 291/2 April 904 and was laid to rest in Bag̲h̲dād's Bāb al-S̲h̲ām cemetery.

T̲h̲aʿlab was, we are told, a Ḥanbalī, pious and trustworthy, famous for his reliability in Arabic, ancient poetry, Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīt̲h̲*. Even his alleged Baṣran rival al-Mubarrad [*q.v.*] credited him for being the most learned of all the Kūfans. Due to his reputation, T̲h̲aʿlab attained a prominent position in high places. He was the friend of the Ṭāhirid governor of Bag̲h̲dād, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*], and he was responsible for the education at court of the governor's children.

According to T̲h̲aʿlab himself, he commenced studying Arabic at the age of sixteen. Within ten years he had memorised all known books by al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*] whom he had never personally met. T̲h̲aʿlab learned grammar from al-Farrāʾ's pupil Salama b. ʿĀṣim (d. *ca.* 240/854) and lexicography from al-Kisāʾī's pupil Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Aʿrābī [see ibn al-aʿrābī]. T̲h̲aʿlab's pupils include al-Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲ al-Aṣg̲h̲ar [see al-ak̲h̲fas̲h̲), Ibn al-Anbārī (Abū Bakr) and G̲h̲ulām T̲h̲aʿlab [*q.vv.*]. T̲h̲aʿlab taught al-Farrāʾ's famous *K. al-Ḥudūd* in Bag̲h̲dād, where he subsequently became known as the *imām al-Kūfiyyīn* in the field of Arabic grammar and lexicography.

T̲h̲aʿlab wrote over 40 books on Ḳurʾānic studies, lexicography, and poetry, but his main contribution was to the field of grammar. Among his extant published grammatical works are *K. al-Faṣīḥ* (ed. ʿĀṭif Madkūr, Cairo 1984) on *laḥn al-ʿāmma* [*q.v.*] and *al-Amālī* or *K. al-Mad̲j̲ālis* (ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, 2 vols., Cairo 1969), a collection of reports on philological discussions which provide valuable insights into the academic culture of the 3rd/9th century [see mad̲j̲lis].

As an ardent defender of Kūfan linguistic views against the Baṣrans, T̲h̲aʿlab was deeply involved in the traditional rivalry between the so-called ʿIrāḳī schools of grammar [see naḥw]. He had little affinity with Baṣran grammatical theories, but he read the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi [*q.v.*] apparently to keep pace with al-Mubarrad, to whom he had already lost several of his most promising students (notably Abū Isḥāḳ al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ [*q.v.*]). The apogee of the Baṣran/Kūfan dichotomy is conventionally considered to be the many disputes between T̲h̲aʿlab and al-Mubarrad. It is from these debates that the significance of T̲h̲aʿlab as a grammarian becomes manifest since, contrary to his opponent al-Mubarrad, he emphasised *samāʿ* rather than the use of *ḳiyās* and *ʿilla* [*q.vv.*] in grammatical issues (e.g. al-Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *Mad̲j̲ālis*, 94-7).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, Cairo 1955, 95-6; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 139-41; D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, [9]Beirut 1993, xiv, 5-7; Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, 4 vols. Beirut n.d., i, 83-4; Ibn K̲h̲allikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 536-54; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo 1929, 110-1; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, 4 vols. Cairo 1986, i, 173-86; Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, Wiesbaden 1964, 334-7; Suyūṭī, *Bug̲h̲ya*, i, 396-8; *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Bag̲h̲dād*, v, 204-12; Zad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ī, *Mad̲j̲ālis*, ed. Hārūn, [2]Cairo 1983; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1973, 141-50.

2. Studies. S̲h̲. Ḍayf, *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya*, Cairo 1968, 224-37; A. al-Layt̲h̲ī, *al-Naḥw fī Mad̲j̲ālis T̲h̲aʿlab*, Cairo 1991; M. Mak̲h̲zūmī, *al-Dars al-Naḥwī fī Bag̲h̲dād*, [2]Beirut 1987, 51-6; M. Mak̲h̲zūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, [3]Beirut 1986, 144-61; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 14, 140-2; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 267.

(Monique Bernards)

T̲H̲AʿLABA, a common old Arab proper name (more rarely T̲h̲aʿlab) and eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia. Thus we have the T̲h̲aʿlaba b. ʿUḳāba of the great tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil (Yamāma as far as Baḥrayn); the T̲h̲aʿlaba b. Saʿd b. D̲h̲ubyān of the tribe of G̲h̲aṭafān in the Nafūd region; the T̲h̲aʿlaba b. Yarbūʿ of the tribe of Tamīm; the T̲h̲aʿālib Ṭayyiʾ clans of the Ṭayyiʾ [*q.v.*]. A T̲h̲aʿlaba b. ʿAmr b. Mud̲j̲ālid is mentioned as the first phylarch of the G̲h̲assānid dynasty [see g̲h̲assān]. The "Roman Arabs of the house of T̲h̲aʿlaba" mentioned by Joshua Stylites as taking part in the wars with the Lak̲h̲mids [*q.v.*] are either of G̲h̲assānid origin (Nöldeke) or belong to the Bakrī T̲h̲aʿlaba (G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḫmiden in al-Ḥîra*, Berlin 1899). Amongst the South Arabian tribes, we have Azdī and Kinānī T̲h̲aʿlaba. A T̲h̲aʿlaba clan of the Aws in Yat̲h̲rib and a T̲h̲aʿlaba

b. al-Fiṭyawn of the Jewish Ḳaynuḳāʿ may also be mentioned. A member of this clan, called Mukhayrīḳ, distinguished for his learning and generally hostile to the Prophet, is said to have adopted Islam and fallen at Uḥud (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1424; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 24 ff.).

Bibliography: Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ṭabarī, index, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen, B,* and *Register*, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, i, Tafeln, no. 128, ii, Register, 547-53; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, i/2, Washington 1995, 832. (H.H. Bräu)

AL-**THAʿLABĪ**, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD b. Ibrāhīm Abū Isḥāḳ al-Nīsābūrī, Ḳurʾān exegete and collector of stories, d. Muḥarram 427/November 1035. Al-Thaʿlabī is famous today for two works. His massive *tafsīr, al-Kashf wa 'l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, remains unpublished except for the bibliographical introduction (ed. I. Goldfeld, *Quranic commentary in the Eastern Islamic tradition of the first four centuries of the hijra: an annotated edition of the preface to al-Thaʿlabī's "Kitāb al-kashf wa 'l-bayān ʿan Tafsīr al-Qurʾān"*, Acre 1984). The work raised concerns in the past for its reliability: its sources include those traditionally deemed untrustworthy within the *tafsīr* tradition (e.g. Muḳātil b. Sulaymān; Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī [*q.vv.*]), and this probably accounts for its being ignored for publication down to today. The *Maʿālim al-tanzīl* of al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) is said to be a condensed version of al-Thaʿlabī's work.

The second famous work by al-Thaʿlabī is his book on the stories of the prophets [see ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ], *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, which gives a taste of the character of his *tafsīr*. Printed many times (Būlāḳ 1286 probably being the earliest) and available in several inexpensive mass editions, it is a work of popular imagination designed for education and entertainment. Organised according to the historical sequence of the prophets, many of the accounts are elaborations from the same sources used by al-Ṭabarī (see the analysis in T. Nagel, *Die Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Bonn 1967, 80-102). It has become the standard source of Islamic prophet stories, alongside the work of al-Kisāʾī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa 'l-mufassirūn*, ²Cairo 1967, i, 227-34; see Goldfeld's edition, 9, for other biographical sources; Nöldeke, *GdesQ*, ii, 173-4; Brockelmann, I, 350; an English tr. of *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* is expected soon. (A. Rippin)

AL-**THAʿLABĪ** (or AL-TAGHLIBĪ), MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀRITH, little-known Arab prose writer, quite possibly of Persian descent, who wrote around the middle of the 3rd/9th century the extant mirror of princes *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* [see NAṢĪḤAT AL-MULŪK] for al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān (killed 247/861 [*q.v.*]), favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil.

In the existing late and undated mss. this work is wrongly attributed, if at all, to al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]. In one of the mss. it bears the false title *K. al-Tādj*; in another one it is called, still not quite correctly, *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, consequently, published the work in his edition under al-Djāḥiẓ's name and with the title *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*. At the same time, Zakī spent much effort in the introduction to his edition to prove the authorship of al-Djāḥiẓ. Several European scholars followed his arguments. However, the best experts on this great prose writer, O. Rescher, Ḥ. al-Sandūbī, and Ch. Pellat (as well as G. Richter and J. Fück) categorically denied al-Djāḥiẓ's authorship, *inter alia* because of the "decidedly Iranian worldview" ("entschieden iranischen Einstellung", Rescher, *Excerpte*, 266) of the author of *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, which is exactly the opposite of that of the anti-Shuʿūbī al-Djāḥiẓ. J. Fück (*ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 72) and Ch. Pellat (*Couronne*, 14-15) had already assumed al-Thaʿlabī to be the true author of the book, since a work with the title *Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* is ascribed to an author of that name both in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūdj al-dhahab* (ed. Pellat, i, Beirut 1965, 13-14) and in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 148); al-Masʿūdī expressly states that this book was dedicated to al-Fatḥ b. Khāḳān, and Ibn al-Nadīm establishes a connection between the author and al-Fatḥ also.

The definitive identification of the author with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaʿlabī was made possible through the discovery of a later mirror for princes entitled *K. Ādāb al-mulūk* (cf. Schoeler, *Verfasser*, 223 ff.; idem, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 159). So far, two manuscripts of this compilation have surfaced; in one of them (Berlin ms. or. oct. 2673, dated 630/1233) it is ascribed to an otherwise unknown Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī (?) b. Razīn al-Kātib (?) (cf. Schoeler, *loc. cit.*); in the other (Ankara [?], dated 847/1444) to Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]), the well-known disciple of the philosopher al-Kindī (cf. Rosenthal, *From Arabic books*..., XVI, 150 ff.). This *K. Ādāb al-mulūk* is based for the most part on a *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Thaʿlabī (or al-Taghlibī; the diacritics vary), a work that is mentioned as a source already in the foreword and quoted repeatedly with its author's name. Comparisons between these quotations and the corresponding passages in the printed so-called *K. al-Tādj* (cf. Schoeler, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 159, p. 159, and pl. no. 39; Rosenthal, *loc. cit.* 109, appendix) prove unambiguously the identity of both works.

The decidedly Persian mentality of al-Thaʿlabī and his strong interest in the Persian past (F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xi [1926-8], 292-305, and A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*, ²Copenhagen 1944, have both attempted to reconstruct from his book Sāsānid court etiquette and mores) emerge quite clearly from this work and suggest that its author was of Persian descent. By the author's own testimony in the foreword to the *K. Akhlāḳ al-mulūk* (*K. al-Tādj*, 3) we know for certain that he has written another book with the title *Akhlāḳ al-fityān wa-faḍāʾil ahl al-biṭāla* "The mores of the *fityān* [see FUTUWWA] and the virtues of the mountebanks". In addition, Ibn al-Nadīm attributes to him a collection of *Rasāʾil* and a *K. al-Rawḍa* "Book of the Garden". Otherwise nothing is known about him. He is not identical with the singer and musician Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith b. Buskhunnar (or Bashkhīr) who was active under the caliphs al-Maʾmūn, al-Wāthiḳ, and al-Mutawakkil (thus a contemporary of al-Thaʿlabī) and who is the object of two short articles in the *K. al-Aghānī* of Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī (³xii, 48-53, xxiii, 176-80).

Bibliography: (Ps.-)Djāḥiẓ, *K. al-Tādj fī akhlāḳ al-mulūk*, ed. A. Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1322/1914, French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le Livre de la Couronne*, Paris 1954; O. Rescher, *Excerpte und Übersetzungen aus den Schriften des... Ǧāḥiẓ*, i, Stuttgart 1931; G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipzig 1932; F. Rosenthal, *From Arabic books and manuscripts. XVI. As-Sarakhsī (?) on the appropriate behavior for kings*, in *JAOS*, cxv (1995), 105-9; G. Schoeler, *Verfasser und Titel des dem Ǧāḥiẓ zugeschriebenen sog.* K. al-Tādj, in *ZDMG*, cxxx (1980), 217-25; idem, *Arabische Handschriften* (VOHD, Bd, xvii, Reihe B, 2), Stuttgart 1990. (G. Schoeler)

AL-**THAʿLABIYYA**, a station on the Kūfa to Mecca Pilgrimage route, the so-called Darb

Zubayda [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. It lay in Nadjd in what is now the northeastern corner of Saudi Arabia, towards the ʿIrāḳī border, in approx. lat. 28° 50' N., long. 43° 20' E. some 180 km/112 miles north-north-east of Fayd [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. It is mentioned by such geographers as Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Rusta, Ḳudāma and al-Muḳaddasī, and such pilgrims as Ibn Djubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through it. It was the birthplace of the 2nd/8th century poet Ibn Muṭayr [*q.v.*]. Today, the site of al-Thaʿlabiyya is in the shallow valley and grazing ground of Shaʿīb al-Bidʿ, and its remains include a *birka* or cistern.

Bibliography: A. Musil, *Northern Neğd*, New York 1928, 27; S.A. Al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah. The Pilgrim road from Kufa to Mecca*, Riyād 1980, 85-6 and *passim*, Pl. xv at 377. (Ed.)

THALLĀDJ (A.), the seller of snow or ice (*thaldj*) in the mediaeval caliphate (the *nisba* al-Thaldjī, known for a certain number of traditionists, relates to the Banū Thaldj, a branch of Kināna; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, i, Table 280, ii, 553; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 144-5; for traditionists with the *nisba* of al-Thallādj, see *ibid.*, iii, 156-8). *Thaldj* is mentioned in *ḥadīth*, there being attributed to the Prophet the sayings *Allāhumma barrid ḳalbī bi 'l-thaldj* "O Lord, cool my heart with snow!" and *Allāhumma ghsil khaṭāyāya bi 'l-mā' wa 'l-thaldj wa 'l-barad* "O Lord, wash away my sins with water, snow and hail (or *bard* "coolness")!" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 298-9).

Snow and ice, probably derived from the Zagros Mountains region adjacent to the plains of Mesopotamia, were commodities sold at high prices in ʿIrāḳ during the caliphate, being used medicinally as a treatment for some forms of illness and for cooling drinks. Al-Tanūkhī tells how a *thallādj* of Baghdād made his fortune by selling ice to the Ṭāhirid governor of Baghdād, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 300/913 [*q.v.*]), who paid 10,000 dirhams for a *raṭl* of ice for treating his ill slave girl Shādjī (see *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Abood Chalchy, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, i, 125-7). According to Hilāl al-Ṣābi', the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, on his re-appointment to office in the early 4th/10th century, entertained his partisans by offering drinks made with 40,000 pounds of ice (*K. al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Amedroz as *The Historical remains*, Leiden 1904, 63). The Būyid vizier Ibn Baḳiyya [*q.v.*] was able to supply his master ʿIzz al-Dīn Bakhtiyār with 30 *raṭls* of ice, and Miskawayh records that when Ibn Baḳiyya fell from power and was arrested, 6,000 *raṭls* of ice were found in his wine store ready for a feast he was going to give to the army leaders (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 374, tr. v, 410).

Concerning sources of supply, the mountain regions of western Persia and Kurdistan were sources for the urban centres of ʿIrāḳ, but occasionally there was bitter winter weather on the plains when hail stones or ice could be gathered (cf. mention of such weather in Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 33, 118-19). Al-Samʿānī mentions that the grandfather of a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Thallādj, ʿAbd Allāh al-Thallādj, used to gather snow for himself at Ḥulwān, but came to supply it for the Regent al-Muwaffaḳ when the latter was seeking for it (*Ansāb*, iii, 156-7). In Syria, the mountains of the western part of the province, the peaks of which retained their snow cover for virtually all the year (cf. the name Djabal al-Thaldj given to Mount Hermon), supplied snow for Syria and for export to Egypt; cf. Muḥ. Saʿīd al-Ḳāsimī, *Ḳāmūs al-ṣināʿāt al-shāmiyya/Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris-The Hague 1960, i, 72-3. On the Persian plateau, the people of Sāwa and Āba in Djibāl let water freeze in pits during the winter and then used the ice in summer (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 66, 68). It must have been ice from the frozen rivers of Khwārazm in the severe winters there or snow which was used to pack the leaden containers in which the famous *bārandj* ("coloured") melons of Khwārazm were exported to the ʿIrāḳ of al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthiḳ, each container, if it arrived safely, being valued at 700 dirhams (al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 142).

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THĀLNĒR, a town of the northwestern Deccan or South India, situated on the middle course of the Tāptī River in lat. 21° 15' N., long. 74° 58' E. (see the map in GUDJARĀT, at Vol. II, 1126).

Its fame in mediaeval Indo-Muslim history arises from its being the first capital of the Fārūḳī rulers [see FĀRŪḲIDS] of Khāndēsh [*q.v.*] before they later moved to Burhānpūr [*q.v.*]. It had been a centre of Hindu power in western India when Malik Rādjā Aḥmad chose it towards the end of the 8th/14th century. It was captured in 914/1509 by the Gudjarāt Sultan Maḥmūd Begaṛhā [*q.v.*], who installed his own candidate on the Fārūḳī throne there. In 1009/1600-1 it fell into Mughal hands and then in 1730 into those of the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*], from whom it was captured after a fierce struggle by Sir Thomas Hislop and incorporated into British India. At present, it is only a small settlement in the Jalgaon District of Maharāshtra State of the Indian Union.

Thālnēr has notable tombs of the first four Fārūḳī rulers and also their palace; see on these, HIND. vii, at Vol. III, 446b, and MAḲBARA. 5, at Vol. VI, 127b.

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THAMISṬIYUS, the Arabic rendering of the Greek name Themistius (*ca.* A.D. 317-88), identified by Ibn al-Nadīm as "a scribe of Julian the Apostate", for whom he was noted as having written a book *On Administration* (*Kitāb fī 'l-Tadbīr*), together with a *Risāla* (critical ed. by C. Prato and A. Fornaro, *Epistola a Temistio/Guliano Imperatore*, Lecce 1984). He was known to the Arabs chiefly as an Aristotelian commentator, being credited with commentaries on the following works: *Categoriae; Analytica priora; Analytica posteriora; Auscultatio physica; De coelo et mundo; De generatione et corruptione; Metaphysics Lambda; Ethics; Topics; De Anima*, possibly to be identified as the *Kitāb al-Nafs* listed by Ibn al-Nadīm as one of Thamisṭiyus's own works. To these ʿA. Badawī adds a commentary on the *De Animalibus*, attributed to Themistius by its manuscript but not by the bibliographers (*Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres épîtres*, Beirut 1986). M. Steinschneider (*Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, 100) refers to a translation by Mattā b. Yūnus [*q.v.*] of the *Iʿtibār al-ḥikam*

wa-taʿakkub al-mawāḍiʿ, also assigned to Themistius. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ composed a work on the *Categories* "in accordance with the doctrine of Themistius", and Ibn al-Nadīm notes a commentary on the *Poetics*, adding that its attribution to Themistius has been considered false.

For the relationship between Islam and philosophy, the most important question addressed by Themistius was that of the intellect. A.F. al-Ahwānī rejects Yūsuf Karam's view that because of his views on the *intellectus agens* and the *intellectus materialis* Themistius can claim Ibn Rushd as one of his followers, while Ibn Sīnā follows Alexander Aphrodisiensis (*Talkhīs Kitāb al-Nafs li-Abi 'l-Walīd b. Rushd*, Cairo 1950, introd. 54). The topic has been covered by F.M. Schroeder and R.B. Todd (*Two Greek Aristotelian commentators on the intellect*, Toronto 1990). In turn, it is affected by the point touched on by Bruno Colpi, where he notes the various identifications of Themistius as a philosopher, an orator, a sophist and an eparch (*Die παιδεῖα des Themistios*, Bern 1987, 13). For the Arab translators, and later for the philosophers who used their works, it must be thought that the primary importance of Themistius lay in his recasting of obscurities rather than in his development of ideas.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, i, 253; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamā'*, Leipzig 1903, index; G.M. Browne, *Ad Themistium Arabum*, in *Illinois Classical Studies*, xi (1986), 223-45; M.C. Lyons, *An Arabic translation of Themistius' commentary on Aristotle's De Anima*, London 1973.

(M.C. Lyons)

THAMŪD, an old Arabian tribe that flourished in ancient times but had disappeared from the ethnographic map of Arabia before the rise of Islam.

References to it in the non-Arabic sources from the Assyrian inscription of Sargon II in 715 B.C. to the *Geography* of Ptolemy (A.D. 136-65) attest both its antiquity and its Ḥidjāzī location; otherwise they are not informative. But a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of the 2nd century, found in Ruwāfa in the northern Ḥidjāz, indicates that the tribe had entered the Roman cultural and political orbit and had intimate connections with Rome: *inter alia*, it erected a temple for the two Augusti, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The *Notitia dignitatum*, a 5th century Byzantine military document, lists two Thamūdī units as serving in the Byzantine army, one in Palestine and the other in Egypt. But after this, the Thamūdīs disappear from the extant sources, and so apparently does the tribe, but it is not clear exactly when and how. The Arab poets of the century before the Hidjra already knew Thamūd as a thing of the past, and so did the genealogists, who consequently relegated it to the tribal limbo that included such groups as Ṭasm [*q.v.*] and Djadīs.

A new lease of life was granted Thamūd with the rise of Islam, when the Ḳur'ān resuscitated it from oblivion and gave it prominence in 21 sūras. Since then it has continued to live in the consciousness of the Arabs and the Muslims till the present day. The Ḳur'ān provided a view of Thamūd from the Arab perspective, with many significant details. It presented Thamūd as a godless people, a group of unbelievers who consequently were visited with condign punishment; their abode was located in al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] in central Ḥidjāz, and the name of their Prophet was Ṣāliḥ. When they hamstrung the "camel of God," his miracle, they were overtaken by a *ṣayḥa* or *radjfa* or *ṣāʿiḳa*, ("cry", "earthquake", "thunderbolt") which destroyed them and their abode, al-Ḥidjr, the name of which was later Islamised as Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. It became an accursed spot and a place of ill-omen even during Muḥammad's lifetime, and as such, it was treated during his march against Tabūk in 9 A.H. when he forbade his soldiers to refresh themselves at its wells. The secular arm of Arabic literature was not slow to avail itself of Ṣāliḥ and Thamūd, and the two appear in mediaeval Arabic poetry in the appropriate contexts.

In modern times, the usage of Thamūd in its adjectival derivation, Thamudic [*q.v.*], has been given as an umbrella title to thousands of inscriptions found in central and northern Arabia, left behind by various tribes, but actually to connect it with the tribe of Thamūd is very hazardous [see THAMUDIC, first paragraph]. All these inscriptions are conceived in Arabic but written in a variety of the Sabaic script, a clear indication that these tribes moved in the Sabaean orbit, the dominant one in the Peninsula in ancient times, when the caravans of the latter traversed Arabia, especially along the *via odorifera*, on a segment of which one of these tribes, Thamūd, lived.

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(Irfan Shahîd)

THAMUDIC, a modern misnomer applied to all those texts in Ancient North Arabian scripts which have not yet been classified more precisely as Taymanitic, Dedanitic (previously "Dedanite" and "Liḥyanite", see under LIḤYĀN), Hasaitic, Hismaic, or Ṣafaitic [*q.v.*]. It is therefore a *Restklassenbildung*, or "undetermined" category, and does not refer to a particular script or dialect. The name is purely conventional and there is no evidence that the inscriptions were in any way connected with the tribe of Thamūd [*q.v.*].

Writing was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia, both among the sedentaries and especially among the nomads, who covered the rocks of the desert with their informal inscriptions and drawings. From possibly as early as the 8th century B.C. to at least the mid-3rd century A.D., numerous North Arabian alphabets were in use throughout the peninsula, though, at present, inscriptions are relatively rare on the Gulf coast. Texts in the various "Thamudic" scripts have been found as far north as the Syrian Ḥawrān, as far south as the Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn in central Yemen, and from western ʿIrāḳ to upper Egypt.

J.R. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, ii, 189) and T.G. Carless (*JBBRAS*, ii [1845], 273-5, pl. xxii) copied some Thamudic inscriptions on a rock near Wadjh in 1831, and G.A. Wallin transcribed a few more in Wādī 'l-ʿUwaynid, north of Tabūk, in 1848 (*J.R.Geog.S.*, xx [1850], 311-13). In 1858 J.G. Wetzstein also copied a handful of Thamudic (e.g. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, v, 3558-9, 3575), together with many Ṣafaitic inscriptions in southern Syria, though these remained unpublished until 1929. It was only after C.M. Doughty, C. Huber and J. Euting had recorded large numbers of Thamudic texts in northern Arabia in the 1870s and 1880s that

a partial decipherment was possible (see J. Halévy, in *Revue sémitique*, ix [1901], 316-55, and E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1904). A few years later, A. Jaussen and M.-R. Savignac published more reliable copies of some 760 inscriptions, again from northwest Arabia (*Mission*, i, ii). In 1936 and 1950-1, H.St.J.B. Philby copied 2,000 Thamudic texts in southern and northern Arabia, but he took no photographs and his copies are so careless that they are worse than useless. In 1951, G. and J. Ryckmans, on the Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens expedition to central and south-western Saudi Arabia, recorded 9,000 graffiti which could not be classified as South Arabian, Dedanitic, Hasaitic or Ṣafaitic and were therefore labelled "Thamudic", thus vastly increasing the range of script-types and different dialectal and onomastic features covered by this rubric (see below, "*Southern Thamudic*"). In 1952 G.L. Harding published over 500 inscriptions from southern Jordan and in the 1980s thousands more were recorded in the same area (see below, *Hismaic*).

The study of Thamudic has been characterised by two different approaches. The first, espoused by H. Grimme (*Die Lösung des Sinaischriftproblems*, Münster 1926) and A. van den Branden (e.g. in *St. Isl.*, vi [1957], 5-27), ignored the fact that the category was a modern creation and assumed that there was a single "Thamudic" script, explaining differences in letter-forms and ductus as the result of chronological, and isolated geographical, developments. However, their arguments were based on comparisons of single letter-forms extracted from undated texts known only from hand-copies of dubious accuracy, and have failed to convince. In 1950, Van den Branden published a collected edition of the 2,000 Thamudic inscriptions then known (*Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*), and in 1956 a further 2,000 copied by Philby (*Les textes thamoudéens de Philby*). However, the intractability of the material, the poor quality of most of the copies, and severe faults in the editor's methodology, mean that little reliance can be placed on the readings or interpretations in these works.

A second approach was initiated by F.V. Winnett in 1937 (Winnett, *A study*). He accepted the miscellaneous nature of the category and recognised that, before the texts could be interpreted, they had to be sorted into groups on the basis of the type of script employed, and then the values of the signs within each group established. Winnett's systematic analysis identified five such groups, to which he gave the neutral labels A, B, C, D, and E, and established the values of most of the letter-forms within each. Although numerous problems remained, Winnett's study laid the foundations for all later work on the subject.

In 1970, he revised his classification, using geographically-based names: Nadjdī (for the former Thamudic B), Ḥidjāzī (for C and D) and Tabūkī (for E) (Winnett and Reed, *Ancient records*, 69-70, and pl. 1). However, these names are misleading since none of these groups is restricted to the region after which it was named, and the former alphabetic labels have generally been retained. Subsequently, it has been possible to identify "A" and "E" as separate scripts, thus removing them from the "Thamudic" category. The remaining types, and the 9,000 texts from south-west Arabia, await more detailed analysis.

Taymanitic (formerly "Thamudic A")

Winnett's detailed (but largely unpublished) studies of his former "Thamudic A" convinced him that the features of its script and orthography were sufficiently clear for it to be removed from the "Thamudic" *Restklassenbildung*. Since virtually all the known texts in this script had been found in the vicinity of Taymā', he named it Taymanite (now "Taymanitic"). Its principal features are: the introductory particle *lm*, *b* for *ibn* in genealogies, possibly a third non-emphatic unvoiced sibilant, /s³/ (see M.C.A. Macdonald, in *JSS*, xxxvi [1991], 11-35), the use of the same letter for /dh/ and /z/, an asterisk-like sign for /th/ and the common, but not invariable, use of word-dividers. Taymanitic is probably one of the earliest of the Old North Arabian alphabets and may be referred to as "the Taymani script" in an 8th century B.C. hieroglyphic Luwian text from Carchemish (see Macdonald, *Reflections*, and references there).

Hismaic (formerly "Thamudic E" or "Tabūkī Thamudic")

G.M.H. King has shown that this is a distinct Ancient North Arabian script which can therefore be removed from the Thamudic category. Over 3,000 inscriptions of this type have been found in southern Jordan in the Ḥismā, the sand desert which stretches from Wādī Ramm into northwestern Saudi Arabia (editions by Harding (1952) and King, plus the largely unpublished collections of W.J. Jobling and D. Jacobson). Thus Hismaic is a more appropriate label than Winnett's "Tabūkī Thamudic" since, so far, only a few hundred of these texts have been found in the region of Tabūk. E.A. Knauf has also suggested calling them "South Ṣafaitic", but they are clearly distinct from Ṣafaitic and this label is misleading and should be avoided.

The most remarkable feature of the Hismaic script is the representation of the phonemes /g/ and /th/ by signs which in other South Semitic scripts have quite different values.

{ /g/ in Hismaic
{ /th/ in Thamudic B, Ṣafaitic and South Arabian

{ /th/ in Hismaic
{ /ḍ/ in Thamudic B and Ṣafaitic
{ /dh/ in South Arabian

The phoneme /ḍ/ is represented by two concentric circles in Hismaic (as occasionally in Ṣafaitic, and possibly also in Thamudic D).

In contrast to Ṣafaitic, long genealogies are rare in the texts, many of which are declarations of love, sexual braggadocio, and accounts of hunting. However, as in Ṣafaitic, other texts are "artists' signatures" referring to adjacent drawings. Most inscriptions are introduced by the particle *l* followed by the author's name, but some, particularly the "artists' signatures", begin *w* N *khṭṭ* "And N is [the] inscriber". Relatively few social groups are mentioned, most of them only once. Affiliation to a social group is introduced by the phrase *dh 'l*, as in Ṣafaitic, though there is one example of *mn 'l* as in Nabataean. No example of the *nisba* has yet been identified.

There are frequent prayers to *lt* (especially in the form *dhkrt lt* N, "may Lt be mindful of N", also found in Nabataean texts from this area), Dushara (usually in the etymologically correct form, *dhs²ry* [see DHU 'L-SHARĀ]) and *ktby*, all of whom were also worshipped by the Nabataeans in the same region. There are prayers to *lh* (also invoked in Ṣafaitic texts), who was not worshipped by the Nabataeans (at least under this name), but whose name occurs frequently in their theophoric names. A suffix particle *-m* is used with the names of the deities *lt* and *lh* at the beginning of certain prayers, suggesting a parallel with Arabic *allāhumma*.

Among the names attested in this script there are a number of "basileophoric" compounds using the

names of Nabataean rulers (e.g. *tm-ʿbdt* = Taym-ʿUbādat, *ʿbd-ḥrṯt* = ʿAbd-Ḥāriṯhat, *ʿbd-sḳlt* = Abd-Shaḳīlat), which is hardly surprising given the geographical proximity of these texts to Petra. These names are at present the only dating evidence available for these inscriptions.

Thamudic B

Texts in this category are more numerous than in any other type of Thamudic, and though the largest concentrations have so far been found in Nadjd and the area between Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ and Taymāʾ, scattered examples have been recorded in Yemen, Egypt, the Negev, Jordan and Syria. The values of most of the signs are fairly securely established, except that for /ẓ/. Names are introduced by the particles *l* and *nm* (a dialectal variant of the particle *lm* used in Taymanitic). The definite article and vocative particle are *h* (as in Ṣafaitic). The deities invoked in the inscriptions are *lh, dṯn, rḍw* (all of whom are also found in Ṣafaitic), *ʿtrs¹m*, and *nhy* (possibly a dialectal variant of *-lhy* in Nabataean theophoric names, see J. Starcky, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vii, Paris 1966, col. 985). The last three correspond to the deities *Ruldaiu, ʿAtarsamain*, and *Nuhai* in the Assyrian Annals (see J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern texts*, ³Princeton 1969, 291-2; and Ephʿal, *The ancient Arabs*, Leiden 1982, 118-23), whose images were carried off by the Assyrian king Sennacherib between 691 and 689 B.C., from their sanctuary at Dūma, modern al-Djawf [see DŪMAT AL-DJANDAL].

If, as seems likely, the chariot shown in a rock-drawing from the Tabūk region, with a caption in Thamudic B, represents an Assyrian or Babylonian vehicle, the inscription could date from any time between the invasions of Tiglath-Pileser III, *ca.* 733-2 B.C., to those of Nabonidus, *ca.* 552-42 B.C. (see Macdonald, *Hunting, raiding and fighting. . . .*).

Thamudic C

Relatively few texts in this script have been recorded so far, and most are known only from unreliable copies. A number of letters have not yet been satisfactorily identified, notably those for /dh/, /ṣ/, /ḍ/, /ṭ/ and /ẓ/. Furthermore, the texts which Winnett (*A study*, 34-7, pl. V), placed in this category probably represent two different scripts. In one of these (C1), mainly from Khashm Ṣanaʿ north of Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, /r/ is represented by a straight line and /n/ by a zig-zag, while, in the other (C2), mainly found at Aṣābiʿ and Djabal Djildiyya, east of Ḥāʾil, /r/ appears to be represented by a shallow curve and /n/ by a straight line. As in Hismaic and Thamudic D, a large number of texts are declarations of love.

Thamudic D

There are still doubts about the form of /dh/, /z/, /ṣ/ and /ẓ/ in this script and about the values of the line with a circle at either end and the grid. There is some evidence that the sign of two concentric circles represents /ḍ/, at least on some occasions. The letter /s²/ is a rayed circle, which is radically different from any of the signs representing the same phoneme in the other North Arabian scripts.

Many of the inscriptions begin with a formula usually interpreted as "*zn* (or *dhn*) N" "This is N" (see the discussion in Winnett and Reed, *Ancient records*, 108). In other contexts, however, the initial sign cannot be read as /z/ or /dh/, and is almost certainly /ʾ/ (see already Littmann, *Entzifferung*, 32-4). This suggests that the formula should be read "*ʾn* N" and translated as "I am N", a type of signature also found in Thamudic B and Hismaic.

There are still considerable difficulties in the interpretation of the longer texts in this script, but some appear to be declarations of love, *mḥb* and *ʿs²ḳ* being the most common words. A Thamudic D text (JS Tham 1), written vertically beside the Arabo-Nabataean inscription JS Nab 17 (dated to A.D. 267), repeats the name and patronym of the deceased.

"Southern Thamudic"

As expected, these texts are very different from those in the north and share some features of script, morphology and onomastics with South Arabian. They are not yet published, but see the excellent survey of their content by J. Ryckmans (*Aspects nouveaux*).

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(M.C.A. MACDONALD and G.M.H. KING)

THĀNĀ, a town of western peninsular India, 21 km/15 miles from the Arabian Sea coast and 32 km/20 miles to the north-north-east of Bombay (lat. 90° 14' N., long. 73° 02' E.; see the map in GUDJARĀT, at Vol. II, 1126).

Thānā was in pre-Muslim times the centre of a great Hindu kingdom, but was conquered in 718/1318 by the Sultan of Dihlī Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī. It soon afterwards became an outpost of the Bahmanid sultanate of the Deccan, but was at times disputed by the Sultans of Gudjarāt, who seized it, e.g. in 833/1430 (see HIND. iv, at Vol. III, 418b). By 1529 it was tribute to the Portuguese, then twice sacked by them until in 1533 it was made over to the Portuguese by treaty, remaining under their rule till 1739, when the colonial power also lost the nearby fort of Bassein; a fort and a cathedral remain from this period of Thānā's history. When there were fears of a Portuguese fleet setting out from Lisbon to retake their former possessions, a British force occupied Thānā in 1774. It is now the chef-lieu of a District of the same name in Maharāshtra State of the Indian Union, largely

Marāthī-speaking but with the linguistic boundary with Gudjarātī beginning just to its north.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 289-304. (C.E. Bosworth)

THANĀ'Ī, the pen-name of Khʷādja Ḥusayn, Indo-Persian poet of the 10th/16th century, d. 996/1587-8.

Born in Mashhad, Thanā'ī, writing about himself in the introduction to his *dīwān*, states that, despite having talent, he initially lacked perseverance and that he took up the poetic vocation following a dream which offered him the requisite guidance. He eventually found for himself a generous patron in the person of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, governor of Khurāsān, who was a poet in his own right using Djāhī for his pen-name. Thanā'ī's association with him lasted until 984/1577, when Ibrāhīm Mīrzā was executed by Shāh Ismā'īl II. After the death of his patron, Thanā'ī reportedly tried to enter the Ṣafawī court, but a *kaṣīda* of his was received unfavourably. Thanā'ī decided to leave Persia and go to India, where his fame was already known. Upon his arrival, therefore, he entered the ranks of poets at the court of Emperor Akbar, and received much favour, but apparently it did not satisfy his expectations as he left the imperial service to attach himself to various Mughal dignitaries, eventually to 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān (d. 1036/1626-7 [*q.v.*]), with whom he remained until his death.

During his literary career, Thanā'ī entered into several literary contests and confrontations with fellow-poets, such as Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳulī Khān Maylī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Walī Dasht Bayāḍī, Ghazālī Mashhadī, Fayḍī, and 'Urfī. It is reported by Badā'ūnī that Thanā'ī, after coming to India, lost the esteem which he enjoyed previously in intellectual circles, and fell victim to the jealousies of fellow-poets. The same source, however, also tends to suggest that the poet retained a popular appeal since, he states, copies of Thanā'ī's *dīwān*, as those of 'Urfī's, could be found in every market-place and bookshop, and were much sought after.

Thanā'ī's *dīwān*, with an estimated total of some 5,000 couplets, comprises poems in such verse-forms as *ḳaṣīda*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī*, *ḳiṭ'a* and *mathnawī*. Though he wrote many *ghazals*, he is known essentially as a writer of *ḳaṣīdas*; these are addressed mainly to the patrons for whom he worked, but some of them are also directed at the Shī'ī Imāms. The poet displays tendencies indicating a departure from the traditional style. Possibly because of this he has been blamed by his critics for being abstruse and incomprehensible. Thus the author of *Ātashkada* states that "either no one understands the meanings of his verses or his verses have no meanings". On the other hand, the poet was praised lavishly by his admirers, among whom 'Abd al-Bāḳī Nihāwandī, who pays him the generous tribute that he invented meanings and ideas so strange and startling as one could hardly find in ancient or later poets.

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THANAWIYYA (a.), in Arabic heresiography, the dualists.

The word does not appear in the Ḳur'ān or in Tradition, but a *K. 'alā 'l-thanawiyya* had been written by Abu 'l-Hudhayl (d. 227/841 ?) and a *K. risālatihi fi 'l-radd 'alā 'l-thanawiyya* by al-Kindī (d. ca. 256/870), according to the *Fihrist* (ed. Tadjaddud, 204 l. 27, 318 l. 24). One finds the same word also in e.g. al-Nāshi' al-Akbar, and it became current in the 4th/10th century. However, this abstract, technical term seems to have been preceded by another one, to be found in *al-Radd 'alā aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, the identical title for two treatises by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795 ?) and Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām (d. 231/845 ?) respectively, as well as in the *Iḳtiṣāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn wa 'l-radd 'alayhim* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ (according to the *Fihrist*, 224 l. 2, 206 l. 13, 216 l. 11). The expressions *ahl al-ithnayn* (e.g. in 'Abd al-Djabbār) and *ahl al-tathniya* (in al-Bāḳillānī) are also found.

These different names for the "dualists" cover several religious and sectarian groups. Three of them were at the centre of Muslim scholars' interest: (1) the Manichaeans; (2) the Bardesanites [see DAYṢĀNIYYA; KUMŪN], disciples of the Syriac thinker Bar Daysan (A.D. 154-222); and (3) the Marcionites (*marḳiyūniyya*), adherents of the celebrated Marcion, a Christian from Bithynia who lived for several years in Rome and was condemned by the Church in A.D. 144. The constant appearance of this triad has an historical origin; grouping the three doctrines together as connected with each other, already done in the 4th century by Ephrem of Edessa and the bishop Maruta of Maipherkat (see Drijvers, 106-7, 123-4; Teixidor, 70-1, 141 ff.), was traditional in Syriac writings and became introduced into Arabic by authors like Abū Ḳurra, bishop of Ḥarrān. Muslim authors usually present the three groups in the order as given above, but many of them knew that this was not the chronological order.

However, other religions or sectarian movements became added to the above ones. A good example is the following passage "In his *K. al-Ārā' wa 'l-diyānāt*..., al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā mentions, amongst the sects of the dualists, the Manichaeans (*mānawiyya*), sometimes called *manāniyya*, the Mazdakites, the Bardesanites, the Marcionites, the Māhānians and also the Mazdaeans" ('Abd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, v. 9). Al-Ḥasan al-Nawbakhtī (d. at the beginning of the 4th/10th century) depends on Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāḳ (d. 247/861 ?) so closely that we certainly have there one of the oldest Muslim lists of the dualists.

The Mazdaeans or Zoroastrians [see MADJŪS] are explicitly included there, as they were to be by al-Māturīdī and al-Khʷārazmī; but most authors, often hesitatingly, class them separately. The character of Mazdaeism as a national religion in the former Sāsānid

empire must have determined this special treatment. Possibly account was also taken progressively of the monotheistic aspects of Mazdaean doctrine, at least in the form in which these were expressed in the great works written down in the post-Islamic period.

The Mazdakites [see MAZDAK] are considered by al-Nawbakhtī as related to the Manichaeans, whence their place in the list. Likewise, the Māhānians (*māhāniyya*) follow the Marcionites because they seem to be a special sect of the latter. Other Islamic authors mention some additional groups as dualist, the most notable being the Kantaeans (*kantawiyya*), a Mandaean sect, on which see the article of Madelung cited in the *Bibl.*, 221-4.

Amongst these dualist doctrines, Manichaeism has premier place in all respects, hence will be further considered here.

Mani, son of Pattēg, was born in A.D. 216 in the northern part of Babylonia, near Ctesiphon, and probably died in 277 [see MĀNĪ B. FATTIK]. In 240 he abandoned the Elkesaite sect of "baptisers" and devoted himself to spreading his message of hope: travels in India and Persia, the writing of nine works (the seven main ones in Syriac) and the organising of the "Church of Light". In the course of a history extending over a millennium, Manichaeism was to extend from the western limits of the Mediterranean to the island of Formosa. It has been possible to say of it that "this oecumenical (i.e. universal) religion, a missionary one by right and in fact, is in the end—and this is the third characteristic aspect of it—a religion of the Book" (H.-Ch. Puech, *Le manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris 1949, 66).

In the course of its own expansion, Islam was to encounter Manichaeism early. The latter faith may possibly have left some traces amongst the Arabs of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] (having been implanted there during the reign of ʿAmr b. ʿAdī). At all events, it had not disappeared from nearby Mesopotamia nor from Khurāsān. It was in ʿIrāḳ, the heart of the ʿAbbāsid empire, that it was finally to awaken the attention of the Muslims.

The first written notice of it apparently goes back to 110/728, if it is true that Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ had already finished, towards the age of thirty, his book *al-Alf masʾala fi ʾl-radd ʿalā ʾl-mānawiyya* (or, according to another source, *al-manāniyya*). In the 3rd/9th century, three works were likewise explicitly concerned with refuting the Manichaeans, but some fifteen or so were likewise aimed at them, under the generic term of the Dualists (of which they were the major part) or else under the ambiguous title of Zanādiḳa [see ZINDĪḲ]. In these early times, the Manichaeans' name took three differing forms. *Mānawiyya* has remained the usual one up to the present day. *Manāniyya* is, in form, placed at the side of the *Ḥarrāniyya*, "Ḥarrānians", by al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 37. These two words are sometimes used indistinguishably in the same work, e.g. in the *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal* attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (see Monnot 1974, 290-1) or in ʿAbd al-Djabbār's *Mughnī*. The term *māniyya* is found in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356-66/1937-47, iv, 81, and al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 211, 3447, *inter alios*.

Some of the authors just mentioned belong to the 4th/10th century. There are preserved for us Muslim writings or compilations from this time onwards which give a precise and at times detailed description of Manichaeism. Four names stand out here: the systematic expositions of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, of Ibn al-Nadīm above all, and of al-Shahrastānī, which are completed by the pieces of information, to the point and of great interest, given by al-Bīrūnī.

The greater part of these texts were already utilised in the 19th century by such scholars as G. Flügel and K. Kessler. The great Islamic authors did, in fact, have a remarkable knowledge of Manichaeism. Ibn al-Nadīm gives a long account of its founder's life which the Manichaean codex of Cologne, a Greek text discovered in Egypt several decades ago, was to confirm. Ibn al-Nadīm again and al-Bīrūnī remain basic sources concerning Mani's works, their titles and contents (with citations). The Muslim authors give a careful exposition of Manichaeism's central doctrine, sc. the eternal existence of two opposing principles; al-Shahrastānī, in a celebrated table with two columns, outlines their antithetical properties. The mixture of light and darkness, and then the salvation of the luminous particles and the role played in this by the "column of glory" are described according to the corresponding myths. The organisation of the Manichaean church is only rapidly alluded to, but the ritual of its prayers and its moral code are set down. Concerning the prophetic system, ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in particular, throws a vivid light. The divisions, schisms and sequels of Manichaeism are set forth by various authors, notably Ibn al-Nadīm. In sum, these presentations of the faith are on a level with those of the Syriac authors or of St. Augustine, and form one of the most successful episodes of Muslim history of religions.

In fact, this last developed out of preoccupations completely pragmatic in origin. As we have seen, the first writings on the dualists were refutations. The great works of dialectical theology continued this polemic, but this fight did not always have the same character.

At the outset, the struggle against dualism was indissolubly linked with the repression of *zandaḳa*. The subject will be treated in ZINDĪḲ, but one may note there that the Arabic word comes from a Middle Persian term which already had, along with the meaning of "heretic" in a broad sense, the very precise one of "Manichaean". The Arabic word retained this ambivalence. At times it clearly denotes Mani's disciples, but sometimes it betrays a much more fuzzy dualist tendency, in sum, all types of strongly deviant thought felt as subversive of the Islamic order. The *zindīḳs* are reported to have spread their pamphlets even as far as the caliphal capital. In 163/779 al-Mahdī unleashed against them a persecution which continued till the death of his successor al-Hādī in 170/786. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, § 3447, the former caliph is said to have commissioned disputants and controversialists (*djadaliyyūn*) to carry on a parallel campaign by means of the pen. The most celebrated work of this genre is *al-Intiṣār* written a century later by al-Khayyāṭ against Ibn al-Rāwandī.

In parallel with this general fight against the *zindīḳs*, Muslim authors early applied themselves to the detailed refutation of dualism proper. In what has come down to us of the relevant writings, the doctrines of the Bardesanites and the Marcionites are sometimes treated separately. It is, however, Manichaeism which is at the centre of this polemic, and it is this which is attacked almost continuously, even when not explicitly named. The dialectical struggle with the dualists was launched by the Muʿtazila, and these and others carried it on energetically for three centuries. But incontestably, the most developed and most trenchant refutation is that of ʿAbd al-Djabbār.

He never cites the Ḳurʾān. Only isolated and late authors saw a condemnation of the dualists in VI, 1, "Praise to God who has created the heavens and the earth, and established the darknesses and the light,

after which the unbelievers ascribe equals to their Lord!". Sūra XVI, 51, would appear more relevant: "God has said, Do not take for yourselves two gods. He, God, is a unique god; to Me, then, show reverence and fear!", but the commentators are content to see here merely a condemnation of *shirk* (al-Rāzī specifies, in the abstract, of duality, *ithnayniyya*) without any allusion to the dualists. Another passage contains an idea which polemics were later to bring forward, that is, the existence of a supplementary god at the side of God would lead to a competition between them. This is in XXIII, 91, "God has not taken for Himself any offspring, and there is no other god alongside Him; for in that case, each god would have gone off with what he had created, and each one would have tried to dominate the other". But, in fact, it was elsewhere, namely, in connection with XXI, 22, "If there were any other gods in the heavens or on the earth except God, the heavens and the earth would collapse into ruin...", that Muslim exegesis set forth the argument of mutual prevention (*tamānu'*): if there were two gods, each one would prevent the other from realising his will, to the point that neither of the two would have the all-powerfulness without which there is no divinity. Al-Rāzī, in his *Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1352/1933, repr. Tehran n.d., xxii, 150-4, gives several variations on this argument, in which he discerns a *hudjdja tāmma fī mas'alat al-tawḥīd* (151).

This *tawḥīd*, the doctrine of the One, is the foundation-stone of Muslim theology. The *mutakallimūn* also fought bitterly against the dualist cosmogony of their adversaries. They made the attack above all from three viewpoints. First, the argument of *tamānu'* just mentioned. Then they asserted that the transcosmic light and darkness of Manichaeism were only bodies ('Abd al-Djabbār) or accidents (al-Bāḳillānī). And finally, they exploited in all senses the contradictions inherent in the theory of the three moments (separation, mixing and return to the separation of the two principles).

The refutation equally attacked what one might call "ontological dualism", sc. the cleaving of the universe into two opposing series of realities, good and bad by nature. The Mu'tazilī scholars of the 3rd/9th century already had ready in regard to this a complete arsenal of arguments, which later *'ilm al-kalām* was to preserve: the ambivalence of the night (whose darkness may be beneficial), arguments of avowal, forgetfulness and repentance, and much more. All this shows that the same substance can successively receive opposing accidents, and that the same subject can successively set up contrary actions. These last actually emanate from one and the same agent, "the living ensemble" (*al-djumla al-ḥayya*). 'Abd al-Djabbār, who upholds this formula, goes much further. He does not limit himself to uphold in this way, after the unity of God, the unity of man. He realises that the problem of evil is at the root of the debate, and intends to prove that physical evil (and especially, pain) must be dissociated from moral evil. Finally, he adds insistently that ontological dualism will make praise and blame (*al-dhamm wa 'l-ḥamd*) linked to the observance or breaking of the commandments. In the end, one comes back to the fight against *zandaḳa*. Just as the Muslim authors defended the conception of God, the ultimate guarantee of the Prophetic revelation, they defended the idea of the Law, the imminently binding force of the Community, in order to protect this last against the erosion of dualism.

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THĀNESAR, THĀNESWAR (meaning "place of the god"), a town of northern India, especially notable in accounts of the raids of the Ghaznawids and Ghūrids [*q.vv.*]. It is situated in the eastern Pandjāb on the banks of the Saraswati River, some 32 km/20 miles north of Karnāl, in the direction of Ambāla (lat. 29° 59' N., long. 76° 50' E.). In the mediaeval Islamic sources (e.g. al-'Utbī, Gardīzī), the name usually appears as Tānīsar or Tānīshar.

Mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, it was famed for its Hindu shrine, with a bronze idol Čakraswāmi "lord of the wheel", hence was the object of a plunder raid in 405/1014-15 by Maḥmūd of Ghazna [*q.v.*], in the course of which a Hindu army was defeated on the banks of the Sutlej River, Thānesar sacked and the idol carried off. Al-Bīrūnī says that, in his time, the idol was on public

display in the *maydān* of Ghazna together with the *lingam* of Mahādēva brought from Somnath (see his *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London 1910, i, 117, and for the details of the raid, M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 103-4). But no lasting Ghaznawid control was established there, for in 435/1043-4, a confederation of Hindu rulers, including the Paramāra king of Mālwā, Bhoja, recaptured Thānesar, Hānsī, Nagarkot, etc. from Mawdūd's governor (Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay*, Edinburgh 1977, 32-3). It must have remained under Hindu control till the end of the 6th/12th century, when in 588/1192) the Ghūrid sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad [see MUḤAMMAD B. SĀM] defeated Prithvī Rādjā III at the second battle of Tarain or Tarāwari near Thānesar (see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people, V. The struggle for empire*, Bombay 1957, 110-15), after which the Ghūrids and their commanders and then the Sultans of Dihlī brought it within their territories. Even thereafter, the shrine remained, such was its sanctity; the Dihlī Sultan Sikandar Lōdī planned to despoil it, and Awrangzīb desecrated the shrine. Thānesar also has the most impressive *madrasa* surviving from Mughal times, that of Shaykh Čille (see Subhash Parihar, *A little-known Mughal college in India. The Madrasa of Shaykh Chille at Thanesar*, in *Muqarnas*, iv [1992], 175-85). Thānesar later passed under Sikh control and then, in 1850, into British hands.

The modern town is now called, after the ancient name for its district, Kurukshetra, and is in the Karnāl District of Haryana State of the Indian Union.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

THĀNESARĪ, the *nisba* of three Indo-Muslim scholars connected with the town of Thānesar [*q.v.*] in the eastern Pandjāb.

1. MAWLĀNĀ AḤMAD, one of the many disciples of the Čishtī saint Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā, called Čirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1356 [*q.v.*]), achieved a reputation for piety and learning, and wrote a celebrated *Ḳaṣīda dāliyya*. He is said to have engaged in a dispute with a descendant of the great Ḥanafī legal scholar ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī [*q.v.*] before Tīmūr when the latter was in Dihlī, but to have subsequently retired to teach at Kālpī [*q.v.*], where he died in 820/1412.

Bibliography: See that to *EI*[1] art. s.v. (M. Hidayet Hosain). (ED.)

2. DJALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD (d. at Thānesar 989/1582), eminent scholar of the Islamic sciences and a major figure in the Ṣābiriyya branch of the Čishtiyya and the chief disciple and *khalīfa* of the holy man ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī (d. 944/1537 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]). His family had moved to Balkh from India; his biographers mention his descent from the second caliph ʿUmar and a spiritual affiliation to the Čishtī saint Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar [*q.v.*].

The Mughal emperor Akbar visited Djalāl al-Dīn whilst on his way to quell the revolt in Kābul of his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Djalāl al-Dīn also met and was praised by the historian Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*], but his great connection was with Gangōhī, and 18 out of 54 letters in the Shaykh's collection *Muntakhab-i maktūbāt-i ḳuddūsiyya* (Dihlī 1313/1895) are addressed to Djalāl al-Dīn, in some of which he addressed Thānesarī as *shaykh al-islām* and *ahl al-kamāl*. The legacy of Djalāl al-Dīn was carried on through a succession of his *khalīfas*, several of whom played a prominent role in events in 19th and 20th century India, including Muḥammad Ḳāsim Nānōtawī (d. 1880) and Rashīd Aḥmad Gangōhī (d. 1905), who were founders of the *Dār al-ʿUlūm* at Deoband (in 1867), and their successors (Iʿdjāz al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḳuddūsī, *Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs Gangōhī awr unkī taʿlīmāt* [a basic work], Karachi 1961, 540-73). Djalāl al-Dīn's works include his *Maktūbāt*; a mystical treatise, *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*; and *Taḥaḳḳuḳ arāḍī 'l-Hind*, in which he defended the ownership rights of Muslim settlers on land granted to them by the state (ed. and Urdu tr. S.S.A. Nadwī, Karachi 1963) (*ibid.*, 539; Storey, i, 17, 1198; Storey-Bregel, i, 141).

Bibliography (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Eng. tr. T.W. Haig, iii, Calcutta 1899-1925; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1891; Dārā Shukūh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Āgra 1853; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-asfiyāʾ*, i, Kānpur 1902; Raḥmān ʿAlī, *Tadhkira-yi ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Urdu tr. Karachi 1961; Kh. A. Niẓāmī, *Tārīkh-i mashāyikh-i Čisht*, i, Dihlī 1980.

(SAJIDA S. ALVI)

3. NIẒĀM AL-DĪN B. ʿABD AL-SHAKŪR, the nephew, son-in-law and *khalīfa* of 2. above. He incurred Djahāngīr's displeasure through his contacts with the emperor's rebellious son Sulṭān Khusraw, hence had to leave India for Balkh, where he settled and died in 1035/1626 or the next year. He wrote a commentary on the *Fātiḥa* and the last two *ḥizb*s of the Ḳurʾān, probably called the *Riyāḍ al-ḳuds*, and his *Malfūẓāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] are also extant.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 18; Storey-Bregel, i, 144.

(ED.)

THAʾR (A.), blood revenge. The present entry deals with the practice as it has existed among Arab villagers and Bedouin in modern times; for the practice in pre-modern times, see ḲIṢĀṢ. In these societies, if Killer kills Victim, then it is in many circumstances legal for a member of the group to which Victim belongs, or under whose protection Victim stands, to kill a member of Killer's group (and in particular, Killer himself). The effect of such retaliation will usually be to wipe out any claims that Victim's group had on Killer's group as a result of the original homicide.

The groups involved (vengeance groups) consist only of men (women and children being generally under the protection of the group to which their closest adult male agnates belong), and they function in essentially the same way with respect both to homicides and to bodily injuries. Such groups will almost always include the closest adult male agnates of killer and victim. There is a great deal of variability as to who else belongs to the vengeance group, and generally the sources provide few details. But we know, for instance, that among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica and the Western Desert of Egypt the vengeance group (called the *ʿamār al-dam*) may number from several score to several hundred men (Safia Mohsen, *Quest for order among Awlad Ali*, diss. Michigan State University 1970, unpubl., 43-4; Peters 60, 87). The vengeance group in this area may sometimes consist of all and only the adult male descendants in male line of a single male ancestor; but in other cases it may include the men of several patrilineal descent groups, some of which are agnatically unrelated to others, or some of whose members have adult male relatives outside the vengeance group who are closer to them agnatically than some of the men who are in it. The *ʿamār*, like most vengeance groups, also functions as a blood-money group, and has explicit rules regulating such matters as the distribution among its members of blood-money received (whether for homicide or for bodily injury) and the circumstances under which

members are to contribute to blood-money payments [see DIYA]. Among the Aḥaywāt Bedouin of central Sinai and their neighbours, essentially the same system obtains, but here the vengeance and blood-money group is called a *damawiyya* or *khamsih*, and is much smaller, averaging perhaps as few as five or ten members.

The composition of the vengeance group does not only vary from one community to another; it often also varies in the same community according to the relationship between killer and victim, or between their respective groups. As a rule of thumb, it may be said that the greater the social distance between the two, the larger the vengeance groups are likely to be (cf. Peters, 59-83). Thus the Aḥaywāt follow the rule that if a man from one tribe kills a man from another, then, all else being equal, any man of the killer's tribe is a legitimate object of vengeance (cf. J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1831, i, 320-1); though the Aḥaywāt also have (oral) treaties with certain neighbouring tribes which provide that between the parties an inter-tribal killing is treated as if it were intra-tribal, i.e., the only groups involved are the *damawiyya*s of killer and victim.

Arab customary law usually recognises circumstances in which a retaliatory killing is not permitted (so that if it does take place, the original victim's group will be liable to the original killer's group). Among certain tribes of Transjordan, for instance, this is the case if the victim is killed while sexually interfering with the mother or sister of the killer (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1908, iii, 359); and a similar rule probably exists on the Middle Euphrates (Farīḳ al-Muzhir Āl Firʿawn, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿashāʾirī*, Baghdad 1941, 24-5).

The law also recognises circumstances in which, even if the victim's group kills a member of the killer's group in retaliation, this will not clear the killer's group of all liability arising from the original homicide. Among the Bedouin of central Sinai, for instance, a woman's life is valued at four times as much as a man's life (at least if she is killed by a man); so that if the victim's group were to kill a man of her killer's group, this would still not settle the account.

The law is such that most homicide disputes could, in principle, be settled by blood revenge; and the desire to take revenge on one side, and the fear of such revenge on the other, are often very real; but probably in most communities only a small minority of cases actually are settled in this way. This has been remarked, for instance, of the ʿAnaza (Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 152), of the tribes of Northern Yemen (P. Dresch, *Tribes, government, and history in Yemen*, Oxford 1989, 49) and of the tribes of southern ʿIrāḳ (Muṣṭafā Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, *Niẓām al-masʾūliyya ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-ʿirāḳiyya al-muʿāṣira*, Cairo 1967, 198; H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*², London 1951, 528; Dickson claims that it is otherwise "in the desert and in Najd proper"). It is supported by the most detailed study to date of homicide among the Bedouin: out of 36 cases that occurred between 1910 and 1963, and in which either killer or victim or both were Bedouin of the Faḍl tribe, only four killers were substantially motivated by the desire to avenge an earlier homicide (all four earlier homicides being included among the 36); but at least two of the four revenge homicides were illegitimate, in that there had earlier been a settlement of the original killing (Fadl al-Faour, *Social structure of a Bedouin tribe in the Syria-Lebanon region*, diss., University of London 1968, unpubl., Table XXI and 242, 325 n. 96, 360). Occasionally the reason why revenge is not taken is that the victim's group has no inclination to seek it (for instance, if the killing was clearly an unhappy accident); more often because the killer's vengeance group succeeds in fleeing. Above all, *thaʾr* is uncommon because law and custom, while ready in the proper circumstances to countenance blood revenge, do not generally encourage it, and instead offer a variety of institutions whose effect is to produce a peaceful settlement. Among these may be mentioned blood-money, asylum, various devices which allow some members of the killer's vengeance group to gain immunity from retaliation, and mediators.

Bibliography: F.H. Stewart, *Tribal law in the Arab world: a review of the literature*, in *IJMES*, xix (1987), 473-90, lists most of the earlier literature. For Yemeni customary law, see ṬĀGHŪT. Recent publications on regions other than the Yemen include Aḥmad ʿUwaydī al-ʿAbbādī, *Djarāʾim al-djināyāt al-kubrā ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-urdunniyya*, ʿAmmān 1986; idem, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ ʿind al-ʿashāʾir al-urdunniyya*, ʿAmmān 1988; Shabetai Levi, *Ha-Beduim be-midbar Sinai* ("The Bedouin of the Sinai Desert"), Jerusalem 1987; Stewart, *Texts in Sinai Bedouin law*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1988-90; Kamāl al-Ḥulw, ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥulw and Saʿīd Mumtāz Darwīsh, *al-Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿurfī fī shamāl Sīnāʾ*, n.p. 1989; idem, *Customary law in North Sinai*, n.p. 1989; Sulayman N. Khalaf, *Settlement of violence in Bedouin society*, in *Ethnology*, xxix (1990), 225-42; Muḥammad Ḥasan Abū Ḥammād Ghayth, *Ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿashāʾir fī ḍawʾ al-sharʿ al-islāmī*, Jerusalem 1990; Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, Amīn al-Ḳudāt and Aḥmad al-ʿAwāyisha (eds.), *al-ʿUrf al-ʿashāʾirī bayn al-sharīʿa wa ʾl-ḳānūn*, ʿAmmān 1990; E.L. Peters, *The Bedouin of Cyrenaica*, Cambridge 1990; Sasson Bar-Zvi, *Masoret ha-shiput shel Beduey ha-Negev* ("Jurisdiction among the Negev Bedouins"), n.p. 1991; Aḥmad Abū Zayd, *al-Mudjtamaʿāt al-ṣaḥrāwiyya fī Miṣr: al-baḥth al-awwal: shimāl Sīnāʾ: dirāsa ithnūdjrāfiyya li ʾl-nuẓum wa ʾl-ansāḳ al-idjtimāʿiyya*. Cairo 1991; idem (ed.), *al-Insān wa ʾl-mudjtamaʿ wa ʾl-thaḳāfa fī shamāl Sīnāʾ*, Cairo 1991; G. Kressel, *Ascendancy through aggression: the anatomy of a blood feud among urbanized Bedouin*, Wiesbaden 1996; J. Ginat, *Blood revenge*², Brighton 1997. (F.H. STEWART)

ṮHAṬṬĀ, in Persian orthography *T.t.h*, conventionally Thatta or Tatta, a town of lower Sind, situated by the Indus some 100 km/60 miles from its debouchment into the Indian Ocean and about the same distance to the east of Karachi (lat. 24° 44' N., long. 67° 58' E.). In mediaeval Islamic times, it was a city of considerable political and commercial significance, but is now a small town, the chef-lieu of a district of that name in the Haydarābād Division of Sind in Pākistān.

1. History.

The actual name seems to have the general connotation of a settlement on the bank of a river. Ṯhaṭṭā's rise and decline has been linked with its position vis-à-vis the lower Indus channels, being most important when it was near to the river, as in the time of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], when a channel of the Indus apparently separated it from the Maklī hill [*q.v.*]; its site clearly moved several times. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not mention it in his account of his sailing down the Indus (734/1333-4), but it seems to have existed by then, on the evidence of its mention by the poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*]; it was near Ṯhaṭṭā that Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] died in 752/1351. After the mid-8th/14th century, it was ruled by the independent Djāms of the Sammā dynasty [*q.v.*]; in 926/1520 it was annexed by the Arghūns [*q.v.* and ḤUSAYN SHĀH ARGHŪN] and ruled by them and their epigoni

the Tarkhāns. In 1555 it was sacked by the Portuguese. The great commander, the Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, seized it for the Mughals in 1003/1595, and from 1021-1150/1612-1737 it came within the *ṣūba* of Multān in the Mughal empire, with a succession of 58 governors during this period.

At this time, Thaṭṭā was highly flourishing, and in the middle decades of the 17th century, the English East India Company had a factory there. Capt. Alexander Hamilton in 1699 described it as the emporium of Sind, and as being two miles from the Indus and linked to it by a network of canals. But plague and drought later caused a decline, especially as the Kalhōra chiefs and then the Tālpūr Mīrs, who controlled Lower Sind after the Mughals, moved their capital elsewhere [see SIND. 1.], although from 1772 to 1775 the East India Company once more had briefly a factory there, with a further attempt in 1799. In 1155/1742 Nādir Shāh was there with his army. In 1831 Alexander Burnes estimated its population at only 5,000, with less than 40 merchants there. The present town is on the mound of the old city, with streets higher than the floor level of the older mosques of the city.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 254-6; H. Cousens, *The antiquities of Sind*, in *ASI*, xlvi, Imperial Section, Calcutta 1929; Shamsuddin Ahmad, *A guide to Thattah and the Makli Hill*, Karachi 1952, 1-10; A.H. Dani, *Thaṭṭā. Islamic architecture*, Islamabad 1402/1982; and see the historical works listed in the *Bibl.* to SIND. 1.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments [see Suppl.].

THAWBĀN B. **IBRĀHĪM** [see DHU 'L-NŪN, ABU 'L-FAYḌ].

AL-**THAWR** [see MINṬAḲAT AL-BURŪDJ].

THAWRA (A.), uprising, revolt, or revolution, from the root *th-w-r* "to rise/arise" or "to stir/be stirred up" (Turkish *inkilap*; Persian *inḳilāb*). In the 20th century, *thawra* has come to imply a praiseworthy venture, a quest for political liberation and socio-economic justice. In earlier times, however, the term and the notion it expresses went through certain vicissitudes of import.

Revolt against a ruling authority, known in Islamic political experience from the outset, was at first regarded with ambivalence. It was condemned—often, though not always, by those in power and their supporters—as a potential source of dangerous schism and disorder, *fitna* [*q.v.*]. It was also commended, as a legitimate and even essential means to remove a sinful ruler, who should not be obeyed by the believers. This last principle was quoted e.g. by the ʿAbbāsids in justification of their forceful seizure of power from the allegedly irreligious Umayyads. But the lack of a prescribed and recognised procedure for replacing evil-doing rulers, and the instability that often followed such violent transfers of power, led to the subsequent abandonment of this principle. As anarchy proved to be the worst of all political options, the duty to resist bad government gradually gave way to a more quietist acceptance of any authority provided it was Islamic. Sunnī jurists and thinkers of the late ʿAbbāsid period (notably al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century, and others) echoed this change of concept by prescribing that effective rule was vital to the community's proper functioning and that popular obedience was vital to assuring such effectiveness. This view seems to have prevailed in Muslim political thinking until the 20th century. And while violent rivalries for power and revolts against those wielding it did occur in Islamic states, as often as elsewhere, they were widely regarded with distinct disfavour, as being perilous to the community and the faith.

The view that revolt and rebellion were evil was reflected in reactions by Arab writers to revolutionary events in the West, of which they became aware from the late 18th century onwards. Thus early Arab reaction to the French revolution was outright condemnatory. The Egyptian historian al-Djabartī [*q.v.*] noted with disdain how the French, who "rebelled against their *sulṭān* and killed him", thereby became a people with "no religious faith (*dīn*), comprising no religious community (*milla*)" (*Taʾrīkh muddat al-faransīs bi-Miṣr*, ed. S. Moreh, Leiden 1975, 11; idem, *Maẓhar al-taḳdīs*, Cairo 1969, 22). His compatriots ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Suʿūd and Ḥasan Ḳāsim, both of whom wrote accounts of the French Revolution in the 1840s, vehemently condemned it as a calamitous assault by the bloodthirsty riffraff on the legitimate monarch (ʿAbd Allāh Abu 'l-Suʿūd, *Naẓm al-laʾālī*, Būlāḳ 1841, 182-96; Ḥasan Ḳāsim, *Taʾrīkh mulūk faransā*, Būlāḳ 1847, 223-70, *passim*). In Arabic writings until the last quarter of the 19th century, the French Revolution was frequently referred to as *al-fitna al-faransāwiyya*. Other anti-government outbursts in Europe and elsewhere—from the 1830-1 revolutionary wave in France and Belgium, through the Italian War of Independence and the 1857-8 Indian Mutiny, to the Irish anti-British protest action of 1881—were decried in similar terms. In Arabic accounts of these events, derogatory terms such as *ʿiṣyān* (disobedience), *shaghab* (disturbance), *fasād* (disorder) and *shiḳāḳ* (trouble), in addition to *fitna*, were used regularly.

Thawra and verbs derived from the same root, seldom occurring in such contexts prior to the mid-19th century, became more popular thereafter. Like its counterparts, *thawra* had traditionally carried unfavourable associations and its use thus reflected an unmistakably negative attitude. "This [word] *thawra*", one Lebanese writer suggested in 1879 in a discussion of the French Revolution, implied "the disturbances (*iḍṭirābāt*) that took place in the year 1792 among the people, their killing of their king Louis XVI ... his wife and sister ... and their staining the glory of their great civilisation by this beastly cruelty and their notorious atrocities (*fawāḥish*), vices (*radhāʾil*) and terrible *fitna*" (Nawfal al-Ṭarābulusī, *Zubdat al-ṣaḥāʾif*, Beirut 1879, 428). A contemporary multivolume encyclopaedia, al-Bustānī's *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, offered this definition for the term: "A *thawra* in political jargon is what the Arabs call *fitna*. It means a big change and a serious unrest ... [leading to] conspiracy, then to disturbances; finally .... the foundations of government are shaken, much blood is shed, and complete upheaval prevails" (vi, Beirut 1882, 337-8). As late as 1908, Rashīd Riḍā, congratulating the Young Turks on their ascent to power, praised them for reinstating the constitution "without bloodshed and without involving the country in the anarchy (*fawḍā*) of a *thawra*, nor in anything similarly distasteful and repugnant" (*al-Manār* [July 1908], 68).

During the last third of the 19th century, a few open-minded writers in Egypt, Lebanon and the Ottoman capital began to express a more favourable view of revolution, especially as associated with another increasingly popular idea, the quest for political freedom (*ḥurriyya* [*q.v.*]). Adīb Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], e.g., writing in Cairo, hailed "the French *thawra*" which "shook the foundations of despotism and ... split the liver of oppression with the arrow of light and truth" (*al-Durar*, Cairo 1909, 103, 159). According to another con-

temporary account, "the remarkable *thawra* of 1789" led the French to "the peak of learning, science and civilisation" (*al-Djanna*, Beirut [19 May 1871]). Such acclamatory use of *thawra*, though made by just a handful of writers, gradually lent some balance to the term, which thus acquired a complimentary sense along with (not yet instead of) its derogatory implications. Its broadening range of reference rendered it applicable to all revolts and revolutions including, eventually, one's own.

Yet what made *thawra* an attractive notion was its association not with civic and political freedom but with another idea, clearer and easier to appreciate: the struggle against alien domination. It was used in this sense already in the 1880s, to describe Aḥmad ʿUrābī's [*q.v.*] revolt in Egypt and that of the Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA] in the Sudan, but it became widely popular only after World War I, as applied to the protest movements that arose in countries of the Middle East against the foreign tutelage imposed on them, as well as against Zionist settlement in Palestine. In such contexts, *thawra* acquired the meaning of a wrathful outburst against the community's oppressor, i.e. a quest not for individual but for national liberation. The revolts in Egypt (1919), ʿIrāḳ (1920) and Syria (1925-7) were all thus described. *Thawra* remained a political battle cry, even after formal independence had been achieved in much of the region, resounding especially in slogans of nationalist movements still striving for self determination.

Once the battle for national liberation was won, and popular attention in the Arabic-speaking countries shifted to domestic affairs, the revolutionary idea was expanded further still. Leaders of military *coups d'état* that recurred throughout much of the Middle East from the late 1940s onwards purported to introduce a new brand of change which they termed *thawra*—a total transformation of the old order that would eliminate political corruption and weakness, remedy socio-economic ills and restore national glory. Thus the officers who took power in Egypt in 1952 claimed that "revolution is the only means to a better Arab future, free of the elements of oppression and exploitation"; seizing power was the "first step in the march toward a social revolution (*thawra idjtimāʿiyya*), a process of fundamental rehabilitation "until social justice is achieved for the nation" (*al-Mīthāḳ al-waṭanī*, Cairo 1962; Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *Falsafat al-thawra*, Cairo n.d., 23-6). Similarly, the officers who carried out the 1969 coup in Libya announced that "the dream of freedom, socialism and unity has been realised . . . we have executed a *thawra* which will secure your dignity, restore the usurped homeland and raise high the Arab nation's banner" (*al-Ahrām* [1 September 1969], 1). Employed in this way in every coup and counter-coup, the term acquired the meaning of a forceful attempt to reform the unacceptable existing order, in addition to its earlier sense of an angry revolt against foreign control. It represented a promising alternative to everything deplorable in the community's past and present. As a consequence, revolutionary leaders found it expedient to identify themselves directly as "the *thawra*", the very embodiment of the ideal, using the word to mean the actual governing authority which could make decisions, execute policies, even be assaulted by its enemies.

Thawra thus came to signify a rather broad and somewhat imprecise idea, denoting at once an urge for a change, the change itself, and even those who executed it. Having previously meant an undesirable development, the term was transformed by historical circumstances to imply a desirable one—so much so that in the later part of the 20th century it came to be employed in juxtaposition, previously inconceivable, with Islam: *thawra islāmiyya*, namely, revolution designed to restore the good old order of early Islam. At one time viewed as a threat to the faith and the community, *thawra* thus became an attractive political option, a preferred tool not merely for installing a novel order but also for rejuvenating an ancient one.

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(A. AYALON)

THERWET-I FÜNŪN, literally, "Riches of the arts", a late Ottoman Turkish literary movement named after the journal with the same title which ran from 1896 until its closure in 1901. (The movement has also been referred to as *Edebiyyāt-i djedīde*).

When Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.v.*] became the editor of *Therwet-i Fünūn* in 1896, the journal was transformed from a scientific journal into an artistic and literary one, publishing the works of a group of authors who reflected the belief in "art for art's sake". After the journal was closed, the members of the group continued to write, but the movement lost its momentum and died away.

In poetry, the movement broke with the established traditions of *Dīwān* poetry, such as the sacred unity of the couplet and replaced it by the unity and overall beauty of the composition. All forms of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] were used for e.g. the *müstezād* (the rhymed addition to each half-line), and new forms such as the sonnet were introduced to Turkish literature. Rhyme ceased to be "for the eye only", and words which did not rhyme when written but which rhymed when pronounced were used. Under the influence of the French Parnassians and Symbolists, in order to express their innermost feelings and sensations, the poets borrowed heavily from Persian and Arabic, and either constructed compound words with new meanings or attached new meanings to words in order to create descriptive phrases like "jasmine-coloured hours" or "the colourless state of dying". They also used non-standard syntactic structures without verbs of action, or short, half-finished sentences. They made abundant use of metaphors, similes and various forms of symbolism, as opposed to the dominant "simplicity of expression" movement among their contemporaries. They were interested in the real, physical world and in nature, as opposed to the metaphysical dimension of life. Thus observation and description of everyday events became important as subject matter.

In novel and short story writing, under the influence of realism and naturalism, the authors introduced observation and detailed descriptions of human feelings to Turkish literature, as well as female characters, who were thinking, feeling, strong individuals like their male counterparts. This contrasted with the inferior status of females dominant in the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] period prose.

The authors of the *Therwet-i fünūn* knew foreign languages and western literatures well. Most of them were university graduates and came from the prestigious Ottoman schools. The more traditional literati of the times accused them of being too westernised

and of adopting a totally secular approach to literature; while their more populist contemporaries accused them of introducing foreign words into Turkish contrary to the prevalent movement of the nativisation of vocabulary, and of not addressing the social problems of the common folk and of snobbery.

The better known authors of the movement are Khālid Ḍiyā or Ẓiyā (Uşaklıgıl) (1867-1945), Tewfīḳ Fikret (1867-1915), ʿAlī Ekrem (Bolayır) (1867-1937), Ḥüseyin Suʿād (Yalçın) (1867-1942), Aḥmed Ḥikmet (Müftüoğlu) (1870-1927), Süleymān Naẓīf (1869-1927), Djenāb Shihābeddīn (1870-1934), Ḥüseyin Sīret (Özsever) (1872-1959), Aḥmed Reshīd (Rey) (1870-1955), Meḥmed Sāmī (1866-1917), Ḥüseyin Djāhid Yalçın (1875-1957), Meḥmed Raʾūf (1875-1931), Fāʾiḳ ʿAlī (Ozansoy) (1867-1950), Djelāl Sāhir (Erozan) (1883-1935), and Ismāʿīl Ṣafā (1867-1901).

The movement came into being when the Ottoman empire was in the process of dismantlement, when there was uncertainty about the future of the state and heavy censorship under ʿAbdülḥamīd II, and although the authors were attacked by their contemporaries, the changes which they introduced into late Ottoman literature (both in poetry and prose) were long-lasting. The movement should be seen within the context of the westernisation of Ottoman Turkish literature after 1860.

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THIḲA (A.), pl. *thiḳāt*, qualification used in the science of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] to describe a transmitter as trustworthy, reliable.

Through over-use it gradually lost this positive meaning and, more often than not, it is a virtually meaningless epithet. When not used alone, the term appears often in strings of qualifications which, taken at first sight, seem to be contradictory. The biographical dictionaries of *ḥadīth* transmitters abound in examples of people mentioned as *thiḳa* as well as *ḍaʿīf* "weak", or *matrūk* "to be ignored". More or less the same phenomenon can be observed in the case of another degenerated qualification such as *ṣāliḥ* [*q.v.*] "pious", or *ṣadūḳ* "veracious". The *ridjāl* [*q.v.*] literature contains multi-volume collections of transmitters depicted in these withered terms, more than anything else reflecting the overall ignorance on the part of the *ridjāl* critics as to the (de)-merits of the transmitter they describe as *thiḳa*. The *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) and the *K. al-Thiḳāt* of Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965 [*q.v.*]) are among the best-known of such collections. The latter also wrote a *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*. In this lexicon, the term *thiḳa* is used to indicate transmitters who are definitely not "reliable", e.g. in a special chapter (76-80) he distinguishes several categories of traditions transmitted by *thiḳāt* which may not be admitted as evidence, such as those by *thiḳāt* who continuously make simple mistakes, habitually transmit traditions on the authority of weak or mendacious transmitters, and obscure their identities by calling them by their *kunyas* instead of their names and vice-versa, or resort to other forms of the deceit called *tadlīs* [*q.v.*]. Ibn Ḥibbān mentions several famous transmitters as exponents of every category. Among these *thiḳāt* are listed the best-known traditionists of all times such as Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Aʿmash [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Thiḳāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1973-83; idem, *K. al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Bey, Ḥaydarābād 1970; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1952-3; for more references, see the *Bibl.* to ṢĀLIḤ. (G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

AL-**THUGHŪR** (A.), pl. of *thaghr*, one of whose basic meanings is "gap, breach, opening", a term used for points of entry between the Dār al-Islām and the Dār al-Ḥarb [*q.vv.*] beyond it.

It is more specifically used in the plural for the lines of fortifications protecting the gaps along such frontiers as that in south-eastern Anatolia between the Arabs and Byzantines (see 1. below) and for the march lands in al-Andalus between the Arabs and the Christian kingdoms to the north (see 2. below). But it is not infrequently employed by the Islamic geographers and historians in reference to other regions on the peripheries of the Islamic lands, such as those of the Caucasus, Central Asia and eastern Afghānistān facing the various peoples of the Caucasus, the Turks of the steppelands and others. Thus the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* styles Dihistān [*q.v.*], to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, a *thaghr* against the Oghuz; Tiflis one against the infidels (sc. the Georgians, Alans, etc.); and Aswān one against the Christian Nubians (tr. Minorsky, 133, 144, 152). Furthermore, it was used in reference to those coastlands of the *Dār al-Islām* open to maritime attack, e.g. for ports along the North African coast, bordering the Mediterranean or Atlantic, so that Alexandria, vulnerable to Greek naval attacks in the early centuries of Islam and to Frankish ones in the Crusading and Mamlūk periods, is sometimes called the *thaghr al-Iskandariyya*. Aden, facing the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean beyond, and strongly fortified, is similarly described in the title of the work of the 9th/15th century local historian Abū Makhrama, *Taʾrīkh thaghr ʿAdan* (Brockelmann, S II, 239-40); the author lived into the time when the Portuguese were appearing on the coasts of East Africa and were about to enter Arabian coastal waters.

1. In the Arab-Byzantine frontier region.

Here, the *thughūr* were the forward line of fortresses in a region sometimes called the *ḍawāḥī* or *ḍawāḥī 'l-Rūm* "outer lands [of the land of the Greeks]", constituting a kind of no-man's-land; behind the *thughūr* lay the line of fortresses in the rear, the *ʿawāṣim* [*q.v.*] or "protecting [strongholds]". In such a Greek source as Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De caeremoniis*, the *thughūr* are styled τὰ Στόμια (ed. Bonn, i, 657), and Syriac historians speak of "the land of the Tagrā", as in Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, iii, 20-1, 467) and in Barhebraeus, *Chronicon* (ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339-40). The later Arabic historians like al-Balādhurī and the geographers posit a neat two-tier system of the forward *thughūr*, bases for raids and conquest, and the rearward protecting *ʿawāṣim*, a zone of settlement, and attribute its formation to Hārūn al-Rashīd, who entrusted these last to members of the caliphal family like ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ and his own son al-Ḳāsim, aiming to associate the ʿAbbāsid family personally with the *djihād* against Byzantium; but M. Bonner has recently suggested that the system of Hārūn's time was really the culmination of a long evolutionary process.

The *thughūr* formed an arc running from Tarsus [see ṬARSŪS] in Cilicia along the line of the Taurus Mountains to Marʿash [*q.v.*] (the Syrian *thughūr*) and then on to Malaṭya [*q.v.*] (the Djazīran or Mesopotamian *thughūr*). Al-Iṣṭakhrī (early 4th/10th century) mentions in this connection the fortresses of Malaṭya,

al-Ḥadath, Marʿash, al-Hārūniyya, al-Kanīsa (al-Sawdāʾ), ʿAyn Zarba, al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana and Ṭarsūs (55-6). Slightly later, Ibn Ḥawḳal makes the point that all the *thughūr* are administratively dependent on the province of Syria, and the Djazīran ones are only so-called because the *ribāṭs* there are manned by the men of Mesopotamia (ed. Kramers, 165, 168, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 163, 164-5). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) borrows largely from al-Iṣṭakhrī, but re-arranges the fortresses of the *thaghr-hā*, and ends them in the south-west with Awlās (Eleusa), as being the last town of Islam on the coast of the Sea of Rūm (tr. 148-9). Al-Dimashḳī (8th/14th century) lists the Mesopotamian *thughūr* as Malaṭya, Kamakh, Shimshāṭ, al-Bīra, Ḥiṣn Manṣūr, Ḳalʿat al-Rūm, al-Ḥadath al-Ḥamrāʾ and Marʿash, and those of Syria as Ṭarsūs, Adhana, al-Maṣṣīṣa, al-Hārūniyya, Sīs and Ayās (ed. Mehren, 214). But by the time this latter author was writing, the *thughūr* had ceased to have any significance as outposts against the infidels, for the embattled Rupenid kingdom of Little Armenia, which alone of the former Christian powers of the region survived Mamlūk pressures until 776/1375 [see SĪS], was no serious military threat to the Muslims. The terms *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* lingered on in Mamlūk administrative geography, but anachronistically, as when al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iv, 228-9, lists the *niyābas* of the *thughūr* and *ʿawāṣim* and adjoining lands: eight along the Syrian march (Malaṭya, Dabragī (Diwrigī), Daranda, Abulustayn (Elbistan), Ayyās, Ṭarsūs and Adhana, Sirfandakār and Sīs) and three in the Mesopotamian lands to the east of the upper Euphrates (al-Bīra, Ḳalʿat Djaʿbar and al-Ruhā or Edessa).

During the five centuries or so of confrontation and warfare between the Arabs and Byzantines, and then with the Franks and Armenians also, the fortunes of war swung backwards and forwards, so that fortresses of the zone of the *thughūr* might be abandoned by one side, left desolate and then rebuilt and repeopled by the other side; this process can clearly be seen in the history of such points as Malaṭya and Tarsus [*q.vv.*]. Life in these march regions bred a tough and self-reliant people, and on the Muslim side, volunteers (*mutaṭawwiʿa* [*q.v.*]) were attracted as *ghāzīs* or fighters for the faith from as far away as Khurāsān and Transoxania, settling in their own *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*]. We possess a specially valuable documentation for this way of life and its exponents in such geographers as Ibn Ḥawḳal and from the surviving extracts from the later 4th/10th century work of a local writer of Tarsus (see C.E. Bosworth, *The city of Tarsus and the Arab-Byzantine frontiers in early and middle ʿAbbāsid times*, in *Oriens*, xxxiii [1992], 268-86; idem, *Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān al-Ṭarsūsī's* Siyar al-thughūr *and the last years of Arab rule in Tarsus (fourth/tenth century)*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, v [Athens 1993], 183-95).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 79-81, s.v. *al-Thaghr*, and above all, the *Bibl.* to ʿAWĀṢIM, which notes such especially important references as Le Strange, *Eastern lands of the Caliphate*, 128 ff., Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, and Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, 241-86, with maps I and IX facing pp. 240, 248. See also now M. Bonner, *The naming of the frontier: ʿAwāṣim, Thughūr, and the Arab geographers*, in *BSOAS*, lvii (1994), 17-24. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. In al-Andalus.

In the context of the mediaeval history of the Iberian Peninsula, the term *al-thughūr* has, in addition to its general sense, a specific meaning applicable to what English-speaking historians of Muslim Spain normally render as "the Marches". In the absence of any direct or indirect indication to the contrary, this expression is to be taken as the designation of three major frontier zones brought into existence by the Hispano-Umayyads, viz. the Upper, the Middle and the Lower. In the earliest days of Umayyad rule these *thughūr* seem to have amounted to little more than outlying bands of sparsely populated, or even uninhabited, territory dividing Muslim forces from entrenched indigenous Christians determined to resist subjection. Garrisoned in a line of strategically placed castles and fortresses, the Muslim troops were detailed to consolidate Islam's position in the territory it had gained and to form an effective barrier against possible enemy incursions. Just as their mission was military, so was the command under which they operated. As time passed, these early fortified lines assumed increasingly greater proportions and developed into sizeable regional entities, governed from what were, in effect, regional capitals dominating not only a well-organised system of fortifications, but also a greater or lesser spread of towns, villages and hamlets. The inhabitants of the latter were sustained by the produce of surrounding cultivable land—from which, however, one should not infer a density of population, with all that that implies, comparable to that characterising the southern heartlands of al-Andalus. Whatever geographical, political and administrative variables there may have been in the history of the *thughūr*, their essentially military character remained a constant.

Of the original three marches, the most northerly and accordingly the most remote from Umayyad Cordova was the Upper March (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), which, probably because of its remoteness from the capital, was also designated the Farther March (*al-thaghr al-aḳṣā*), an expression which, in an appropriate context, has a narrower sense applicable only to the very northern reaches of the March, centred on Huesca and Barbiṭāniya (see below). Two other names known to have been given to the Upper March are the Great March (*al-thaghr al-akbar*) and the Supreme March (*al-thaghr al-aʿẓam*).

Like all other *thughūr* in al-Andalus of whatever kind of whatever period, the Upper March was never a region bounded by immutable, neatly drawn frontiers, but, rather, a variable entity expanding and contracting with the vicissitudes of war waged by Muslims and Christians in their efforts to gain or maintain the upper hand. Thus, in the earliest days of its existence, the Upper March covered, in theory, an area comprising territory north of the Pyrenees. However, the Christian conquest of Pamplona (Banbalūna [*q.v.*]) in 183/799 and Barcelona (Barshalūna [*q.v.*]) in 185/801 marked the start of a new era during which the Upper March was to emerge as a much more durable and, at the peak of its development, a somewhat more clearly identifiable entity. As such, it is said to have comprised, in broadly descending order from the north-east to the south-west, the areas, or zones (*aḳālīm*), centred on Barbiṭāniya (an area between present-day Boltaña in the north and Barbastro (Barbashturu [*q.v.*]) in the south), Huesca (Washḳa [*q.v.*]), Tudela (Tuṭīla), Saragossa (Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*]), Lérida (Lārida [*q.v.*]), Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb [*q.v.*]) and Bārūsha (precise location uncertain, but situated south of Daroca (Darūḳa) and including today's Molina de Aragón (Mulīna). Add to which the region of Tortosa (Ṭurṭūsha)—omitted from the foregoing list only because of its limited scope precluding inclusion of a centre well to the south-east of Saragossa on the

lower reaches of the Ebro. Viewed at a later period on a lesser scale and from a different perspective, the Upper March is seen as comprising only its lands to the west of Lérida, its eastern parts constituting a separate regional grouping designated the Eastern March (*al-thaghr al-sharkī*). In the 4th/10th century, this *thaghr* took a southward course from Lérida through Fraga (Ifrāgha [*q.v.*]), eventually reaching Tortosa and continuing thence to the Mediterranean coast. Whatever changes, administrative or otherwise, may have accompanied the emergence of this Eastern March, one change that did not take place was the removal of supreme command from Saragossa, which from the outset had been the capital, or mother city (*umm*), of all territories constituting the Upper March.

For the Umayyads, the Upper March was to prove both a source of strength and a source of weakness. It was a source of strength in that its strong defences enabled the central government to maintain as secure a hold as possible on its southern heartlands, but a source of weakness in that Cordova's rulers had only too often to devote much time and energy to devising means of coping with the ambitions of those of their commanders for whom, as for certain local overlords also, subordination to Cordova stood in the way of their realising their aspirations to autonomy.

Since much of the history of the Upper March is inseparable from that of Saragossa, which is well adumbrated in M.J. Viguera's article [see SARAKUSTA], and is also intertwined with the geographical and political history of the Spanish Aragon so capably unravelled in P. Chalmeta's article on this province [see ARAGHŪN in Suppl.], only one or two points remain to be noticed here. First, immediately following the demise of the Umayyads, the northern reaches of the old realm enjoyed a greater degree of stability than most parts of al-Andalus, thanks to power already acquired in Saragossa by those who had long sought absolute independence. These were, first, the Tudjībids and, secondly, the Hūdids, their successors, who held on to their *ṭā'ifa* kingdom [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF] until the occupation of Saragossa by the Almoravids (al-Murābiṭūn [*q.v.*]) in 503/1110. Despite Almoravid intervention, the city was to fall to Alfonso I of Aragon in 512/1118, and by mid-century Christian control of all the territories of the old Upper March was virtually complete. Though now subject to Christian rule, the vast majority of the Muslim population of those territories chose not to emigrate but accept Mudéjar [*q.v.*] status and to stay put. The origins of this stratum of society were not to be forgotten, for in the Spanish *tagarinos*—a term used particularly in 17th-century European sources (Fr. "Tagarins") to denote primarily the Moriscos of Aragon, but also those of Valencia and Catalonia—we find a clear echo of *thaghr*/*thaghrī* (adj.).

That in early Umayyad times there were three major *thughūr*, viz. the Upper, the Middle (*al-awsaṭ*) and the Lower (*al-adnā*), is an undisputed fact. Precisely when this tripartite division came into being is unclear, but there is no doubt that it existed in the 3rd/9th century. Originally, the Muslim line of defence for the Lower March was based on Mérida (Mārida [*q.v.*]) and ran westward through Badajoz (Baṭalyaws [*q.v.*]) over part of the Estremadura and part of central Portugal down to the Atlantic coast. The Middle March, which began more or less where the old Upper March ended in the region of Bārūsha (see above), descended in a south-westerly direction, passing, by the end of the reign of Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86), through a chain of fortified towns and cities, including Madrid (Madjrīṭ [*q.v.*]), Talamanca (Ṭalamanka), Canales (Ḳanālish), Olmos (Wulmush) and Calataifa (Ḳal'at al-Khalīfa), towards its seat of government, Toledo (Ṭulayṭula [*q.v.*]) and thence to territories bordering on the Lower March.

As times and situations changed, so did the *thughūr*. In the reign of the great 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (al-Nāṣir) (300-50/912-61 [*q.v.*]), whose tireless and conspicuously successful military activities firmly secured his realm against Christian encroachment, we find mention of just two major *thughūr*, of which one is designated *al-akṣā* and the other *al-adnā*. Of the former nothing need be added here to what has already been said. The latter, however, calls for comment, for the Lower (or Near/Hither) March had come to denote a modified Middle March. Control of this *thaghr*, a bulwark against Castile and the Kingdom of Leon, was removed from Toledo to Medinaceli (Madīnat Sālim [*q.v.*]), a town situated well to the north on the verge of the Upper March and transformed on the orders of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III into a heavily fortified base for *ṣawā'if* (sing. *ṣā'ifa* [*q.v.*]). And so, before or around the middle of the 4th/10th century, *al-thaghr al-adnā/awsaṭ* denoted a vast area which it is best to describe here only in the loosest and most general terms with reference to places that can be easily located on modern maps of Iberian Peninsula. So, if we take Toledo on the Río Tajo as our starting-point, the *thaghr* ascended northward through Madrid in the direction of the Sierra de Guadarrama and the Río Duero (Portug. Douro). In the north-east it took in, among other places, Uclés, Cuenca, Huete, Santaver, Guadalajara and Medinaceli, while in the north-west it ran through Talavera, Coria and Coimbra.

Until the end of the 4th/10th century no major changes took place in the general pattern of these frontier zones as it stood at the time of al-Nāṣir's death in 350/961, but not long before 400/1009 the caliphate that he had instituted began to lose control of al-Andalus, and, as disintegration set in, the Christians turned Muslim disunity to whatever advantage they could whenever they could. Not surprisingly, then, major changes in the configuration of the border territories took place in the period running from the definitive conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile in 478/1085 to shortly after the mid-6th/12th century, by which time the long Christian follow-up to the taking of Saragossa was very near its end. Following the disappearance of the territories once controlled from Toledo and Saragossa, no defensive system comparable to that represented by the *thughūr* as devised and developed by the Umayyads emerged to replace it. Accordingly, it was only a matter of time, once Ferdinand III of Castile and Leon had taken Cordova (633/1236) and Seville (646/1248), before Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula was eliminated from all but the small kingdom of the Naṣrids [*q.v.*] of Granada.

Relevant to the subject of *thughūr* in al-Andalus are one or two terms on which comment may be helpful. First, there is reason to believe that *al-thaghr al-sharkī* and *al-thaghr al-djawfī* (adj. "northern", but to be taken as applying in particular to the north-west), which occur in a 7th/13th-century text, are terms which had, as Muslim frontiers receded, come to replace *al-thaghr al-akṣā* and *al-thaghr al-adnā*, respectively. Secondly, *al-thaghr* and *bilād al-thaghr*, when unqualified, almost always denote the old Upper March. For further and better particulars Bosch Vilá's *Algunas consideraciones* (see *Bibl.*), though in need of updating, is useful.

One final point: the complex subject of the place of the *thughūr* in the administrative system of al-Andalus has been felt to be beyond the scope of this article.

Bibliography: 1. On the question of primary sources, see the *Bibl.* to ṢĀ'IFA. 2, from which, through an oversight, was omitted F. de la Granja (tr.), *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdrí*, Saragossa 1966; on uses of *thaghr*/*thughūr* in *al-Muktabis*, v, see under "Marca" (16 separate entries) in index to Mª J. Viguera and F. Corriente (tr.), *Cronica de ʿAbdarraḥmān III*, Saragossa 1981.

2. Secondary sources: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, index *svv.* "Marche(s)" (5 separate entries) see also map, i, 192; J. Bosch Vilá, *Algunas consideraciones sobre "al-tagr" en al-Andalus*, etc., in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 23-33, esp. 24-40; idem, *Historia de Albarracín musulman*, Teruel 1955; E. Manzano, *La frontera de al-Andalus en época de los Omeyas*, Madrid 1991; idem, *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, Madrid 1991; Mª J. Viguera, *Aragón musulmán*, ²Saragossa 1988 (containing maps and excellent bibl.); L. Molina and Mª L. Avila, *Sociedad y cultura en la Marca Superior*, in *Historia de Aragón*, iii, Saragossa 1985; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia musulmana de Valencia*, 3 vols., Valencia 1970; *Colloque la Marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, Casa de Velasquez and the University of Saragossa, Madrid 1991; C. Laliena and Ph. Sénac, *Musulmans et chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen Âge. Aux origines de la reconquête aragonaise*, n.p. [Paris] 1991; *Colloque de Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transicion, a finales del ciglo XIᵉ, 1080-1100*, University of Saragossa 1998.

(J.D. LATHAM)

THULĀ, an historic, walled town of about 4,000 people (al-Waysī, 65, published in 1962) situated at about 45 km/28 miles from the main town of the Yemen, Ṣanʿāʾ [*q.v.*], and placed by Werdecker (139), after Glaser, in 15° 36' latitude and 43° 53'. The town is overlooked by an impregnable fortress perched on the mountain above which can be seen from very great distances all around. Tradition tells us that the town takes its name from a certain Thulā b. Lubākha b. Akyān b. Ḥimyar al-Aṣghar. It is also the centre of a district (*kaḍāʾ*) of the same name.

The town is undoubtedly of ancient origin. Al-Hamdānī (107), writing in the 4th/10th century, simply states that it is a stronghold (*ḥiṣn*) and a village belonging to the Marrāniyyūn of Hamdān, and it is clear that the town took on more political and military importance during the Ayyūbid (569-626/1173-1228) and Rasūlid (628-845/1230-1441) periods and particularly under the later Zaydī Imāms. The town is associated in particular with the Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn who died in 980/1572. His tomb lies inside the *madrasa* of his son, Sharaf al-Dīn, within the walls of Thulā (see Golvin and Fromont, *Thula*, 42-6, and photographs 30-5, pp. 196-8). The major architectural features of the town, mosques, *madrasas*, tombs and gates, of the latter, nine in all, can all be seen in Golvin and Fromont, 17, fig. 2, which is a general plan, and the work as a whole is an excellent study of the architecture of Thulā.

Thulā was visited by both Niebuhr in the 18th century and Glaser in December 1883. The latter wrote a particularly detailed account of the town (see both Grohmann's art. *Thulā*, in *EI*¹, and Werdecker, 38-9, both written from Glaser's manuscript account). Glaser reckoned Thulā to be the second largest town in the Yemen after Ṣanʿāʾ, and its narrow streets were flanked with regularly-built houses in yellowish-red stone. Glaser first thought the ascent to the citadel to be impossible, but he was assisted by local climbers and a strong rope. He calculated the *ḥiṣn* to be of some antiquity. He mentions cisterns and about twenty granaries called *madāfin*, cone-shaped structures made out of sandstone and about six or seven metres deep. He also mentions caves hewn out of the rock called *djurūf*.

Bibliography: J. Werdecker, *A contribution to the geography and cartography of North-West Yemen*, in *Bull. de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Egypte* (1939), 38-9; Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Waysī, *al-Yaman al-kubrā*, Cairo 1962, 65; L. Golvin and Marie-Christine Fromont, *Thula, architecture et urbanisme d'une cité de haute montagne en République Arabe du Yémen*, Paris 1984, *passim*; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadjarī, *Madjmūʿ buldān al-Yaman wa-kabāʾili-hā*, ed. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Ṣanʿāʾ 1984, i, 166-7.

(G.R. SMITH)

THULUTH [see KHAṬṬ].

THUMĀMA B. ASHRAS, ABŪ MAʿN AL-NUMAYRĪ, Muʿtazilī theologian, d. 213/828.

Of Arab descent (and proud of it), he entered upon a secretary's career. He served under the Barmakids and was put under arrest after their downfall in 186/802. However, in 192/807 his reputation had so far been restored that Hārūn al-Rashīd had him join his expedition to Khurāsān. When, one year later, the caliph died at Ṭūs, Thumāma stayed in the East with al-Maʾmūn, obviously as one of his administrative advisers. In 201/817 we find him among those who, by their signature, bore witness to the document where al-Maʾmūn proclaimed ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his successor. Yet he never held a high official post, neither at Marw where al-Maʾmūn resided until 202/818 nor later at the court of Baghdād when the caliph had returned to ʿIrāk in 204/819. Publicity was much greater, though, in the old capital than it had been in Khurāsān; he therefore became the hero of numerous anecdotes in *adab* literature. People saw in him a kind of *éminence grise*, influential in a way but mainly famous for his wit and his detached and liberal irony. His feeling for Arabic style and his interest in eloquent speech made him a typical representative of the state bureaucracy.

As a theologian he did not write as much as did most of his Muʿtazilī colleagues, nor does he seem to have had the ambition of developing an overall "system". He agreed with Muʿammar [*q.v.*] in assuming that all beings have a "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*), but at the same time he was convinced that those who really act are only God and man. Man is distinguished among all creatures by his will; this is what he has in common with God. By his will he may direct nature, or rather, the natures, i.e. his own one as well as that of other beings. This does not, however, exclude the fact that beings, whether living or inanimate, also function by themselves. Effects are not caused by a personal originator (*muḥdith*) as he said, rejecting by that the concept of *tawallud* developed by his contemporary Bishr b. al-Muʿtamir [*q.v.*]. The consequences of his theory come out most clearly in his epistemology. Knowledge is not acquired but spontaneous, and man becomes responsible for it only when he wills it. An unbeliever therefore deserves punishment only when he consciously rejects the truth; pagans who have never heard about Islam are not subject to any retribution, positive or negative, but simply become dust when they die (a fate which, according to sūra LXXVIII, 40, the real unbelievers would be happy

to undergo instead of Hell). There is, of course, the juridical difference between believers and unbelievers, but this only concerns their treatment as long as they are alive. Internal convictions cannot be ascertained by the external appearance.

In law, Thumāma no longer found the *idjtihād* as developed by the old Kūfan school sufficient. He aspired after a more systematic method, perhaps deductive reasoning, but we lack any precise information. In political theory, he took up Ḍirār's idea that a non-Arab, even somebody as despised as a Nabaṭī in ʿIrāḳ, deserves more respect for having accepted Islam than a member of Ḳuraysh who profited from it, and that he should therefore be preferred as a candidate for the caliphate in the (somewhat theoretical) case that both of them should enter into competition. With this doctrine, as well as with his epistemology and the corresponding definition of the unbeliever, Thumāma may have influenced al-Djāḥiẓ.

Bibliography: Mir Valiuddin, *Thumāma b. Ashras' Muʿtazilism examined*, in *IC*, xxxiv (1960), 254 ff.; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin-New York 1991-7, iii, 159-70, v, 345-52, with further references.

(J. VAN ESS)

THÜREYYĀ, MEHMED, Ottoman biographer (1261-1326/1845-1909).

Meḥmed Thüreyyā was born in Istanbul, the son of Meḥmed Ḥüsnü Bey, an Ottoman civil servant. In 1863 he joined the translation office of the Bāb-î ʿĀlī, and for some time was also on the staff of the newspaper *Djerīde-yi Ḥawādith*. He was appointed in 1886 to the Council of Education, where he served until his death in 1909. He was buried in the Ḳaradja Aḥmed cemetery at Üsküdar (Ö.F. Akün, art. *Süreyya*, in *IA*, ix, 247).

He wrote or compiled more than forty volumes, said to include a multi-part Arabic-Persian-Ottoman-Chagatay-Tatar dictionary, four novels, and several volumes on Ottoman and Islamic history. Most of these apparently perished during a major fire in 1916 (Akün, 248). Only two of his works were published. The first of two volumes of *Nukhbetü 'l-wakāyiʿ* ("Selected events"), an annotated register of government appointments from 1831 to 1875, appeared in 1876 (the second volume remained unpublished). His principal work, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, a biographical dictionary of famous Ottomans, appeared in four volumes (1308-16/1890-9). Previous Ottoman biographical compendia, each specialising in a certain professional or social group, constituted Thüreyyā's main sources, in addition to government records and surviving tombstones. Combining data from these various sources, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī* was intended to provide a comprehensive listing of Ottomans from all professions and ranks, from the earliest Ottoman period up to 1316/1899. Despite the brevity of its entries and the now proven unreliability of some of these, it immediately became, and remains, a standard work of reference, an Ottoman "national biography". It is especially valuable for lower-ranking Ottomans not sufficiently prominent to appear in other compendia or in major historical sources. The first volume of an incomplete modern Turkish edition, *Osmanlı devletinde kim kimdi?* ("Who was who in the Ottoman state?"), appeared in 1969, but has not been continued.

Bibliography: Akün, art. *Süreyya*; Babinger, *GOW*, 385-87; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, iii, 36-7; G. Oransay (ed.), *Osmanlı devletinde kim kimdi?*, i, Ankara 1969, 7-9. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

ṬIBĀʿA [see MAṬBAʿA].

ṬIBĀḲ (A.), a rhetorical figure mostly translated "antithesis" and consisting in the inclusion, in a verse or colon, of words of opposite meaning, as in *ḥulamāʾu fī 'l-nādī idhā mā djiʾtahum—djuhalāʾu yawma ʿadjādjatⁱⁿ wa-likāʾi* "restrained in the tribal council, when you come to them,—unrestrained on the day of a dust-cloud and battle" (Zuhayr).

Synonymous terms are *muṭābaka* and, especially in earlier theorists, *muṭābaḳ* (from *ṭābaḳtu bayna 'l-shayʾayn* "I made the two things congruent" [see Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Badīʿ*, 36]). From the same root one also finds *taṭbīḳ* (attested first in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [d. 395/1005]), which seems to be a secondary formation in the sense of "to create a *muṭābaḳ*". In later writings one encounters also *taḍādd* and *mutaḍādd*. Al-Yazdādī (d. after 403/1013) says that he called (*sammaytuhu*) this figure *mutaḍādd*; at about the same time one finds Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī (d. 466/1074) using *taṭādd* and *mutaḍādd* as terms in his definition of *muṭābaḳ*.

The earliest terminology is rather inhomogeneous. Thaʿlab (d. 291/904 [*q.v.*]) calls this figure, quite sensibly, *mudjāwarat al-aḍdād* "juxtaposition of opposites", whereas he uses the term *muṭābaḳ* in the sense of *tadjnīs* [*q.v.*]. This same "aberrant" use of *muṭābaḳ* is also found in Ḳudāma (d. 320/932 [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Wahb (1st half 4th/10th century; he prefers the form *muṭābaḳa*). Al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) reports a discussion between al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar (d. 315/927 [see AL-AKHFASH. iii]) and Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967 [*q.v.*]), in which the latter asks about the two meanings of *muṭābaḳ* and al-Akhfash sets the record straight according to the majority view (Bonebakker, *Materials*, 38). Ḳudāma does discuss antithesis as well, calling it, however, by the idiosyncratic name of *takāfuʾ* "balancing". Ḳudāma's deviation from the consensus—with regard to both terms, *muṭābaḳ* and *takāfuʾ*—is much talked about in later sources (with great sophistication by al-Sidjilmāsī [*q.v.*]), mostly with the general tenor that in principle a quarrel about terminology is pointless. Strangely, however, the term *takāfuʾ* is revitalised later by some to denote a specific type of *ṭibāḳ*, one in which one term (thus Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr [d. 737/1337]) or both terms of the antithesis (thus Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ [d. 654/1256]) are figurative.

Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [*q.v.*]) is the first to use *muṭābaḳa* as a term to denote "antithesis". He includes it among the five figures that he singles out as constituting the *badīʿ* [*q.v.*] phenomenon. He probably does so because *muṭābaḳa* shares with the other *badīʿ* figures two characteristics: (a) it creates two (sometimes more) poles in a line (in this case the two antithetical words), and (b) it is often, particularly in *muḥdath* poetry, combined with the first and most important *badīʿ* figure, the loan metaphor (*istiʿāra*, cf. W. Heinrichs in *ZGAIW*, i [1984], 190-1). The first theorist to use the form *ṭibāḳ* seems to have been Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī [*q.v.*].

The main topics discussed by the theorists are the following:

1. The nature of the opposition. Whereas most definitions of *ṭibāḳ* are based on the word *ḍidd* "opposite" and exemplified by pairs such as "black" vs. "white" and "laugh" vs. "weep", there is some discussion whether a mere difference within the same category, such as e.g. "red" vs. "green", would also constitute a *ṭibāḳ*. Some subsume it under the *muṭābaḳa* category (thus e.g. Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī), others establish a separate category parallel to *muṭābaḳ(a)* under an overarching heading (*mukhālif* under *taḍādd* in Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī). The use of various colours in one

line acquires the status of a separate figure, mostly as a subcategory of *ṭibāḳ*, under the name of *tadbīdj* "brocading" (see Mehren, 99).

2. The combination of *ṭibāḳ* with other figures, most prominently the metaphor. Since a simple antithesis is rather artless, it is frequently interwoven with metaphorical structures, especially in "modern" poetry. Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ distinguishes between antitheses with *ḥaḳīḳa* words and others with *madjāz* words; for the latter he revives the Ḳudāmian term *takāfuʾ* with this new meaning. An example would be Ibn Rashīḳ's line: *wa-ḳad aṭfaʾū shamsa 'l-nahāri wa-awḳadū nudjūma 'l-ʿawālī fī samāʾi ʿadjādji* "they extinguished the sun of day and they lit the stars of the lances in a sky of whirling dust". The author adds that this metaphorical antithesis would be an example of the "combination of figures" which he had discovered as a "figure" in its own right and termed *muḳārana* (for the latter see *Taḥbīr*, 603-6). Interestingly, Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, though also introducing the term *takāfuʾ*, restricts it to cases in which only one of the opposites is metaphorical, as in Diʿbil's line: *lā taʿdjabī yā Salma min radjul^in—ḍaḥika 'l-mashību bi-raʾsihī fa-bakā* "don't be amazed, O Salmā, at a man, on whose head hoariness is laughing, whereas he is all tears", where, obviously, only *ḍaḥika* is metaphorical, while *bakā* is real. Ibn Maʿṣūm, who likewise introduces the distinction between *ṭibāḳ ḥaḳīḳī* and *ṭibāḳ madjāzī*, says that, ordinarily, the latter is defined as an antithesis based on words used figuratively. He finds this unsatisfactory and stipulates further that the actually intended meanings of the figuratively used words must be antithetical; otherwise, one is dealing with an *īhām al-ṭibāḳ*, a "make-believe antithesis". From this point of view the lines already quoted do not pass muster: neither Ibn Rashīḳ's "blotting out the sun" vs. "raising the lances and letting their heads glisten" nor Diʿbil's "being bright" vs. "weeping" are real-life opposites. The example for *ṭibāḳ madjāzī* that Ibn Maʿṣūm adduces is a line by al-Tihāmī (d. 416/1025 [*q.v.*]): *la-ḳad aḥyā 'l-makārima baʿda mawt^in wa-shāda bināʾahā baʿda 'nhidāmi* "he brought the glorious deeds to life after [a period of] death, and he [re]built their structure after [a period of] ruin". Here the two metaphorical antitheses "bringing to life/death" and "rebuilding/ruin" reflect a real-life opposition "existence/non-existence". From this point of view, the "make-believe antithesis" is a much greater frequency and vibrancy in "modern" poetry than the more pedestrian *ṭibāḳ madjāzī* of Ibn Maʿṣūm.

3. Observations on the literary history of *ṭibāḳ*. There are two vantage points from which one might view this history: "prose and poetry" and "Ancients and Moderns". As for the first, it is clear that *ṭibāḳ* was a prominent feature of early (and later) sayings (*ḥikam*) and speeches (*khuṭab*); it moulded their style and argument. Al-Bāḳillānī goes so far as to say that most of the speeches of eloquent people are *taṭbīḳ*. Small wonder that the scribes took a great interest in this figure and developed their own terminology: al-Khʷārazmī says that what the critics of poetry called *muṭābaḳa*, the scribes term *mukāfaʾa* (in view of Ḳudāma's *takāfuʾ* this reading is preferred to the *mukāfāt* of the ed. van Vloten). A large percentage of the *shawāhid* adduced to exemplify *ṭibāḳ* are sayings and aphorisms.

As for the second perspective, the critics agree that already the ancient Arabs produced a fair amount of *ṭibāḳ* in their poetry, maybe more than any other figure of speech (al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, i, 171; Ibn Aflaḥ, *Muḳaddima*, 7), although they sometimes missed a chance that later poets would not have (see Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, iii, 181; and al-Muẓaffar al-Ḥusaynī, *Ighrīḍ*, 101, on the "modern" improvement by Abu 'l-Shīṣ on a well-known "ancient" line by ʿAmr b. Kulthūm). As with all *badīʿ* figures, the "Moderns" had a great predilection for *ṭibāḳ*. Some critics even say that it is the best of all the *badīʿ* figures (Ibn Wakīʿ, *Munṣif*, i, 49). Abū Tammām was particularly keen on it, with mixed results (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Mathal*, iii, 175). Al-Mutanabbī is surprisingly credited with comparatively few (*ibid.*, 178). As already hinted at, the "modern" poets combined their *ṭibāḳ*s with other figures of speech, metaphor first and foremost. Ibn Maʿṣūm gives a list of various combinations with examples. He also points out that the more "recent" poets, such as Ibn Makānis (d. 794/1392), Ibn Nubāta (768/1366 [*q.v.*]), and Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (d. 608/1211 [*q.v.*]), have a penchant for combining *ṭibāḳ* and *tawriya* "double entendre".

Finally, *ṭibāḳ* is not specifically Arabic, as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr points out: the pre-Islamic Persians used it and the Greeks as well. As Hippocrates said at the beginning of the "Aphorisms": *al-ʿumru ḳaṣīr^un wa-'l-ṣināʿatu ṭawīla* "vita brevis, ars longa".

Bibliography: *Ṭibāḳ* is dealt with in almost all works on rhetoric and poetics. Only substantive passages are listed below: Thaʿlab, *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr*, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1966, 62-4 (*mudjāwarat al-aḍdād*); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *K. al-Badīʿ*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 36-47 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḳudāma, *K. Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 78-81 (*takāfuʾ*); idem, *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, repr. Beirut 1399/1979, 7; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana bayn shiʿr Abī Tammām wa 'l-Buḥturī*, ed. al-S.A. Ṣaḳr, 2 vols., Cairo 1380-[1384]/1961-5, 14-18, 271-75; Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968, 73 (*mukāfaʾa*), 94 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, ed. Hilāl Nādjī, Baghdād *ca.* 1977, 40-3 (*muṭābaḳa*), cf. also S.A. Bonebakker, *Materials for the history of Arabic rhetoric from the* Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara *of al-Ḥātimī (= Supplemento n. 4 agli ANNALI—Vol. 35 [1975], fascicolo 3)*, Naples 1975, 38-43; al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, *al-Wasāṭa bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khuṣūmih*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm and ʿA.M. al-Bidjāwī, ³Cairo n.d., 44-6 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Wakīʿ, *Kitāb al-Munṣif li 'l-sāriḳ wa 'l-masrūḳ minhu fī iẓhār sariḳāt Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*, ed. M.Y. Nadjm, Kuwait 1404/1984, i, 47-50 (*muṭābaḳa*); Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Kitab al-Ṣināʿatayn al-kitāba wa 'l-shiʿr*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bidjāwī and M.A. Ibrāhīm, ²Cairo n.d. [1971], 316-29 (*muṭābaḳa*); Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. al-S.A. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1963, 80-3 (*muṭābaḳa*); Yazdādī, *Kamāl al-balāgha wa-huwa rasāʾil Shams al-Maʿālī Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr*, ed. M. al-Khaṭīb, Baghdād and Cairo 1341, 21, 24 (*mutaḍādd*); Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda fī maḥāsin al-shiʿr wa-ādābih wa-naḳdih*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 2 vols., ³Cairo 1383/1963-4, ii, 5-12 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Sinān al-Khafādjī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, ed. ʿA. al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1389/1969, 191-7 (*mutaḍādd, muṭābaḳ*); Rādūyānī, *Kitāb Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, 31-5 (*mutaḍādd, muṭābaḳ*); Moshe b. ʿEzra, *K. al-muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara*, ed. and tr. Montserrat Abumalham Mas, 2 vols., Madrid 1985-6, i, 255-7 [text], ii, 272-4 [tr.] (*muṭābaḳa*); Ibn Aflaḥ, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. G.J. van Gelder, in *Two Arabic treatises on stylistics*, Istanbul 1987, 7-10 (*taṭbīḳ*); Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. A.A. Badawī and H. ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Cairo 1960, 36-40 (*taṭbīḳ*); Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir fī adab al-kātib wa 'l-shāʿir*, ed. A. al-Ḥūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 3 vols., ²Riyāḍ 1403/1983, iii, 171-94 (*muṭābaḳa*);

Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba', *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī ṣinā'at al-shi'r wa 'l-nathr wa-bayān i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Ḥ.M. Sharaf, Cairo 1963, 111 ff. (*ṭibāḳ*); al-Muẓaffar b. al-Faḍl al-'Alawī [al-Ḥusaynī], *Naḍrat al-ighrīḍ fī nuṣrat al-ḳarīḍ*, ed. N.'Ā. al-Ḥasan, Damascus 1396/1976, 97-103 (*muṭābaḳa*); Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī, *Minhādj al-bulaghā' wa-sirādj al-udabā'*, ed. M. al-Ḥ. Ibn al-Khūdja (Belkhodja), Tunis 1966, 48-51 (*muṭābaḳa*); Sidjilmāsī, *al-Manzaʿ al-badīʿ fī tadjnīs asālīb al-badīʿ*, ed. 'A. al-Ghāzī, Rabat 1401/1980, 370-81 (*muṭābaḳa*); Nadjm al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalabī, *Djawhar al-Kanz—Talkhīṣ Kanz al-barā'a fī adawāt dhawī 'l-yarā'a*, ed. M.Z. Salām, Alexandria n.d. [1974], 84-90 (*ṭibāḳ wa-muḳābala*); Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Talkhīṣ fī 'ulūm al-balāgha* [i.e. *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*], ed. 'A. al-Barḳūkī, n.p. n.d. [Beirut 1982], 348 ff. (*muṭābaḳa*); Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-'Alawī, *al-Ṭirāz al-mutaḍammin li-asrār al-balāgha wa-'ulūm ḥaḳā'iḳ al-i'djāz*, 3 vols., Cairo 1914, ii, 377-91 (*taṭbīḳ*); Ibn Ma'ṣūm, *Anwār al-rabī' fī anwā' al-badī'*, ed. Sh.H. Shukr, 7 vols., Najaf 1968, ii, 31-58 (*al-ṭibāḳ*).

Reference works. F. Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, ed. W. Pertsch, Gotha 1874, 356 (*taḍādd, īhām al-mutaḍādd*); J. Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et prosodie des langues de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1893, repr. Amsterdam 1970, 78-84 (*muṭābaḳa*); A.F.M. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen and Vienna 1853, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1970, 97-100 (*ṭibāḳ, muṭābaḳa*).

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ṬIBB (a.), medicine.

1. Medicine in the Islamic world.

Medical care in the Islamic world was pluralistic, with various practices serving different needs and sometimes intermingling. This medical pluralism allowed pre-Islamic traditional and magical practices to flourish alongside medical theories inherited from the Hellenistic world and drug lore acquired from India and elsewhere. The medical practices of pre-Islamic Arabia appear to have continued as the dominant form of care into the early days of the Umayyad caliphate. The nature of this medical care is known primarily through various *ḥadīths*, which later formed the basis of a genre of medical writing called *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (see below).

Sources tell us virtually nothing about the medical care extended to the four Orthodox Caliphs and little about the medical care outside the court. There is a story of an Arab named al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who is said to have held learned discussions with the Sāsānid ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān, to have studied medicine at Gondēshāpūr (see below), to have been sufficiently known for his care that the Prophet referred sick people to him, and who, according to some traditions, was connected with the final illnesses of Abū Bakr and 'Umar [*q.vv.*]. The therapy that he advocated, according to later biographical literature, reflects traditional practices of using locally available plants rather than the Hellenistic tradition generally associated with Gondēshāpūr. The accounts of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada were elaborated over time and include conflicting elements making it difficult to assess the historical figure. For similar reasons, it is difficult to determine the authenticity of reports regarding Ibn Abī Rimtha, who was supposed to have been a contemporary of the Prophet and to have practised surgery. It is evident that a need was felt to justify and defend the use of medicine by appealing to accounts which showed the Prophet and early members of the Muslim community having recourse to doctors.

Only a few meagre details emerge regarding the physicians serving the early Umayyad caliphs. The first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiya [*q.v.*], is said to have employed a Christian physician of Damascus, Ibn Uthāl. The physician to the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-20) is said to have been 'Abd al-Malik b. Abdjar al-Kinānī, a convert to Islam who reportedly studied at the surviving medical school in Alexandria. One of the few Umayyad physicians known by extant writings, and possibly the first to translate a medical treatise into Arabic, is Māsardjawayh [*q.v.*], sometimes called Māsardjīs, a Judaeo-Persian physician living in Baṣra. While some accounts have Māsardjawayh living at the end of the 2nd/8th or the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, others state that, for either the caliph Marwān I or 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, he translated into Arabic from Syriac the medical handbook (*kunnāsh*) of Ahrun [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a 7th-century physician of the Alexandrian medical school.

Modern historians have usually assigned a prominent role in the development of Islamic medicine to the city of Gondēshāpūr [*q.v.*], in southwestern Persia, which in the 6th century was an outpost of Hellenism. It has been asserted that Gondēshāpūr had an important hospital and medical school which supported the translation of Greek and possibly Sanskrit texts into Middle Persian and Syriac, but this interpretation has been challenged by recent historians. There seems to be no evidence that there was a hospital in Gondēshāpūr or a formal medical school. There may have been a modest infirmary where Greco-Roman medicine was practiced and a forum where medical texts could be read, as was the case in other towns such as Susa nearby to the west. The alleged prominence of Gondēshāpūr as a medical centre with hospital was possibly due to the dominance of Nestorian Christians amongst the early physicians at the 'Abbāsid court who wished to claim the hospital as their idea and to establish a history to support their medical authority. Certainly, the Nestorian monopolisation of early medicine in Baghdād meant that the medicine they advocated, based upon Greek texts, was promoted over the rival practices of Zoroastrians and Indians or the native medicine of Arabia.

The influence of Gondēshāpūr upon early 'Abbāsid medicine (if our sources are reliable) is evident in the prominent role given the Bukhtīshū' [*q.v.*] family of Nestorian Christian physicians. For eight generations, from the mid-2nd/8th well into the second half of the 5th/11th century, twelve members of the family served caliphs as physicians and advisers, often sponsoring the translation of texts and composing original treatises. In 148/765 the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], suffering from a stomach complaint, called Djurdjīs b. Djibrā'īl b. Bukhtīshū' to Baghdād from Gondēshāpūr, where he had been the leading physician and author of a Syriac medical handbook. He eventually returned to Gondēshāpūr, where he died after 151/768, but his son was called to Baghdād in 171/787, where he remained until his death in 185/801, serving as physician to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. The subsequent generations of Bukhtīshū' remained in Baghdād. The court physician to the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, the Christian physician Sābūr b. Sahl [*q.v.*], was also said to have practised medicine in Gondēshāpūr before coming to Baghdād.

Early in the 'Abbāsid caliphate, interest was directed toward medical and scientific works from older cultures, especially Greek—no doubt encouraged by the Christian court physicians who spoke or read Syriac and Greek. After translation was undertaken on a major scale, the Hellenistic and Byzantine medical

theories and practices were completely accepted and integrated into the learned medical thinking of the day. The most influential of the Greek writings to be translated into Arabic were the compendium on *materia medica* by Dioscorides [see DIYUSĶURIDĪS], various treatises by Rufus of Ephesus [see RŪFUS AL-AFSĪSĪ], the surgical chapter from the Greek encyclopaedia by Paul of Aegina working in Alexandria in the 7th century, and especially the voluminous medical writings and exposition of humoral medicine by Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS]. The Hippocratic writings [see BUĶRĀṬ, in Suppl.], while extensively used by some Islamic physicians, were not in general as direct a formative influence as the Galenic writings.

Early in the 3rd/9th century a foundation called *bayt al-ḥikma* [*q.v.*], the House of Wisdom, was established in Baghdād for promoting the translation of foreign texts. The most productive translator (though his relationship with the enterprise called *bayt al-ḥikma* is unclear) was Ḥunayn b. Isḥāķ al-ʿIbādī [*q.v.*], another Nestorian Christian but originally from al-Ḥīra in southern ʿIrāķ. He translated into both Syriac and Arabic, often working in collaboration with others, including his son Isḥāķ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] and his nephew Ḥubaysh [*q.v.*], the latter sometimes translating into Arabic the Syriac version made by Ḥunayn. Ten years before his death Ḥunayn recorded that of Galen's works alone, he had made 95 Syriac and 34 Arabic versions. Ḥunayn also composed original medical writings, including the very influential *K. al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb li 'l-mutaʿallimīn* and the ophthalmological treatise *K. al-ʿAshr maķālāt fi 'l-ʿayn*. Ḥunayn and other translators, such as the Melkite Ķusṭā b. Lūķā [*q.v.*], had access to the court as advisers and learned men, and through their translations, as well as original compositions, their work was fundamental to the establishment of the classical Arabic scientific and medical vocabulary.

There are a number of early physicians who are not known to have made translations themselves but whose writings reflect the very early period of adaptation of foreign material. Foremost amongst this group was another Nestorian Christian, Ibn Māsawayh [*q.v.*], whose father had been a physician in Gondēshāpūr before coming to Baghdād. Ibn Māsawayh composed a considerable number of Arabic medical monographs, on topics including fevers, leprosy, melancholy, dietetics, eye diseases and medical aphorisms. It was reported that Ibn Māsawayh regularly held a *madjlis* or assembly of some sort, where he consulted with patients and discussed subjects with pupils, amongst them Ḥunayn b. Isḥāķ. At times, Ibn Māsawayh apparently attracted considerable audiences, having acquired a reputation for repartee. Another important figure was ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī [*q.v.*], who died not long after 240/855. He not only summarised Greco-Roman practices in his compendium *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, dedicated in 235/850 to the caliph al-Mutawakkil, but also devoted a separate chapter to Indian medicine. Neither he nor subsequent writers, however, really tried to integrate the Indian material with Greco-Roman medicine. Approximately thirty other physicians who practiced before the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century are known by name and some by extant writings. By the end of the century the humoral system of pathology, particularly as had been advocated by Galen, formed the basis of nearly all the learned Arabic medical discourses.

Also in the 3rd/9th century there arose a genre of medical writing called *al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, or prophetic medicine, intended as an alternative to the exclusively Greek-based medical systems. The authors were clerics rather than physicians, and they advocated the traditional medical practices of the Prophet's day and those mentioned in the Ķurʾān and *ḥadīth* over the medical ideas assimilated from Hellenistic society, sometimes blending the two approaches. One of the earliest examples is the 3rd/9th-century Shīʿī collection *Ṭibb al-aʾimma*. At about the same time, Ibn Ḥabīb al-Andalusī [*q.v.*] composed *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-ṭibb* based upon *ḥadīths* concerned with medicine, while in the next century Ibn al-Sunnī (d. 364/974) compiled a treatise on the subject that was used by later writers. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, the genre became quite popular and it remains so today. The treatises by the historian al-Dhahabī [*q.v.*], the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Ķayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*], and Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]) are still available in modern printings. Treatises on prophetic medicine flourished for centuries alongside those of the Greek-based humoral tradition. We know of a considerable number of treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, but we do not have the names of any who were known for practising this type of medicine. The reason for this may be that our written sources are for the most part skewed toward the Greek-based system and omit details of other practices. It would seem that treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* were not considered detrimental to, or competitive with, medical practices based primarily upon Hellenistic humoral medicine. Islamic plague tracts also had as their primary focus the collecting and interpreting of various *ḥadīths* considered relevant to the concepts of contagion and transmissibility of disease and the proper reaction to such occurrences [see WABĀʾ]. Plague tracts also attempted medical explanations and remedies for plague, and sometimes a history of plagues up to the time of composition.

Following the rather rapid appropriation of Greek medicine (with a few Persian and Indian elements) that occurred in the 3rd/9th century, the organisation of the vast body of knowledge into a logical and accessible format became a primary concern. In the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, four comprehensive Arabic medical encyclopaedias were composed that proved to be particularly influential. Yet no modern critical editions or translations of these encyclopaedias are available. Two of these fundamental works were written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*]: *K. al-Manṣūrī fi 'l-ṭibb* and *K. al-Ḥāwī*. The former, dedicated in 290/903 to the Sāmānid prince Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūr b. Isḥāķ, governor of Rayy, is a relatively short general textbook, while the latter was assembled posthumously from his working files of readings and personal observations. The *Ḥāwī* is a unique type of work in the history of medicine, and, even though it was so enormous that few could afford copies and was not tightly structured as mediaeval encyclopaedias usually were, it was frequently used by later physicians. It was not without its critics, however, for the *K. Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya* by ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Madjūsī [*q.v.*] was written in part as an attempt to redress the lack of proper organisation and insufficient attention to anatomy and surgery that is evident in the *Ḥāwī*. Al-Madjūsī dedicated his only treatise to the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā Khusraw [*q.v.*], and it is one of the most comprehensive and well-organised medical compendia of early medical literature. Its division into two discrete parts, theoretical and practical, established a format common to later mediaeval medical writings. The fourth medical encyclopaedia of fundamental importance was *K. al-Ķānūn fi 'l-ṭibb* by Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*]. Composed

over a lengthy period of time as he moved westward from Gurgān to Rayy and then to Hamadān, the compendium consisted of five books: (1) general medical principles; (2) *materia medica*; (3) diseases occurring in a particular part of the body; (4) diseases such as fevers that are not specific to one bodily part; and (5) recipes for compound drugs. The first book sometimes circulated by itself under the title *al-Kulliyyāt*. Unlike al-Rāzī or al-Madjūsī, Ibn Sīnā did not name the sources from which he drew his material. These four attempts at collecting and systematising the rather unorganised Hellenistic and Byzantine medical literature were enormously successful in producing a coherent and orderly medical system. Their sheer size tended to emphasise their authoritative nature, reinforced by titles such as *al-Ḳānūn*.

The *Ḳānūn* was, however, not greeted everywhere with praise. In Spain, when Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, who died in 525/1130 [see IBN ZUHR. III], was presented with a copy of the *Ḳānūn*, he so disliked it that he refused to put it in his library, preferring to cut off its margins for use in writing prescriptions for patients. He also wrote a treatise criticising the *materia medica* in the *Ḳānūn*. His students, like those of al-Rāzī before him, compiled his therapeutic procedures and case histories into a book, *K. al-Mudjarrabāt*, following his death in Seville. His son, Abū Marwān b. Zuhr [see IBN ZUHR. IV], wrote several important works, including *K. al-Iḳtiṣād* intended for a general audience and *K. al-Taysīr* concerned with therapeutics. His compatriot Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] wrote *K. al-Kulliyyāt*, which became one of the most influential medical writings from Spain. It remains to be investigated whether Islamic medicine in Spain developed with less dependence upon the ideas of Ibn Sīnā than elsewhere. Available evidence suggests that the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā had little influence in ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt until the second half of the 6th/12th century, when Ibn al-Tilmīdh [*q.v.*], a physician at the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād who died in 560/1165, wrote a marginal commentary in a copy he transcribed (in part from Ibn Sīnā's autograph copy) of the *Ḳānūn*; portions are extant in Cambridge, Browne ms. P 5(10), and Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, Coll. 1062, ms. 108. The influence of the *Ḳānūn* is detectable in the *K. al-Mukhtārāt fi 'l-ṭibb* written in Mawṣil in 560/1165 by Ibn Hubal [*q.v.*]. In Persia, the *Ḳānūn*'s influence is evident earlier, for the Persian handbook *Dhakhīra-yi Khwārazmshāhī* by Djurdjānī [*q.v.*], dedicated to the Khwārazmshāh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-127), is highly dependent upon the *Ḳānūn*.

Both al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā also wrote essays on individual topics. Al-Rāzī wrote an influential monograph on smallpox and measles, though the earliest essay on the subject was by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*]. Amongst al-Rāzī's other essays was one on colic (*K. al-Ḳūlandj*) and one criticising Galen's medical philosophy (*K. al-Shukūk ʿalā Djālīnūs*). Some of his case histories are contained in his *K. al-Ḥāwī*, but many more (nearly 900) were recorded and assembled posthumously by his students under the title *K. al-Tadjārib*. Ibn Sīnā's medical monographs included essays on colic, on cardiac drugs and on bloodletting, as well as a didactic medical poem (*Urdjūza fi 'l-ṭibb*) that was especially popular (judging from the large number of extant manuscripts and commentaries, including one by Ibn Rushd). The 4th/10th-century writings of Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*], particularly that on fevers, were widely read, as were the writings of his pupil, the Tunisian physician Ibn al-Djazzār [*q.v.*]. The court physician to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zahrāwī, composed at Cordova an encyclopaedia of 30 books entitled *K. al-Taṣrīf li-man ʿadjiza ʿan al-taṣnīf* that had particular influence through its final book, which was devoted to surgery. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Akhawaynī Bukhārī, a student of a pupil of al-Rāzī, composed the earliest medical compendium in Persian, *Hidāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fi 'l-ṭibb*. The general Arabic textbook, *K. al-Muʿāladjāt al-buḳrāṭiyya*, by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, court physician to the Būyid ruler Rukn al-Dawla [*q.v.*] is preserved in many manuscript copies and merits further attention from historians, while several of the treatises by the court physician to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Muḳtadī and al-Mustaẓhir [*q.vv.*], Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh (d. 495/1101), deserve detailed attention, especially his *K. al-Mughnī fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ* and his medical-philosophical essay *Fī khalḳ al-insān*.

In the 5th/11th century an acrimonious debate occurred between two important physicians. ʿAlī b. Riḍwān [*q.v.*] was a self-taught physician, burdened by an enormous ego and a quick temper. He was appointed chief physician by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*], and attained great political power in Egypt, where he also wrote several treatises including *K. Dafʿ maḍārr al-abdān bi-arḍ Miṣr*, a discourse on climatological features of Egypt and their relation to public sanitation and disease, particularly plague. When Ibn Buṭlān [*q.v.*], a Nestorian Christian from Baghdād educated under the leading physician of the day, arrived in Fusṭāṭ in 441/1049 and challenged Ibn Riḍwān's position, an exchange of ten increasingly vitriolic essays took place. The debate ostensibly centred upon an issue in Aristotelian biology, but was in fact motivated by enmity and the desire to acquire social status or to protect it. Ultimately, Ibn Buṭlān was forced to leave, but rather than return to Baghdād he went first to Constantinople and then to a monastery, where he became a monk. Ibn Buṭlān composed a medical manual for the use of monks, a tract on how to detect illnesses in slaves that were for sale, a satirical piece exposing the shortcomings of a physician and other medical personnel (*Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ*), and the extremely popular *K. Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*, which in the course of 40 charts presents 210 plants and animals and 70 other items and procedures useful for maintaining good health. Neither Ibn Buṭlān nor Ibn Riḍwān appear to have been aware of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā.

Perhaps with Ibn Buṭlān's *Taḳwīm* as a model, synoptic charts became a common didactic element in Arabic medical literature. Such charts are found, for example, in the therapeutic handbooks of Ibn Djazla [*q.v.*] and Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh, and in the treatises on *materia medica* of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Saʿīd al-ʿAlāʾī al-Maghribī (*fl.* mid-6th/12th cent.) and Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm al-Tiflīsī (*fl.* end of 6th/12th century). As early as the 3rd/9th century, branch diagrams were used to illustrate the relationship between ideas or between related diseases. Ibn Māsawayh appears to have been amongst the earliest to employ them, though branch diagrams are also found in some Arabic copies of summaries (*djawāmiʿ*) of Galenic treatises. Another popular format for medical discourse was that of questions and answers. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ employed the technique in his *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ṭibb li 'l-mutaʿallimīn* and also in *al-Masāʾil fi 'l-ʿayn*. Others followed suit, such as Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr al-Masīḥī (d. 589/1193), court physician to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], in his introductory guide to medicine, *K. al-Iḳtiḍāb*. Didactic medical poetry was also a common device,

though given little attention by modern historians.

The Ayyūbid and Mamlūk dynasties were noted for their patronage of physicians and hospitals. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir I Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb (Saladin) [*q.v.*] was said to have had no less than 18 physicians in his service, eight of them Muslim, five Jews, four Christians, and one Samaritan. These included the well-known Jewish physician and philosopher Maimonides (Ibn Maymūn [*q.v.*]) and Ibn Djumayʿ [see IBN DJĀMIʿ]. The latter had a number of students, including Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān al-Isrā'īlī [*q.v.*], the author of a formulary *Dustūr al-bīmāristān* for use in the Nāṣirī hospital.

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī [*q.v.*] had founded a hospital in Damascus which was named after him the Nūrī hospital, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir I (Saladin) followed his example by founding in 567/1171 a hospital in Cairo called the Nāṣirī hospital. The development of urban hospitals was a major achievement of mediaeval Islamic society [see BĪMĀRISTĀN]. The relation of their design and development to earlier poor and sick relief facilities offered by some Christian monasteries has not yet been fully delineated, but it is evident that the mediaeval Islamic hospital was a more elaborate institution with a wider range of functions.

The Islamic hospital served several purposes: a centre of medical treatment, a convalescent home for those recovering from illness or accidents, an insane asylum, and a retirement home giving basic maintenance needs for the aged and infirm who lacked a family to care for them. It is unlikely that any truly wealthy person would have gone to a hospital, unless they were taken ill while travelling far from home. Except under unusual circumstances, all the medical needs of the wealthy and powerful would have been administered in the home. Though Jewish and Christian doctors working in hospitals were not uncommon, we do not know what proportion of the patients would have been non-Muslim. An association with a hospital seems to have been highly desirable for a physician, and some teaching occurred in hospitals, especially in Baghdād and later in Damascus and Cairo, but most medical instruction was probably acquired through private tutoring and apprenticeship.

The association of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] with the establishment of the first hospital in Islam has been demonstrated to be unjustified, and the formative role of Gondēshāpūr in their development has been overemphasised. Available evidence suggests that the first Islamic hospital was founded in Baghdād by order of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The most important of the Baghdād hospitals was that established in 372/982 by ʿAḍud al-Dawla and we possess the fullest information about the great Syro-Egyptian hospitals of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

Following the death in 560/1165 of the head of the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdād, Ibn al-Tilmīdh, several physicians left Baghdād for Damascus and the Nūrī hospital. One of Ibn al-Tilmīdh's students to emigrate was Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 587/1191), a Christian who converted to Islam and found in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn a generous patron, enabling him to develop a personal library said to contain 10,000 volumes. Ibn al-Muṭrān's major writing, *K. Bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'*, consists of numerous quotations from earlier authorities interspersed with his own comments, somewhat in the style of al-Rāzī's *Ḥāwī* but on a smaller and more organised scale. The leading figure in the teaching of learned medicine in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th century was Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, known as al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230), who had studied medicine with Ibn al-Muṭrān and in turn taught many students in Damascus, where he was associated with the Nūrī hospital. He established upon his death a *madrasa* [*q.v.*] which was devoted solely to instruction in medicine. The school opened in 628/1231, about a month after al-Dakhwār died, and it was still in existence in 820/1417 when it underwent repairs.

His two most famous students were Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and Ibn al-Nafīs. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*] was born into a family of Damascene physicians and in his day was a noted oculist practicing at the Nūrī hospital. Today his name is more readily associated with his *K. ʿUyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, in which he gives the biographies of over 380 physicians and scholars. His work greatly expands the earlier bio-bibliographic accounts given by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī [*q.v.*].

Ibn al-Nafīs [*q.v.*], usually referred to in Arabic sources by his *nisba* al-Ḳurashī, was a noted jurist as well as a prolific writer of medical tracts. He undertook an enormous medical compendium called *K. al-Shāmil fī 'l-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya*, which was projected to extend to 300 volumes, of which he completed only 80 (portions are preserved in nine manuscripts, one of which is an autograph [Palo Alto, Stanford University, Lane Medical Library, ms. Z 276]). He also wrote on ophthalmology and produced a commentary on *K. al-Masā'il fī 'l-ṭibb* by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ.

While the earliest epitome of the *Ḳānūn* seems to have been that by al-Īlāḳī (*fl.* 460/1068), a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, it was not really until the late 6th/12th century that a serious need was perceived for aids to understanding the *Ḳānūn*. The Egyptian Jewish physician Ibn Djumayʿ, who died in 594/1198, composed possibly the earliest commentary on the *Ḳānūn*. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, commentaries and epitomes followed in rapid succession, and it was this industry of glossing and condensing the *Ḳānūn* that assured the encyclopaedia its pre-eminent position in mediaeval medicine.

The most widely read of all abridgements of the *Ḳānūn* was that titled *K. al-Mūdjiz* written by Ibn al-Nafīs. He also composed a commentary on the entire *Ḳānūn* that became an authoritative work in its own right, and in it he criticised Ibn Sīnā for, amongst other things, spreading his discussion of anatomy over several different sections of the *Ḳānūn*. Ibn al-Nafīs then prepared a separate commentary on the anatomy which is preserved in several copies, one completed in 640/1242 some 46 years before his death (Los Angeles, UCLA Biomedical Library, Coll. 1062, ms. 80), and in it Ibn al-Nafīs described the movement of blood through the pulmonary transit (the pulmonary circulation) some three centuries before it was described by Europeans [see TASHRĪḤ]. Ibn al-Nafīs spent much of his life in Cairo, where he died in 687/1288 bequeathing his house and library to the recently-constructed Manṣūrī hospital there.

In Damascus, an important pupil of both Ibn al-Nafīs and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa was the Christian physician Ibn al-Ḳuff [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who taught medicine in Damascus and composed what appears to be the only mediaeval Arabic treatise devoted solely to surgery. This manual (*K. al-ʿUmda fī ṣināʿat al-djirāḥa*) covered all aspects of surgical care except ophthalmology, which he considered to be a speciality with its own technical literature.

Only two areas of medicine developed their own extensive specialist literature: ophthalmology and pharmacology. Nearly every medical compendium had chapters on both subjects, but the most comprehensive

coverage was to be found in the large number of monographs devoted solely to eye diseases or simple and compound remedies.

Ophthalmology was a topic in which mediaeval Islamic writers displayed considerable originality [see ʿAYN and RAMAD]. Early in the 3rd/9th century, both Ibn Māsawayh and his student Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ wrote influential monographs on the subject. Though based to a large extent upon Greek sources, they already show considerable advancement in knowledge over that in the extant Greek writings, including knowledge of some previously unrecognised pathological conditions such as pannus (*sabal* in Arabic), for which intricate surgical procedures soon developed. One of the most highly-regarded ophthalmological manuals was that covering 130 eye ailments written by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [*q.v.*] who practised in Baghdād in the 4th/10th century, the *Tadhkirat al-Kaḥḥālīn*. A near-contemporary of his was ʿAmmār al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*], who was originally from ʿIrāḳ but moved to Egypt where he dedicated his only writing, a treatise on eye diseases, to the Fāṭimid ruler al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*]. ʿAmmār's treatise discusses only 48 diseases, but contains some interesting clinical cases and a claim to have designed a hollow cataract needle for the removal of the cataract from the eye by suction. This method of removal was attributed by al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Ḥāwī* to a Greek physician, Antyllus, of the 2nd century A.D.; others, such as al-Zahrāwī, said they had heard of such a procedure, but had not seen it performed. The history and efficacy of this supposed method of cataract removal has been the subject of recent studies. The method of cataract treatment undoubtedly widely practiced since antiquity, was that of couching, in which the opaque lens (or "crystalline humour") is not removed but rather pushed to one side. There is evidence that in some locales there were people who did nothing but couch cataracts; they were probably itinerant and not highly trained in other medical matters. For example, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*] wrote in 682/1283 in his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* that he carried out procedures such as bloodletting, suturing, the surgical removal (*laḳṭ*) of the eye conditions pannus and pterygium, but would not undertake couching of cataracts (*ḳadḥ*) as not befitting him.

For reasons as yet unknown, there was during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries an unprecedented interest in composing Arabic treatises on ophthalmology. In Spain, Muḥammad b. Ḳassūm b. Aslam al-Ghāfiḳī [*q.v.*], of whom essentially nothing is known, wrote *K. al-Murshid fī ṭibb al-ʿayn*, consisting of nine chapters covering all aspects of the medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical treatment of the ocular disorders then recognised. The first chapter is of particular interest for its discussion of the ethics of oculists and a paraphrase of the Hippocratic oath. In Cairo, Fatḥ al-Dīn al-Ḳaysī (d. 657/1258) dedicated his ophthalmological manual to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ II Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb [*q.v.*]. His treatise, *K. Natīdjat al-fikar fī ʿilādj amrāḍ al-baṣar*, consists of seventeen chapters dealing with the anatomy and physiology of the eye and with the causes, symptoms, and treatment of 124 eye conditions, some apparently described here for the first time. About a decade later, another comprehensive ocular manual was composed in Syria by Khalīfa b. Abi 'l-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*], who meticulously cited the previous writers on the subject from whom he drew material. Al-Ḳaysī is not among them, and so we are left to conclude that al-Ḳaysī's treatise was not yet available in northern Syria, where Khalīfa apparently worked. The manual by Khalīfa includes a considerable amount of novel material, including diagrammatic charts of ophthalmological instruments and the first recorded instance of the use of a magnet to remove a foreign object from the eye—in this case a piece of a needle that had broken while couching a cataractous eye.

Another important 7th/13th-century ophthalmological treatise was *K. Nūr al-ʿuyūn wa-djāmiʿ al-funūn* whose author is commonly referred to as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Yūsuf al-Kaḥḥāl al-Ḥamawī; it has been demonstrated, however, that the treatise was composed by one Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Abi 'l-Radjāʾ (see G. Schoeler, in *Isl.*, lxiv [1987], 89-97). This particular manual is unusual in examining at length the optical explanation of vision, and it also has illustrations of instruments and an interesting diagram showing a quarter section of an eye along two different planes. A very thorough and systematic explication of 7th/13th-century ophthalmological knowledge was presented by Ibn al-Nafīs in his *K. al-Muhadhdhab fī ṭibb al-ʿayn*. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, in his biographical dictionary, devoted two chapters to his contemporaries in Syria and Egypt, and yet al-Ḳaysī was the only one of the Syrian-Egyptian oculists contemporary with him to receive his attention. It is curious that he omitted to mention Ibn al-Nafīs or Khalīfa or Ibn Abi 'l-Radjāʾ (ps.-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), though there is one manuscript copy, now in Damascus (Ẓāhiriyya ms. 4883 *ṭibb*, fol. 104b), of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's *K. ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ* which has a paragraph at the end of the treatise concerning Ibn al-Nafīs, but it appears to be an addition to a recent copy. In the following century, the Egyptian scholar Ibn al-Akfānī [see IBN AL-AKFĀNĪ. 3, in Suppl.] wrote an ophthalmological text, *K. Kashf al-rayn fī aḥwāl al-ʿayn*, and then prepared an abridgement of it. Later in the 8th/14th century Ṣadaḳa b. Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī composed his *K. al-ʿUmda al-kuḥliyya fī 'l-amrāḍ al-baṣariyya* which contains some interesting evidence of the level and frequency of ocular surgery in his day. The decline in originality characteristic of the majority of medical compositions after the 8th/14th century can be seen in a manual written in the 9th/15th century by the Egyptian oculist Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Munāwī, for it actually consists of the abridgement which al-Akfānī wrote of his own treatise, alongside of which al-Munāwī placed the text of al-Akfānī's longer manual as well as the relevant passages from Ibn al-Nafīs's treatise on ophthalmology.

In pharmacology, Islamic writers surpassed their earlier models, primarily because their broader geographic horizons brought them into contact with drugs unknown to earlier peoples. Knowledge of medicinal substances was based initially upon the approximately 500 substances described by Dioscorides [see DIYUSḲŪRĪDĪS]. From the formularies of Sābūr b. Sahl and al-Kindī [*q.vv.*], and a treatise on the medical régime for pilgrims to Mecca (*R. fī tadbīr safar al-ḥadjdj*) written by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, it is evident that by the 3rd/9th century many medicaments were being used that were unknown in Hellenistic medicine, including camphor [see KĀFŪR], musk [see MISK], and sal-ammoniac [see AL-NŪSHĀDIR], as well as commodities previously unknown to Europe, such as cotton [see ḲUṬN]. For other formularies, see AḲRĀBĀDHĪN. Numerous treatises were composed on *materia medica*, often with extensive philological interests [see NABĀT and ADWIYA]. Most influential of all was the manual by Ibn al-Bayṭār [*q.v.*], which was an alphabetical guide to over 1,400 medicaments in 2,324 separate entries, taken from his own observations as well as over 260 written sources which he quotes. His enormous manual formed the basis of

many subsequent guides to medicinal substances. New equipment was also developed for pharmaceutics. "Albarello" is the name given today in Europe to drug jars having a contracted waist, the earliest examples of which were made in Syria in the 6th/12th century. There was also a large and varied industry of mortar and pestle design and production.

The topic of poisons was of great interest in both antiquity and in mediaeval Islam. Snake and dog bites as well as the ill effects of scorpions and spiders and other animals caused much concern, while the poisonous properties of various minerals and plants, such as aconite, mandrake, and black hellebore, were exploited. A particularly important Arabic treatise on antidotes was written in 669/1270 in Syria by ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Anṣārī (unique copy, Bethesda, Md., National Library of Medicine, ms. A64). It not only describes plants found in Syria at the time, but incorporates extensive quotations from other treatises, including some otherwise lost today, such as a treatise on antidotes by the Egyptian physician al-Tamīmī (d. 370/980) and an illustrated herbal by the Syrian Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn al-Manṣūr b. al-Sūrī (d. 641/1243) [see further, SUMM].

Other topics were sometimes the subjects of monographs, but they did not generate a large specialist literature. Such topics included anatomy [see TAS̲H̲RĪḤ], colic, haemorrhoids, skin diseases, forgetfulness, headaches, melancholia, fevers, bloodletting [see FAṢṢĀD, in Suppl.], embryology [see ʿARĪB B. SAʿD AL-KĀTIB AL-ḲURṬUBĪ], and care of children [see ṢAG̲H̲ĪR]. In the case of surgery [see D̲J̲ARRĀḤ and K̲H̲ITĀN], Ibn al-Ḳuff's book on it was not as influential as the surgical chapter from the encyclopaedia by al-Zahrāwī, which was illustrated with drawings of instruments and often circulated independently from the encyclopaedia. A Turkish version of al-Zahrāwī's surgical chapter was prepared for Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ [*q.v.*], but human figures were introduced into the illustrations, reducing the instruments to insignificance; it was probably never intended as a guide to a physician but rather as an entertaining present to a ruler. Other topics, such as leprosy [see D̲J̲UD̲H̲ĀM, in Suppl.] and malaria [see MALĀRYĀ] were discussed in encyclopaedias and have interested modern scholars, but were not themselves the subjects of monographs.

In certain regions the functioning of medical practioners was overseen by a *raʾīs al-aṭibbāʾ* and/or a *muḥtasib*. Though little is known about the actual duties of the former, a number of manuals were written as guides for the latter [see ḤISBA]. Prior to the 6th/12th century, the manuals only briefly mentioned the medical profession, and then mostly in relation to drugs, weights, and measures. Al-S̲h̲ayzarī (d. 589/1193), a physician working in Aleppo, wrote a manual requiring that the Hippocratic oath be administered to physicians, oculists examined for their knowledge of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *K. al-ʿAs̲h̲r maḳālāt fi 'l-ʿayn*, bone setters tested with the Arabic version of Paul of Aegina's surgical chapter, and surgeons required to know a particular book by Galen. Later manuals repeated these requirements, but there is little evidence as to what extent such examinations were actually conducted. It has also been asserted that a mediaeval Islamic physician was granted a license (*id̲j̲āza*) following the completion of his education. There is, however, no evidence for a uniform, standardised, or controlled system of medical education, though there are preserved today a number of signed statements at the end of treatises that a student has read and understood a given text in the presence of the author or established physician. Such certifications are not equivalent to licensing a physician upon completion of an approved period of training, nor is the term *id̲j̲āza* found in such documents.

Magical and folkloric practices, as well as astrological medicine, also formed part of the medical pluralism. One of the most obvious uses of charms and incantations was to protect against epidemics, whose occurrences were devastating, unpredictable and little understood, but they were also used to protect against every sort of disease and misfortune as well as the evil eye. Certain verses of the Ḳurʾān were considered especially beneficial, and magical alphabets and other sigla were combined to form amulets, which (after the 6th/12th century) might include magic squares [see WAFḲ]. That such practices were not the sole domain of the poor is evident in the magic-medicinal bowls made for Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rulers. Large numbers of magic-medicinal bowls are preserved today, engraved with magical symbols and Ḳurʾānic verses. According to inscriptions on the early specimens, they were thought useful for a variety of ailments, including stomach complaints, headache, nosebleeds, scorpion stings, bites of snakes and mad dogs, and would assist in childbirth. Curiously, neither the magic-medicinal bowls nor the talismanic shirts (of which a considerable number of Ṣafawid, Ottoman and Mug̲h̲al examples are recorded) are mentioned in the written literature that has been so far examined. The writings of learned physicians, such as al-Rāzī, are not entirely devoid of sympathetic magic, for occasional references are found to sympathetic remedies involving magical principles. Throughout the society, in varying degrees, there was room for popular explanations and cures alongside the more learned approaches.

Early modern European influences can be seen in Ṣafawid medicine [see ṢAFAWIDS. IV. II. 1]. The earliest treatise on syphilis (*ātis̲h̲ak*) appears to be a Persian essay written in 977/1569 by ʿImād al-Dīn Maḥmūd S̲h̲īrāzī, who also wrote a separate tract on China Root (*čub-i čīnī*), the rhizome of an Old World species of Smilax advocated for syphilis and as a general panacea. This new drug for treating a new disease was rapidly incorporated into Arabic medical writings. For example, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī [*q.v.*] included in his *Tad̲h̲kira* a similar description of syphilis and China Root. Al-Anṭākī also relied heavily upon medieval Islamic writers and earlier Greek sources, for which he learnt Greek so as to study them directly.

At the Ottoman court of the 11th/17th century, the early-modern European concept of "chemical medicine" was introduced through the writings of the court physician to Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*], Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr b. Sallūm, who translated into Arabic several Latin writings by Oswald Croll (d. 1609), professor of medicine at the University of Marburg, and Daniel Sennert (d. 1637), professor of medicine at Wittenberg. Both men were followers of Paracelsus (d. 1541), who employed mineral acids, inorganic salts and alchemical procedures in the production of remedies. Many of the medicaments required distillation processes and plants that were indigenous to the New World, such as guaiacum and sarsaparilla. Ibn Sallūm's treatises not only reflected the new "chemical medicine" but also described for the first time in Arabic a number of "new" diseases, such as scurvy, anaemia, chlorosis, the English sweat (a type of influenza) and plica polonica (an East European epidemic of matted and crusted hair caused by infestation with lice). By the 17th century it is evident that Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica* printed in Basel in 1542 was known in the Ṣafawid and Ottoman empires [see TAS̲H̲RĪḤ]. At the same

time, at the Ottoman court there was a revival of interest in *terra lemnia* (an ancient Greek medicinal earth) as a remedy for plague.

In the early 18th century, there was continued Ottoman interest in Paracelsian medicine, though there was also opposition from practitioners of mediaeval humoral medicine. When plague befell Istanbul, Muṣṭafā III [*q.v.*] ordered a Turkish translation to be made of two treatises by Hermann Boerhaave (d. 1738), a Dutch medical reformer. These versions, made by the court physician Ṣubḥī-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in collaboration with the Austrian interpreter Thomas von Herbert, attempted through explanations and glosses to harmonise the European medicine with the traditional medicine.

In the 19th century, profound changes occurred in the teaching of medicine, and as European medicine was introduced on a large scale, many European texts were translated into Arabic and Persian. In 1828 a medical school near Cairo was established at which French, Italian, and German professors taught European medicine, and in 1850 a military medical school, the Dār al-Fūnūn, was founded in Tehran where instruction was given in French by professors from Austria and Italy. Yet medical pluralism remains even today, with traditional and folkloric practices and treatises on *al-ṭibb al-nabawī* still forming part of the spectrum of medical care.

In the 5th/11th century, Arabic medical theories and practices began to filter into Europe. One of the earliest to be translated was an abbreviated version of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ's *K. al-Masāʾil fī ʾl-ṭibb*, known in Latin as the *Isagoge*, which was fundamental in establishing the basic conceptual framework of medicine in Europe. The major writings of al-Madjūsī (Haly Abbas), al-Rāzī (Rhazes), and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) were all translated into Latin by the mid-7th/13th century. The name Mesue was associated with several influential Latin treatises, only some of which were actually written by Ibn Māsawayh. The writings of Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī and Ibn al-Djazzār had considerable circulation through Latin versions, as did the *K. al-Kulliyyāt* (*Colliget*) of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). The surgical chapter by al-Zahrāwī (Abulcasis) enjoyed great popularity in Europe, as did the *Taḳwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* of Ibn Buṭlān, known as *Tacuim* or *Tacuinum sanitatis*. With only a few exceptions, no Islamic medical writers who lived after Ibn Buṭlān are represented by Latin translations of their writings. A subject of debate is whether a Latin translation of Ibn al-Nafīs's description of the pulmonary circulation was available in the 16th century [see TASHRĪḤ].

In the 16th century, Europeans again became interested in medical practices in the Islamic world. For example, Leonhard Rauwolf travelled in Syria, Iraq, and Palestine from 1573 to 1575 to collect plant specimens and record customs. Before travelling there, he had read Latin translations of Avicenna, Rhazes and Averroes. In the next century, Joseph Labrosse (Fr. Angelus of St Joseph) went to Rome in 1662 to study Arabic for two years and then travelled to Iṣfahān to study Persian, where he used medicine as a means of propagating Christianity. Upon return to France he published in 1681 the *Pharmacopoea persica* which consisted of a Latin translation of the *Ṭibb-i shifāʾī* by Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Shifāʾī (d. 974/1556) with comments by Labrosse. In the 18th century, two Latin translations of al-Rāzī's treatise on smallpox and measles were made at a time when there was much interest in inoculation or variolation for smallpox following the description around 1720 of the procedure in Turkey by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman court. Pharmacopoeias in European vernacular languages continued to show the influence of Islamic pharmacology until the beginning of the 19th century.

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(EMILIE SAVAGE-SMITH)

2. Medical exchanges between China and the Islamic world.

It has been often assumed that the battle near Talas in July 751, where Western Turks and Arabs destroyed the Chinese army, marks the end of direct Chinese influence in Central and Western Asia, but this assumption must be revised.

The two main channels of contact between the Chinese and the Muslim peoples during the Middle Ages were the continental Silk Road leading westwards from north-west China. The other one, the "Oceanic Silk Road", connected the south-west coast of China with India and Persia. This latter route especially served the exchange of herbal drugs and medical knowledge from both sides. This is evidenced, inasmuch as China is concerned, by the work *Hai yao ben cao* ("Materia medica from the Oceanic route"), written by Li Xun, a Persian who knew Chinese well and became famous also as a Chinese poet. He lived in the 9th/10th century A.D. Many kinds of herbs which were imported from Persia and other Muslim countries, as well as the names of Chinese herbs which were exported to these countries, have been recorded in the work *Song Hui Yao* ("Historical records of the Song dynasty"). The widespread use of Chinese herbal medicine by Muslim physicians is attested already by al-Kindī (3rd/9th century [*q.v.*]) in his pharmacopoeia.

Chinese medicine soon gained increasing influence. In his *Canon of Medicine*, Ibn Sīnā listed and recommended 17 medical herbs which, as he added, were "imported from China" (*yu'tā bihā [tudjlab] min bilād al-Ṣīn*). This is another piece of evidence of Sino-Arabic exchange of herbal drugs at that time. While the Muslim physicians generally followed Galen (Djālīnūs [*q.v.*]), Ibn Sīnā's pulse theory and pulse diagnosis followed more closely the Chinese pulse diagnosis, displayed e.g. in Wang Shu-he's book *Mai jing* ("Classic of pulses", 2nd century A.D.). There are many similarities between Ibn Sīnā's *Canon* and Chinese medical theories, e.g. in regard to the holistic understanding of the human body, the principles of combining medical herbal formulae, the process of aging and the rôle of the body fluids, alimentary therapy, etc.

Chinese medicine was especially promoted by the great historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb (*ca.* 645-718/*ca.* 1247-1318 [*q.v.*]), who served three Īlkhān rulers as Grand Vizier. Being himself also a physician, Rashīd al-Dīn was interested in Chinese medicine. He had contacts with Chinese physicians and ordered one of his pupils to go to China and collect Chinese medical books. He had them translated into Persian and edited them, together with an extensive preface of his own, under the name *Tansuḳ-nāma*, "Book of precious information"; the subtitle given by Rashīd al-Dīn is "The Īlkhān's treasure book of Chinese sciences". Of this book, divided into 4 parts, only one part, together with Rashīd al-Dīn's preface, has been preserved in a unique Istanbul manuscript.

Its main part has been identified as commentary of a commentary on the *Mai jue*, i.e. "Pulse poem", which was very popular in China during the Song and the Yin-Yüan dynasties (12th-14th centuries). At that time, the *Mai jue* was by mistake attributed to Wang Shu-he. This mistake was repeated also by Rashīd al-Dīn, although the correct name *Mai jue* is also mentioned in the *Tansuḳ-nāma*. The quotations from the *Mai jue* have been embodied into the *Tansuḳ-nāma* in its original Chinese version, transliterated into Arabic letters, together with explanatory remarks. The manuscript of the *Tansuḳ-nāma* contains also several drawings of high quality displaying inner organs, the circuit of life-energy (*Qi*) and astronomical computations. Thus although this work is only fragmentarily preserved, it is of great significance for the history of Chinese medicine being the first version, known so far, of Chinese medical literature transmitted to the Islamic West.

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(F. KLEIN-FRANKE and ZHU, MING)

TIBBAT AL-KHURD [see BALTISTĀN].

TIBBU [see TUBU].

TIBESTI, a mountain massif of the central Sahara, forming part of the elevated land running from the Adrar of the Ifoghas [see ADRAR] in northeastern Mali to the Nuba mountains of Sudan.

It lies roughly between lats. 23° and 19° 30' N. and longs. 16° and 19° 30' E., being about 480 km/300 miles long and up to 350 km/200 miles wide, and includes the highest peak of the Sahara, the volcanic summit Emi Koussi (3,415 m/11,200 feet). Three great, deeply-cut dry wadis indicate, as elsewhere in the Sahara, a formerly more humid climate. There are oases, mainly in the north and centre of the massif, the chief one being Bardai. Most of Tibesti now falls politically within the Chad Republic, with its northeastern outlier in Libya and its westernmost tip on the frontier with Niger. The sparse population, mainly nomadic but with some sedentaries, is that of the Teda branch of the Tubu [*q.v.*] "people of Tibesti". The region was traversed and partly explored by Gustav Nachtigal in 1869, and more fully described by Col. Jean Tilho in the early 20th century, but it was not really pacified for France until 1930 or after. For the recent political history of the region, see the Appendix II "Tibesti since Nachtigal's visit", in Nachtigal, tr. Fisher, i, 423-33; ČAD, in Suppl.; and TUBU. 2.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TIBRĪZ [see TABRĪZ].

AL-TIBRĪZĪ, ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀ' YAḤYĀ B. 'ALĪ b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. [Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vii, 286)] Bisṭām al-Shaybānī, *imām ahl al-adab* (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 823; *al-khaṭīb* is incorrect, see Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv, 22), celebrated Arab philologist (421-502/1030-1109). Born a son of the *khaṭīb* of Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the talented young man embarked on the *ṭalab al-'ilm* at an early age. He did not give it up until his appointment at the *madrasa* [*q.v.*] al-Niẓāmiyya (inaugurated 459/1067) in Baghdād as professor of the *adab* sciences, above all *naḥw*, *lugha*, *'arūḍ*, and *ḳawāfī*. Becoming in addition also the librarian, he died in the ninth decade of his life on Tuesday, 28 Djumādā II 502/2 February 1109.

Al-Tibrīzī's extended journeys for the sake of study give us, through his teachers and their *riwāyāt*, information about the sources and tendencies of his own works. As an inpecunious youth of *ca.* 22 years of age he travelled, with al-Azharī's [*q.v.*] *Tahdhīb al-lugha* in his backpack, from Tabrīz to Syria to join the great blind scholar Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī [*q.v.*]. After two years he moved on to Egypt, where Ibn Bābashādh (d. 469/1077; Brockelmann, I², 365, S I, 529), an erstwhile merchant from Daylam now working as a *naḥwī* and *lughawī* at the *dīwān al-inshā'* [*q.v.*] in Cairo, was introduced by the young man to the latest discussions of questions in Arabic philology. Probably following a *ḥadjdj*, al-Tibrīzī continued his studies of grammar and lexicography in Baghdād, and from there made a brief journey to Baṣra to study with the well-known al-Faḍl al-Ḳaṣabānī (d. 444/1052; Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 115). After his return to Baghdād, he set out toward the West and joined, in Ṣaydā [*q.v.*], the son of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*], 'Alī (d. 457 or 458/1065), who as a philologist had specialised in *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, and above all Shāfi'ī law, and in Ṣūr [*q.v.*] or Tyre, Sulaym b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d. 447/1055). It is no surprise that among al-Tibrīzī's teachers other traditionists are also mentioned, e.g. the famous al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*]. When in 456/1064 the two men met in Damascus and engaged in disputations, the latter did not hesitate to acknowledge his being a disciple of the much younger al-Tibrīzī (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 255, vii, 286). When later al-Tibrīzī himself had become a famous professor, he in turn liked to call himself a disciple of his much younger colleague, the Shāfi'ī jurisconsult Ibn Barhān (d. 520/1126) who was much admired for his sharp mind. At what time he visited the great analyst of language, 'Abd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Gurgān, which the latter is said never to have left, is not easy to determine. For further, at times contradictory, information on his journeys, teachers, etc., see Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa's introduction to his edition (based on the autograph of 486/1093) of al-Tibrīzī's *sharḥ* on the *Ikhtiyārāt al-Mufaḍḍal*, 4 vols. Damascus 1388-92/1968-72.

Among al-Tibrīzī's numerous (*djamm ghafīr*) students, the following may be listed: al-Djawālīḳī [*q.v.*] who studied with him for seventeen years and followed him in his position at the Niẓāmiyya; Ibn Nāṣir al-Salāmī (d. 550/1155) through whom al-Tibrīzī is often quoted; Sa'd al-Khayr al-Anṣārī from Valencia (d. 541/1146) who as a merchant traveled as far as China; Abū Ṭāhir al-Sindjī (d. 548/1153 in Marw), one of the teachers of al-Sam'ānī [*q.v.*]; and Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī [*q.v.*], who survived him the longest. Much was told about the great master, even that he habitually drank wine (cf. Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 253!), that he wore silk and a turban of gold brocade, and that he had an interest in boys. He also posed as a poet; however, he never filled the position of *ḳāḍī* in Baghdād (read *ḳāṭin* in al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, s.v.; cf. Ibn Khallikān, s.v.).

Al-Tibrīzī's works were standard textbooks in *adab* instruction. They are (a) commentaries to classic works of poetry; (b) revised versions of, and glosses on, lexicographical monographs; (c) commentaries on introductions to syntax and on grammatical problems, also on the Ḳur'ān; and, finally, (d) a handbook on metrics and rhyme. *In toto* they consist of the following extant, and mostly printed, works:

(a) *Sharḥ* on the seven, or ten, *Mu'allaḳāt* [*q.v.*], see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 51, ix, 256 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥūfī, Beirut 1405/1985); *sharḥ* on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [*q.v.*] or *Ikhtiyārāt al-Mufaḍḍal*, see *GAS*, ii, 54, ix, 257 (cf. S.A. Bonebakker, in *BiOr*, xii [1965], 245-7); the middle *sharḥ* on *al-Ḥamāsa* [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 71, ix, 259 (cf. Brockelmann, II², 658); *sharḥ* on the *Dīwān* of al-Nābigha [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 112 (for the one on Imra' al-Ḳays see O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxviii [1914], 63); *sharḥ* on the *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab* of al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*],

see *GAS*, ii, 135; *sharḥ* on *Bānat Suʿād* of Kaʿb b. Zuhayr [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 231, ix, 272 (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Yūsuf al-Djamal, Cairo 1410/1990); *sharḥ*, with the title *al-Mūḍiḥ*, on the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ii, 494, ix, 293; *sharḥ*, with title *al-Īḍāḥ*, on the *Dīwān* of Abū Tammām, see *GAS*, ii, 556 (cf. 555; viii, 132), ix, 299; *sharḥ* on *Saḳt al-zand* (*Dīwān*) of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, see Brockelmann, I², 296, S I, 452 (ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā *et alii*, in *Shurūḥ Saḳt al-zand*, 5 vols. Cairo 1364-8/1945-9.

(b) *Tahdhīb* of *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, viii (1982), 131-2 (ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa, Beirut 1403/1983; Fawzī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Masʿūd, 2 vols. Cairo 1406/1986-7); *tahdhīb* of *al-Alfāẓ* of Ibn al-Sikkīt, see *GAS*, viii, 133; glosses on *Tādj al-lugha wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* of al-Djawharī [*q.v.*], see *ibid.*, 216; cf. *tahdhīb* of *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* of Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], *ibid.*, 87.

(c) *Sharḥ* on *al-Lumaʿ fī 'l-naḥw* of Ibn Djinnī [*q.v.*], see *GAS*, ix, 175 (cf. Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv, 24); *sharḥ* on *al-Maḳṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, see *GAS*, ix, 86 (ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1398/1978); *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*, see Brockelmann, I², 331 (G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture*, Paris 1956, i [596], cf. Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, ii, 519).

(d) *al-Kāfī fī 'l-ʿarūḍ* (or *fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ*) *wa 'l-ḳawāfī*, see Brockelmann, I², 331; S I, 492 (ed. al-Ḥassānī ʿAbd Allāh, in *MMMʿA*, xii/1 [1386/1966], 1-250) = *al-Wāfī*, etc. (ed. Ḳabāwa, Aleppo 1390/1970, ⁴Damascus 1407/1986); for *al-Badīʿ* which forms the last part of *al-Kāfī*/*al-Wāfī*, see *GAS*, ii, 107.

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AL-TIDJĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH b. Muḥammad, Arabic author who lived and worked in what is now Tunisia, born between 670/1272 and 675/1276, last mentioned in 711/1311. The family was of Moroccan origin; his great-great-grandfather Abu 'l-Ḳāsim had reportedly come to Tunis with the troops of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN] under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī (d. 558/1163 [*q.v.*]).

1. *Life*. From that time till the disappearance of the last known member of the family, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tidjānī, d. 869/1464, the descendants of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim distinguished themselves for over three centuries in administrative and cultural life, notably under the Ḥafṣid dynasty [*q.v.*].

He was educated by his father and several notable scholars, such as the Moroccan Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿŪfī, the Andalusī Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kalāʿī, author of *al-Sīra al-kalāʿiyya*, and the Tunisian Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar. He had access to the rich library of the Ḥafṣids, and is known to have had in his personal possession numerous books, including the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ, Yaḥyā b. Sallām's Ḳurʾān commentary and Ibn Rashīḳ's *ʿUmda*. From his youth onwards, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh followed his father and other family members into the Ḥafṣid chancery and met many eminent secretaries, literary men, etc. He began his career under Sultan Abū ʿAṣīda Muḥammad II (694-709/1295-1309), but was soon brought by the prince Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Liḥyānī into his own personal circle as a secretary. Al-Tidjānī accompanied him, as his chief secretary, on his expedition of 706/1306 against the Spanish in Djerba/Djarba [*q.v.*], though when his master set off for the Pilgrimage, al-Tidjānī, perhaps for health or political reasons, returned from Tripoli to Tunis in Ṣafar 708/July-August 1308. Abū Yaḥyā al-Liḥyānī returned nearly three years later, and was hailed as sultan with the honorific al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh in Radjab 711/November 1311, nominating al-Tidjānī as head of his chancery. In 717/1317 al-Liḥyānī left Tunis for a tour of his dominions, leaving his power in the hands of his son Muḥammad, whose power was then contested by a rival member of the Ḥafṣid family, with a battle near Siliana to the north-west of Tunis in 718/1318. Whether al-Tidjānī was killed in this is unknown, but he now disappears from recorded history.

2. *Works*.

(a) Works now lost. These include a 1,000-verse commentary, *Adāʾ al-lāzim*, on Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī's poem in praise of the caliph al-Mustanṣir; an *Aḥkām al-nikāḥ; al-Durr al-nāẓim fī 'l-adab wa 'l-tarādjim*, on poets and littérateurs of the Ḥafṣid age; notes on the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; *Nafaḥāt al-nisrīn*, a collection of letters between himself and the *ḳāḍī* Ibn Shibrīn, whom he knew in Tunis; and *ʿAlāmat al-karāma fī karāmat al-ʿalāma*, on the merits of secretaryship and on famous secretaries of the Ḥafṣid period.

(b) Work in manuscript. His *al-Wafāʾ bi-bayān fawāʾid al-Shifāʾ* is a commentary on the *Shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā* by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] (2 vols., ms. Zaytūna 1321), valuable for al-Tidjānī's biography and background.

(c) Published works.

(i) *Tuḥfat al-ʿarūs wa-nuzhat (mutʿat) al-nufūs*, first published Cairo 1301/1883 after a bad French tr. by A. Rousseau, *Touhfat el arous ou le cadeau des époux*, Algiers and Paris 1848, and, most recently, at London-Nicosia 1992, with an introd. by Djalīl al-ʿAṭiyya. This is far from being a pornographic work of the *Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāhu* type, but is "a compendium on love and marriage . . . it gives advice on the choice of a wife with very full description of the marks of beauty arranged according to parts of the body and on their treatment, and on married life with means to heighten its enjoyment, all in the form of traditions and extracts from writers, roughly in chronological order" (M. Plessner, *EI*¹ art. s.v.). In it, the author tries to present the canon of beauty and of conjugal happiness amongst the Arabs.

(ii) *Riḥla*. This is the work by which al-Tidjānī became famous, early attracting the attention of Western orientalists. M. Amari translated extracts in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, ch. 45; A. Bel also gave an extract and its tr. in his *Les Benoû Ghânya*, Algiers 1903; and a partial tr. of the whole was given by Rousseau in *JA* (1852-3). But the choice of extracts was arbitrary and none of the translations fully reliable (cf. Plessner, *loc. cit.*). The official press at Tunis in 1927 printed a French translation by W. Marçais, but this was never published, and the text was only satisfactorily edited and published in 1377/1958 by Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, with useful introduction and indices.

In it, al-Tidjānī relates his journey from Tunis to Tripoli and back, lasting two years and eight months during which the lengthy halts and delays had enabled him to record "everything that was of any interest in a comparatively small stretch of country... The *Riḥla* thus became a regular mine of geographical, scientific and particular historical information about the country passed through; extracts are also given in it from authors whose original works must now be regarded as lost, and copies of documents" (Plessner, *loc. cit.*). It is especially valuable for the literary historian of mediaeval Ifrīḳiyā, since it includes poems and fragments from the works of poets of Tunis and its vicinity, the Sahel of Sfax and southern Tunisia; the whole work was much used by R. Brunschwig for his *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides* (Paris 1940-7), H.R. Idris for his *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides* (Paris 1962) and Ch. Bouyahya in his *La vie littéraire en Ifriqiya sous les Zirides* (Tunis 1972).

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(M. Plessner-[Taïeb El Achèche])

al-TIDJĀNĪ, Aḥmad b. Maḥmad b. al-Mukhtār (1150-15 Shawwāl 1230/1737-21 September 1815), founder of the Ṣūfī order (*ṭarīḳa*) called Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] after him. The appellation Tidjānī comes from the name of the Algerian Berber tribe Tidjān or Tidjāna and was acquired by Aḥmad's family when one of his forefathers married a woman from this tribe. Some time after launching his *ṭarīḳa*, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad, tracing his genealogy to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib via Mawlāy Idrīs, the patron saint of Fās. Thereafter he called himself Aḥmad al-Tidjānī al-Ḥasanī.

The only detailed account of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's life we have is the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* which was composed by his trusted companion ʿAlī Ḥarāzim b. al-ʿArabī Barāda and completed in April 1800. Born in ʿAyn Māḍī in Algeria, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had, according to ʿAlī Ḥarāzim's account, pious parents who died of the plague when he was sixteen years old. Five years after his parents' death Aḥmad left ʿAyn Māḍī in search of learning. After a stay in Fās, he went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1186/1772-3. On the way to Mecca, during a stay in Medina, and on the way back to the Maghrib he met holy persons who recognised his Ṣūfī promise. In Egypt he was appointed *muḳaddam* of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] by Maḥmūd al-Kurdī. After returning from the *Mashriḳ* in 1191/1777-8, he went to Fās, then to Tlemcen in Algeria. From there he moved to the oasis of Abī Samghūn. There he launched his *ṭarīḳa* in 1196/1781-2 when he announced that the Prophet Muḥammad appeared to him when he was awake, authorised him to start *tarbiya* ("Ṣūfī" education), and taught him the *awrād* (litanies) of his *ṭarīḳa*.

The turning point in Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's standing as the head of a Ṣūfī order was his emigration in 1789 from Abī Samghūn to Fās. Conflict with the Turkish authorities, whose exact nature is not known, seems to have caused him to leave Algeria and settle in Fās (al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā'*, Casablanca 1954-6, viii, 105). The sultan of Morocco Mawlāy Sulaymān (1792-1822), a reformist ruler who undertook a "renewal of the scholarly élite" of his capital, amongst other things through encouraging scholars from outside Fās to settle in it (El Mansour, *Morocco in the reign of Mawlay Sulayman*, 155), welcomed the learned refugee from Algeria. He gave Aḥmad al-Tidjānī a house, granted him a regular salary, enabled him to build his own *zāwiya*, and made him a member of his learned council. The prominent scholars of Fās reacted to the Algerian intruder with hostility. One of them, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Zayānī (d. 1249/1833-4), echoes this hostility in his book *al-Turdjumāna 'l-kubrā* (al-Muḥammadiyya 1967) which he completed in 1233/1817-18, some two years after Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's death. In this book (461-2), al-Zayānī describes Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's teachings as *bidʿa* [*q.v.*] and the followers whom he had in Fās as a band of evildoers.

In Fās, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī embarked on a formulation of his teachings in a way which would enable him to gain acceptance in a community in which the veneration of *sharīf*s was a central element of religious as well as political life. ʿAlī Ḥarāzim relates that shortly after he arrived in Fās, the Prophet instructed Aḥmad al-Tidjānī to put the latter's teachings in writing for the guidance of later Ṣūfīs. Thereupon Aḥmad ordered ʿAlī Ḥarāzim to destroy the record he had kept of his sayings, justifying this order with the change which occurred in his circumstances and his *ḥāl* (mystical state) after he came to Fās (*Djawāhir*, i, 45). The record which ʿAlī Ḥarāzim made of the course of his master's life and of his teachings, as he heard them from him, was the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī*. Not being a man of much education with experience in the composition of books, ʿAlī Ḥarāzim drew heavily in composing *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* on the biography of the Moroccan *walī* Aḥmad b. Maʿn al-Andalusī by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḳādirī entitled *K. al-Maḳṣad al-aḥmad*, copying its preamble, chapter divisions, and the descriptions of learning and piety used in it. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī did not apparently notice this plagiarism and approved the work on 28 Shaʿbān 1216/January 1802 after ʿAlī Ḥarāzim had read it to him (*Djawāhir*, ii, 282).

This plagiarism became known in Morocco only after Salafī critics of the Tidjāniyya drew attention to it in the 1920s and had the *K. al-Maḳṣad* printed in 1932. In the first decade of the 19th century, the *Djawāhir al-maʿānī* achieved its prupose of providing an idealised picture of Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's life, and an account of his teachings which highlighted his claim to descent from the Prophet and to having received guidance directly from him. This claim, together with the support which Aḥmad al-Tidjānī received from the sultan, enabled him to build up his prestige as a Ṣūfī *shaykh* and as the head of a new *ṭarīḳa*. He could also win numerous followers and initiate into his *ṭarīḳa* learned Muslims from other parts of the Maghrib and West Africa, who contributed towards its expansion. After Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's death

in 1815, his *zāwiya* in Fās, in which he was buried, became a shrine visited by Tidjānīs coming from distant lands.

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(Jamil M. Abun-Nasr)

TIDJĀNIYYA, a Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳa* which was founded by Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] in the oasis of Abī Samghūn in Algeria in 1196/1781-2. Aḥmad al-Tidjānī settled in Fās in 1789, where he developed a local following and initiated into his *ṭarīḳa* Muslims from other parts of the Maghrib and West Africa, through whom it spread in these regions. The papers presented at the Paris conference of 1982 on the present state of the Ṣūfī orders, which were published by A. Popovic and G. Veinstein as *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam. Cheminements et situation actuelle*, document the presence of Tidjānīs in all countries of North and West Africa, in the Sudan and Ethiopia, in most countries of the Near East, in Indonesia as well as in Albania. The Tidjāniyya has now great influence in West Africa, especially in Senegal and Nigeria.

Shortly after arriving in the religious and political centre of Morocco in 1789, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī had his close companion ʿAlī Ḥarāzim b. al-ʿArabī Barāda write *Djawāhir al-maʿānī*, a book containing an account of his life and teachings which he himself approved. Tidjānī teachings which are contained in this book were elaborated by later scholars of the *ṭarīḳa*, especially by ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (d. 1864 [*q.v.*]) in his *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-Raḥīm* (printed in the margin of the *Djawāhir*), but their central elements, whose acceptance distinguishes a believing Tidjānī from other Ṣūfīs, remained unchanged, to wit, the belief that the Prophet Muḥammad appeared to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī when he was awake, informed him that he was the *khatm al-awliyāʾ* and *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, and taught him the *awrād* of his *ṭarīḳa*. Through describing himself as *khatm al-awliyāʾ*, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed that he embodied *wilāya* in the same complete form as the Prophet Muḥammad, as *khatm al-anbiyāʾ*, embodied prophethood. The Tidjānīs do not insist that no *awliyāʾ* would appear after their master, but they contend that all the *awliyāʾ*, including those who would come after him, derive spiritual sustenance from him. The title *ḳuṭb* ("pole") means in the Ṣūfī terminology the holder of the highest rank in the hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. In the *Djawāhir*, the *ḳuṭb* is described as *ṣāḥib al-waḳt*, i.e. he who dominates the universe during his lifetime, to whom is entrusted *ism Allāh al-aʿẓam* (God's most exalted name). Being *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb,* and as such the chief of the holders of the highest rank in the Ṣūfī hierarchy, Aḥmad al-Tidjānī claimed to be God's viceregent; nothing can reach the creatures from God and God from the creatures except through him (*Djawāhir*, ii, 80).

Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's belief in his ascendancy over all other *awliyāʾ* led him to forbid his followers from joining any other *ṭarīḳa* besides the Tidjāniyya. In this way, he broke with a Ṣūfī tradition which he had accepted before launching his *ṭarīḳa* through joining several *ṭuruḳ* at the same time. This religious exclusiveness is based on Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's statement (cf. *Djawāhir*, i, 44) that his followers have a higher spiritual rank than the followers of other *awliyāʾ*. It was further developed by ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī (cf. *Rimāḥ*, ii, 18) who asserted that, because Aḥmad al-Tidjānī was the channel of all emanations from God, the spiritual rank of an ignorant Tidjānī is higher than that of a great non-Tidjānī *walī*.

The Tidjānīs' sense of spiritual superiority to other Ṣūfīs, offensive as it is in itself, has been held to be especially reprehensible religiously, because it is related to the Tidjānīs' belief that the recitation of the *awrād* which their master taught them was more efficacious as a means of attaining salvation even than reciting the Ḳurʾān. In the *Djawāhir* (i, 114), Aḥmad al-Tidjānī is quoted as having said that reciting *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* (see below) once is more efficacious than reciting the Ḳurʾān 6,000 times. Furthermore, the Tidjānīs' belief in the great efficacy of their *awrād* led them to belittle *zuhd* [*q.v.*] as a means of salvation. While in Fās Aḥmad al-Tidjānī made no effort to affect austerity and was known to have worn sumptuous clothes and enjoy good food. ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī defined the notion of *zuhd* accepted by the Tidjānīs in a way which undermines its usual sense of asceticism. He says that true *zuhd* (*zuhd al-kamāl*) does not consist of the emptiness of the hand from the goods of the world, but of not attaching any value to what one possesses. He adds that, in the sense of emptiness of the hand, *zuhd* may be nothing more than the inability to earn one's living, a condition acceptable for women but not reconcilable with true manhood (*Rimāḥ*, ii, 42-3). The Tidjānīs justify turning their back on asceticism through the doctrine of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*], which emphasises that a true believer does not make his virtues known to others (cf. al-Kansūsī, *al-Djawāb al-muskit*, Algiers 1913, 14).

Criticism was directed against these and other aspects of Tidjānī teachings already during Aḥmad al-Tidjānī's lifetime. Since the 1920s Moroccan and Algerian reformers of the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] school attacked the Tidjāniyya on account of its teachings as well as on account of the cooperation of its leaders with the French colonial authorities (Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, London 1965, 176-81). In Indonesia, the teachings of the Tidjāniyya have been denounced by reformist Muslims as *bidʿa* [*q.v.*] since the 1930s (Abdurrahman, *Die Tijaniyya in Indonesien*..., Hamburg 1990, 130-44). The attacks of religious reformers in Nigeria against the teachings of the Tidjāniyya since the 1970s, as well as the emphasis which Nigeria's Muslim leaders placed on Muslim religious unity as a means of securing political power in a religiously-divided country, have prompted *Shaykh* Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ b. Yūnis al-Ḥusaynī, Nigeria's most prominent Tidjānī scholar, to attempt a revision of his *ṭarīḳa*'s teachings (Loimeier, *Islamische Erneuerung*, Münster 1993, 112-209). Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has defended his *ṭarīḳa* in two books, *al-Takfīr akhṭar bidʿa* (Cairo 1982) and *al-Mughīr* ([Beirut] 1986). In the latter book (65-70) he tried to retract some of the Tidjānī convictions which are held to be reprehensible by other Muslims, such as claiming that reciting the *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* was more efficacious than reciting the Ḳurʾān, by asserting that some of the statements attributed to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in the printed edition of the *Djawāhir*, which was first published in Cairo in 1927, contained many falsifications. He claims to have in his possession the original copy of this book in ʿAlī Ḥarāzim's handwriting, which Aḥmad al-Tidjānī approved and which does not contain these falsifications.

In spite of the controversy surrounding its teachings, the Tidjāniyya expanded rapidly, at first in the Maghrib and West Africa. In Algeria, the Tidjāniyya *zāwiya* in ʿAyn Māḍī headed by the founders' two sons was sufficiently strong in the 1830s to be able to challenge the authority of the Amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], the main leader of Algerian Muslim opposition to French colonial occupation. As a result, friendly relations developed between the Tidjāniyya and the French colonial authorities in Algeria, which were reinforced after the founder's grandson, also called Aḥmad, married a Frenchwoman, Aurélie Picard, in 1870 (Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, 74-6). In Tunisia, the Tidjāniyya was introduced into the capital and acquired great prestige through Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī (d. 1266/1849-50), Tunisia's most prominent scholar in his time. Ibrāhīm al-Riyāḥī met Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in Fās and was appointed by him as *muḳaddam* of the Tidjāniyya in 1804.

Since the middle of the 19th century, the Tidjāniyya has experienced its greatest expansion in West Africa. It was first introduced into Mauritania by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ of the Idaw ʿAlī tribe. He met Aḥmad al-Tidjānī in Fās and was appointed by him *muḳaddam* of his *ṭarīḳa*. The Tidjāniyya was spread into the Senegambia by Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ's favourite disciple Mawlūd Fāl. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad al-Nāḳil from Futa Djallon, who was initiated into the Tidjāniyya by Mawlūd Fāl, passed it on to the distinguished scholar and holy warrior ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Fūtī. Under ʿUmar b. Saʿīd's leadership, the Tidjāniyya emerged as a serious rival for the allegiance of the Muslims in West Africa to the much older Ḳādiriyya. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Tidjāniyya had *zāwiya*s spread across West Africa from Senegal to Bornu and as far south as Ghana, where it was introduced by Hausa traders (Hiskett, *The development of Islam in West Africa*, 256). The Tidjāniyya expanded its religious influence in West Africa further during the colonial period, especially in Senegal. In this country its two leading centres, led by the Sy family of Tivaouane and the Niasse (Anyās) family of Kaolack, cooperated with the French colonial authorities. In this way the Tidjāniyya came to appeal not only to the simple peasants but also to the Muslim urban middle class which owes its existence to the colonial system (Coulon, *Le Marabout et le prince*, 89). At present, about half of the Muslims of Senegal, who make up about 94% of the total population, are Tidjānīs (Villalón, *Islamic society . . . in Senegal*, 71).

A revivalist movement from within the Tidjāniyya, which was initiated by the Senegalese Ibrāhīm Niasse (1900-75), has led to a rapid expansion of this *ṭarīḳa* since the Second World War in West Africa and the Republic of the Sudan. In 1348/1929-30 Ibrāhīm Niasse declared that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī told him in a vision that he was the *ṣāḥib al-fayḍa*, i.e. the channel of the infusion of grace which the Tidjānīs receive from their master (Maigari, *al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Anyās al-Sanighālī*, 82-5). Thereafter, Ibrāhīm Niasse referred to his followers as *Djamāʿat al-Fayḍa* ("Community of Grace") and to himself as *Ghawth al-Zamān* ("Saviour of the Age"). He contributed towards the revival of the Tidjāniyya through developing *tarbiya* ("Ṣūfī" education) in a way which enabled Muslims who had not received an Arabic-Islamic education to be taken into the *ṭarīḳa*. Ibrāhīm Niasse started to acquire influence outside Senegal after he met the Amīr of Kano Abdullahi Bayero in 1937 during the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Although it is said that Bayero recognised Niasse as his *shaykh* at this time, it was only after the latter made several visits to Nigeria after 1945 that its leading Tidjānī religious personalities submitted to his spiritual authority. Since then, the Tidjāniyya has spread widely amongst the simple urban Muslims in Nigeria and has started to play an important role in local party politics.

The rites which the Tidjānīs are required to perform in addition to the religious obligations incumbent upon all Muslims are three: (1) Performing the *wird* of the Tidjāniyya in the morning and the evening. The *wird* consists of reciting *astaghfiru 'llāh* ("I beg forgiveness of God") 100 times, saying a prayer for the Prophet, preferably in the form of *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* 100 times, and reciting the *haylala* (*lā ilāha illā 'llāh*) 100 times. *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* is not said to have been taught to Aḥmad al-Tidjānī by the Prophet but to have been delivered from Heaven to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 952/1545 [*q.v.*]) on a tablet of light. The Prophet is said, however, to have informed Aḥmad al-Tidjānī of its great efficacy in the remission of sins and assigned it as part of the Tidjānī *wird*. (2) Performing the *waẓīfa* at least once in the morning. The *waẓīfa* may be performed a second time in the evening. It consists of reciting *astaghfiru 'llāh* 30 times, reciting *Ṣalāt al-Fātiḥ* fifty times, saying the *haylala* 100 times, and reciting the prayer called *djawharat al-kamāl* 12 times. Tidjānīs believe on their master's authority (cf. *Djawāhir*, i, 105) that when they have reached the seventh recitation of *djawharat al-kamāl* in the *waẓīfa*, the Prophet and the four Orthodox Caliphs join their circle and remain there unseen as long as it is being recited. (3) The *ḥaḍra*, also called the *dhikr*, which takes place on Friday after the Tidjānīs have communally performed *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* and the *waẓīfa* which follows immediately after it. The Tidjānī *ḥaḍra*, like that of the other Ṣūfīs, consists mainly of repeating in unison *lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, or merely *Allāh, Allāh*. Since Aḥmad al-Tidjānī did not give specific instructions as to how many times this formula was to be repeated, many variations have appeared in the usage of the Tidjānīs, but the majority of the Tidjānīs recite the *haylala* 1,000 or 1,600 times in the *ḥaḍra* (Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, 50-7).

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(Jamil M. Abun-Nasr)

TIDJĀRA (a.), "trafficking, trade, commerce".

1. Introductory remarks.

The term is taken in the Arabic lexica to be the *maṣdar* or verbal noun of *tadjara* "to trade". Like many of the terms in the Arabic commercial vocabulary, this is a loanword from Aramaic and Syriac. Jeffery thought (*pace* earlier authorities as cited in Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 181-2, who derived *tidjāra* from an original noun *tādjir* "merchant", Syriac *tagārā*, verb *ʾettagar* "to trade", cf. *ʾagrā* "wage, fee, hire, reward") that *tidjāra* should be derived directly from Aramaic and Syriac, in which *tiggārā* and *tāgūrtā* respectively mean "*mercatura*, trading activity", with Arabic *tadjara* as a denominative verb and *tādjir* as its active participle, "one who trafficks, trades" (see his *The foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 90-1). The root is first attested in ancient Mesopotamia: in Akkadian we have *t/damk/gāru* "merchant, importer, commercial agent, etc.", and in Sumerian *damgàr* (see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, iii, 1314-15). A corresponding derivative has not so far been found in Epigraphic South Arabian, nor does it appear in classical Ethiopic; in W. Leslau's *Comparative dictionary of Geez, 571*, the headword is merely assumed, and the derivatives in modern Ethiopic languages probably go back to mediaeval times and cultural contacts with the Arabs.

The terms *tidjāra* and *tādjir* were known in pre-Islamic Arabian times, as North Arabian inscriptions and mentions in pre-Islamic poetry (Zuhayr, al-Aʿshā, etc.) attest. Early Islamic authorities noted that *tādjir* was said to be synonymous with *khammār* (see e.g. Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa ʾl-athar*, ed. al-Zāwī and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 181), i.e. this figure was especially connected with the wine-trade [see khamr. 2]; doubtless many of the first Aramaic-speaking merchants with whom the Arabs came into contact were dealers in the wine of Syria and ʿIrāḳ. That the terms were foreign ones may be shown by uncertainty amongst the Arab philologists over the broken plurals of *tādjir*; as well as the regularly-formed ones *tudjdjār, tidjār, tudjur, tadjr* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.), we also find *tudjār* listed by Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*

Tādjir does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, but *tidjāra* appears in nine places (II, 15/16, 282, IV, 33/29, IX, 24, etc.) with the sense of "merchandise" and sometimes with that of "trafficking", this last perhaps a derived sense.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

2. The attitude to merchants and trading in Tradition and in ethical works.

That Muḥammad, who himself belonged to the merchant class, was favourably disposed to trade was natural in a commercial republic like that of Mecca, whose prosperity depended to a fair extent at least on trade. At least, so we must interpret one of the oldest sūras of the first Meccan period, CVI, the time of the origin of which is just before the conflict with the Meccan aristocracy: "As often as the Ḳuraysh equip their winter and summer caravans, they shall worship the Lord of this House (i.e. the Kaʿba)". But even in this period, Muḥammad raises a warning voice against the evils which were beginning to be associated with trade; trade is to be conducted according to law and justice. "Woe to those who give short measure, who, when they receive good measure from other men demand the full measure and when they measure out or weigh out to them, defraud" (LXXXIII, 1 ff., cf. LV, 6-8; and from the third Meccan period, VI, 153, VII, 83). At a later period, this attitude of the Prophet underwent a certain change, which must date from the Meccan period, although there is only evidence of it in the Ḳurʾān from the Medinan period. Under the influence of Christian ascetic ideas, his attitude to trade was modified; he does not condemn it, it is true, but he now sees in it something which may detain believers from the worship of God and from performing the *ṣalāt*. This is most strongly marked in the description of the monastery in the Medinan sūra XXIV, 37: "Men whom no trade nor purchase keeps from the thought of God, from performing the *ṣalāt* and from paying the *zakāt* from fear of the day on which hearts and eyes shall be full of trouble." In any case, one can deduce from this passage that the Prophet was fully conscious of the deleterious influences of trade on religious life. The result of this train of thought was in the Medinan period an express prohibition of trading during the Friday service, in LXII, 9-11: "O ye who believe, when ye are called to the *ṣalāt* on Friday, hasten to the worship of God and cease trading; this is better for you, if ye knew it; and when the *ṣalāt* is over, then disperse yourselves in the land and strive after the benefits given by God and think often of Him that ye may prosper, and when they see trading and empty chatter, they turn to it and leave thee standing. Say: What is with God is better than chattering or trading and God is the best provider." On the other hand, the Prophet in the latest Medinan period expressly permitted trading during the Pilgrimage (II, 194). And yet he emphasises at the same time once more that family and clan, goods and chattels and stock in trade are not to be preferred to God and his Prophet (IX, 24). To this late period also belong the well-known Ḳurʾānic regulations for the conclusion of agreements (II, 282 ff.).

This attitude, on the whole well disposed to trade, is also that of Tradition, although it attacks with the greatest vigour speculation and other dishonest dealings. Trade is regarded as profitable and honourable, more remunerative than cattle-rearing or manual labour (al-Suyūṭī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, ii, nos. 2411, 4227, 4742). The honourable merchant enjoys great esteem; "the trustworthy, just, and believing merchant shall stand at the Day of Judgment among the witnesses of the blood", we are told in one tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 1); he enters Paradise. The dishonest merchant, on the other hand, must expect punishment: "On the day of resurrection the merchants will be classed with the liars, except him who has trusted in God and has been pious and righteous", we are told in another tradition (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 3).

The prejudice of certain pious circles against the merchant class is even more sharply expressed in another tradition, which is, however, quite isolated: "The Prophet said: Merchants are liars. Then someone said to him: O Messenger of God, has not God permitted buying and selling? He replied: Certainly, but they talk and lie, they swear and do wrong" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 428, cf. 444). On the other hand, it is regarded as pleasing to God to gain profit from trading for the support of one's family; thus in one tradition in Zayd, *Madjmūʿ al-fiḳh*, ed. Griffini, no. 539 (cf. no. 544), we read: "If thou makest a profit from what is permitted, it is a *djihād* (i.e. like fighting in the path of God) and if thou usest it for thy family and thy relations, it is alms (*ṣadaḳa*); and truly a permitted dirham which comes from trade is better than ten otherwise gained." In trading, it is recommended to be generous and conciliatory; one should give full weight and measure and in weighing, give overweight. The morning is recommended as particularly blessed and profitable for trading. One should be careful to avoid deceit and deception, which cancel the blessing (*baraka*) that rests upon trade. Defects in the goods should be pointed out to the purchaser. "If anyone sells defective goods without pointing this out, God will hate him for ever and the angels will for ever curse him" (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 45). But if one has been guilty of such faults in trading, he can atone for it by almsgiving (*ṣadaḳa*). The Prophet is further said to have condemned the adulteration of goods, especially the adulteration of foodstuffs.

Trade is to be carried on by mutual agreement, but never under compulsion. An agreement already made can only be cancelled if buyer and seller have not yet separated; in this period it can also be cancelled by tacit agreement (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 536). A further sale can only be effected when one has obtained possession of the goods (*ḳabḍ* or *istīfāʾ*; the traditions in this connection speak only of foods (*taʿām*), but we are told by commentators that foods are only taken as examples, and in fact one tradition talks of a *bayʿ* in quite general terms (*ibid.*, iii, 402). If in disputes between the contracting parties neither is able to prove his point, the purchase either remains valid and the assertion of the seller is taken as authoritative, or both must abandon the transaction. If there are two claimants to be the purchaser, the first is held to be the actual purchaser.

The traditions in general have nothing to say against business being arranged for a definite date or on credit (*nasīʾatᵃⁿ*). But no increase of price must take place nor is a reduction allowed if payment is made at an earlier date (Mālik, *Buyūʿ*, tr. 81). The making of a deposit on a credit transaction is also allowed, as the Prophet once purchased provisions on credit and left his mailed coat as a pledge.

Tradition frequently objects to a practice of traders of protesting the quality of their articles with oaths; e.g. one tradition says: "Swearing furthers the disposal of goods but diminishes their blessing" (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ*, *bāb* 26). According to another tradition, sūra III, 71, was revealed in this connection; this verse has, however, nothing to do with the swearing of oaths when selling; its associations are other and are purely religious.

A series of articles are excluded by Tradition from buying and selling: firstly, all that is not one's own property (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 189, 190); and secondly, those articles the use of which is forbidden or which are considered unclean—wine, swine, dogs, cats, idols (*aṣnām*) and *mayta* [*q.v.*] and also water; water according to a tradition is one of the three things which are *res communes*, the price of which is *ḥarām* (Ibn Mādja, *Ruhūn, bāb* 16).

Tradition strongly condemns a practice still very prevalent in the East, sc. haggling or bargaining; in selling also, one should not outbid one's fellows. Tradition also condemns the raising of prices (*nadjsh*) and speculation in or holding up of foodstuffs (*iḥtikār*; on this expression, cf. Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 189). Anyone who holds up food supplies and thus raises prices "is a sinner" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 351). "Him who holds up food supplies, God will punish with leprosy and bankruptcy" (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 6); "the speculator is accursed" (*ibid.*); according to other traditions, he "will be thrown into the deepest hell-fire" (al-Ṭayālisī, 928). On the other hand, the Prophet is said to have declined as an injustice to fix prices for foodstuffs in a time of scarcity (Ibn Mādja, *Tidjārāt, bāb* 27, etc.). Generally speaking, however, Tradition condemns any speculation in foodstuffs. It is forbidden to buy or sell provisions wholesale without fixing weights and measures (*djuzāf*); food should not be sold again in the same place as it is purchased but only in the particular market-place intended for the purpose. One should not go out to meet caravans to purchase goods (*talaḳḳī*), and the townsman should not purchase from the man from the desert in order to sell again in the town at a profit; brokering (*simsar*) is therefore condemned.

Finally, there may be mentioned a whole series of branches of business and practices which are described by Tradition as forbidden:

1. The conclusion of two transactions in one contract, e.g. one portion of the goods on credit and another for cash (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 398).

2. *Bayʿ al-ʿurbān*, a form of sale in which an earnest-money (*ʿurbān* or *ʿurbūn* < Hebr. *ʿērābōn* < ἀρραβών; see Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 190) is given which belongs to the vendor if the transaction is not carried through (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, however, considers earnest-money permissible; cf. Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v.).

3. Auction (*bayʿ al-muzāyada*), which in three cases, however, is permitted: in direst poverty, in sickness or when deeply in debt.

4. *Bayʿ al-muzābana* (presumably also of Aramaic origin; see Fraenkel, 189), i.e. when any goods the weight, size or number of which is not known is sold in bulk for a definite measure, weight or number of another commodity, e.g. the still green fruit of a palm-tree for a definite measure of dates or the seed for a definite amount of provisions. The unreal and speculative in this transaction is seen by Tradition in the fact that the yield which cannot yet be defined may bring the purchaser more or less than he has given for it (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 64). This rule is in the direction of the prohibition of profiteering. But according to one tradition of the Prophet, an exception was allowed, the *bayʿ al-ʿarāyā*; according to this, a poor man who does not possess a palm-tree of his own, in order to procure for his family fresh dates may purchase for dried dates the fruit of a palm on the tree, but it has to be valued. In the opinion of several traditionists, this transaction is limited to cases where not over five *wasḳ* are involved, while ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ transmits a tradition according to which the Prophet prohibited even this (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 183).

5. *Bayʿ al-muʿāwama*, the purchase of the yield of palm-trees for two or three years in advance. This is a question of the sale of things which are not yet in existence at the time of the contract.

6. *Bayʿ al-munābadha*. In this, the exchange is irrevocably concluded by the two parties handing over the goods without seeing or testing them beforehand. Another form of this transaction is *bayʿ al-ḥaṣāt* (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v.) or *bayʿ ilkā' al-ḥadjar* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 59, 68, 71) when, as a sign of the conclusion of the agreement, a small stone is handed over in place of the goods (see al-Muṭarrizī, *Mughrib*, s.v. *nabadha*).

7. *Bayʿ al-mulāmasa*. In this, the transaction is also concluded without the goods being seen or examined beforehand, the covered goods being simply touched with the hand.

8. *Bayʿ al-gharar* "dangerous or hazardous trading". For this kind of transaction the traditions give a series of examples, e.g. the milk in the udder, an escaped slave, booty before its division, fish in the water, etc. (see e.g. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 302, 388, iii, 42). The commonest example is the very complicated case of *bayʿ ḥabal al-ḥabala*, namely, the sale of a pregnant she-camel for slaughter with the prospect that it may produce a female young one, which will again bear young.

All these transactions are condemned by Tradition on account of the element of uncertainty in them. On money-changing (*ṣarf*) and the prohibition of profiteering (*ribā*), see ṢARRĀF, in Suppl., and RIBĀ. The above transactions are in all the older collections; a still larger number with a great wealth of detail are given in the later collections, e.g. *Kanz al-ʿummāl* (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, vii [1917], 28 ff., where a series of such traditions is translated).

In the traditions of the first three centuries, an open and honourable attitude in business is demanded of the merchant; he is to treat his customers "like his brother" and refrain from cheating them in any way. Tradition therefore also condemns any business in which there is an element of uncertainty, in which chance can play any part, so that no one may suffer injury. These fundamental principles of Muslim commercial ethics have found their classical expression in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1326, ii, 48 ff. According to al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), one should strive to earn one's living with a view to the next world. To him the acquisition of a livelihood is a means of attaining bliss; the world is a field sown, a preliminary to the next world. But al-Ghazālī does not regard trade as absolutely better than any other means of earning one's living. "Through trade," he says, "one can either attain a sufficiency or wealth and superfluity." He condemns the accumulation of wealth, in so far as it is not applied to good purposes. But if the merchant obtains a sufficient livelihood for himself and his family, it is at any rate better than begging. However, certain types of men do well to refrain from such activities, for example, the pious, mystics, the learned, and officials. Al-Ghazālī then gives his views on the ethics of commerce, of which only a brief résumé can be given here.

Even if a business is legal and irreproachable, yet it may be immoral and injurious to others, for not every prohibition makes the agreement invalid. Al-Ghazālī then distinguishes two kinds of business, those that injure the community and those that only injure the individual. To the first group belong speculation in foods, especially in corn (*iḥtikār*), and the putting into circulation of false coins [see TAZYĪF]. In the case of false money, the merchant has to pay attention to the following points: 1. If he takes false money, he should throw it down a well. 2. He must acquire a thorough knowledge of the coins current in the country. 3. If he pays another false money with the latter's consent, he is not free from guilt, as the other may put them into circulation again. 4. If he takes false money to oblige someone, he will only participate in the blessing which rests upon a good feeling in trade if he does it with the intention of throwing the false money into a well.

Al-Ghazālī then deals with the conduct of business which is only injurious to the individual. The guiding principle in trade is that one should only do to a fellow-Muslim as he would be done by. Therefore: 1. The seller should not praise the wares and not emphasise his statements by oaths; he must only emphasise such qualities in the goods as the customer cannot know without further trial, e.g. the capability of a slave. 2. He should tell all the faults of the goods, for example not show only the good sides of a material, nor should he exhibit materials in a dark room, etc., for this is deception and neglect of the "good counsel" to which his brother is entitled. The merchant must remember two things: firstly, that though he can dispose of his goods by concealing defects, he thereby loses the blessing which rests upon trading, and secondly, that the benefit of the goods of this world ceases with the end of life and that only the injustice and sin remain which were committed in trading. 3. The merchant must give just and full weight and measure. 4. He must quote the correct price of the day.

Al-Ghazālī then deals with the showing of little kindnesses and civilities in trading, i.e. one should allow the other an advantage which he is not strictly compelled to do. Such little civilities are: 1. If the seller refuses a price offered which is much above the market price. 2. If the purchaser allows himself to be charged too much when the vendor is a poor man. 3. If in the collection of arrears, one allows a remission or prolongation of the period. 4. If the debtor brings the money to his creditor to save him the trouble of coming for it. 5. If at his request the contracting party is allowed to annul an agreement to purchase that has been concluded. 6. If one sells to the poor on credit and only demands the payment when it is possible for them to pay, or keeps no record in one's books of the debt and leaves the payment completely at their discretion.

In his pursuit of profit, however, the merchant should not neglect the salvation of his soul. The merchant should therefore 1) begin his transactions with good intention (*niyya*) and good faith (*ʿakīda*); 2) he should conceive of trade as a "social duty", as a *farḍ al-kifāya*, as his trade is only a part of the complicated system of the whole; 3) he must not let the market of this world distract him from the markets of the next world, i.e. from visiting mosques and performing the *ṣalāts*; 4) in entering the market and in it itself he must often think of God; 5) he must not be too eagerly set on the market and trading, not be the first to enter it and the last to leave it, and must not cross the sea; 6) he must not only avoid what is forbidden, but also avoid all doubtful and suspicious business; he should enquire after the origin of goods and not deal with notorious swindlers or thieves; and 7) he must carefully watch his words and deeds in business, as on the Day of Judgment he will be called to account for them.

According to al-Ghazālī, the market for the merchant is the scene of his *djihād*, his "holy war", where he has to wage a war against his own self in his intercourse with his fellow-men. Since for al-Ghazālī, commerce is a preliminary and a preparation for the

next world, he therefore discards the ascetic ideal of fleeing from the world for the ordinary mortal as an evasion of the struggle.

Similar views, although not always of such high moral worth as in al-Ghazālī, are found throughout *adab* and *akhlāk* literature. For example, Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, the biographer of the Shāfi'ī jurists (d. 771/1370), in his *Mu'īd al-ni'am* discusses the merchant in several passages. In these he no doubt takes typical cases of his age. Thus the paper merchant should give preference to him of whom he knows is buying the paper for the preparation of scholarly works (*kutub al-'ilm*). On the other hand, he should not sell paper to anyone he suspects will use it for the preparation of heretical works, false documents, increases of taxation, etc. (ed. D. Myhrmann, London 1908, 188, tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople 1925, 138). The bookseller must not sell religious works (*kutub al-dīn*) to people who will destroy or criticise them. He furthermore must not deal in works by heretics or by astrologers nor in imaginative works like the *Sīrat 'Antar*, nor must he sell copies of the Ḳur'ān or works on Tradition and Law to unbelievers (cf. thereon al-Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, iv, 132, and W. Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, 49, n. 5, where the "keine" should be deleted before "hanaf. Werke"). Lastly, the dealer in land must take care that he does not sell *waḳf* estates (ed. Myhrmann, 205, tr. Rescher, 150-1).

A more selfish morality, on the other hand, is championed in the book (ed. and tr. by Ritter) *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra*, by Abu 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dimashḳī (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), see *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Isl.*, xvii (1917), 1 ff. The book consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods. On the subject of merchandise there are many other works, some independent and some in the well-known Muslim encyclopaedias, on which see Ritter, *op. cit.*, 17 ff. Here we are mainly concerned with the sections on the merchant. The classes of merchants distinguished are: 1. The wholesaler (*khazzān*). He endeavours to purchase his goods under the most favourable conditions in order to sell them again when there is a scarcity of them and the price has gone up. He must therefore keep accurately informed about the position of the market at the places of production and the security of the roads thither, so that he does not let the best time for buying and selling pass him by. A purchase of larger consignments is recommended to be carried through in four instalments at intervals of 15 days so that no loss may be suffered by a sudden change in price or by some other unforeseen circumstance. The wholesaler must also take account of the state of the government of the country, whether it is just and strong or if it is just but weak or tyrannical. 2. The travelling merchant (*rakkāḍ*). He must take special heed as to what goods he buys and must exercise great caution, for his journey may be prolonged or some unforeseen accident may happen to him, like danger on the road, which will delay him so that he must again sell the goods in the place where he has purchased them and thereby suffer considerable losses. He must also know the average prices which the goods he is buying will attain in his native land as well as the tariffs, lest he throw away his profit even before purchasing in a foreign country. He should also look out for a reliable agent and a suitable warehouse, etc. at his destination. 3. The exporting merchant (*mudjahhiz*). Here we have to deal with agencies. He must have a reliable agent in the place to which he is exporting; to him he sends the goods under reliable care; the agent then has to sell the goods and buy others, sharing the profit.

Besides much other valuable advice for the merchant and warnings against swindlers and deceivers, al-Dimashḳī's work also contains discussions of questions of economic theory such as the fixing of the market price, the "average price" about which the merchant must keep himself accurately informed.

Ibn Khaldūn in the chapters on trade in his *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 272 ff., Eng. tr. Rosenthal, ii, 309 ff., expresses himself in similar terms. He also classifies his observations under the heads of the wholesale and the travelling merchant, while he apparently omits the export merchant. He defines commerce as the art of increasing one's fortune by buying goods and selling them again at an increased price, either by storing them and awaiting an increase of price, or by taking them to another country where the price is higher.

Ibn Khaldūn's verdict on merchants in general is of interest; for the trade of merchant, one requires much skill, and the ability to praise his goods unduly and to deal cunningly and stubbornly with his customers, all things which affect a man's sense of honour and justice and unfavourably influence his character. It is the small trader who succumbs more readily to this influence as he has to deal with his customers day in and day out. It is otherwise with the merchant who, through some favourable circumstance, has risen rapidly to wealth and fortune and has attained a position of esteem; he is protected from the evil influences of trading as he can leave the actual dealing to his employees and has only to supervise them and give them general directions.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, 30-3, s.v. Barter; A.K.S. Lambton, *The merchant in medieval Islam*, in W.B. Henning and E. Yarshater (eds.), *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 121-30. See also ṢINĀ'A on ethical attitudes towards craftsmen and their trades. (W. HEFFENING*)

3. Economic history and legal aspects.

The complete picture of the economic history of Islamic trade between the 7th and 16th centuries is hampered by the selective provenance and non-archival nature of the sources, but this does not detract from our view of its magnitude and structures. The standard source material available for the study is literary in nature and lacks statistical evidence, which makes a quantitative analysis difficult. The findings of the Geniza [*q.v.*] letters concerning Jewish merchants greatly enhance our knowledge of details, but should, ideally, be used together with the Arabic sources. For the later Middle Ages, we benefit from the use of European archives, which permit a limited form of quantification. On the other hand, numerous collections of Islamic coins and other items, together with the excavations of seaports and trading stations, compensate somewhat for the lack of archives in the study of the nature and patterns of trade. In contrast to the general haphazardness of the sources, several regions, such as Egypt, and to some degree also, Spain, have yielded an adequate amount of source material. This makes a continuous history of trade there feasible, but we cannot assume that the economic history of one region was identical to another.

There are three chronological units in the economic history of the Islamic trade, defined by economic factors, such as supply and demand, legal and technical tools, monetary and market conditions, by type of

sources, and by dynastic and political shifts. An early period, 7th-10th centuries, concerned the trade with Asia and the Far East, and the main source of information is the geographers' works and merchant's guides. Politically and geographically, the shift to inland ʿIrāḳ, a region aligned towards the East, and away from the Mediterranean oriented Syria, was manifested by the ʿAbbāsid caliphate replacing the Umayyad dynasty. This period also saw the formation of the legal structures relating to Islamic trade, and with Islamic seafaring at its height, established Baghdād as a far more influential national and international centre of trade than Damascus had ever been. The second period, 11th-13th centuries, coincided with the changing regional and international conditions in the Far East and Southern Europe which triggered an economic, political and geographical shift away from the East back to the Mediterranean and to Mediterranean trade patterns. Under the political dominance of the Fāṭimid and the Ayyūbid dynasties in Egypt, we note the consolidation of trade in domestic production and port cities in Sicily, Tunisia, Muslim Spain and Egypt, converging into a tight trading Mediterranean network, largely portrayed by the Geniza documents. A third phase, 14th-16th centuries, saw the European merchants become dominant in the Levant trade, a process which had started in the 12th century, shipping items acquired through transit in the Islamic lands or grown and semi-finished there, to Europe as well as to other Islamic regions, in European ships. The Italian, French and Catalan archives reveal that Muslim traders were relegated to fulfilling a mainly intermediary role of supplying the transit trade, and minimal export of raw materials and semi-finished goods was left in their hands. The subsequent outline and annotated bibliography will follow this chronological division, and use it as a framework for presenting the development and structures of Islamic trade, focusing on the economic features and organisational dimensions as they become apparent in the sources. It will address what was particularly Islamic about this trade, and evaluate its performance, the sophistication of its tools and its role in the economic progress of the Islamic societies.

We have little solid historical evidence about the organisation of the Islamic trade during its first phase. However, thanks to the numerous geographical works written in the 9th and 10th centuries, and excavations in the port cities of the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, we know a great deal about the long-distance trade routes stretching over continents, linking the caliphate with Inner Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. The main eastward overland route followed the ancient "Silk road", connecting Baghdād, through the Persian highlands, with Transoxiana and Inner Asia, while a maritime route linked Baṣra and its adjacent ports of Sīrāf and Ubulla, as the main point of entry for the short-distance maritime trade between East Africa and the Red Sea ports, and for the long-distance route through the Indian Ocean to India and China. Routes to and from Europe traversed the Rhone valley and the Mediterranean, embarking either in Byzantine territory or Frankish France, and landing in Antioch or Egypt. The overland European routes were either from northern Europe through al-Andalus and into North Africa, or through the land of the Slavs, the southern part of Russia and into Baghdād. The trade with Africa was conducted from two areas, one the *Bilād al-Zandj*, i.e. East Africa, and the other, *al-Sūdān*, i.e. West Africa, through five axes, all ending in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and sending products to ʿIrāḳ, China and India. Merchants who settled in the southern Maghrib did reach Ghāna and the Western Sudan, but the developing trade with West Africa, and the trans-continental African trade as a whole, had to be managed and directed from commercial centres, some in the southern Maghrib or the northern Sahara oases, such as Sidjilmāsa, Nafzāwa, Tuwāt, Wargala and Darʿa. In subsequent times, the terminus of this section of the Saharan trade moved to Mediterranean North Africa.

The trading patterns which developed in the Islamic East were not merely a continuation of Roman and Persian trade patterns. Since both maritime and land itineraries were unchangeable and determined by geographical conditions, the Islamic urban development, the legal apparatus with the formulation of the contractual and financial instruments, and above all, the scale of production which underpinned Islamic trade, showed major differences. The Romans and Persians permitted incoming and outgoing Eastern trade to pass through certain cities only, and they imposed high duties on incoming goods and limited export to agricultural products and some manufactured goods. In comparison, Islamic duty rates on numerous and varied items were lower, with many exit and entry points, pointing to a far more comprehensive, sophisticated and intensive trading pattern. In fact, the domination of Islamic trade by Asian luxury imports was of short duration. The nature of this trade, as specified by the traders' manual of the pseudo-al-Djāḥiẓ and the travellers's guides, included slaves, furs, spices, rare metals, luxurious textiles, foodstuffs, precious stones, and even rare animals, luxury items imported to satisfy a demand created by individuals, who were a wealthy clientèle, concentrated in the palace. As more evidence surfaces and a more perceptive analysis can be applied to it, this image, while not inaccurate, is seen to be nonetheless misleading. A correct reading of the items traded shows that they originated in all parts of the Islamic regions and consisted of local raw materials, mined ores or manufactured metal utensils, agricultural products and foodstuffs, and products of the textile and leather industries, which were manufactured and finished in the eastern and northern regions of the caliphate, especially in Persia. As early as the 9th century, Islamic trade was already fuelled by regional production, handling locally manufactured items. Cloth came from eastern and northern Persia, silk and silk products, and carpets from Samarḳand, Marw and Nīshāpūr. Rayy and Yazd were also important centres of cotton manufacturing, while skins and hides were traded from Transoxania, Hamadān or Khʷārazm, soap was manufactured in Balkh and perfumes came from Fārs and Ādharbaydjān. Persia also supplied the caliphate with non-perishable food stuffs, honey, sesame oil, grease, dried fruit and dried fish. Precious metals were traded, silver more than gold, and wood from the Caspian forests as well as minerals, sal-ammoniac and petroleum from Bākū.

However, Persia, which probably had a manufacturing infrastructure in place earlier but nonetheless benefitted from the other changes brought by the coming of Islam, was not the only region to show patterns of trade linked to local production. Early and strong evidence of this trade is also found in Egypt, where the 9th-century papyri documents reveal the organisation of local trade in items manufactured to order for export, a pattern later confirmed by the Geniza documents. The limited archaeological evi-

dence of luxury imports along the overland road also contradicts the perception of the luxury trade. Even though excavations imply that it was largely supplied by the maritime road, they also suggest that demand for foreign items never developed in the Islamic regions and that local artisans quickly learned to produce similar-looking items. Only those items that were judged indispensable and could only be found outside the Islamic lands, such as slaves, who were used for labour, domestic and military service, and certain metals such as silver or timber, which the Islamic regions did not have in sufficient amounts, were imported. What is called international trade was more regional in nature, conducted between Europe, Byzantium and the neighbouring Islamic areas, and largely with locally-produced items. Russia, for instance, traded with Central Asia and not with the Near East, as the hoards of Sāmānid coins, rather than those of the caliphate, found in the Baltic and Russian areas, show. By the same token, Yemen and the Persian Gulf traded with countries in the Indian Ocean region, East Africa, Malaysia and China, rather than with the Mediterranean countries. North Africa and Spain traded with Western Europe rather than with the Islamic East. The lack of monetary unity within the Islamic lands during this first period also contributed to and prolonged this pattern of trade, with ʿIrāḳ, Central Asia and Spain remaining mono-metallic silver, and Egypt, Syria, Arabia and the Maghrib, mono-metallic gold. The hoards of Islamic coins found in Europe, which date from this period but which disappear later, indicate intensive monetary circulation, but also decentralised, independent regional mints in the Muslim regions, and point to trade patterns linked to market fluctuations in prices and supply, which could provide opportunities for quick profits.

A new cycle in the organisation of the Islamic trade can be detected during the second phase, that of the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids. The Asian trade did not disappear, but the centre of trade moved from ʿIrāḳ to Egypt and from the Far East to the Mediterranean, while its fundamental character, regional and manufacturing-oriented, intensified. Tunisia and Sicily, which served as the point of contact with Europe, slowly ceded their position to the Italian merchant cities in the 12th century. Despite the unification of the monetary system, regional specie did not disappear, as coins of one region were easily converted into coins of another without hampering the circulation of goods or payment for services. However, trade did suffer from the deterioration and dissipation of silver coins which occurred from the 11th century onwards and which was responsible for strong fluctuations in the rate of exchange of the dirham to the dīnār in all the Mediterranean regions. This fluctuated between 12 and 40 dirhams to the dīnār during the Geniza period, and was also affected by manipulations of its silver content by the mint. The balance of payments in Egypt and North Africa was probably compensated by a rise in quality of the gold coins, which was a testimony to the strength of the Saharan gold trade during the reign of the Fāṭimids but evidence of its decline under the Ayyūbids. The continuous minting of Islamic coins after the appearance of the Crusaders and by the Christian rulers in Spain was an acknowledgment of the role this money played in international transactions, requiring good-quality gold and silver coins.

The main features of the organisation of Islamic trade, especially the whole array of legal arrangements, investment contracts and financial instruments, as well as government institutions and the identity of traders, came into full view during the second period, and were mainly, but not exclusively described in the Jewish merchants' letters and accounts of the Cairo Geniza. Using Islamic legal arrangements for trading transactions, the Jewish documents show above all how Islamic law provided a congenial environment for the promotion of trade and other economic transactions. The contracts permitted investment of capital, gold, silver and currency in trade, regulated the practical aspects and legitimised the gain from financial dealings. Investment in trade could be silent, commenda (*kirāḍ* [*q.v.*]), and/or sharing trading transactions with partners (*shirka* or *sharika* [*q.v.*]). An investment partnership could comprise any size of capital investment, shares of the different participants, duration, whether a single venture or multiple ventures, all possibilities of investment shares, and division of profit between the investor(s) and the trading agent. Investment in trade could be made on credit, using instruments like the *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*], transfer of debt, and the *suftadja* [*q.v.*], letter of credit, while credit sales could consist of deferred payments for goods sold as well as advances for future delivery. All legal provisions were used in tandem or independently. They were probably used by Arab merchants in the period predating Islam and were certainly in practice from the 8th century onwards, and as demonstrated in the *fatwās* from the Mālikī West, they displayed a great degree of flexibility in implementation. The significant dimensions of the monetary circulation gave rise to two financial institutions which met the needs of the large commercial network and credit transactions of trade. The first, money changing, was needed because of the variety of coins in circulation, and the lack of unity in the systems of minting and payment. The second, merchant banking, which extended credit, helped in financing, assisted in the transfer of funds, and provided guarantees [see further, ṢARRĀF, in Suppl.]. In addition to investment in trade, the legal system regulated travel on the open sea and along the coast, ship leasing contracts, seasonal leasing, sharing profits and losses from wreckage, piracy and enemy attack, misconduct, jettison and salvaged goods.

Explicit and continuous sources on the elaborate system of taxes and customs imposed on trade are available for Egypt, covering most of the period between the 11th and 16th centuries with varied degrees of consistency, but intermittent information is also available for other regions. In addition to taxes on merchandise, there were tolls for passage, the Islamic state's taxes for the poor, and wages for porters, custom officials, weighers, brokers and criers. The rates for each of the categories, except for the canonical *ʿushr* or tenth, fluctuated in response to market conditions, supply and demand, labour shortages, local and political conditions, prices of merchandise and availability of precious metals and coins. On the whole, the structure of the taxation system shows remarkable stability over hundreds of years. The place and timing of payment of the different categories also varied. Tolls and taxes had to be paid on arrival or departure at the gates, but payments for services were due when the service was rendered and completed. Goods arriving by the maritime route could be assessed at sea, where registration of prices, merchandise and identification of merchants took place. The cargo was taxed after it was unloaded and weighed in front of the port officials in the agency building, *dār al-wakāla*. Some ships were taxed based on the total value of merchandise carried. Others, and probably most

commonly, were taxed according to the identity of the merchandise, which had a variety of rates. Tax was collected from the 2% paid to the brokers by the buyer. Items of local provenance, traded in territorial, small scale markets were also taxed, and many of the taxes were known to have been collected by tax-collectors, *ḍāmins*. Local traders who rented stores paid a monthly tax to the government in addition to their rent [see further, MAKS]. The staff involved in the activities surrounding the merchants at the port of arrival and departure, weighers, messengers of the customs' house, revenue officers, registrar, packers, inspectors of the workshops, warehousemen, mosque janitor, porters, watchmen, sealer and herald, were paid last. The Fāṭimid author al-Dimashḳī describes three prototypes of Islamic institutional merchants, differentiated by the nature of their mercantile activity: the hoarder, who stores goods and sells them when the price is high; the peregrinator, who transports wares from one country to another; and the shipper, who is stationary but sends shipments abroad (see in more detail, above, 2.). The occupational classification methodology of numerous sources from the three periods offers a better analysis of the different activities involved with trade. It appears that the largest group of commerce occupations were those selling raw materials grown, extracted or gathered in the countryside and brought unprocessed into the city. The second group of occupations were the middlemen, whose specialised occupational terms revealed a significant internal division by location, enumeration and selling techniques. The transport occupations, crucial to the maintenance of trade, were numerically less important but had a division of labour as specialised as the other groups. The riders of camels, mules, donkeys and horses, and the mariners, were respectively involved in the shipment over land and the maritime transport of bulk commodities over long distances, with porters and couriers moving smaller items in smaller quantities over short distances. Caravans, ranging from several animals to 500 camels, departed from urban centres, where camel owners, camel drivers and other organisers and participants, were also to be found. In spite of the general tendency to minimise the level of Muslim navigation, particularly in the Mediterranean, the use of navigational devices, the Arabic navigation manuals, the different kinds of boats and the variety of boat building occupations in port cities indicate the existence of maritime industries and a significant commercial fleet, which reached a peak in the 9th-10th centuries [see MILĀḤA; SAFĪNA]. Merchants who owned lighter boats also contributed to the development of river transportation, but the growth in ship building had come to an end in the 11th century, caused by factors ranging from lack of wood and monopolisation of the arsenals by the state, and by the use of forced labour corvée, notoriously the weakest link between production and trade. The diversified occupational structures of the commercial and industrial sectors, which provided the linkages for the economic activities of trade, were matched by the diversified scales of the markets. Daily and weekly markets which provided fresh food and locally produced items, were held in the city's quarters and outside the city's walls. A permanent larger-scale central market, selling larger quantities, of greater variety, higher value and luxury merchandise, some produced locally but most imported from regional markets, was located near the mosque [see further, SŪḲ]. The prices at this level responded to fluctuations in the exchange rate, new mints, offer and demand from local and distant producers, and availability of items. A seasonal or yearly market was held for the diffusion of merchandise, shown in inns and warehouses [see FUNDUḲ; KHĀN; WAKĀLA] and consisting of imported foreign manufactured goods or transit goods, brought by foreign merchants, which were items in demand in Islamic regions or European destinations.

How Islamic was Islamic trade? The nature of the merchants' alliances, and their religious and ethnic identity, were all significant for the performance of the Islamic trade, even though distinct groups in trade activities moved in and out of the scene according to the sources used. Jews, for instance, were fully delineated in the Geniza documents but completely ignored by al-Makhzūmī [*q.v.*], an important contemporary observer. The participation of Persians and Christians, prominent in the first phase, was enhanced by that of the Jewish Rādhānites (see AL-RĀDHĀNIYYA, and add to its Bibl., Ch. Verlinden, *Les Radaniya. Intermédiaires commerciaux entre les mondes Germano-Slave er Gréco-Arabe*, in *Graeco-Arabica*, (Athens), vi [1995], 111-24), Khāridjī traders, in particular those of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] subsect, and Armenians, but different ethnic groups were also subject to changes in the kind of trade they conducted, from one period to another, and from one region to another. Slaves, wheat and arms, all disappeared as items of Jewish trade in the 11th century. They became a major commodity handled by Muslim traders, carried in Muslim-owned boats and financed by large capital investment from Muslim princes and dignitaries. Jewish merchants were driven from the trade with India in the 12th century, leaving the lucrative spice trade in the hands of the Muslim Kārimī [*q.v.*] merchants, and by the beginning of the 13th century they could only be found in local trade. Muslim merchants lost the importation of slaves for the Mamlūk dominions to Genoa in the 14th century. The Jewish merchant of the Geniza documents based the decision whom to employ in his service, and with whom to establish trade partnership, upon social and family connections. Such patterns can be explained by the nature of the investment transactions in trade, which required personal trust and guarantees, better provided by blood or marriage alliances. Since the merchants originating in the Muslim regions, whether Muslims or not, used the same financial and legal tools, the chance of this pattern being repeated throughout is very likely. On the other hand, it also shows that the framework provided by the law for the conduct of trade, was not sufficient to generate institutional, impersonal, anonymous local, regional or international co-operation.

The most striking change in Islamic trade during the third period was the massive penetration of Islamic markets by foreign Christian merchants. This brought in its wake changes not only in patterns of trade but also in production, since the two were always linked. The presence of Christians, either Byzantine or Sicilians, was already noted in the Egyptian ports in the 11th and 12th centuries, through the instructions issued by the administration on how to handle their embarkation, taxation and buying of merchandise. But the lack of references in al-Makhzūmī to their presence in the Red Sea ports, which later became the focus of their interest, appears to indicate that, if they participated in the commerce on that stretch of the route, then either there were not many of them or they were held in complete equality with Muslims. Historically, the status of foreign merchants and foreign vessels in Islamic territories was legally organised by the awarding of a license to travel or engage in trade,

a safe-conduct *amān* [*q.v.*]. Such standard safe conducts could be issued by the *imām* or any legally-qualified Muslim, for a year or longer, and guaranteed safe passage for the merchandise, the rate of taxes the merchant had to pay, where he could sell his commodities, and how long he could stay, testamentary rights, freedom of worship, burial, dress, ship's repair, emergency rations, aid against attack by corsairs, and permission to address complaints to the head of the Muslim community. There was no distinction between local and foreign merchants. Each was given a *barā'a* [*q.v.*], proof of payment of the dues, and the Islamic state had the right to confiscate merchandise in times of civil war, or war between states, a general financial crisis, or if the merchant was unable to pay tariffs. The port and its premises, ships and sailors was subject to state jurisdiction and inspection, as were the goods in the port's warehouses and in the holds of vessels anchored in the harbour. The Crusades were greatly held responsible for changing the patterns of the Italian cities' trade with the Levant, but in fact, the structures of Islamic trade in the Mediterranean were being eroded and modified because of the impact and appeal of the growing European markets, to which it had never previously had access. Pisa, Genoa and Venice were participants and sometime partners of the Islamic trade of the Far and Near East before and during the Crusades, but their instrumental role in the transportation and naval warfare of the Crusaders, gave them beneficial status in the cities they conquered, especially the port cities of Jaffa, Ascalon, Caesarea, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Antioch. Their privileges, which included preferred tax-rates on trade transactions, also provided for quarters for any prolonged stay, internal legal freedom and the right to engage in importing and exporting activities. After the liquidation of the Crusading states, the Italian merchants' familiarity with the region's trade, and the foothold they had in the local markets, enabled them to make the link with the growing markets in Northern Europe, which now demanded and could afford oriental spices and other Eastern products. Thanks to their superiority in the Mediterranean shipping, they were also able to seize the regional Islamic trade proper and to increase the scale of their trading activities in the Islamic lands. Changing political conditions in the area favoured their penetration as well. The Mongol conquest of Persia and 'Irāḳ caused a shift in the Far Eastern trade, especially in spices, which had moved away from inland 'Irāḳ to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, where Egypt was a stable outlet. They became a permanent feature of the Islamic port with their consuls and their notaries. Muslim traders failed to notice the evolving markets in Northern Europe because they were never involved in European trade and were never in competition there. As a result, when European traders began to exploit the Levant trade products to feed their own markets, Muslim traders experienced not only the loss of the opportunity to trade the imported spices with the new markets but also lost their own regional markets, which acquired these spices as well as other products. The access of the European merchants to ports in the Western Mediterranean was regularised in the 12th century, when the Almohads, after conquering Tunisia, signed treaties with Pisa, establishing regular trade tariffs. Italian cities contributed to the development of the ports of Tunisia and Algeria, whereas Marseilles conducted active trade with Ceuta in northern Morocco, in addition to Bougie in Algeria, from the 13th century onwards. The Catalans and Portuguese focused their activities on the Atlantic ports of Morocco, where other factors played a similar role, benefitting the growth of the European economy. There, gold from the Sahara, arriving through Sidjilmāsa [*q.v.*], stimulated trade with the Atlantic ports such as Arzila, Anfa and Salé. Merchants from Marseilles who visited Bougie and Tlemcen were paid in gold dust for importing, glass, copper utensils, perfumes and spices, which were then traded across the Sahara. The great gold surplus in Morocco was reflected in the regular and lavish payments in gold, metal and coins which the Marīnids [*q.v.*] made for hiring Castilian cavalrymen and Aragonese ships in the 13th and 14th centuries. From the 14th century onwards, the Provençal and Aragonese archives, together with the acts of notaries from Majorca and Barcelona who resided in the Moroccan and Tunisian ports, reflect the same vigorous penetration by European merchants into Andalusian and North African markets. The Western Mediterranean trade, which was dominated by the Catalan ships, also displayed similar patterns of regional trade, re-exporting pepper, ginger, silk sugar, cotton, gallnuts, sumac and indigo, bought in Egypt or Syria. The only sector of the Islamic trade left in Muslim hands was that of the inland routes and the local markets.

The history of Islamic trade has been described as one of early success and later decline, resulting from the general impoverishment of the Islamic lands in the later Middle Ages, the decline in population, agricultural production, manufacturing, scarcity of resources and technical stagnation, all aggravated by the state's exploitation of producers and merchants, over-taxation, the monopolisation of sales and the discouragement of private initiative. Some historians have blamed the nature of the Islamic mercantile economy, which did not encourage production for export purposes and which distanced the merchant class from the state's political apparatus, all these being obviously at variance with the Italian case. This estimate, however, fails to take into account the role played by Islamic trade in the context of its own economy and society and to grant it its just place as a vigorous economic agent and as a catalyst of growth and prosperity for rural and urban centres. Trade fulfilled an economic role by stimulating the economy, encouraging production for existing markets and creating new ones, and by integrating the different manufacturing areas, thereby working as a double catalyst, by providing raw materials and manufactured items for finishing or for local specialisation, and by creating demand and markets for import products. The manufacturing sector of the Islamic economy had a large, diversified and well-structured system of production. Division of labour was prevalent and extensively developed, and industrial productivity was much greater than it had been before Islam; and this remained pretty much constant throughout. Trade played a historical role by integrating these sectors of productivity and generated industrial productivity by stimulating production and by relaying orders for markets, which had been identified or created for specific merchandise. The textile industry is a good example of how this mechanism worked. Merchants in the cities placed orders with weavers in the rural areas, or shipped locally-grown dyeing and tanning materials such as indigo, sumac, and gall-nuts from and through Egypt to other regions. This is well documented in the Geniza letters, and the Islamic *fatwās*, too, speak about linen cloth and indigo imported from Egypt and

bought by the dyeing workshops of Tunis. The stimulating aspect is also visible in the diffusion of raw material needed by the industries, or the moving of semi-finished items to urban centres for finishing, as is shown in the regular exchange of olive oil and textiles between Egypt and Tunisia. The integrational role of trade also contributed greatly towards the balance of payments in the regional economies. As long as regional trade functioned, the transit trade did not throw the regions out of balance, but in the last phase, the integrational role of trade failed because the economies of the participating regions fell out of balance. The buying of slaves, which became the main pillar of Egypt's political régime, constituted a major drain on its precious metal resources, and since parts of the spice cargoes in transit were consumed locally, trade in them did not provide as much revenue. Islamic trade promoted economic growth based not on markets abroad but on internal growth and regional integration. It was supported by a full range of industrial services, including wholesale and retail commerce occupations, marketing and financing and a developed transport system, which made up the largest and most diversified group of occupations in the urban centres. The link with the industrial sector is displayed by the fact that commercial occupations follow the division of labour in the manufacturing sector, and diversify according to the raw materials used in manufacturing. The key to an accurate evaluation of Islamic trade is to judge it by the role it played in integrating the different sectors—agriculture, manufacturing and services—in a model of peripheral/regional integration, rather than a model of centre/international integration. Based on regional exchange, it brought together neighbouring or remote regions rather than serving solely as contact between centre and peripheries. Through the integration of the different sectors into a fully-balanced economic system, it performed a central role in the urbanisation process and in the economic progress of Islamic societies during the period studied.

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(MAYA SHATZMILLER)

TIDORE, a small volcanic island to the west of Halmahera belonging to the North Moluccan islands, now in northeastern Indonesia, part of the Administrative District of Halmahera Tengah (Central Halmahera) and administered as a *kecamatan*. Its *ca.* 38,000 inhabitants are mostly Muslims.

In the 13th century, the *kolano* or king of Tidore started to extend his kingdom, thus initiating continuous conflict with neighbouring Ternate [*q.v.*]. These two islands formed part of the original "Spice Islands", the home of cloves and nutmegs. Around 1430, a Muslim trader, called according to tradition Shaykh Manṣūr, began teaching Islam, and in *ca.* 1495 the ruler of Tidore, whose predecessors had used the Hindu title of *rādjā*, is said to have been converted and to have called himself *sulṭān*, with the honorific of Djamāl al-Dīn. As eager proponents of the new faith, subsequent rulers carried Islam as far as the shores of Irian or New Guinea. In 1521 some survivors of Fernando Magelhaes' expedition harboured at Tidore, and in 1522 the Portuguese were allowed to open a factory there. They soon clashed with the Sultan of Tidore, who rejected the Portuguese claim to a trade monopoly, and Tidore found here support from Spain, whilst Ternate supported the Portuguese. However, with the union of the two Iberian kingdoms in 1580, both Spaniards and Portuguese were established on Tidore, until in 1607 the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), backed by Ternate, conquered Tidore. Subsequently, the Dutch not only tried to prevent outside trading but also sought to prevent uncontrolled production of nutmegs and cloves by destroying trees, thereby impoverishing the traditional society of the North Moluccas.

At the end of the 18th century, with British assistance, a prince from the ruling family of Tidore, Nuku, tried to reassert his sultanate's power, and defeated the Dutch fleet in 1799; but after his death in 1805, Tidore lost all importance. After 1905, the throne became vacant and in 1909 the sultanate's autonomy was ended; the sultanate of nearby Jailolo on Halmahera had already disappeared from history when its last ruler was in 1832 exiled.

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(O. SCHUMANN, shortened by the Editors)

T'IEN WU, a Chinese-speaking Muslim (Hui-min) religious teacher and commander from Yen-ch'a-ting district in Kansu province, Northwest China. He was a disciple of the Chinese Naḳshbandī-Djahriyya Ṣūfī order founder, Ma Ming-hsin [*q.v.*], also known as Ibrāhīm Wiḳāyat Allāh (1718-81). He was also *ahung* (*imām*) of a local mosque in the Hsiao-shan area. His birth date is not recorded in the official sources, but he died in a Muslim uprising in 1784.

On his return from T'ien-fang, sc. Arabia, Ma Ming-hsin started to propound new teachings and to train many *khalīfa* disciples (T'ien Wu included) to spread his teachings in the Northwestern provinces. This was to reform the Hua-ssu Men-huang, the so-called Ke-di-mu Lao-chiao (Ar. *Ḳadīm*), a Naḳshbandī-Khufiyya Ṣūfī order founded by Ma Lai-ch'ih, whose Islamic name was ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (1681-1766). Ma Ming-hsin's reform was to purify the Ke-di-mu Lao-chiao's syncretised religious traditions and rituals. Because his followers performed *dhikr* in a loud voice, Ma Ming-hsin's group was called Che-ho-lin-yeh, the Djahriyya, to distinguish them from Hu-fei-yeh, the Khufiyya group of the Hua-ssu Men-huang. His fundamentalist reforms attracted a great number of poor Salar Muslim followers of the Hua-ssu Men-huang around the Hsün-hua area. This enraged the Khufiyya; quarrels started in 1769, and eventually armed fighting broke out in September 1780. In the course of these conflicts, local Imperial Manchu governors, who regarded the Djahrīs as heretics, sided with the Khufīs. In July 1781 the Khufīs, supported by Manchu forces, defeated the Djahrīs. Leading figures, together with their *pīr* Ma Ming-hsin, were all executed, and a massacre of the Djahrīs by the Manchu government followed. The families of the Djahrī dissenters were forced into exile to remote uncultivated lands in the East Turkestan (Hui-chiang, nowadays Hsin-chiang [= Sinkiang] province), Yunnan and Tibet borderlands. Through exile, the Djahriyya was thus spread more widely, and Djahrī exiles later took part in Muslim rebellions in these regions.

After its failure in the Hsün-hua and Ho-chou areas, the Djahriyya *djihād* movement was carried on by T'ien Wu. Since 1769 T'ien Wu had been actively preaching Ma Ming-hsin's teachings in the Yen-ch'a-ting, Wei-yüan, Chin-yüan, Ku-yüan-chou, and Kuan-ch'uang areas. On 30 May 1784, T'ien Wu, together with Ma Ming-hsin's nephew Chang Wen-ch'ing *ahung*, openly took up arms. According to the official Manchu Imperial court report, T'ien Wu's uprising was to avenge Ma Ming-hsin and Su Ssu-shih-san (Ma's would-be successor)'s martyrdom. However, in reality, it was rather a continuation of Ma Ming-hsin's reform calling for *djihād* against corrupt Khufīs and Manchu infidels. Shortly afterwards, on 8 June, T'ien Wu was wounded in battle and died.

On T'ien Wu's death, Chang Wen-ch'ing, other leading *ahungs* and their Djahrī followers made Shih-feng-pao in the Siao-san region their headquarters and continued their *djihād*, and from Shih-feng-pao the movement spread rapidly throughout Kansu province.

A vigorous fighting spirit helped the Djahrīs defeat the Manchu army in almost every battle, but some Djahrīs were suborned, so that the Djahrī forces disintegrated and suffered several defeats. Eventually the Manchu army captured Shih-feng-pao, and brutal massacre followed, with reportedly more than 11,000 Muslim dissidents were killed. The Djahrī remnants were either imprisoned or sent into exile, with captured women and children sold to Han Chinese as slaves and dispersed all over China. From then on, the Djahriyya order was totally banned by the Imperial government. Nevertheless, the Djahriyya movement did not come to an end with this suppression, and later, between 1862 and 1874, its militant spirit instigated the great Chin-chi-pao rebellion led by Ma Hua-lung [*q.v.*].

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AL-**TĪFĀSHĪ**, Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Ḳaysī, Egyptian scholar and man-of-letters (580-651/1184-1253).

Al-Tīfāshī is the author of a few works on sexual hygiene, the most well-known and quite representative being the *Kitāb Rudjūʿ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāh fi 'l-ḳūwa ʿalā 'l-bāh* (tr. into English by an anonymous writer under the title *The old man young again*, Paris 1898) which is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the physiology of the sexual organs and beneficial and noxious aspects of sexual intercourse, provides a large number of both simple and compound drugs which serve as aphrodisiacs, and describes magical practices to increase sexual potency; the second part deals with the secrets of women, their physiognomy, cosmetics, again aphrodisiacs, how to practice coitus, and teems with anecdotes and poems of a rather obscene nature.

Al-Tīfāshī, however, is particularly famous for his main work on mineralogy entitled *Azhār al-afkār fī djawāhir al-aḥdjār* "The blooms of thoughts about the precious stones". In 25 chapters, al-Tīfāshī describes 25 stones according to the following system: etymology, etiology, mines, quality and purity, medical and magical properties, value and price, defects, and substances which are supposed to improve or dull the shine of a stone. Al-Tīfāshī, who quotes his sources with great accuracy, drew upon a variety of both Greek and Arabic works on this and on related subjects, and his thorough compilation with its clear disposition thus became the most widespread and popular Arabic stone book.

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TIFINAGH, the name of the indigenous writing system of the Berberophone Touareg people (Algeria, Niger, Mali). The name is a Touareg plural noun meaning "Phoenician letters" (sg. *tafinekk*).

Origin. The Tifinagh script is a descendant of the old Libyan-Saharan script, which in turn is a restyled and adapted version of the Phoenician-Punic script [see LĪBIYĀ. 2.]. The Touareg themselves ascribe the invention of the script to a legendary hero, variously known as Aniguran or Amamellen.

Traditional usage. The traditional Tifinagh script, known as *tifinagh ti-n-elesel* "original T.", exists in several regional versions. The "classical" Tifinagh alphabet is the version of the Hoggar region (southern Algeria) [see table in BERBERS. VI.].

Traditional Tifinagh is a consonant script, like its Semitic ancestor, but a dot (named *tégherit*) is used to indicate any word-final vowel, while /y/ and /w/ are sometimes used to write word-final *i/é* and *u/o*. The direction of writing is not fixed: texts may be written horizontally, vertically and in boustrophedon. Words are usually not separated. Various ligatures of two letters are used. In the Hoggar version, the letters have names which are formed by prefixing *yă-* to the represented consonants, e.g. *yăb* "letter b", *yăd* "letter d", *yăḍ* "letter ḍ" (Aïr *eba, eda, eḍa*). There is no fixed alphabetical order in which the names of the letters are recited.

Knowledge of traditional Tifinagh is widespread among the Touareg. Almost all children are given instruction in the script, a task traditionally undertaken by the women. Among some groups, about half of the women and one-third of the men are reportedly able to write Tifinagh without hesitation.

Tifinagh is used for short inscriptions on rocks (almost invariably of the type "X was here"), on tombstones, and on objects such as bracelets and weapons. It is also used for short letters and notes written on paper, leather or animal bones. Tribal chiefs and traders use it for simple administrative purposes. A few Christian religious texts have been published in traditional Tifinagh as well as a translation of *Le petit prince*. The script continues to be used in small government-sponsored publications in Niger.

Modern usage. The absence of vowel-signs has been felt as a serious shortcoming by some Touareg users of Tifinagh, and various schemes were developed to remedy this.

In the region of Timbuktu, Arabic vowel signs are used in conjunction with Tifinagh, with *tégherit* serving as "chair" for a word-initial vowel. (Touareg texts written entirely in vocalised Arabic script are also known from this area.)

Another system for writing vowels was developed in 1973 by a certain Ibrahim of Tamanrasset, nicknamed Mao. In this system, known as *tifinagh n-ăzzăman* "modern T.", a new sign in the shape of an hourglass representing *e* (schwa) has been added. Two diacritics are used in combination with /e/ and /y/ to form signs for the other vowels. The consonant letters of modernised Tifinagh are based on the traditional script of the Aïr region in Niger which, unlike that of Hoggar, does not distinguish the emphatic consonant phonemes from their unemphatic counterparts. In addition to this, the vowel *o* is not distinguished from *u*. The modernised Tifinagh is consistently written horizontally, from left to right.

I. Tifinagh (Touareg, modernised)

1	2	3
ⴱ, ⴲ	b	
ⴹ	d	
ⴻ	ḍ	
ⴼ	f	
ⴳ	g	
ⵗ	gh	γ
ⵂ	h	
ⵌ	j	ž
ⴾ	k	
ⵆ	kh	x
ⵍ	l	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵈ	q	ḳ
□, ⵔ	r	
⊡, ⵙ	s	
⊡ ⵙ	ṣ	
ⵛ, ⵛ	sh	š
ⵜ	t	
ⵜ	ṭ	
ⵓ	w	
ⵢ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⵢ̇	a	
ⵢ	ə	e
ⵢ̈	e	é
ⵢ́	i	
ⵢ̈	o	
ⵢ̈	u	

II. Neo-Tifinagh (Riffian)

1	2	3
ⴱ	b	
ⵛ	c	sh, š
ⵞ	č	ch
ⴷ	d	
ⴸ	ḏ	
ⴹ	ḍ	dh, ð
ⴺ	ḏ̣	ð̣
ⴼ	f	
ⴳ	g	
ⴳ	g	ǧ
ⵊ	ǧ	dj
ⵀ	h	
ⵃ	ḥ	
ⵊ	j	zh, ž
ⴽ	k	
ⴿ	k̲	ç
ⵍ	ḷ	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵒ	p	
ⵖ	γ	gh
ⵇ	q	ḳ
ⵔ	r	
ⵕ	ṛ	
ⵔ	ř	(< l)
ⵙ	s	
ⵚ	ṣ	
ⵜ	t	
ⵝ	ṯ	th, θ
ⵟ	ṭ	
ⵡ	w	
ⵅ	x	kh
ⵢ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⵄ	ε	ᶜ
·	a	
÷	e	ə
ⵉ	i	
:	u	

III. Neo-Tifinagh (Kabyle)

1	2	3
ⴱ	ḃ	b
⊿, Δ	b	β
ⵛ	c	sh, š
ⵞ, ⵞ	ç	ch, č
ⴷ	ḋ	d
ⴸ	d	dh, ð
ⴹ	ḍ̇	ḍ
ⴹ	ḍ	ð̣
ⴼ, ⊏	f	
ⴳ	ġ	g
ⴳ	g	ğ
ⵀ	h	
ⵃ, ⵃ	ḥ	
ⵊ	j	zh, ž
ⵊ	j̧	dj, ğ
ⴽ, ⴽ	k̇	k
ⴿ, ⴿ	k	ç
ⵍ	l	
ⵎ	m	
ⵏ	n	
ⵖ	γ	gh
ⵇ	q	ḳ
ⵔ	r	
ⵙ	s	
ⵚ	ṣ	
ⵜ	ṫ	t
ⵝ	t	th, θ
ⵟ	ţ	ts
ⵟ, ⴹ	ṭ	
ⵡ / :	w	
ⵅ	x	kh
ⵢ / ⵉ	y	
ⵣ	z	
ⵥ	ẓ	
ⵄ	ε	ᶜ
·	a	
÷	e	ə
ⵉ	i	
:	u	

I. 1. Tifinagh
2. Touareg Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

The Latin orthography presented here is the standard of Niger, based on the orthography adopted by Unesco in 1968. The vowel phoneme *ă*, difficult to discern even for native speakers, is represented either by *a* or by *ə* in Tifinagh as well as in Latin orthography.

II. 1. Tifinagh
2. Riffian Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

Standardised Latin, Arabic and Tifinagh orthographies for Riffian were adopted at an international conference held in Utrecht (Netherlands) in November 1996.

III. 1. Tifinagh
2. Kabyle Latin orthography
3. Alternative transcriptions

The conventional Kabyle Latin orthography is based on the transcription devised by J.-M. Dallet. The superscript dots which are used to indicate non-spirantised consonants are usually omitted in modern publications. Undotted *k* represents a voiceless palatal fricative ("Ichlaut") and undotted *g* represents a voiced palatal fricative.

Modernised Tifinag͟h has gained some currency among young Touareg in Algeria. One of its best known users is the French-domiciled Touareg poet Hawad, who also developed a cursive version. A bilingual French-Touareg edition of poems by Hawad using modernised Tifinag͟h was published recently (*Buveurs de braises*, Saint-Nazaire 1995). The modernised script is also used in a small Touareg magazine entitled *Amnas ihgawgawen* "The stammering camel" (first issue December 1991).

Neo-Tifinag͟h. In the early 1970s, a group of modern Kabyle scholars and students, united in the "Académie berbère" (founded 1967 in Paris), invented a script commonly known as Neo-Tifinag͟h (Kabyle: *tifinag͟h tiynayin*). This script is based on the traditional Tifinag͟h script of the Touareg and is used for the writing of Berber languages, in particular Kabyle (Taḳbaylit) and Riffian (Tarifiyt), which have no tradition whatsoever of being written in Tifinag͟h. Letters were added in Neo-Tifinag͟h to represent consonant phonemes not found in Touareg, as well as signs for the vowels. Various typographical changes were made to existing letters. The result is a script which resembles the traditional Tifinag͟h, but which is in fact incomprehensible to a literate Touareg.

Neo-Tifinag͟h is frequently used as a cultural icon in headings of magazines and the like. Although the Neo-Tifinag͟h script has acquired a cult status among young educated Berberophones, most of whom would support its adoption as the official Berber script, very few, if any, are able to read or write it at speed. Those who know the script were already fully literate in at least one other script (Arabic or Latin) before they learned Neo-Tifinag͟h: there are no Berberophones literate exclusively in Neo-Tifinag͟h. In addition to this, the technical problems involved in printing the script as well as government discouragement have prevented the publication of more than a handful of texts in Neo-Tifinag͟h (e.g. poems and a translation of the Gospel of St. John).

Bibliography: For extensive bibliographies, see BERBERS, LĪBIYĀ and the article *Écriture* in the *Encyclopédie berbère*. Also M. O'Connor, *The Berber scripts*, in P.T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds.), *The world's writing systems*, Oxford 1996, 112-16; F. Coulmas, *The Blackwell encyclopedia of writing systems*, Oxford 1996, s.v. *Tifinagh*. An excellent survey of the Touareg tradition is provided by M. Aghali Zakara and J. Drouin, *Recherches sur le tifinagh*, in *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, xviii-xxiii (1973-9), 241-71, 279-92. A table showing the regional variants of the traditional Tifinag͟h script as well as information on its use are found in K.-G. Prasse, *Manuel de grammaire touarègue*, 3 vols., Copenhagen 1972-4, i, 145-57. Information on modernised Touareg Tifinag͟h is provided by H. Claudot-Hawad, *Tifinar'. Du burin à la plume*, Dauphin 1985, and idem, *Tifinaγ. De la plume à l'imprimante*, in *Travaux du LAPMO*, Aix-en-Provence 1988. Vol. xi of *Études et documents berbères* (1994) contains articles on the various writing systems employed for the Berber languages, including (Neo-)Tifinag͟h. (N. VAN DEN BOOGERT)

ṬIFLĪ, AḤMED ČELEBI (d. 1071/1660-61), Ottoman poet and storyteller, born the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in Trabzon according to most sources, the only exceptions being S͟heyk͟hī Meḥmed Efendi (*Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalā*, i) and Meḥmed T͟hüreyyā (*Sid͟jill-i ʿOt͟hmānī*, 252) who claim that he was born in Istanbul. He began producing poetry as a child and so took the pen-name of Ṭiflī ("Child"). He was also called "Leylek (the Stork) Ṭiflī", because of his long neck.

In his day he was more famous as a storyteller (*maddāḥ* [*q.v.*]) and boon-companion of the sultan (*nedīm*) than as a poet. A member of the inner circle of Sultan Murād IV [*q.v.*], he, at one time or another, held the official positions of *S͟hāhnāmed͟ji* [*q.v.*] and *ḳiṣṣak͟hān* (storyteller), which brought him some prosperity and a comfortable life. Nefʿī [*q.v.*], in his famous satire with the *redīf*... *a köpek* ("O dog"), lampoons him for associating with the Grand Vizier Gürd͟jü Meḥmed Pas͟ha [*q.v.*] by reviling his reading of the *S͟hāh-nāme*. It is also said that he belonged to the Malāmiyye branch of the Bayrāmiyya [*q.v.*] dervishes and was an accomplished calligrapher. Ṭiflī was buried in Istanbul, and several poets, including Nāʾilī [*q.v.*], wrote chronograms (*tārīk͟h*) commemorating his death.

Ṭiflī's rather small *dīwān* exists in a number of manuscripts but has never been published in a printed edition. He has *ḳaṣīde*s to Sultan Murād and the viziers Mūsā Pas͟ha and D͟jaʿfer Pas͟ha and, in a prose story (Istanbul University, TY 250) called *Ḥikāyet-i K͟hʷād͟je Saʿīd veya Ṣanṣar Muṣṭafā Ḥikāyesi*, both Ṭiflī and Sultan Murād appear as characters. Another prose tale of his, *K͟hand͟jerli k͟hanim* ("Woman with a dagger"), was published by the D͟jerīde-yi Ḥawādit͟h Press and summarised by Ibnülemin Maḥmūd Kemal İnal in *TOEM*, xcvi (1928). There is no published study on Ṭiflī or his work, although there is at least one dissertation (Kaşif Yılmaz, Atatürk Univ. in Erzurum, 1983) and two recent (1991) master's theses (Berrin Uyar Akalın, Hacettepe Univ.; and Vicdan Özdingiş, Selçuk Univ.).

Bibliography: For a detailed list of sources, see *İA* art. *Ṭiflī* (Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad). See also Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Meddahlar*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuasi*, i, 31-4; Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve melâmîler*, Istanbul 1992, 130-5; Belīg͟h, *Nuk͟hbet al-āt͟hār*, Ankara 1985, 294-9; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 671; Riḍā, *Ted͟hkire*, Istanbul 1316, 63; *Ted͟hkire-yi Sālim*, Istanbul 1315, 568.

(MEHMET KALPAKLI and W.G. ANDREWS)

TIFLĪS, the form found in Islamic sources for the capital of Georgia, Tiflis or modern Tbilisi. The city is situated on hilly ground in the Kura river valley [see KUR] (lat. 41° 43' N., long. 44° 49' E.), and has a strategic position controlling the routes between eastern and western Transcaucasia which has ensured it a lively history.

The city is an ancient one, being founded in A.D. 455 or 458 when the capital of Georgia was transferred thither from nearby Mtsk͟heta. For the subsequent history of the city, from Byzantine and Sāsānid times through the long period of political, military and cultural contacts with e.g. the Muslim powers of Arrān, Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and Armenia, to the absorption of the Georgian monarchy into Imperial Russia and the period of Communist rule, the history of Tiflis is largely inseparable from that of Georgia as a whole; hence see for this, AL-KURD͟J. One need only note, in supplementation of this, that on 9 April 1991 Georgia became an independent republic, with its capital at Tbilisi.

Tiflis in Islamic descriptions. The Islamic geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries give few details about Tiflis. It was in Muslim hands froin the mid-1st/7th century until it was recovered as the Georgian capital by the Georgian king Bagrat IV (r. 1027-52), but according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ii, 65 = § 498, Muslim prestige and authority there had weakened after al-Mutawakkil executed the local governor of Tiflis, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḳuras͟hī, in 238/852. It is described as large, with a double wall pierced by three gates. It spilled out across the river, and the

two parts were connected by a bridge of boats. The geographers especially mention its thermal springs, which supplied the baths with constant hot water. On the Kur river were water-mills (*ʿurūb*). Tiflis was an outpost of Islam, surrounded by *dār al-kufr*, and Abū Dulaf was unable to visit an interesting cave nearby, presumably because the countryside was in the hands of infidels. Al-Balādhurī has the interesting detail that the houses of Tiflis were built of pine wood (*sanawbar*). For the information of the geographers, see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 181; also *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 35, § 14, comm. 73, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 144.

In the Il-Khānid period, Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī tells us that, on the one bank of the Kur at Tiflis could be heard the call of the *muʾadhdhin*, and on the other, the peals of the Christian *nāḳūs*. The Christians were in the majority. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the houses of Tiflis as built one above the other, the roofs of the one being the courtyard of the next.

From the 17th century, we have the Turkish descriptions of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (his brief narrative refers to the years 1630-5, *Djihān-numā*, 394) and Ewliyā Čelebi (in 1648, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 315-19), and also the first detailed description by a European (Chardin, 1673, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, ii, 72-88). Ewliyā gives many details of the citadels. The larger (that on the right bank of the Kur) was 6,000 paces in circumference and its walls were 60 ells (*dhirāʿ*) high. It had 70 towers and a garrison of 3,000 men. There was no protective ditch. There was a tower fitted up to supply the fortress with water (*ṣuluḳ ḳule*). In the large citadel there were 600 houses roofed with clay. In the smaller citadel (on the left bank) there were only 300 houses, but it was very strong on account of its walls. Pl. iii of Chardin's *Atlas* gives a general view of Tiflis, in which the traveller shows the 19 principal features (churches, palace, etc.).

For the 18th century, we have the descriptions by Tournefort (1701, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant*, Paris 1717, ii, 307-20, with a view, 314), and in Prince Wakhusht's *Geography* (the difficulties in which have now been cleared up by Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i, 180). A panoramic plan of Tiflis was published by De l'Isle, *Avertissement sur la carte générale de la Géorgie*, Paris 1766 (the editor had received it during his sojourn in Russia from the "prince of Georgia"). The gazetteer by P. Iosselian (1866) is valuable, since it locates ancient buildings.

Old Tiflis consisted of four quarters, of which three lay on the right bank of the Kur (which here bends from north to south to north-west to south-east): 1. *Kala* or *Kalisi* (= Arabic *ḳalʿa*), the old quarter *intra muros* (between the streams Sololaki and Daba-khāna which flow into the Kur), with the citadel Narin-kala. 2. The town properly called Tbilisi, which grew up around the hot springs (according to Brosset, i/1, p. lxxx, it was founded by Armenian inhabitants). The town was situated on the bank of the Kur opposite and below the Kala. The Ṣafawid Shāh Ṣafī had settled a colony of Sayyids on the heights of Tʿabor (to the east of Daba-khāna), whence the Persian name of this district Sayyidābād. 3. The outer quarter Garetʿ-ubani near the race-course (*asparez*), above and to the north of the first two quarters. 4. The quarter on the left bank opposite the Kala was called Isani or Nisani (later Awlabar) and had the heights of Makhatʿa to the north of it. Isani corresponds to the Ṣughdabīl of the Arabs. It is the cemetery Sagodebel, in Georgian "place of groanings", mentioned in the *Life* of St. Abo; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, 136, and Schulze, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abo von Tiflis*, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1905, xiii/4, 35. The same name occurs twice in the Georgian Chronicle (cf. Brosset, i, 407, 633).

Three citadels have to be distinguished at Tiflis: 1. The old citadel of Tʿabor (*Korči-kalʿa*) on the hill on the right bank of the Daba-khāna destroyed in 1618, in 1725, and finally in 1785; it defended the southern gate of the Kala, called the Gandja Gate. 2. The citadel Narin-Ḳalʿa on the hill of Kala. Before Islam, this fortress seems to have borne the name of Shuris-tsikhe (Wakhusht). It was dismantled in 1818 (cf. the picture in Gamba's *Atlas*). 3. The citadel of the left bank (Isani) served as a bridge-head; in 1728 the Turks began to fortify this place for the last time but left the work unfinished.

As to the royal palaces, the oldest was that of Metekhi on the left bank in front of the old bridge. In 1638 the Muslim king Rostom built a palace about 400 feet in length along the Kur in Tbilisi. Here Chardin was received by Shāh-Nawāz. A little farther to the south, King Wakhtang VI built a palace very richly adorned in the Persian style; it was destroyed by the Turks in 1725, see P. Iosselian, *Opisaniye drevnoshey Tiflisa*, Tiflis 1866 (on the mosques, see 239).

From the nature of the site, compressed between the Kur and the heights of the right bank, Old Tiflis attained no considerable extent (cf. Chardin). In the 19th century, the town began to extend far beyond its ancient limits, developing subsequently especially on the left bank along which run the railway lines (Tiflis-Bākū, Tiflis-Batum, Tiflis-Djulfā and Tiflis-Kakhetʿia).

Modern Tbilisi is a major cultural centre, the seat of the Georgian Academy of Sciences and possessor of a university and several other colleges. Its flourishing economy is based on such activities as engineering, textile, wine-making and food processing. A road and rail system links it with Sukhumi of the Black Sea, with Baku on the Caspian and with Erivan or Yerevan in Armenia and Kars in Turkey.

P o p u l a t i o n. In 1783, after the prosperous reigns of Tʿeimuraz and Erekle, the town had 4,000 houses with 61,000 inhabitants. In 1803, it had only 2,700-3,000 with 35,000 inhabitants. This was the result of Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār's invasion in 1795, traces of which could everywhere be seen even in Gamba's time. The more exact figures for 1834 (Dubois de Mantpéreux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris 1839, iii, 225-75) give 3,662 houses, 4,936 families and 25,290 inhabitants, not including Russians. The population grew rapidly: in 1850 34,800, in 1865 70,000, in 1897 160,605. Of the last figure, the Armenians formed 38.1%, the Georgians 26.3% and the Russians 24.8%. The census of 1922 gave 233,958 inhabitants for Tiflis, of whom 85,309 were Armenians, 80,884 Georgians, 38,612 Russians, 9,768 Jews, 3,984 Persians, 3,255 Ādharbāydjānī Turks, 2,457 Germans, etc.; cf. the *Zakavkazye*, Tiflis 1925, 156-7. The population in 1991 was 1,271,440.

B i b l i o g r a p h y (in addition to references in the article): See that for AL-KURDJ.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ṬIGHNARĪ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Murrī, l e a d i n g m e m b e r o f t h e s c h o o l o f a g r o n o m i s t s i n a l - A n d a l u s which reached its peak in the 5th/11th century and flourished until the middle of the 8th/14th one. Unlike other agronomists of his age, such as Ibn Baṣṣāl, Abu 'l-Khayr and Ibn

Ḥadjdjādj, we have a few, if limited, biographical details on him. He stemmed from a Granadan family of noble Arab lineage at the time of the last Zīrids, but neither the exact date of his birth nor of his death is known.

According to his main biographer Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he came originally from a village of the Granadan Vega, now disappeared, called Ṭighnar. With the arrival of the Almoravids, he moved from Granada to Seville, where it is related that he pursued his studies in 494/1100. He then travelled to various towns of al-Andalus, North Africa and the East. He must have made the Pilgrimage, since Ibn al-ʿAwwām cities him in his treatise on agronomy as *al-Ḥādjdj al-Gharnāṭī*. He was a fine writer, but except for his treatise on agronomy, we possess only fragments of his poetry and prose. Despite the brevity of these last, they reveal a very terse and spare style. It could be inferred that he was also a physician, in light of the detailed knowledge of medicine shown in his treatise, but we have no sure indications that he ever practiced this skill.

His work on agronomy, the *K. Zuhrat al-bustān wa-nuzhat al-adhhān*, brought him considerable fame. It was written *ca.* 504/1110 and dedicated to the Almoravid governor of Granada Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm b. Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn. The original text, known only in an incomplete unicum (no. 2163, National Library, Algiers) had 12 *maḳālāt* or books and 360 *abwāb* or chapters, according to Ibn Luyūn [*q.v.*], who had a copy of it. Whatever the case, there exist as many as eleven copies of a résumé of the work, which include the first part, lacking in the original. The contents of al-Ṭighnarī's treatise are largely similar to the other Andalusian works on agriculture. He begins by considering different soils, fertilisers and hydrology, and follows this up with a series of practical counsels on domestic economy. Then there are chapters on plant growth: planting, sowing and grafting (an important and widespread practice), the treatment of diseases, and other agricultural tasks. It is possible that the last *maḳālāt*, certainly numbering more than three, lacking in all the mss., were devoted to the rearing of animals, as is the case in the treatises of Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Ibn Wāfid, but we do not know for sure.

Al-Ṭighnarī cites numerous sources, but does not limit himself to reproducing them: he uses a rigorous analysis to sift them and to verify them with a critical sense often associated with practical agricultural experience. Al-Ṭighnarī was, in his turn, used by other authors such as Ibn al-ʿAwwām and Ibn Luyūn. His treatise is probably the most systematic of the Andalusian ones, being on many points more detailed and precise than the others. Moreover, he includes many elements of a local nature on agricultural practice and the various types of plants characteristic of the various regions of al-Andalus, which makes the treatise both a highly original text and, at the same time, a specifically Andalusian one. Despite all the above, this unique text from al-Andalus remains unedited, apart from short published extracts; the present writer is at work on a critical edition.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1398/1978, i/2, 805-8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, Cairo 1394/1974, ii, 282-4; Brockelmann, S I, 1033 (who, following other biographers, identifies him with Ḥamdūn al-Ishbīlī); M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Köln 1972, 446; E. Garcia-Sanchez, *El tratado agrícola del granadino al-Ṭignarī*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, v-vi (1987-8), 278-91; E. Garcia, *Al-Ṭignarī y su lugar de origen*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, ix (1988), 1-11.

(EXPIRACION GARCIA-SANCHEZ)

TIGIN, TAKĪN (T.), in the oldest known Turkish *tégin*, an ancient Turkish title with the original meaning of "prince".

In the early Türk empire, it denoted the legitimate son or grandson of the Supreme Kaghan. It appears as such in the Orkhon [*q.v.*] inscriptions, one of which is known as that of Kül Tigin (literally "the younger brother [of Elterish Kaghan], the crown prince"), cf. Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington 1968, 237. G. Doerfer (*Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-7, ii, 533-41, no. 922) and Sir Gerard Clauson (*A dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 483) have surmised that the word came into Turkish from some earlier, non-Turkish language; Doerfer suggests (*op. cit.*, ii, 541) that it came from the (unknown) language of the Juan-Juan who followed after the Huns and preceded the Türk empire. Since royal princes usually held high military and administrative office in the Türk empire, the title gradually became detached from the necessity of royal descent to becoming one of function, and its eminence as a title diminished.

Tigin retained its meaning of "prince" amongst the eastern Turks, e.g. amongst the Uyghurs, amongst local rulers of Farghāna such as Ṣuwār Tigin, and amongst the Karakhānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.vv.*]; thus amongst the onomastic of the latter rulers we find e.g. ʿAlī Tigin [*q.v.*], Arslan Tigin and Toghan Tigin. Further west, however, it decreased in status and could be applied to any Turkish military leader, even if the latter were a slave, as was the case with the founder of the Ghaznawids, Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] and the eunuch Saldjūḳ commander Sāwtigin. By the time of the Mongol invasions, it seems to have fallen out of use. It is almost unknown in Mongolian.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

TIGRE [see DJABART].

TIGRIS [see DIDJLA].

AL-**TĪH**, properly Faḥṣ al-Tīh, the name in mediaeval Islamic usage for the desert forming the frontier zone between Palestine and Egypt and spanning the Sinai Desert.

The name itself is not found in the Ḳur'ān (which in sūra XXIII, 20, uses Sīnā', and in II, 60/63, 87/93, IV, 153/154, etc., Ṭūr, for the Sinai peninsula), but the verb from which it is presumably derived occurs as *yatīhūn* "they wander about in a confused, lost manner" (V, 29/25), said of the Children of Israel, condemned by God to wander distractedly through the Sinai Desert because of their refusal to Moses to enter the Holy Land.

Hence the mediaeval Arab geographers also call the Sinai Desert "the Desert of the Banū Isrā'īl". As early as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* we find the legend *Desertum ubi quadraginta annis errauerunt filii Israel ducente Moyse*, and on the map of Mādabā ἔρημες [ὅπου] τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔσωσ [εν] ὁ χαλκοῦς ὄφις and ἔρημος Σὶν ὅπου κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα καὶ ἡ ὀρτυγομήτρα. In the desert there was a fortress of the same name (De Guignes, *Perle des merveilles*, in *Notices et extraits*, ii, 31); there is a Wādi 'l-Tīh in the eastern part of it (Quatremère, *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, i, 186). The desert of al-Tīh, which formed the most southerly district of Filasṭīn [*q.v.*], was 40 *farsakhs* long, about as much broad, and stretched from the district of al-Djifār (the region of al-Faramā', al-ʿArīsh and al-Warrāda) to the mountains of Sinai (Ṭūr Sīnā'); in the west, it was bounded by the Egyptian province of al-Rīf (Maspéro-Wiet, in

MIFAO, xxxvi, 101-2), in the east by the districts of Jerusalem and southern Palestine. According to the description of the Arab geographers, it consisted partly of stony and partly of sandy soil, contained also salt-marshes and red sandstone hills, a few palm-trees and springs. In the desert districts of Tīh Banī Isrā'īl, al-Dimashḳī mentions the Jewish towns of Ḳadas (Ḳadesh Barnea), Ḥuwayrik, al-Khalaṣa (Elusa), al-Khalūṣ (Lyssa), al-Saba' (Beersheba) and al-Madura. He had already mentioned al-Tīh among the districts of the kingdom of al-Karak, by which he seems to mean the lands that had once belonged to Reynaud of Châtillon. From the desert of al-Tīh one went down through the 'Aḳabat Busāḳ to Ayla (Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 610); this road was first made passable for the pilgrim caravans in the time of the Ṭūlūnid Khumārawayh (270-82/884-96). It was two stages' ride from Ayla right through the desert to the sea of Farān. When in 652/1254-5 the Baḥrī Mamlūks fled from Cairo, a body of them wandered for five days in the desert; on the sixth, they discovered a great abandoned city with walls and marble halls, buried in the sand. They found vases and articles of dress, but these fell to dust at the first contact; there was also a reservoir with ice-cold water. When they reached al-Karak on the next day and paid for goods with dīnārs which they had found in the buried city, they learned that they belonged to the time of Moses and that they had been in the "green city of the Israelites".

The caravan and military road from Cairo to Syria ran in normal times through al-Djifār, without touching the desert of al-Tīh; only in the period when this was interrupted by the Frankish occupation did the route straight through the desert gain a certain strategic importance, as we see in the campaigns of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and in the building of the fortress of Ṣadr (now Ḳal'at Gindī). For the Sinai Desert in more recent and modern times, see SĪNĀ'.

Bibliography: Iṣṭakhrī, 53; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 14, 158, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 142, 156; Muḳaddasī, 179; Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *ZDPV*, viii/1, 21, tr. 119, 139; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 912; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, i, 123; Dimashḳī, ed. Mehren, 213; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 213, tr. Bouriant, in *MMAF*, xvii (1900), 631; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 27-30; R. Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, in *Bibl. de l'école des haut. étud.*, clxxi, 1908; 114-16 and *passim*; R. Hartmann, in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 679-83; J. Maspéro and G. Wiet in *MIFAO*, xxxvi, 62; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 6, 8, 129; A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm . . . La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces*, Damascus 1963, 150 n. 30, 189. On Ṣadr, see Barthoux and Wiet, in *Syria*, iii, 44-65, 145-52.

(E. HONIGMANN*)

TIHĀMA, also not infrequently appearing as al-Tahā'im in mediaeval sources, the area of the Red Sea coastal plain stretching from 'Aḳaba in the north to the Bāb al-Mandab in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, some even claiming that it extends further along the southern Indian Ocean coast. Today, inhabitants of the Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*] divide Tihāma into three: Tihāmat al-Ḥidjāz from the north as far south as al-Layth, Tihāmat 'Asīr from al-Layth to Djīzān/Djāzān and, from the latter south, Tihāmat al-Yaman. Historically, it is the second and third areas that are of great importance here, and during the zenith of Rasūlid power in the Yemen (628-845/1230-1441 [see RASŪLIDS]), say in the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, Tihāma would have reached north to include the whole of 'Asīr; in fact, Tihāma then would have meant the combined areas of Tihāmat al-Yaman and Tihāmat 'Asīr.

As for the origin of the word, the root *t-h-m* is common in Semitic languages: e.g. the Hebrew plural *t'hōmōt* (e.g. in Exod. xv. 5, see Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English lexicon*, Oxford 1962, 1063) appears to refer to the depths of the sea, in particular the Red Sea, and other languages have the word in the same meaning. In Arabic the root covers such connotations as "foul odour", "stench", "intense heat" and "unwholesomeness". *Taham* and *tihāma* carry a primary meaning of "land descending to the sea" (see Lane, i, 319-20). In the pre-Islamic Sabaic, the word is attested as a proper name THMT (for example CIH 537/6 and 596/6) and with a meaning in antithesis to that of *ṭwd* (which signifies "mountain"), i.e. "plain" (e.g. CIH 540/3 and 541/8).

1. *History*. Nothing much can be said in specific terms of the history of Tihāma before Islam and little more can be written of the early Islamic period, since the Islamic governors were posted only to Ṣan'ā' [*q.v.*], Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*] and al-Djanad near Ta'izz [*q.v.*] in the highlands. Hearing of a rebellion in Tihāma of two Arab tribes, al-Ashā'ir and 'Akk, the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Ma'mūn [*q.v.*] despatched to the Yemen a protégé of his *wazīr*, Faḍl b. Sahl, a man called Muḥammad b. Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād arrived in Tihāma in 203/819 and, having quelled the rebellions and generally pacified the coastal plain, he built a capital, Zabīd [*q.v.*], as he had been directed by the caliph, a town which was to become of huge importance in mediaeval times and which remains to this day, albeit much reduced in size and significance. Ibn Ziyād thus brought into being in Tihāma the earliest dynastic state in the Yemen, the Ziyādids. It is not possible to unravel the meagre and confused accounts of this early dynasty; suffice it to say that it appears to have lasted for about two centuries, controlling much of Tihāma and even beyond. The last firm date which we have for it is 409/1018.

Still extremely scant is our knowledge of the successor state in Tihāma, that of the Nadjāḥids (412-551/1021-1156 [*q.v.*]) who were black Abyssinian slaves. The reader is referred to the article s.v. for what historical information it is possible to collect. The year 551/1156 saw the killing of the last Nadjāḥid slave minister by the Mahdids [*q.v.*] and thus the dynasty passed into oblivion.

Before mention of the Mahdids, it is necessary to deal briefly with the Sulaymānids, Ḥasanī *sharīfs* originally from Mecca, who ruled over an area of Tihāma to the north centred on Ḥaraḍ during the period *ca.* 462-569/1069-1173. Apart from their incessant squabbles with the Nadjāḥids to the south, very little is known of these Sulaymānī *sharīfs*. In 560/1164 'Abd al-Nabī b. Mahdī had brought an end to Nadjāḥid rule in Zabīd and southern Tihāma and had marched north and heavily defeated a Sulaymānī army under Wahhās b. Ghānim. The latter was killed and his brother, Ḳāsim, is said to have appealed for help from the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*] in Egypt. When the Ayyūbids did arrive in Tihāma in 569/1173, an alliance was formed between them and the Sulaymānīs against the Mahdids. The former did continue in Tihāma, but it can be said that with the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen an end was brought to the effectual participation of the Sulaymānīs in the affairs of the land.

For the Mahdids (554-69/1159-1173), the Ayyūbids (569-626/1173-1228) and the Rasūlids (626-858/1228-1454), see also Smith, *Political history*, 130-8, where a

detailed account of the dynasties, including their activities in Tihāma, can be found. The Ayyūbid conquest brought a swift end to the Mahdids, and the Yemen province of the empire centred in Egypt was created. The Ayyūbids in just 57 years brought peace and stability by force to the southern highlands and Tihāma. Their successors, the Rasūlids, were able to build on the hard-won military conquests of the Ayyūbids to form a southern Yemen and Tihāma of unparalleled political stability and administrative and intellectual development. Zabīd became an educational and religious centre of tremendous importance in the Yemen and its fame spread far and wide throughout the Islamic world. Particularly under the Rasūlids' successors, the Ṭāhirids (858-923/1454-1517 [*q.v.*]), the town assumed political importance also, for the Ṭāhirid court moved from the southern highlands to Zabīd each year when it became the winter capital. Little is heard of Tihāma for some two centuries. When we read the detailed account of much of Tihāma written by Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, etc., Amsterdam and Utrecht 1776, i, 235-96), the lone survivor of the 18th-century Danish expedition, it is clear that the real heyday of the area had long passed. Thereafter, in fact, the region became a rather loose appendage of Zaydī authority centred in the northern highlands of the Yemen.

2. *Geography and agriculture.* Despite its oppressive climate (temperatures up to 45° C and a relative humidity of 70-90% in summer), Tihāma, approximately 30-60 km/48-160 miles wide, with its several wadis in which flood water runs down from the mountains westwards, is a major agricultural area. The important wadis are, from north to south, Wādī Ḥaraḍ, Mawr, Surdud, Sahām and Rimaʿ. The main agricultural products are cotton, sorghum, millet, sesame, watermelon, mango, banana, okra and tomato.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden 1951-4, esp. 58-91; Francine Stone (ed.), *Studies on the Tihāmah*, Harlow 1985, *passim* (on the whole an excellent study, see G.R. Smith, *Studies on the Tihāmah*, in *JRAS*, 1986/1, 30-40, a review article); Smith, *The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion (1-945/622-1538)*, in W. Daum (ed.), *Yemen: 3000 years of art and civilisation in Arabia Felix*, Innsbruck and Frankfurt [1988], 129-40; Francine Stone, art. *Tihāma*, in Aḥmad Djābir ʿAfīf *et alii*, *al-Mawsūʿa al-Yamaniyya*, i, Ṣanʿāʾ 1992, 286-9.

(G.R. Smith)

al-TIHĀMĪ, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (d. 416/1025), Arab poet. His *nisba* points to the Tihāma [*q.v.*], the coastal plain on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, or to Mecca, which is sometimes synecdochically called "Tihāma". Ibn Khallikān (iii, 381) admits his ignorance as to which of these two locations is intended. He is said to have come from the lower classes (*min al-sūḳa*, al-Bākharzī, i, 188-9). The poet spent most of his life in Syria, where he attached himself in particular to the Djarrāḥids [*q.v.*], who tried, with limited success, to consolidate their little principality in Palestine, with al-Ramla as its centre. It is probably on their behalf that he was appointed, at an unspecified date, *khaṭīb* of al-Ramla. In 416/1025 he served as a secret messenger of the Djarrāḥid prince Ḥassān b. Mufarridj to the Banū Ḳurra Bedouins in Egypt, who had already a history of revolt against the Fāṭimids, but was intercepted, identified as al-Tihāmī, locked up in the Cairene Flag Arsenal jail (*khizānat al-bunūd*) on 25 Rabīʿ II/6 July 1025 and unceremoniously killed there on 9 Djumādā I/19 July of the same year. The nature of Ḥassān's scheme is not spelled out.

Al-Tihāmī's poetry was collected into a small *dīwān* which, according to Ibn Khallikān (iii, 379), consisted mostly of "selections" (*nukhab*). This is not clearly borne out by the existing editions of the *Dīwān*. Al-Bākharzī (i, 188) characterises al-Tihāmī's poetry as "more delicate than the religion of a sinner and more tender than the tears of a lover" (*adaḳḳu min dīni ʾl-fāsiḳ—wa-araḳḳu min damʿi ʾl-ʿāshiḳ*).

As for genres, the lion's share is taken up by panegyrics. Among his more than thirty *mamdūḥs* we find princes of the various Bedouin dynasties that had sprung up at the time: the ʿUḳaylid Ḳirwāsh (d. 391/1001; three poems, 66-8, 130-7, 283-7), the Djarrāḥids Mufarridj b. Daghfal (d. 404/1013; four poems, 62-6, 218-25, 324-30, 360-6) and his son Ḥassān (d. after 433/1041-2; three poems, 240-50, 262-6, 375-82), and also the Kurdish Marwānid Naṣr al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān (d. 401/1011 [see naṣr al-dawla]; one poem, 333-50). The others are lesser luminaries: viziers (among them al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [*q.v.*], 82-96), *ḳāḍīs*, *kātibs*, and one fellow-poet, one Abū ʿAlī Ibn Nāfiʿ al-Ramlī (138-40). Other genres are poorly represented. Of note are four *sidjniyyāt*, written during his arrest in Cairo (104-12, 311-14, 424-7, 429-31) and three dirges written on the death of his little son (461-73 [inc. the three lines on 477], 478-86, 490-1). The first of these, some ninety lines in *kāmil* with the rhyme *-ārī*, is the most famous of his poems, often quoted or alluded to, and still well known at the present time (see ʿAṭawī's introd. to his ed. of the *Dīwān*, 5, and Brockelmann (see *Bibl.*) on an early modern commentary on it by Maḥmūd al-Sharīf).

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* has not yet been critically edited, although the number of extant mss. is quite considerable, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 478-9. The ed. Alexandria 1893 (not seen) is clearly the only basis of that of Muḥ. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh, Damascus 1384/1964, as well as that of ʿAlī Nadjīb ʿAṭawī, Beirut 1986 (quoted in the article).— Biographical and anthological sources. Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīma*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Ḳamīḥa, Beirut 1403/1983, 48-53; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv/2, Beirut 1399/1979, 537-49; Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr*, ed. Sāmī Makkī al-ʿĀnī, i, Baghdād 1390/1970, 188-99; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 378-81; Brockelmann, S I, 147; Kaḥḥāla, iii, 278, vii, 219.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TIHRĀN, the name of two places in Persia.

I. Tihrān, a city of northern Persia.
  1. Geographical position.
  2. History to 1926.
  3. The growth of Tihrān.
    (a) To *ca.* 1870.
    (b) Urbanisation, monuments, cultural and socio-economic life until the time of the Pahlavīs.
    (c) Since the advent of the Pahlavīs.

II. Tihrān, the former name of a village or small town in the modern province of Iṣfahān.

I. Tihrān, older form (in use until the earlier 20th century) Ṭihrān (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 51, gives both forms, with Ṭihrān as the head word; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 103-7, had given only the form al-Ṭihrānī), conventional European renderings Tehran, Teheran/Téhéran, etc., a city of northern Persia, a town of only moderate size and fame in earlier Islamic times, but since the end of

the 18th century the capital city of Persia (modern Iran). For speculations on the etymology of the name (none of them convincing), see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *Teheran,* at the beginning.

1. *Geographical position.*

It lies in lat. 35° 40' N., long. 51° 26' E. at an altitude of 1,158 m/3,800 feet, in a depression (*gawd*) to the south of the outer, southern spurs of the Elburz range [see ALBURZ], with the fertile Warāmīn [*q.v.*] plain, traditionally the granary of Tihrān, stretching southwards from the town's centre. To the east of the plain, a southern spur of the Elburz chain, the *Sih pāya* "tripod", forms a low barrier, and at the southern end of this lies the little town of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*]. The ruins of the great pre-Islamic and mediaeval Islamic city of Rhages or Rayy lie between Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and the historic centre of Tihrān [see AL-RAYY]. The villages on the Elburz slopes to the north of Tihrān, such as Ḳulhak (Golhak), Tadjrīsh and Shamirān, have traditionally provided summer retreats for the people of Tihrān, avoiding the summer heat which forms part of the town's continental climate; and in the 19th century Shamirān also provided Tihrān's water supply (and supplies much of it today), by means of subterranean channels (*ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], *kārīz*). All these settlements, once separate, are now however within the vast urban sprawl of contemporary Tihrān (see below, section 3b).

For all its undeniable strategic position in the corridor connecting western Persia with Khurāsān, Tihrān's geographical position is not obviously one for a capital city; other cities of Persia, in the western highland region and south of the great central deserts, have had much more significant roles in political and military affairs and in the economic and commercial life of the country. Certainly, the choice of the hitherto undistinguished town of Tihrān by Agha Muḥammad Khān in 1200/1786 as his capital (see below, section 2), in order that he might be in close touch with the Ḳādjārs' Turkmen tribal followers in the Māzandarān-Gurgān plains region, did not immediately improve either the status or the amenities of the town. All early Western travellers describe early Ḳādjār Tihrān as mean and insignificant, lacking in public buildings, with a poor water supply, and extreme climate and an eccentric position in regard to the main roads crossing northern Persia. In any cases, centrifugal forces in the country, and the ancient traditions of provincial autonomy, were still strong at this time. Only towards the middle of the 19th century did Tihrān's position improve. With regard to communications, for connections with Māzandarān and the Caspian coast a road passable only by horses and mules was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khān in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished by the English company of Lynch Brothers (150 km/95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Ḳazwīn-Tabrīz-Djulfā-Tiflīs. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Bākū and Anzalī. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Tehran and the Caspian is only 110 km/70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Mandjīl on 1 January 1890 and to Tihrān on 15 September 1899). Henceforth, the great majority of travellers took this route, which also became of considerable commercial importance. Only in the 20th century did Tihrān acquire the usual modern transport services by means of motor roads, airlines and railways (see below, section 3b).

Bibliography: Naval Intelligence, Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia,* London 1945, 39, 538-40 and index; *Camb. hist. of Iran,* i, 445-61; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. VIII. South-West Asia,* London 1966, index; W.B. Fisher, *The geography of the Middle East*[7], London 1978, 318-20.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. *History to 1926.*

It is uncertain when the name Tihrān first appears in geographical and historical literature. De Goeje, in his edition of al-Iṣṭakhrī, 209 n. *k,* proposed to identify with Tihrān the B.h.zān, B.h.tān or B.h.nān mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 379, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 369; and al-Muḳaddasī, 375. But according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān,* ed. Beirut, i, 515 (although late and not very explicit), the place Bihzān, which represented the old site of Rayy, lay 7 *farsakhs* (?) from this latter town, while the same geographer places Tihrān, as one would expect, one *farsakh* from Rayy. The earliest reference to Tihrān is provisionally that of Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma,* ed. Le Strange, 134 (written before 510/1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Tihrān, also mentioned by al-Samʿānī (in 555/1160), ix, 103. But independently of these references, the village of Tihrān must have existed before the time of Iṣṭakhrī (in 340/951-2), for al-Samʿānī mentions his ancestor Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭihrānī al-Rāzī, who died at ʿAskalān in Palestine in 261/874. According to Rāwandī's *Rāhat al-ṣudūr* (written in 599/1202), ed. Iqbál, 293, in 561/1166, the mother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Arslān, who was on her way from Rayy to Nakhčiwān, made the first stop (the regular *naḳl-i maḳām* of the Persians) "near Ṭihrān". The sultan himself occasionally stayed near Dūlāb (the name of a place to the south-east of Tihrān, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyār in his history of Ṭabaristān (written in 613/1216; abridged tr. Browne, 19), narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic, says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched at the place where "Dūlāb and Ṭihrān" now are. Eight years later, Yāḳūt gave a brief note on Tihrān which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion. It was a considerable town, with 12 quarters. As the dwelling-houses in Tihrān were built underground, and the gardens around the town had very dense vegetation, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Tihrān that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade out of fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ḳazwīnī (674/1275) compares the dwellinghouses in Tihrān to the holes of jerboas (*ka-nāfiḳāʾi ʾl-yarbūʿ*), and confirms Yāḳūt's account of the character of the inhabitants; cf. his *Āthār al-bilād,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 228.

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (*Travels,* i, 312) says in this connection that 200-300 yards from the Ḳazwīn gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden (cf. pl. 57 in Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*). This must be a reference to the old *darwāza-yi naw* (*pā-kāpuk*), to the south of which the quarter is called Ghār ("caves"). This name was also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Tihrān. As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Tihrān, see Eastwick, *Journal,* i, 294: a village to the east of the

bridge of Karadj, and Crawshay-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Rainah*, in *JRAS* (1904), 551, (1906), 217.

The growth of Tihrān was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood. The decline of Rayy dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617/1220. In the Mongol period, Tihrān is occasionally mentioned in the *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*: in 683/1284, Arghūn, after the victory gained near Aḳ-Khʷādja (= Sūmīḳān, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 173) over al-Yanaḳ, Aḥmad Takūdār's general, arrived at "Ṭihrān of Rayy" (see Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *Ṭihrān*, 38). In 694/1294 Ghāzān, coming from Fīrūzkūh, stopped at "Ṭihrān of Rayy" (Dorn, *Auszüge*, 138). According to the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (written in 740/1340; 55), Tihrān was a considerable town (*muʿtabir*), with a better climate than Rayy. Formerly (*mā ḳabl*), the inhabitants of Tihrān were very numerous. The last remark may support the hypothesis of the identity of Tihrān with B.h.zān (?).

In the Tīmūrid period, the village of "Ṭihrān of Rayy" is mentioned in 806/1403 as the place where the Shāh-zāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shaykh Čalāwī (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 572 = ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*; Dorn, *Auszüge*, 175). About the same time (6 July 1404), Tihrān (*ciudad que ha nombre Teheran*) was visited for the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish Ambassador Clavijo (ed. St. Petersburg 1881, 186, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 166). At this time, the province of Rayy was governed by Tīmūr's son-in-law, the Amīr Sulaymān-Shāh (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 591; Clavijo, 189, 351: Zuleman or Cumalexa Mirassà). He lived in Warāmin (Vatami). The town of Rayy (Xahariprey) was not inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). In the tower of Tihrān was a representative of the governor, and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits (*una posada onde el Señor suele estar quando allì venia*). Tihrān had no walls.

The Ṣafawids. Under the Ṣafawids, the capital was moved in turn from Ardabīl to Tabrīz and then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān. The district of Rayy was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it: Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Tihrān. According to Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (*Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*), the first visits of the Ṣafawids to Tihrān were due to the fact that their ancestor Sayyid Ḥamza was buried there near Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The prosperity of the town dates from Ṭahmāsp I, who in 961/1554 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*bāra*) round it which, according to the *Zīnat al-madjālis*, was a *farsakh* in length (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*: 6,000 *gām* "paces"). The wall had four gates and 114 towers, the number of the sūras of the Ḳurʾān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). The figure of 114 towers is still given in Berezin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Čāl-i Maydān and Čāl-i Ḥiṣār, which have given their names to two quarters. Aḥmad Rāḍī, himself belonging to the district of Rayy, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Tihrān and the delights of the plateau of Shamīrān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Sulaḳān (ms. Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., no. 357, fols. 436-67, the greater part of which is devoted to the great men of the old town of Rayy). According to the *Madjālis al-muʾminīn* of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869/1464 [see NŪRBAKHSHIYYA].

In 985/1577, Tihrān was the scene of the execution of Prince Mīrzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismāʿīl II of aiming at the throne. In 998/1589 Shāh ʿAbbās I, going against the Uzbek ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn Khān, fell severely ill at Tihrān (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, 275, tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah ʿAbbās the Great*, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 589), which enabled the Uzbeks to seize Mashhad. It is said that this gave Shāh ʿAbbās a great dislike for Tihrān. It is, however, from his time that the building of the palace of Čahār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Tihrān in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān. He calls it the "town of plane trees". At this time, a *beglerbegi* ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Tihrān; his jurisdiction extended as far as Fīrūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Tihrān at 3,000.

The Afghāns. On the eve of the Afghān invasion, Shāh Ḥusayn Ṣafawī made a stay in Tihrān and it was here that he received Dürri Efendi, the ambassador of the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III [*q.v.*] (at the beginning of 1720; *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810). Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Iʿtimād al-Dawla ("Athemat" of the Europeans), which precipitated the debacle; see Krusinski (publ. by Du Cerceau), *Hist. des révolutions de Perse*, Paris 1742, i, 295. Shāh Ḥusayn only returned to Iṣfahān (1 June 1721; La Mamye Clairac, *Histoire de la Perse*, Paris 1750, i, 200) to lose his throne. Ṭahmāsp II made a stay in Tihrān in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghāns, he fled to Māzandarān. European writers say that Tihrān resisted and Ashraf lost many men (Krusinski, *op. cit.*, 351; La Mamye Clairac, *op. cit.*, ii, 250; Hanway, *Historical account*, ii, 234). Some time afterwards, Tihrān fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Ḳādjār to relieve the town (see Olivier, *Voyage*, v, 89 and *Mirʾāt al-buldān*). According to this last source, the *Darwāza-yi Dawla* and *Darwāza-yi Ark* gates date from this period, for the Afghāns everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat. The reference is, of course, to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Mihmāndūst (6 Rabīʿ I 1141/20 September 1728), the Afghāns in Tihrān put to death the notables and left for Iṣfahān. The inhabitants fell upon the impedimenta which they had left and, through negligence, a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, tr. Jones, London 1770, 78). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin, and Shāh Ṭahmāsp II returned to Tihrān.

Nādir Shāh. In 1154/1741, Nādir gave Tihrān as a fief to his eldest son Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Tihrān was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince; see Jones, ii, 123; Hanway, ii, 357, 378; ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1825, 93.

During the fighting among the successors of Nādir, ʿAlī Shāh ʿĀdil (1160/1747) took refuge in Tihrān but was seized and blinded by Ibrāhīm's supporters (*Taʾrīkh-i baʿd-i Nādiriyya*, ed. O. Mann, 34). After the fall of the Nādirids, Tihrān passed into the sphere of influence of the Ḳādjārs, rivals of Karīm Khān Zand.

Karīm Khān. In 1171/1757-8, Sultan Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karīm Khān near Shīrāz, retired to Tihrān where his army was disbanded. Having learned that he had

withdrawn from Tihrān, Karīm Khān sent his best general Shaykh ʿAlī Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawalū, Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḳādjār was killed and Karīm Khān with his army (*ordu*) arrived at Tihrān in 1172/1759. The head of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The next year, the order was given to build at Tihrān a seat of government (*ʿimārat*) "which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon", a *dīwān-khāna*, a *ḥaram* and quarters for the bodyguard; cf. Ṣādiḳ Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gītī-gushā*, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Pers., no. 1374, fol. 29. Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla added to these buildings the Djannat garden, and he says that Karīm Khān intended to make Tihrān his capital. It was to Tihrān that Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳādjār, captured in Māzandarān, was taken to Karīm Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176/1762-3, however, Karīm Khān decided on Shīrāz, to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghafūr Khān was left as governor in Tihrān.

The rise of the Ḳādjārs. Karīm Khān died on 13 Ṣafar 1193/2 March 1779. By 20 Ṣafar, Āḳā Muḥammad was in Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, and the next day he ascended the throne (*djulūs*) in the vicinity of Tihrān (*Mirʾāt*, i, 525). Tihrān, however, passed into the sphere of influence of ʿAlī Murād Khān, half-brother of Djaʿfar Khān Zand (ʿAlī Riḍā Shīrāzī, *Taʾrīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, 8, 13, 25). In 1197/1783, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Tihrān, but the governor Ghafūr Khān Ṭihrānī managed to procrastinate, and an outbreak of plague forced Āḳā Muḥammad to withdraw to Dāmghān (*Mirʾāt*). After the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān (1199/1785) the town was besieged by Āḳā Muḥammad's troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*ḳalʿa*) before Āḳā Muḥammad had taken Iṣfahān. The news of the advance of Djaʿfar Khān Zand from Fārs caused Āḳā Muḥammad's troops to disperse. He was, however, received with open arms by the chiefs of Tihrān (*ḥākim wa ʿummāl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maḳarr-i salṭanat, dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khilāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Maʾāthir-i sulṭānī*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 18, Tihrān became the capital in 1200/1786 and the foundations of the palace were laid then. After the capture of Shīrāz, all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand ruler, Luṭf ʿAlī Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Tihrān, was put to death there in 1209/1794-5 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-zāde* Zayd; *ibid.*, 25, 30, 76, 82, 101.

After the assassination of Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/16 June 1797), his brother ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān appeared before the capital, but the chief minister Mīrzā Shafīʿ would not allow him to enter. In the meanwhile, the heir to the throne Bābā Khān (= Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh) was able to reach Shīrāz, and after the defeat of the second claimant Ṣādiḳ Khān Shaḳāḳī, was crowned in mid-1212/the beginning of 1798. The Shaḳāḳī [*q.v.*] prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Fatḥ ʿAlī Schah und seine Thronrivalen*, in *Sitz. A.W. Wien* [1864] ii, 1-31).

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry, a series of ambassadors visited Tihrān: on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), and Sir Gore Ouseley (1811), and on the French side, Gen. Romieu (d. at Tihrān in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), and Gen. Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabrīz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince. It was only after the treaty of Turkmančay [*q.v.*] in 1828 that the Russian minister A.S. Griboedov paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabrīz, Mīrzā Yaʿḳūb, one of the Shāh's chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Eriwān forcibly converted to Islam, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty.

This "apostasy" provoked an attack on the Russian embassy, and on 11 February 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboedov, his secretaries, Cossacks and servants). The tragedy took place in the legation's quarters (house of the *zambūrakčibashi* near the old Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate; now the street called Sar-pūlak in the Zargarābād quarter). On the death of Griboedov, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, see *sub anno* Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣiri*, Tihrān 1274/1858; Mīrzā Taḳī Khān, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳādjāriyya*, Tihrān 1273/1857, i, 221; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Taʾrīkh-i muntaẓam-i Nāṣiri*, iii, Tihrān 1301/1883, 144; *Relation des événements qui ont précédé et accompagné le massacre de la dernière ambassade russe en Perse*, in *Nouv. Annales des voyages* [1830], part 48, 337-67; Bergé, *Smert' Griboedova*, in *Russ. Starina* [1872], viii, 162-207; Malyshinsky, *Podlinnoye delo*, in *Russ. vestnik* [1890], vi, 160-233; Žukovski, *Persidskiye letopistsi*, in *Novoye Vremya* [1890], no. 5068; Allahverdiants, *Končina Griboedova po armianskim istočnikam*, in *Russ. Starina* [1901], no. 10, 44-68; V. Minorsky, "*Tsena krovi*" *Griboedova*, in *Russ. Misl.* (Prague 1923), iii, 1-15; D.P. Costello, *The murder of Griboedov*, in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, viii [1958].

When the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (19 October 1834) became known in the capital, his son ʿAlī Mīrzā Ẓill-i Sulṭān proclaimed himself king under the name of ʿĀdil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mīrzā arrived from Tabrīz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Russia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on 2 January 1835. ʿĀdil Shāh only reigned for six weeks (cf. Tornau, *Aus. d. neuesten Geschichte Persiens*, in *ZDMG* [1849], 1-15). The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident [see ḲĀDJĀR] (even after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on 1 May 1896). The history of Tihrān under these Shāhs is that of all Persia. The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine; cf. the rioting on 1 March 1861, described by Eastwick, *op. cit.*, and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persepolis*, London 1865, 625.

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs [*q.v.*], especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's life. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Tihrān; see E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 46-57.

The Constitutional Revolution. After the Persian Revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, rapidly became the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period was as follows: The *bast* [*q.v.*] of the merchants in the *Masdjid-i Shāh*, December 1905. The *bast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from 20 July to 5 August 1906. The opening of the Madjlis in the palace of Bahāristān on 7 October 1906. The heir to the throne Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā signs the constitution on 30 December 1906. Death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh on 8 January 1907. The assassination of the Atābeg Amīn al-Dawla

on 31 August 1907. Counter-manifestations by the "absolutists" from 13-19 December 1907. Bombardment of the Madjlis on 23 June 1908. Capture of Tihrān by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-i Aʿẓam of Rasht and the Sardār-i Asʿad Bakhtiyārī on 13-15 July 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh on 16 July; accession of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh on 18 July 1909. See Browne, *The Persian Revolution*; D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, 82-116; Vanessa A. Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian revolution of 1906*, London 1989; and the *Bibls.* of DUSTŪR. iv, and *EIr*, art. *Constitutional Revolution*, ii (Vanessa Martin). On the events of 12 May 1911 to 11 January 1912, information can be found in Morgan Shuster, *The strangling of Persia*, London 1912. In 1915, Tihrān became involved in the First World War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Aḥmad Shāh off to Ḳum with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper, but on several occasions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on 10 December 1915 near Rabāṭ-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Amīr Ḥishmat's gendarmes, who were on the side of the Central Powers; cf. Emelianov, *Persidskii front*, Berlin 1923). Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Tihrān. From 1918 British troops took their place; cf. L.C. Dunsterville, *The adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north. The Russian officers were dismissed on 30 October 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Ḳazwīn, where a British force under General Ironside was still quartered. On 21 February 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks, who had come from Ḳazwīn under the command of their general Riḍā Khān, occupied the capital. Sayyid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (24 February-24 May) and Riḍā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*; cf. J.M. Balfour, *Recent happenings in Persia*, London 1922). Towards the end of 1923, Aḥmad Shāh left the country, at the same time as the prime minister Ḳawām al-Salṭana (from 4 June 1921), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah. The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on 25 April 1926 [see RIḌĀ SHĀH].

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(V. MINORSKY*)

3. *The growth of Tihrān.*

(a) To *ca.* 1870.

Yāḳūt's account of the houses of Tihrān suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i.e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs). There is little left in Tihrān of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Ḳādjārs. On its antecedents, see Chahriyar Adle, *Le jardin habité ou Téhéran de jadis, des origines aux*

Safavides, in idem and B. Hourcade (eds.), *Téhéran capitale, bicentenaire*, Paris-Tehran 1992, 15-37.

Olivier, who visited Tihrān in 1796, says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (?), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000, of whom 3,000 were soldiers, and Olivier remarks with justice that "the gold scattered around the throne" did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of Āḳā Muḥammad S͟hāh. In the *Tālār-i taḵẖt-i marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Ḵẖān in S͟hīrāz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nādir S͟hāh so that the Ḳād͟jār prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Riḍā S͟hāh, the bones were taken away.

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Tihrān in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808-9) says that Tihrān was 4½-5 miles in circumference. Kinneir, about the same time, put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis, but the defences were only of value in a country where "the art of war was unknown".

Ouseley (1811) counted 6 gates in Tihrān, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40-60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8 (?) gates, before which large round towers were built (cf. his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter, the population was from 60-70,000.

Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh had considerably improved the town, but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect. According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor-looking; "not a dome" was to be seen in it. Under Muḥammad S͟hāh, things were improved a little.

Berezin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*ḏarb-i dawlat-ḵẖāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-ḵẖāna, Daftar-ḵẖāna, Kulāh-i firangī ["pavilion"], Sandūḳ-ḵẖāna, Zargar-ḵẖāna, ʿImārat-i S͟hīr-i Ḵẖurs͟hīd, Sarwistān, Ḵẖalwat-i S͟hāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Tihrān. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *ars͟hīn* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900-2,450 from north to south, i.e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles (J.E. Polak's calculation, in *Topogr. Bemerkungen z. Karte d. Umgebung und zu d. Plane v. Teheran*, in *Mitt. der K.K. Geogr. Gesell.*, xx [1877], Vienna 1878, 218-25 (with a map 1:108,000 and a plan of 1:20,700 made by Comm. Krziž in 1857-8), at p. 223, as 83,750 m^2 is obviously wrong). The citadel (*ark*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *ars͟hīn* west to east by 1,175 north to south, i.e. a fourth of the whole town). The north side of the *ark* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall. Gardens occupied the parts of the town next to the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the south-east of the citadel in the direction of the S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan. The only open space, the Maydān-i S͟hāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large (cf. the plate in Hommaire de Hell). Among the mosques, that of the S͟hāh and the *imāmzāda* of Zayd and Yaḥyā alone are of any importance. Gardane had seen the *Masd͟jid-i S͟hāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription, from the hand of the court calligrapher Muḥammad Mahdī, is dated 1224/1809, but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840 (cf. Fraser, above).

The plan by Krziž (publ. Tihrān 1857) much resembles that of Berezin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square; the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

Bibliography: See the references listed in the *Bibl.* to section 2 above, and, for the last years of the period dealt with above, Mansoureh Ettehadieh, *Patterns in urban development: the growth of Tehran (1852-1903)*, in C.E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, cultural and social change 1800-1925. Studies presented to Professor L.P. Elwell-Sutton*, Edinburgh 1983, 199 ff. (V. Minorsky)

(b) Urbanisation, monuments, cultural and socio-economic life until the time of the Pahlavīs.

(i) *Urban development*

Despite the political role evolved by the Ḳād͟jārs, Tihrān retained the appearance of a traditional Persian Islamic township until the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh (1834-48). Urban activity was centred *intra muros*, around the royal citadel of the Arg (or Ark) and the lanes of the Bāzār quarter, site of the ancient village of Tihrān, as far as the S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*] gate. Huge gardens were laid out in the very interior of the eastern quarters (ʿAwdlād͟jān, Čāla Maydān) and the western (Sangilad͟j). Besides the Arg, the town contained few large buildings. The only open public space was the small square, Maydān-i S͟hāh, between the Bāzār and the Arg, where the Russian legation was accommodated, while that of Great Britain was situated close to the S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm gate (see Moghtader, 43, and Bérézine's plan from 1842-3 [Moscow 1852]: adapted and reprinted with captions by J. Calmard [1974], 124-6; redrawn, with quarters identified by Moghtader, extra-textual plate I).

Until the mid-19th century, the majority of European observers considered Tihrān a dismal township which, with its unhealthy climate, lack of water provision and dearth of prestigious monuments could never rival the ancient Persian capitals such as Tabrīz, Iṣfahān and S͟hīrāz, and could even be supplanted as capital by other sites of royal residence.

The real promotion of the city to the status of capital was owed to the initiatives of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh (1848-96 [*q.v.*]). But transformation was very gradual. The Islamic town is still clearly visible in the plan drawn by Krziz, published in December 1858 (not in 1857) (partially inaccurate and incomplete document; see Gurney, 56, no. 21; redrawn by Moghtader, extra-textual plate II and Plan of the Arg according to Krziz, 45). This colour-coded map supplies abundant information on the nature of buildings (mosques, businesses, residences, gardens, etc.). It indicates a first step towards urbanisation, as is confirmed by the earliest register of houses (not a true census) made at the S͟hāh's behest by an anonymous individual in 1269/1852 (Ettehadieh [1983], 200; *Āmār*, 37-345). The town is divided into five quarters (*maḥalla*): Ark, ʿAwdlād͟jān, Bāzār, Sangilad͟j and Čāla Maydān. This document gives information on the social, commercial

and professional infrastructure of the quarters, especially regarding their socio-religious aspect. Buildings are divided between: houses (those of officials, *nawkars*, those of subjects, *raʿāyās*, commoners and minorities); official edifices (palace or house in the service of the crown or of the civil service, *madrasas*, numerous *takyas* (Persian *tekyes*, communal places, primarily for the celebration of S͟hīʿī mourning rituals); commercial premises (those that are in operation, those that are closed or abandoned). Each quarter is divided into *pātuḳ* (on this term, signifying primarily the place where S͟hīʿī funereal flags are stored, see Calmard [1972], 36) and *gud͟har* (passage). This register gives the names of the owners of buildings or of tenants, if the property is part of a *waḳf*, etc. One section (336-45) relates to zones in the process of urbanisation beyond the five gates of the city.

The first projects of urbanisation, in the years 1851-2, related to the quarters of the Arg and the Bāzār and included the renovation of the public square, the Sabza Maydān, formerly the Maydān-i S͟hāh (Gurney, 52). But the sovereign was still intent on the construction of prestigious buildings *extra muros*, as is illustrated in particular by the erection, in 1856, of the first state-run *takya/tekye*, the Tekye Dawlatī of Niyāwarān which was to replace the *tekye* of Muḥammad S͟hāh's vizier Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āḳāsī (Calmard [1976-7 A], 157-162). The S͟hāh, the court and the nobility continued to flee the unhealthy atmosphere of the town, especially in the summer and in particular during the cholera epidemics which had afflicted Tihrān since 1823 (see X. de Planhol, *EIr*, art. *Cholera. I. In Persia*). The diplomat Arthur de Gobineau, who spent two periods of time in Tihrān (1855-8 and 1862-3), reckoned that one-third of the inhabitants of the city died of cholera in 1856 (*Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, repr. Paris 1922, ii, 234). He noted, however, that in 1862, as a result of the S͟hāh's efforts, the city was embellished and "augmented by two substantial quarters"; the *bāzārs* were abolished and the majority of the ruins replaced by attractive buildings (A.D. Hytier, *Les dépêches diplomatiques du Comte de Gobineau en Perse*, Geneva-Paris 1959, letter dated 28 February 1862, 169).

However, during the 1850s, the city began to expand *extra muros*, as is shown by Polak's comments on another map of Tihrān and its surroundings established by Krziz. This extension took place principally towards the north, mainly in the direction of the summer palaces. Garden suburbs (Bāg͟h-i Sardār and Nigāristān) flanked the road leading from the S͟hamirān Gate to the Ḳaṣr-i Ḳād͟jār. From the Dawlat Gate, another road led to this palace via the garden-boulevard of Lālazār. Alongside another road were situated military installations, "proto-industrial" premises, a new hospital, etc. (Gurney, 56-7). Affluent new buildings were located in these zones, as well as poorer ones to the south, near the clay quarries and the brickworks. As is also noted by Polak, the city itself was choked within its delapidated walls, some quarters, such as that of Čāla Maydān, becoming unwholesome places to live (Moghtader, 44).

In the specific context of Ḳād͟jār Persia, the modernisation of Tihrān required at the very least expansion, to be achieved by the destruction of the ancient walls. While the motivation and procedure of the project remain obscure, the decision was taken in December 1867, when Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh had been in power for almost twenty years (Gurney, 51-2). Among the motives leading to this decision, the following have been evoked:

1. Demographic changes. According to a critical study of European testimony, the population of Tihrān, during the summer months, had increased from 15,000 inhabitants in the 1790s to 100,000 at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Din S͟hāh (thesis of J. Brown, Durham 1965, quoted by Gurney, 54-5). Without supplying precise figures, the report of the census of 1269/1852-3 indicates urban development close to the gates: Muḥammadiyya and S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm to the south; S͟hamirān to the north, in the extra-mural zones of Bāg͟h-i Sardār, properties of the Kalāntar, the Tak͟ht-i K͟hān, the Maḥalla-yi Barbarihā and immigrants from Afg͟hānistān (Gurney, 55).

Some fifteen years later, the report of the (incomplete) census of ʿAbd al-G͟haffār (Nad͟jm al-Mulk, later Nad͟jm al-Dawla) compiled at the very beginning of the changes, in February 1868, shows an expansion of the quarters of Čāla Maydān and Sangilad͟j, to the detriment of the gardens, and in particular a significant increase in the number of extra-mural houses, where some 15% of the population then lived, including numerous immigrants. It was also there, in the residential zones to the north of the ancient wall, that the Europeans and their embassies were to be installed (Gurney, 56 ff.).

2. Security needs. The establishment of the new quarters, especially the affluent ones to the north, required protection, to be supplied by a ditch, a rampart and twelve new gates guarded day and night. This also provided the means to control the populace, in the event of threats of revolt, tribal raids and cholera epidemics, as well as facilitating the levying of taxes on merchandise (Gurney, 59).

3. Flooding and its consequences. The new needs of urbanisation also required the development of carriageable roads and provision of water. This was problematic since, besides earthquakes and epidemics, this city, being situated on the plain at the foot of a mountain range, was subject to flooding. The catastrophic flood of May 1867 caused much damage in the north, affecting the access road to the palace, the new quarters, the gardens, the summer residence of the Russian legation, etc., as well as numerous quarters and roads extending as far as the sanctuaries of S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm. The network of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] supplying the city with water having also been damaged, and with a cholera epidemic claiming numerous victims in August, the S͟hāh, who had been making the pilgrimage to Mas͟hhad, delayed his return to the city until mid-October. By this time, the ravages of the flood had been repaired and new architectural projects partially realised (see below). But the warning had been drastic.

4. Foreign influences. The introduction of new ideas and techniques, including photography, from the 1840s onward, the creation of the Dār al-Funūn (1851-2), where teaching was given by Europeans, the multiplication of contacts with Europe, especially through the creation of new embassies, were also factors of change. Besides the demolition of the ancient walls, the modernisation of Tihrān was first imposed on the Arg quarter, to the north-east of which a large square was created, the Maydān-i Tūp-k͟hāna, centre of the renovated capital. A new gate, Darwāza-yi Nāṣirī or S͟hams al-Imāra, breaching the wall of the Arg, and a new avenue (the future K͟hiyābān-i Nāṣirī) linked the citadel to the Bāzār. Among architectural projects realised during the 1860s, the S͟hams al-Imāra palace shows a European influence, as does the Bāg͟h-i Gulistān garden, transformed by a French gardener. As for the new rampart, it was designed by the French polytechnic engineer Alexandre Buhler, a teacher at

the Dār al-Funūn, on the model of the first system of fortifications of Vauban. The 1860s were the decade of modernisation of great capitals, including Istanbul and Cairo. Major architectural achievements were displayed at the prestigious universal exhibition held in Paris in 1867, where the moderniser of Egypt, Ismāʿīl Pas͟ha, was able to visit renovated Paris, guided by Baron Haussmann. This exhibition and the renovation of Paris influenced the urbanisation of Cairo, Istanbul and, indirectly, that of Tihrān. The reformist Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟hān Mus͟hīr al-Dawla [see MUS͟HĪR AL-DAWLA], ambassador of Persia in Istanbul, attempted to persuade Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh to participate. Some Persians, including courtiers, had seen Paris and the exhibition. Photographs, paintings, engravings and other documents, sent to Tihrān, showed the changes being undertaken in the major capitals. These diverse factors may have influenced the decision of the S͟hāh (Gurney, 64 ff.).

Solemnly proclaimed, the decision of December 1867 was not implemented by the reformer Mus͟hīr al-Dawla and his supporters, who came to power in December 1870. Begun before and at the time of the floods of 1867 with the renovation of the Arg, the modernisation of the city (and dealing with the related problems of property ownership) was entrusted to conservative officials already in office: Mustawfī al-Mamālik, minister of finance, and Mīrzā ʿĪsā, vizier of Tihrān. Projects of expansion, the construction of a rampart (which had no military or defensive function) and of the twelve gates, lasted some four years, until 1288/1871-2 (Gurney, 53, 67 ff.). As is shown by the plan of ʿAbd al-G͟haffār (published in 1892), the initial intention was to mark out the new quarters with rectilinear avenues flanked by trees and streams. The most prosperous quarter was the Maḥalla-yi Darwāza Dawlat, also called Dawlat, although it was never to become the quarter occupied specifically by administrative agencies of the state nor a European or foreign enclave. In fact, the northern residential zone predominantly remained the affluent quarter, the site of diplomatic winter residences. Examination of the 1892 map, in conjunction with the registrations of 1900 to 1902-3, shows that in the new quarters, of initially modern aspect, there were created sub-quarters of traditional structure, most of them centred around the palaces of princes and of dignitaries. At the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, these new quarters were still property mostly held by the descendants of Mustawfī al-Mamālik and of Mīrzā ʿĪsā, thus illustrating the traditional social inequalities which were intensified with the growth of financial speculation (Gurney, 70-1; for the register of Ak͟hḍar ʿAlī S͟hāh, begun in 1317/1900 and concluded in 1320/1902-3, see Ettehadieh [1983], 200; and comparative table with preceding registers, 204 ff.; *Āmār*, 353-651).

In spite of governmental and private initiatives, modernisation remained limited. Always problematical, the supply of water was still operated by means of *ḳanāts* and water drawn from the Karad̲j̲ river, transported by a promenade-canal to the north of the city (from the 1840s onward). Public facilities appeared gradually: horse-tramways and street-lighting, with oil or gas (1880); carriages for hire (1891); steam railway, Tihrān to S͟hāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm (1888-93); electrification, in the palace (1887) then in the city (1908; eight years after Mas͟hhad!). The creation of a modern police-force (1879) was followed by the promulgation of the first rules regulating urban policy and utilisation of public highways (1896). The first motor cars appeared *ca.* 1900 (initially in the service of the S͟hāh). Lorry transport, organised by the Russians, began to reach Tihrān in 1910. It was also after the tumult of the Constitutional Revolution (1905-6) that, to alleviate the congestion of Tihrān, regulations were enacted for the operation of carriages. With the intensification of carriage and then of motorised traffic, during and after the First World War, other measures were taken (see Moghtader, 48; Floor, 176 ff.) Public lighting remained poor, on account of deficiencies in the gas-works installed in 1880. In spite of the introduction of electricity (1908), until 1926 lighting was predominantly supplied by oil-lamps rather than by electric bulbs (Floor, 193). The chief of the new police force (1879), the Austrian "Count Monteforte", established an office for the control of prices and a section entrusted with maintenance of the highways and the removal of horse-dung. However, the condition of the streets remained deplorable; strewn with excrement and generally unpaved, they were muddy in winter and dusty in summer. Funds allocated to paving, raised by a tax on vehicles, effected little improvement. But despite their limited effects, the initiatives taken under the Ḳād̲j̲ār government in respect of urbanisation, traffic management and public hygiene, laid the foundations of an urban infrastructure worthy of a modern city (Floor, 194 ff.).

Although its appearance had changed little under the successors of Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh, it seems that Tihrān experienced a relatively slow growth in population until the time of the Pahlawīs. But the figures are unreliable, particularly on account of seasonal migrations, fluctuating numbers of immigrants, temporary residents, etc. According to testimonies and the interpretation of reports, estimates vary. From the first "census" (ʿAbd al-G͟haffār, 1868), a population of 155,736 inhabitants has been estimated (Moghtader, 46, quoting N. Pakdaman [1974]). ʿAbd al-G͟haffār's estimate (in 1890-2) of 250,000 inhabitants, half of them living *extra muros*, is exaggerated (Moghtader, 48). A recent study has supplied more reliable numbers: 106,482 in 1883; 160,000 in 1891; 210,000 in 1922; and 310,000 in 1932. An increasing proportion of the population lived outside the walls or outside the administrative district of Tihrān. The figure of one-and-a-half million was not exceeded until 1956 (H. Zandjani, *Téhéran et sa population: deux siècles d'histoire*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 251-66, 251-2).

(ii) *Built-up space and monuments*

Compared with that of prestigious former capitals of the Persian world, the architectural appearance of Tihrān remains rather disappointing. On account of their lack of interest, through negligence or arbitrary decision, few ancient constructions have survived, as is shown by the chronology of architectural projects sketched below.

Although benefiting by the destruction of Rayy by the Mongols (1220), the decline of Warāmīn and the attention of certain potentates, this large agricultural village, "garden of troglodytes", only became an important town under the last Ilk͟hānids in the 8th/14th century. According to Clavijo, ambassador to the court of Tīmūr, in 1404, the "city" (*ciudad*) possessed one residential palace. There were also at least two other palaces and some mausolea (Adle, 23 ff.; localisation of the residential palace in the Tīmūrid park, 31). The mausolea were situated within or on the periphery of the Tīmūrid town: Buḳʿa-yi Sayyid Ismāʿīl, Imāmzāda Yaḥyā, Imāmzāda Zayd and Imāmzāda Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn (Adle, 32-3, with localisation and current state of the monuments). Under the Ṣafawids, in 1554, Ṭahmāsp I was responsible for the construction of

a Bāzār (partially covered) and a perimeter wall furnished with four gates and 114 towers (see above); frequently repaired, this wall survived until its demolition in 1868. Despite his contempt for Tihrān, Shāh ʿAbbās I had a Čahar Bāgh (garden-promenade) laid out, and constructed a palace-citadel (Arg). Shāh Sulaymān was responsible for the building of a *dīwān-khāna* where Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn received the Ottoman ambassador Dürrī Efendi in 1722 (Dhukā, 2-3; Karīmān, 120 ff.).

Despite these architectural projects, the proportion of open space broadly exceeded that of the buildings. In the 17th century, Tihrān retained its appearance of an "inhabited garden" (Adle, 35). The bone of contention between various potentates, the town and its inhabitants suffered during the Afghan interlude (1722-9), and also during the reigns of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) and of his successors, with the rivalry between the Ḳādjār tribal chieftains and Karīm Khān Zand (see above). The latter took the city from Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār in 1759 and intended to make it his capital. In 1772 he had the walls restored and built structures (*ḥaram, khilwat-khāna, dīwān-khāna*) in the Ṣafawid Arg (Karīmān, 181 ff.). It was probably he who first provided the Arg with a rampart and a ditch, apparently non-existent in the Ṣafawid period. He entrusted this work to Ustād Ghulām Riḍā-yi Tabrīzī. Unable to maintain his position in the north, he established his capital at Shīrāz in 1176/1762-3 (Dhukā, 4 ff., 17).

Āghā Muḥammad Khān was well acquainted with Tihrān where, as a very young man, he had been sent, as a prisoner, to Karīm Khān (see above). Since his return to the north and his long struggle for power, he had organised the construction of palace-gardens at Māzandarān, at Astarābād (1791) and at Sārī, with a reception-hall opening on a *tālār* (monumental porch) with columns in the style of the Ṣafawid palaces. When making Tihrān his capital (1200/1786) he laid the foundations of the monumental complex of the imperial palace of the Arg, the Kākh-i Gulistān of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his successors. He enlarged the Zand palace (Dīwān-i Dār al-Imārā), incorporating into it elements from the palace of the Wakīl (Karīm Khān), brought back from Shīrāz, and had the Arg surrounded by a ditch. To the north-east of Tihrān, beyond Damāvand, he had a garden-pavilion constructed (Dhukā, 45 ff., 111 ff.; Karīmān, 187 ff.; Scarce [1983], 333-4). But the true founders of the metropolis of Tihrān were Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his great-grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, their way of life and manner of government being reflected in the style of their capital. Unlike his uncle Āghā Muḥammad, a traditional tribal khān, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had a taste for luxury and ostentatious ceremonial and he maintained an extensive *ḥaram*. To satisfy his peripatetic predilections, appropriate to the way of life and political interests of his tribal family, in relation to Tihrān and its environs, he constructed and maintained extra-mural palatial gardens close to the northern fringes of the town (Nigāristān, 1810; Lālazar) or further afield (Sulaymāniyya, at Karadj, and in particular Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār in the Shamirānāt, 1807, which survived until the 1950s). Through piety or the need for prestige, he also endowed Tihrān with its first public buildings: the Masdjid-i Shāh, built according to the principles of traditional Persian architecture, near the northern entrance of the Bāzār, between 1808 and 1813; North Gate of the Bāzār on the Sabza Maydān adjacent to the Maydān-i Shāh; and Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Gate, the southern entrance to the city. Also owed to him are other more modest religious edifices: Masdjid Sayyid ʿAzīz Allāh (1824); Madrasa-yi Khān-i Marwī (1830); see Moghtader, 41-2, Scarce [1992], 75 ff. As for the citadel of the Arg, it seems that, from 1806 onwards, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had set about transforming or renovating, with additions, the constructions of Karīm Khān and Āghā Muḥammad Khān. These changes were modified in their turn by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in the course of the modernisations commenced in 1867. Among these architectural projects, which borrowed especially from the *tālārs* with columns of Iṣfahān, notable are: the monumental gate called Darb-i Saʿādat, also known as ʿĀlī Ḳāpū or ʿImārat-i Sardar, which opened on the garden of the throne room, Aywān-i Takht-i marmar, a monumental *tālār* sheltering an impressive marble throne, also called Takht-i Sulaymāniyya or Dīwān-khāna, serving as a reception room, much influenced by the architecture of Shīrāz under Karīm Khān; the ʿImārat-i Bādgir (palace with wind tower). Some of these constructions, as well as the Khilwat-i Karīm Khānī, were progressively incorporated into the palatial complex of the Kākh-i Gulistān, the biggest monumental structure of the Arg; the stages of the latter's construction remain uncertain. The Gulistān served as an administrative and residential centre, in winter, for Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, his extensive family and his allies (Dhukā, 47 ff.; Scarce [1983], 335 ff.; Karīmān, 201 ff.; Scarce [1991], 910 ff.; eadem [1992], 78 ff.).

Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48), with the *extra muros* development, the vizier Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī had residences and gardens built in the north (Muḥammadiyya, ʿAbbāsābād). He had a 42 km-long canal dug to convey to Tihrān some of the waters of the Karadj river. In the Arg, he built an arsenal and a *takya*, near the Russian legation, for commemorations of Muḥarram and staging of *taʿziyas* [*q.v.*]. Religious buildings were also built in Tihrān: Masdjid Ḥādjdjī Riḍā ʿAlī, Imāmzāda Ismāʿīl in the *bāzār* (Karīmān, 212; Moghtader, 42; Calmard [1974], 100 ff.). Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā also founded the quarters of the New Gate (Maḥalla-yi Darwāza-yi naw/Darvāza Muḥammadiyya) and ʿAbbāsābād, which would be populated by immigrants from Ādharbāydjān and from khānates which had fallen into Russian hands (Karīmān, 210-11).

Like Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was an energetic builder. He maintained the Ḳādjār custom of abandoning or adapting the constructions of his predecessors. His migrations to summer residences were less wide-ranging, being concentrated essentially in the Shamirānāt. The development of contacts with Europe and the travels of the Shāh, from 1873 onwards, led to innovations in the architectural projects undertaken, with the renovation of Tihrān since 1867 (see above). The three-phase renovation was applied first of all to the constructions of the Arg and the Gulistān palace, which was redesigned between 1867 and 1892, according to a plan maintaining segregation between public and private zones. In the first phase (1867-73), he was responsible for the erection of the Shams al-ʿImāra, the first five-storey building seen in Persia. Commissioned at the same time, the Takya Dawlat, a large circular edifice covered with a *velum* during religious or civil ceremonies, was built later (completed in 1873?). An *andarūn* was built behind the Takht-i Marmar. In the second phase (1873-82), he obliterated the constructions undertaken by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to the north of the palace, with the exception of the Takht-i Marmar. In their stead, he had built the imposing two-storey façade of the Gulistān palace, the

entrance hall of which, decorated with multiple mirrors, led to a large staircase of two flights, giving access to a massive rectangular chamber with alcoves. This Tālār-i Salām or Uṭāḳ-i Mūza (Museum) accommodated the S̲h̲āh's collections of heterogeneous objects. An orangery (Nārandjistān) was built and the walls of the palace decorated with ceramic tiles. In the third phase (1888-92), he ordered the construction of a new *andarūn*, the rooms of which opened on a courtyard, a private building in European style (K̲h̲ʷābgāh) and a small palace, Kāk̲h̲-i Abyaḍ. In the S̲h̲amirānāt, above and below the Ḳaṣr-i Ḳādjār, he had built, in 1888, the palaces of ʿIs̲h̲ratābād (K̲h̲ʷābgāh) and Salṭanatābād, its architectural style resembling that of the Gulistān palace. Other summer palaces were built, the northernmost being the Ṣāḥibḳirāniyya at Niyāwarān, after the obliteration of the palace constructed by Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and adapted by Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (Scarce [1991], 921 ff.; eadem [1992], 88 ff.).

Despite the sometimes ostentatious piety of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (cf. his pilgrimages to S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm where he was assassinated), his reign marks an overall decline in religious constructions. He seems to have confined himself to restoring or embellishing the constructions of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (Masdjid-i S̲h̲āh, S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm). He had two small *madrasas* built: S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn (1862); the old Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār in the Bāzār-i Marwī (1866). But the most prestigious monument, the Masdjid-Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār, was financed and constructed by two of his viziers, Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān and his brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā K̲h̲ān, between 1879 and 1890. Erected to the north-east of the new town, it constitutes one of the most successful examples of the Persian architecture of the 19th century. Although it is of classical square design, with four *aywāns*, in a break with tradition its recessed main entrance, flanked by two minarets, opens on a vestibule giving access to a huge courtyard surrounded by arcaded loggias. The façade of the southern *aywān* is dominated by four imposing minarets. Although of classical crafting, the decoration with ceramic tiles shows European influences. Numerous secular buildings were also constructed in Tihrān under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh by princes or members of the nobility. In 1878, his eldest son Masʿūd Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān had a palace constructed close to the site of the Masdjid-i Sipahsālār. Although this building has been converted to become the Ministry of Education, its entrance façade remains a fine example of Ḳādjār style (D̲h̲ukā, 122 ff. and index; Karīmān, 212 ff.; Scarce [1983], 338 ff., eadem [1991], 921 ff.; eadem [1992], 82 ff.).

The summer palace of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh constitutes the apogée of civilian architecture under the Ḳādjārs. Among his successors, only Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (1896-1907 [*q.v.*]) also undertook architectural projects, and this to a very limited extent. Decorations with ceramic tiles representing Persian motifs in a Euro-Persian style were effected in the Gulistān palace (1899). A lover of Persian gardens, he had a garden-palace constructed to the east of Tihrān, at Dus̲h̲ān Tepe, a country retreat especially favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh (Scarce [1983], 341). The Ḳādjār style, influenced to an increasing extent by Europe, recurs in numerous private or public buildings (*takyas*, in particular) erected at the expense of princes, dignitaries, merchants or other individuals or groups. Revived in public or private construction projects, these architectural vestiges have gradually disappeared, especially since the 1960s, the destruction of Ḳādjār urbanism ultimately rendering the 19th-century city unrecognisable.

(iii) *Cultural and socio-economic life*

Like the city of Rayy on which it was dependent, Tihrān must have accommodated, at a very early stage, a S̲h̲īʿī community. Its inhabitants were also renowned for their belligerent, quarrelsome and rapacious nature; rebellious towards political authority, they were particularly reluctant to pay taxes (Adle, 27 ff., criticising Karīmān, 100 ff.).

The earliest known inhabitant of Tihrān is apparently, in the 3rd/9th century, the *muḥaddit̲h̲* Muḥammad b. Hammād Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭihrānī al-Rāzī, ancestor of al-Samʿānī (Adle, 21, and above). Other *ʿulamāʾ*, as well as numerous scholars, poets, politicians, etc., have been natives of Tihrān, especially since the Ṣafawid period and under the Ḳādjārs. Besides the *nisba* Ṭihrānī or Ṭihrānī Rāzī, they are often known by the names of the villages or quarters which ultimately constituted the extended area of Tihrān: Djaybāynī, Dulābī, Durus̲h̲tī/Turus̲h̲tī, Kanī, Ḳaṣrānī, Nārmakī, etc. (see Karīmān, 455 ff.). Since the Ḳādjār period, increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from the Caspian provinces, have become Tihrānīs, but use of the *nisba*, including that of adoption, has generally disappeared.

Cultural life developed with the establishment of the political power and the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh in Tihrān, at least during the winter period. Influenced by Europe since the mid-17th century, painting was in overall decline. But alongside the production of paintings in oil on canvas according to the European technique, a reversion to Ṣafawid models is observed, especially in the miniature, painting on lacquered papier-mâché or on glass, the art of the book and ceramics. The most attractive Ḳādjār paintings are those effected on lacquered or enamelled objects. In addition to traditional designs featuring flora and fauna, the art of the portrait—of the sovereign and of leading courtiers—occupies a significant position in this pictorial corpus, especially in the decorations of palaces. Interesting productions are supplied by architecture and its related décor, in secular as well as religious buildings, and by the arts of metalwork and of textiles (produced in traditional centres, marketed and used to a certain extent in Tihrān): see B.W. Robinson, *Persian painting under the Zand and Qajar dynasties*, in *CHIr*, vii, 870-89, at 874 ff.; Scarce [1983, 1991, 1992]. But it was in particular the literary revival (*bāz gas̲h̲t-i adabī*), beginning in Iṣfahān and S̲h̲īrāz in the 18th century, and the neo-classical poetry of the court which gave the greatest lustre to the Ḳādjār dynasty (see IRĀN. vii. Literature, D). However, the poets of the Ḳādjār period were for the most part residents of towns and provinces where literary production continued to be highly prized, and Tihrān lagged far behind Kās̲h̲ān, S̲h̲īrāz, Kirmān, Tabrīz, etc. (Ettehadieh [1992], 128, 136). The literary revival coincided with an upsurge in western influence in Persia, new ideas first penetrating the court of the prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā in Tabrīz, defeated militarily by the Russians (1813, 1828). After the premature death of this reforming prince (1833), cultural life was concentrated rather in Tihrān, which assumed a predominant role largely through the development of techniques of printing (typography, more aesthetic lithography, then return to typography [see MAṬBAʿA. 3.]) and modern methods of education, particularly following the creation in Tihrān of the Dār al-Funūn, on the initiative of the vizier Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān "Amīr Kabīr" in 1268/1851 (see J. Gurney and N. Nabavi, *EIr*, art. *Dār al-funūn*).

These modern methods were to facilitate access to

numerous ancient and contemporary texts, including travel literature, memoirs, history, etc. which were at that time widely distributed. Also assisted by this development was to be the publication of translations of works into European languages which, undertaken under ʿAbbās Mīrzā in Tabrīz, would be continued in Tihrān on the initiative of the vizier Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āķāsī. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad Ḥasan K̲h̲ān T̲h̲ānī al-Dawla (later known as Iʿtimād al-Salṭana), trained at the Dar al-Funūn and then in France, was to be responsible for a department of translations. It was also in Tihrān in 1253/1837 that the first Persian newspaper appeared, the *Kāg̲h̲az-i ak̲h̲bār*, published by Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ. It lasted no more than a year or two. In 1851, Amīr Kabīr was responsible for the appearance of a kind of official periodical, published weekly, the *Wāķayiʿ-i ittifāķiyya* which became, in 1860-1, the *Rūznāma-yi dawlat-i ʿāliyya-yi Īrān*, then the *Rūznāma-yi Īrān* published by Iʿtimād al-Salṭana [see DJARĪDA. ii].

Other titles followed and publishing houses proliferated in Tihrān, as well as intellect/ual and educational activities, particularly for the benefit of women and especially in the wake of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6. Under the Ķādjārs, it was in Tihrān that the greatest number of books and journals was published, Tabrīz coming in second place (Ettehadieh [1992], 129 ff.) On literature and the press under the Ķādjārs, see in particular B. Fragner, *Persische Memoiren-literatur als Quelle zur neueren Geschichte Irans*, Wiesbaden 1979; Y. Aryanpur, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, 2 vols., Tihrān 1354/1974-5; P. Avery, *Printing, the press and literature in modern Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 815-69; M. Edjtehadi, *Zerfall der Staatsmacht Persiens unter Nāṣir ad-Dīn Schah Qāǧār (1848-1696)*, Berlin 1992; articles on Persian journals feature alphabetically, under their titles, in *EIr*).

Even before the appearance of the Persian opposition press (published abroad) criticising the autocratic power of the Ķādjārs, poets and other scholars had used their writings for the cautious expression of discontent and of demand for reforms. Criticisms of the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh were formulated by a noted courtier, Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, in his memoirs (*Rūznāma-yi k̲h̲āṭirāt*, ed. I. Afs̲h̲ār, Tihrān 1345-50/1966-71, and in a more virulent form in his polemical work intitled *K̲h̲alsa* or *K̲h̲ʷāb-nāma* (ed. Tihrān 1348/1969; see Calmard [1976-77 B], 172 ff.; Edjtehadi, *op. cit.* above; B. Alavi, *Critical writing on the renewal of Iran*, in *Qajar Iran*, 243-54, at 249-50). Originating from all quarters, criticism intensified with the constitutional movement (see below).

In an effort aimed at the centralisation of secular and religious powers, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh attempted to attract certain important Imāmī *mudjtahids* to Tihrān. But it was Iṣfahān which remained a kind of religious capital until the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, numerous Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* also residing in other religious centres in Persia and especially in the *ʿatabāt* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]; see Algar, 51 ff. When Sayyid Ḥasan Wāʿiẓ S̲h̲īrāzī established himself in Tihrān, with the approval of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, he had *takyas* converted into *madrasas* (*ibid.*, 51). However, it was with the development of popular religion, especially of S̲h̲īʿī rituals, and the spread of *takyas* designed for performances of *taʿziya-k̲h̲ʷānī* or *s̲h̲abīh-k̲h̲ʷānī* that the Tihrānīs, of diverse origins regained their social cohesion (Calmard [1976-7 B], 189). With the taste for ceremonial and diverse spectacles (popular story-tellers, clowns, puppets, theatre of traditional comic improvisation, or that inspired by or based on European models, etc.), places of such entertainment increased in Tihrān. But the Takya Dawlat, which enjoyed great success from the 1870s onward, rapidly became a symbol of the ostentatious bad taste of the Ķādjārs. Abandoned after the Constitutional Revolution, this site of religious and secular ceremonies was destroyed in 1325/1946-7 (see Calmard, *Mécénat*, ii, 141 ff.; F. Gaffary, *Les lieux de spectacle à Téhéran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 141-52; P. Chelkowski, *Popular entertainment, media and social change in twentieth-century Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 765-814). With its composite character, the population of Tihrān was the reflection of a Persian society that had been in crisis since the end of the Ṣafawid period. Although the introduction of new ideas and competition for political or religious power often took place elsewhere, it was in Tihrān that conflicts were resolved, and it was there that the often confused aspirations for change gained solid expression. Messianic themes, variously articulated among *uṣūlī* and *ak̲h̲bārī* Imāmīs, among S̲h̲ayk̲h̲īs and Ṣūfīs, and in popular religion, found their full expression in the Bābism which was firmly repressed under the government of Amīr Kabīr (1848-51) and especially in Tihrān, after the failed Bābī insurrection against Nāṣir al-Dīn (15 August 1852), followed by the schism between disciples of Ṣubḥ-i Azal [*q.v.*], designated successor of the Bāb (the Bābī Azalī movement), and supporters of Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] (the Bahāʾī movement, with modernist and universalist themes): see D. MacEoin, *EIr*, arts. *Babism* and *Bahai faith or Bahaism*.

Despite the mistrustful attitude of Imāmism towards temporal power and reforms, certain Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ* collaborated with the Ķādjār administration. This was especially evident in regard to the attribution of the post of *Imām djumʿa* of Tihrān to a trusted ally of the monarchy (Algar, 161-2). But in general, the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, who were then consolidating and politicising their leadership, were opposed to the politics of modernisation and objected in particular to the granting of concessions in the Persian economy to foreign firms, initially British ones, and then Russian or European ones after 1872. This struggle against foreign influence took concrete shape in the revolt against the granting of the monopoly on Persian tobacco to a British concessionaire after the S̲h̲āh's third visit to Europe (1889). Agitation began after the ruthless eviction of the reformist Asadābādī, known as al-Afg̲h̲ānī, from the sanctuary of S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm in January 1891. Promoted by discontented merchants and certain *ʿulamāʾ* at the *ʿatabāt*, the general boycott of the consumption of tobacco, effective throughout Persia, including in the S̲h̲āh's *andarūn*, led to the cancellation of the concession in early 1892. Agitation was maintained in Tihrān by the most respected chief of the *ʿulamāʾ*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Ās̲h̲tiyānī, acting on behalf of the *mardjaʿ-i taķlīd* [*q.v.*] Mīrzā Ḥasan S̲h̲īrāzī, in his letter denouncing the monopoly (N.R. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The Iranian tobacco protest of 1881-1892*, London 1966, index, under "Tehran"; Algar, 211 ff.).

Maintained in Tihrān by certain *ʿulamāʾ* and reformist or radical elements grouped into various associations (see M. Bayat, *EIr*, art. *Anjoman. i. Political*), agitation culminated under Muẓaffar al-Dīn S̲h̲āh [*q.v.*] in the so-called Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6. In this huge socio-religious movement there were found in Tihrān all the elements of the struggle against Ķādjār autocracy: conflicting attitudes of the pro- and anti-constitutionalist *ʿulamāʾ*; activism blended with conservatism on the part of the merchants and the "petite bourgeoisie"; ambiguity of demands, rang-

ing from an *ʿadālat-khāna* ("house of justice") to a constitution (*mashrūtiyyat*) and the establishment of an elected assembly, *madjlis*; expanded role of the press, of tracts (*shab-nāmas*); increasing presence of crowds; protests undertaken in the religious or diplomatic sanctuaries (*bast* [*q.v.*] and see also Calmard, *EIr*, art. *Bast*); etc. After the granting of a constitution and of a *madjlis*, the efforts of the constitutionalists were countered by a reaction, as much royalist as religious, under Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (1907-9 [*q.v.*]). Two religious leaders, bearing the honorific title of Āyat Allāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] supported the constitution: Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in favour of the reforms, and Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbahānī, allied to the leading merchants, opposed to customs and fiscal reform. Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī [*q.v.*] opposed the constitution. The stances adopted by political and religious leaders led to a virtual civil war between pro- and anti-constitutionalists (June 1908-July 1909, entry into Tihrān of northern revolutionaries commanded by the *Sipahdār-i aʿẓam* and of Bakhtiyārīs from Iṣfahān; and execution of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh). Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh had organised the suppression of the insurrection in Tihrān by the Cossack Brigade and ordered the closure of the Madjlis; this was re-opened by his successor Aḥmad Shāh (1909-25 [*q.v.*]) in November 1909. This second legislature was marked by disagreements within the assembly, the continuation of the civil war, principally in the north but extending as far as Tihrān, and attempts at reform (by American financial experts led by Morgan Shushter). The Russian military threat caused the departure of Shushter and the fall of the Second Madjlis (December 1911) and of the revolutionary movement, parliamentary functions passing henceforward into the hands of the bureaucracy and of landowners (see Vanessa Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982, 69 ff.).

The weakness of Persia was clearly evident during the First World War. Occupied by Russian and Turkish troops, the land was the object of rivalry between the major powers (Russia, Turkey, Germany and Great Britain) which fomented local seditions. The sovereignty of Tihrān was much reduced. Russian revolutionary movements had more effect on Ādharbāydjān (Tabrīz) or Gīlān (the Djangalī movement [*q.v.*]) than on Tihrān, where foreign domination, especially Russian and later British (Anglo-Persian Accord of 1919, never implemented) was strongly resented. The *coup d'état* of the Cossack colonel Riḍā Khān in Tihrān (February 1921) was presented by the latter as intended to save the monarchy from revolution (Abrahamian, *ibid.*, 102 ff.). The too often fickle or opportunistic character of the Tihrānī population, as revealed at the time of the dramatic events of the Constitutional Revolution and its aftermath, have sometimes been severely criticised by intellectuals. This was notably the case of the eminent poet, writer, journalist and professor Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār (1886-1951). Scion of a family of wealthy merchants from Kashān, established in Khurāsān, he set out at a very early age for Tihrān where he became both an activist and a critical observer of events. A fervent patriot, in numerous poems he expresses his hatred of Tihrān (often called Rayy in poetry), the urban milieu and the Tihrānī population, whom he accuses of weakness, immorality, inconsistency, perversity, lack of patriotism, etc. (see H. Saraj, *La notion de patrie "Vaṭan" a travers la poésie de Moḥammad Taqi Ṣaburi dit Bahâr Malek al-Šoʿarâ (1886-1951)*, diss. University of Paris III, June 1997, 181 ff., 419 ff.).

Although promoted to the status of capital, in the 1840s Tihrān occupied only the second or the third place in commercial activity, after Tabrīz (report of the British consul Abbott, in Ch. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 118). However, although the city was then above all a distributive centre for merchandise, diverse factors were to facilitate the development of its economy. As had been the case with Iṣfahān or Shīrāz, Tihrān benefited by the centralisation common to the great Persian capitals: concentration of governmental revenues ("despotic capitalism"); population movements (rural exodus); the attraction of élites, of landowners and of tribal chiefs. These factors were to enable it to emerge in the 20th century as a place of economic importance in world commerce (see E. Ehlers, *Capitals and spatial organization in Iran: Esfahan, Shiraz, Tehran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 155-72).

Bibliography (and abbreviations): On the numerous primary and secondary sources in Persian and in European languages, see the *Bibls.* of the works listed below:

C. Adle, *Le jardin habité ou Téhéran de jadis des origines aux Safavides*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 15-37; *Āmār* = S. Saʿdwandiyān and M. Ittiḥādiyya (Ettehadieh), *Āmār-i dār al-khilāfa-yi Tihrān*, Tihrān 1368; Calmard [1972] = J. Calmard, *Les étendards funéraires shiites et leurs désignations turco-mongoles*, in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques*, Paris 1972, 27-40; Calmard [1974] = idem, *Le mécénat des représentations de taʿziyé. I. Les précurseurs de Nâseroddin Châh*, in *Le monde iranien et l'islam*, ii (1974), 73-126; Calmard [1976-77 A] = idem, *Le mécénat des représentations de taʿziyé. II. Les débuts du règne de Nâseroddin Châh*, in *ibid.*, iv (1976-7), 133-62; Calmard [1976-77 B] = idem, *L'Iran sous Nâseroddin Châh et les derniers Qâjârs*, in *ibid.*, iv (1976-7); 169-94; *CHIr* = *Cambridge history of Iran*; Dhukā = Y. Dhukā, *Tārīkhā-yi sākhtumānhā-yi Arg-i salṭanatī-yi Tihrān . . .*, Tihrān 1349/1970; Ettehadieh [1983] = M. Ettehadieh, *Patterns in urban development: the growth of Tehran (1852-1903)*, in *Qajar Iran*, 199-212; Ettehadieh [1992] = M. Ettehadieh Nezam-Mafi, *The emergence of Tehran as the cultural center of Iran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 127-39; Floor = W. Floor, *Les premières règles de police urbaine à Téhéran*, in *ibid.*, 173-98; Gurney = J.D. Gurney, *The transformation of Tehran in the later nineteenth century*, in *ibid.*, 51-71; Karīmān = H. Karīmān, *Tihrān dar gudhashta wa ḥāl*, Tihrān 2535 *shāhānshāhī*/1976; *Qajar Iran* = E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, social and cultural change 1800-1925*, Edinburgh 1983; Moghtader = M.-R. Moghtader, *Téhéran dans ses murailles (1553-1930)*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 39-49; N. Nadjmī, *Dār al-khilāfa-yi Tihrān*, 2nd ed. Tihrān 1362/1983; idem, *Tihrān-i ʿahd-i Nāṣirī*, Tihrān 1364/1985; Scarce [1983] = J.M. Scarce, *The royal palaces of the Qajar dynasty: a survey*, in *Qajar Iran*, 329-44 (15 extra-textual plates); Scarce [1991] = eadem, *The role of architecture in the creation of Tehran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 73-94; Dj. Shahrī, *Tārīkh-i idjtimāʿī-yi Tihrān dar ḳarn-i sizdahum*, 6 vols. Tihrān 1367-8/1988-9; *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire* = C. Adle and B. Hourcade (eds.), *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, Paris-Tehran 1992.

(J. Calmard)

(c) Since the advent of the Pahlavīs.

On the accession of Riḍā Shāh, in 1925, the structure of Tihrān had not changed since the construction of new defensive walls during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The development of the city proceeded to the detriment of gardens and the region outside

the walls, particularly to the south of Darwāza Kār where an impoverished population lived in close proximity to the municipal brickworks. Despite the enlargement of certain streets, there were no modern buildings or avenues appropriate to the status of a capital city.

With the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, the structures of the city were radically transformed and Tihrān became in truth the capital of the country. In 1930, the Law of the Municipality (*ḳānūn-i baladiyya*) led to the realisation of the first urbanisation plan with the construction of major avenues (Law of 1312/1933), crossing the ancient urban fabric or the line of the defensive walls (Habibi, 200). Iran was also endowed with a proper government (first national budget in 1933), which entailed the hasty construction of buildings for various ministries (Foreign Affairs, War, Finance and Justice) and public services (post, rail station and archaeological museum constructed by Godard, 1936) on the old parade ground (Maydān-i Mashḳ) and to the north of the quarter of Sangiladj which was completely demolished to be replaced later, in 1950, by the Pārk-i Shahr.

The city was henceforward organised on the basis of large rectilinear avenues, oriented north-south or east-west, fringed by trees. This chequer pattern definitively shattered the cultural and social logic of the quarters of the old Islamic town; henceforward, cultural and social differentiation was determined on the basis of sectors bordered by the major avenues, the more affluent living at a higher altitude, towards the north, and the poorer towards the south, at a level where the water of the numerous *djūbs* was polluted. The urban landscape was radically transformed by the creation of a new public space, around numerous squares (*maydān*) and along avenues flanked by services (banks and administrative premises) and shops with display-windows open on the street.

For the first time, Tihrān was endowed with modern buildings, constructed by foreign professional architects (André Godard, Maxime Siroux and Nicolai Marcoff) and especially by Iranians (Mohsen Foroughi, Vartan Avasessian, Gabriel Guevrekian, Ali Sadegh and Iraj Moshiri) (Marefat, 104-22). The new dominant architecture broke with tradition. It was characterised by a monumental European style, especially German (the station) combined with a "national style" of neo-Achaemenid inspiration (Ministry of Justice) and Ḳādjār elements which remained dominant in individual houses. These urbanisation projects entailed the destruction of a vast quantity of ancient monuments, in particular most of the ancient royal palaces of the Arg (with the exception of that of Gulistān and of Shams al-Imāra), of the famous Dawlat *takiyya* and of the twelve monumental gates (photographs in Bahrambeygui, 25-7).

The city was then bordered to the south by the Shūsh avenue, the railway and the station (constructed in 1938), to the east by the Shāhbāz avenues (17 Shahrivār), to the west the Simetri avenue and to the north by the major Shāh Riḍā avenue (now called Khiyābān-i 17 Shahrivār, formerly Kh.-i Inḳilāb) which today cuts the city in two and then marked the start of the modern quarters, notably including the University of Tihrān, of which the foundation-stone was laid in 1935. Tihrān was split into two parts, with a traditional centre around the bazaar, and a modern centre between Ṭūp Khāna square (Sipāh), Lālazar avenue and the new sector of embassies and banks to the north of Embassy avenue (Firdawsī).

Riḍā Shāh abandoned the Gulistān palace for the Marble Palace, construction of which began in 1935. In summer he resided in the palaces of Saʿdābād at Tādjrish, thus contributing to the accelerated development of these aestival quarters (*yaylāḳ*) of Shamirān in the foothills of the Elburz mountains, where wealthy citizens of Tihrān had long been accustomed to seeking refuge from the heat of summer. To the east of the old Shamirān road, the avenues of Kākh and Pahlavī (Filasṭīn and Walī ʿAṣr) were constructed, fringed by plane-trees, to link these two palaces and the two parts of the city, some 10 km/6 miles apart. Towards the south, the sanctuary of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm [*q.v.*] and the lower-class town of Rayy remained separated from Tihrān by ancient clay quarries and brickworks which had been relocated towards Warāmīn, at Ḳarčak and Ḳatumābād.

Despite the opening of an international airline by the German company Junkers between 1927 and 1932, then by Lufthansa from 1938 onward (Fleury, 214, 250), Tihrān remained in 1941 an incomplete and still quite mediocre capital, poorly connected with the rest of the world. Despite the excavation in 1930 of a new canal 52 km/32 miles in length, diverting water from the Karadj river towards what is now the site of the Kishāvarz boulevard (its predecessor was constructed in 1845), the traditional areas of the town were still supplied with water by *ḳanāts* and the modern quarters by wells. Running water was not to be installed until after the inauguration of the barrages of Karadj in 1961 and of Latyān (Djādj Rūd) in 1967 (de Planhol, 62). The population of the city nevertheless increased rapidly, from 210,000 in 1922 to 540,000 in 1940, although the area of the city grew only marginally, from 24.7 ha (area enclosed within the defensive walls of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh) to 32.2 ha.

Under the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, the Iranian capital became a major international metropolis, with average annual growth in excess of 6%: 1.5 million inhabitants in 1956, 3 millions in 1966 (including Tādjrish and Rayy), 6 in 1986 (Zandjani, 252). In 1996, Greater Tihrān embraced some 10 million inhabitants including 7.5 for the city itself, henceforward surrounded by a massive suburban area. Since the 1960s, Karadj has developed very rapidly (15,000 inhabitants in 1956, 500,000 in 1991) with the influx of migrants seeking work in the new industrial zone (Bahrambeygui, 158). New towns have appeared like Islāmshahr (350,000 in 1991), Mihrshahr, Radjdjāʾīshahr and Ḳarčak, while ancient cities such as Warāmīn have expanded more slowly (Hourcade [1997], 168). The arrival in Tihrān, since the Ḳādjār period, of a substantial population originating from Ādharbāydjān has made Tihrān the biggest Azeri-speaking town of Iran. Since the 1970s, the origin of migrants has been more diverse, with the influx of numerous Kurds, especially in Karadj.

In 1972, Tihrān covered an area of 210 km², with a continuation of urban space between Tādjrish and Rayy, and was marked by a decisive social segregation between the affluent north and the impoverished south (Hourcade [1974], 36-40; Seger [1978] and [1992]. Towards the south, where many migrants congregated, development was blocked by industrial zones and by prohibitions on construction imposed by the urbanisation plan. Development of the city therefore took place towards the north, accelerated by the expansion of a new middle class and the installation of modern heating systems in houses, meaning that the summer quarters to the north of the city could be inhabited throughout the year. This movement engendered substantial property speculation which brought wealth to a new bourgeoisie (Vieille, 1970). The bazaar quarter,

inhabited by the many migrants from the provinces, rapidly became the centre of lower-class Tihrān; at the same time, what had been the modern centre at the beginning of the century was gradually abandoned by the affluent classes, while retaining its administrative function. To the north of the modern centre of the Nādirī-Istanbul avenues there developed, from 1960 onward, an American-style centre between Takht-i Djamshīd avenue (Ṭāliḳānī), site of the headquarters of the Iranian National Oil Company (NIOC) and Elizabeth II boulevard. A new modern centre was subsequently constructed between ʿAbbāsābād avenue and Vanak square. By leaving the Marble Palace and transferring to the new palace of Niyavārān in 1962, the royal family reinforced this new social geography of the city which resulted in prodigious daily shifts of population between the residential north and the centre.

The first urbanisation plan, realised in 1969 by the Victor Gruen and Farmānfarmāyān partnership, set the limits of the city (*maḥdūda*) for a period of 25 years (Hourcade [1992b], 211). To block the development of the capital towards the south, several urban clusters were envisaged in the direction of Karadj, along the piedmont. On the model of the Pārs quarter of Tihrān built in 1956 with Parsi funds from Bombay (de Planhol [1962], 71), or the programme of popular habitation of *Čahār ṣad dastgāh*, in 1947, numerous developments (*shahrak*) were constructed using public or cooperative funds: large hotels, museums, office buildings or luxury apartments, as well as more modest building projects near to the airport (Ektabān) and at Lavizān. Movement of transport within the city was guaranteed by a network of freeways, modelled on that of Los Angeles.

With the increase in oil prices in 1974, there was a new impetus to the expansion of the capital: a metro scheme was undertaken, and of particular importance was the sovereigu's decision to construct the *Shāhistān-i Pahlavī*, a new administrative, cultural and political district of international status on 554 ha of vacant, formerly military land between ʿAbbāsābād and Shamirān, according to plans drawn up by the British firm of surveyors Llewellyn Davis International. This very ambitious project threatened the development of other quarters of the city, abrogating the urbanisation plan of 1969 and exacerbating the housing crisis. In the south of the city illegal popular constructions proliferated for the accommodation of the huge numbers of new immigrants.

The Islamic Revolution, which began in provincial cities, reached Tihrān on 4 September 1978 (the day of the *ʿĪd al-fiṭr*) with the demonstration called by Āyatullāh Ṭālikānī between the Ḳaytariyya park to the north of the city and the University of Tihrān. Over more than three years, public demonstrations assembling on Shāh Riḍā Avenue (renamed Inḳilāb "Revolution") were much larger and more frequent than those which had accompanied the nationalisation of oil and the coup d'état against Muṣaddiḳ (Mosaddegh) in 1951-3, and contributed significantly to a change in the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. Although the north-south social segregation characterising the capital was not abolished, the population of the south became familiar for the first time with the modern centre and the northern quarters (visits to the residence of Āyatullāh Khumaynī at Djamārān) and changed the attitude towards public space which characterised the Islamic city (Hourcade [1980], 34). The relocation of the main political bodies and institutions (Directorate of the Islamic Republic, Presidency, Prime Ministry, Parliament and Justice) in the same quarter, around the Marble Palace, with Parliament (*Madjlis-i shūrā-yi islāmī*) in the former Senate and the Prime Minister's office in Pasteur Avenue, also revitalised the urban centre.

The Islamic Republic soon legalised the illegally constructed "revolutionary habitat" (1982), and demolished slums and shanties erected in former quarries (*gawd*) to the south of the city (Hourcade and Khosrokhavar), but major urbanisation projects, including the Shāhistān-i Pahlavī and the metro, were abandoned. The nationalisation of vacant urban land in 1981, then the introduction of a new urbanisation plan in 1992, marked the inception of a new urban policy. The construction of urban motorways was pursued, and a massive programme for the renovation of southern districts of the city was launched, with the construction of cultural centres (Bahman Centre in the former abattoirs) and sport facilities (Amir-Ebrahami [1998]), the improvement of public services and the opening in 1997 of the monumental Nawāb Avenue, giving access to the motorway leading to Ḳum and the new international airport. The destruction of old buildings in the ancient centre continues (Anwār), while the creation of numerous parks and public gardens favours the development of new public space. In the north of the city (Ilāhiyya, Niyāvarān) the construction of large tower-blocks has revolutionised the urban landscape of quarters, the social composition of which has also changed with the departure of the old imperial bourgeoisie and the arrival of new Islamic cadres. Since 1980, private cars have been banned from the city centre, between the bazaar and ʿAbbāsābād. This situation has accelerated the departure of residents and their replacement by offices, businesses, administrative premises and government agencies (*Atlas d'Iran*, 146). This new centre is the hub of the "Greater Tihrān" as defined by the new urbanisation plan of 1992, which includes the new suburbs and extends over more than 120 km from Abyak to Rudehen, and 30 km from Tādjrish to Ribāṭ Karīm; Ḳazwīn and Ḳum may now be considered suburbs of the capital (Hourcade [1997]).

With 14% of the total population of the country, Tihrān is not a city of inordinate size on the national scale, but its economic, administrative and cultural weight is excessive, since the capital accounts for a half of Iran's students, administrators and doctors and three-quarters of all industrial production (Khalīlī-Arāḳī, 54-6; Hourcade [1998], 20).

Tihrān remains a capital poor in public monuments. The infrastructure has only been developed since the 1960s and in particular since 1970, with the development of the industrial zone of Karadj, the construction of the first major hotels, modern hospitals, auditoria (Rūdakī Opera [Waḥdat]) and public buildings such as the Millī University (Shāhid Bihishtī) to the north of the city. Their architecture, sometimes original (carpet museum by Ḥasan Fatḥī), rarely benefits from a good environment and despite numerous statues in public squares, decorative monuments are rare. Those representing the Pahlavī sovereigns were demolished in 1979, often being replaced by modern sculptures (Filasṭīn Square) or those representing major historical figures (such as the statue of Rāzī erected on Kārgār Avenue in 1995). The Shāhyād Tower, constructed in 1972 near Mihrābād airport to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire, has paradoxically become very popular as a symbol of Tihrān under the name of Āzādī ("freedom") Tower.

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II. The former name of a village or small town in the modern province of Iṣfahān, in the *bakhsh* of Nadjafābād, lying to the west of that city in lat. 32° 41' N., long. 51° 08' E. in the lower Karwan district.

Al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 103-6 (cf. Yāķūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 52), knew of this Ṭihrān as "a large village at the gate of Iṣfahān", although he says that it is less known than the Ṭihrān of al-Rayy. He nevertheless lists several *ʿulamāʾ* from this Ṭihrān, the oldest of whom being the traditionist Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿUķayl b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭihrānī, d. 258/872. In more recent times, the name of this place has become Tīrān, cf. Sir A. Houtum Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irák*, London 1896, 124, 127, 131, who mentions a Tīrān canal which brings water to certain suburbs of Iṣfahān. In *ca.* 1950 Tīrān had a population of 6,100 (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, x, 52).

Bibliography: See also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 659. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ṬIHRĀNĪ, ĀGHĀ BUZURG, Twelver Shīʿī scholar and bibliographer (born Tehran 11 Rabīʿ I 1293/6 April 1876, died Nadjaf 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1389/20 February 1970. He stemmed from a merchant family. From 1315/1898 onwards he studied at Nadjaf. After the death in 1329/1911 of his teacher Shaykh Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī [*q.v.*], Āghā Buzurg went to Kāẓimayn and shortly afterwards to Sāmarrāʾ in order to study under Muḥammad Taķī al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*]. Only in 1354/1936 did he return to Nadjaf, where he remained until his death. Āgha Buzurg's renown as a man of learning is based mainly on the following two reference books:

1. *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, so far the most comprehensive and complete bibliography of works written by Shīʿīs. The new edition of Beirut 1983 is in 25 parts, contained in 28 volumes. According to the often transmitted "foundation myth", the composition of the *Dharīʿa* was provoked by the *Taʾrīkh Ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya* (4 vols., Cairo 1910-3) by the Lebanese Christian Djirdjī Zaydān [*q.v.*]. In this work the contribution of the Shīʿa to Arabic literature had allegedly not been properly appreciated. Consequently, Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (d. 1354/1935), Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ (d. 1373/1953-4) and their student Āghā Buzurg agreed to refute Zaydān's statements through appropriate publications about the Shīʿa and their culture.

While Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ composed a detailed criticism of Zaydān's work (see the note in *GAL*, S III, 407—*al-Murādjaʿāt al-rayḥāniyya* and *al-Nuķūd wa 'l-rudūd*, part ii), and Ḥasan al-Ṣadr occupied himself with the part taken by the Shīʿa in the foundation and development of Islamic learning (*Taʾsīs al-shīʿa li-ʿulūm al-islām*, Kāẓimiyya 1951; original title *al-Shīʿa wa-funūn al-islām*, Sidon 1912-13), Āghā Buzurg promised to draw up an index of Shīʿī works. For this purpose, he not only used memoirs, biographies, juridical works, library catalogues, handwritten lists of the inventories of private libraries, but also took advantage of his travels and pilgrimages to Persia (four times between 1931 and 1963, especially to Mashhad) and to Mecca in order to visit public and private libraries. On the occasion of his journey to Persia in 1931, his family name *Munzawī* ("the ascetic") was registered for the first time (cf. *al-Dharīʿa*, xv, 128); however, only his sons are known under this name.

The *Dharīʿa* contains *ca.* 70,000 Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu titles of works composed by Shīʿī authors (according to some critics the assignment of certain works to the Shīʿa is not always justified, cf. ʿAlī Naķī Munzawī, 1971, p. *lām*). The works are arranged alphabetically according to their titles; apart from bibliographical indications, each work usually comprises a summary of the contents, information about the author and, in the case of larger thematic units, introductory remarks.

In order to have this work printed, Āghā Buzurg, after returning to Nadjaf, founded the Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda. Because of unfavourable political circumstances, he was, however, forced to sell the printing office. The first three volumes appeared in Nadjaf between 1936 and 1938, while the following ones, with the exception of volumes xiii and xiv which were also published in Nadjaf, were published in Tehran by his two eldest sons ʿAlī Naķī and Aḥmad Munzawī.

2. *Ṭabaķāt aʿlām al-shīʿa*. This work, a by-product of the *Dharīʿa*, contains biographies of Shīʿī scholars, arranged alphabetically according to centuries and names of the authors. During al-Ṭihrānī's lifetime, there appeared in Nadjaf two volumes on the 13th century A.H., and four volumes on the 14th century A.H. and part of the 5th century A.H. up to Shaykh Ṭūsī. The volumes on the 4th-10th centuries A.H. were published in Beirut or Tehran by ʿAlī Naķī Munzawī between 1971 and 1984.

In addition to these works in several volumes, numerous other published and un-published writings by Āghā Buzurg have survived, including:

– *Hadiyyat al-rāzī ilā 'l-mudjaddid al-Shīrāzī*, a biog-

raphy of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], Nadjaf 1392/1972, Persian tr. Tehran 1362/1983; Āghā Buzurg's father Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī had already written in Persian a work on the tobacco protest, which included Mīrzā-yi Shīrāzī's *fatāwā* (see *Dharīʿa*, iii, 252).

– *Muṣaffā ʾl-maḳāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-ridjāl*, Tehran 1337/1958. This work contains the biographies of some 600 Shīʿī traditionists; an abridgement was published in Nadjaf in 1356/1937.

– *Tawḍīḥ al-rishād fī taʾrīkh ḥaṣr al-idjtihād* (*Dharīʿa*, iv, 493), on the restriction of *idjtihād* in Sunnī Islam.

– *al-Naḳd al-laṭīf fī nafy al-taḥrīf ʿan al-Ḳurʾān al-sharīf*. This work is, among other things, a defence of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Taḳī al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī's view, represented in *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī ithbāt taḥrīf al-kitāb* (Tehran 1298/1919) about the "forgery" [see TAḤRĪF] of the Ḳurʾān. Notwithstanding the sympathy for Āghā Buzurg and the appreciation for this work, the publication was forbidden in a *fatwā* by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ "because of the prevailing circumstances".

Āghā Buzurg established in 1954 as a *waḳf* [*q.v.*], together with a part of his house, his library with some 5,000 printed volumes and 200 manuscripts, according to Amīnī (1990), among which were a number of rare ones. Notwithstanding multiple reverses of fortune, among others the early death of his first wife, then of his first-born son and of a grandson at an early age, the imprisonment and assassination of his son Muḥammad Riḍā as a result of the fall of Muṣaddiḳ [*q.v.*] in February 1955 (see for this event, his father's remarks in *al-Dharīʿa*, x, 166-7), Āghā Buzurg pursued "with iron discipline" until the end of his days his scholarly work and other activities (such as those of *imām al-djumʿa*).

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ṬIHRĀNĪ, ḤĀDJDJĪ MĪRZĀ ḤUSAYN KHALĪLĪ (1236-1326/1821-1908), Persian *mudjtahid* noted for his role in supporting the constitutional movement of 1906-8.

He was born in Nadjaf and educated there. He began teaching at Nadjaf in the mid-1860s and rose to prominence in 1312/1894 with the death of Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the principal *mudjtahid* of the day. From then until his death in 1908, he presided over the conglomeration of *madrasas* that made up the teaching institution in Nadjaf and was accepted as *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] by Shīʿīs in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and India.

The question of constitutional rule in Persia only came to the fore during the last two or three years of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn's long life, although there had been signs of political engagement on his part as early as 1903, and in the autumn of 1905 he began writing to influential acquaintances in Tehran, urging the dismissal of Amīn al-Sulṭān, the minister whom he held responsible for the growth in Russian influence and for other related ills (Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, i, 32). His activities on behalf of the constitutionalist cause were mostly carried out in collaboration with two other influential *mudjtahids* resident in Nadjaf, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī (d. 1330/1912) and Ākhūnd Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911); the trio were collectively designated as the *ʿulamā-yi thalātha* ("the three scholars"). The first message of support they collectively sent from the relative safety of Nadjaf came during the migration to Ḳum of constitutionalists from Tehran in July 1906, and in January 1907 he signed a joint *fatwā* with his colleagues declaring it religiously incumbent (*wādjib*) for constitutional government to be established in Persia and for all Persians to obey measures passed by the Madjlis. In spring 1908, Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (d. 1909 [*q.v.*]), an influential religious leader of the capital, began agitating against the constitutionalist cause, with the result that the three scholars of Nadjaf, responding to an appeal by their colleagues in Tehran, declared it forbidden (*ḥarām*) for Nūrī, as a "worker of corruption" (*mufsid*), to be permitted any say in affairs; thus anathematised, Nūrī retorted by declaring the trio in Nadjaf to be unbelievers. As Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] was preparing to suppress the constitutional movement by force, he sent Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn and his colleagues in Nadjaf a telegram appealing to them to abandon their support of the movement because of its alleged dominance by Bābīs, but they rejected this, and on 19 June 1908 sent a message of support and encouragement to the two principal leaders of the constitutionalists in Tehran, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Bihbihānī and Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī. Their communications reached the capital two days before the bombardment of the Madjlis and the dispersion of the constitutionalists.

Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Husayn died in Kūfa on 6 November 1908. When the news of his death reached Tehran three days later, there were riotous scenes of grief: the bazaar was closed and massively-attended mourning ceremonies were held in the Masdjid-i Shāh. Given the tense political situation, it was perhaps inevitable that rumours of foul play should arise, although Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn had been ninety lunar years old when he died. It is in any event possible that his support for the constitutionalist cause was beginning to weaken precisely at the time of his death. Commenting on his passing, Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī wrote, "It is true that this great man was a supporter

of the constitution, but he was not at all pleased with this anarchy, and if he had become aware of the goals of the Europeanisers (*farangī-ma'āb-hā*), corrupt and malevolent people, he would never have given his consent and agreement to constitutionalism" (*Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrānīyān*, ii, 238), but such reports may have been inspired by a desire posthumously to exonerate him at a time when many *ʿulamāʾ* had come to regret their support of constitutionalism.

Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥusayn was not a prolific author; his whole output appears to have been restricted to a few treatises on *fiḳh*. His legacy consisted primarily of six sons and numerous students, some of whom went on to become noted scholars in their own right; and he built two mosques in the ʿAmmāra district of Nadjaf and a canal carrying drinking water to the city.

Bibliography: E.G. Browne, *The Persian revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910, 421-2; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Fawāʾid al-Ridjāl*, n.p. 1327 *sh*./1948; Mahdī Malikzāda, *Tārīkh-i inḳilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Īrān*, Tehran 1330 *sh*./1951, iii, 30-2, v, 111-13; Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Tārīkh-i muʿāṣir yā ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran 1331 *sh*./1952, ii, 358-65, iii, 32; Muḥammad Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl fī tarādjim al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-udabāʾ*, Nadjaf 1383/1964, i, 276-82; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906. The role of the ʿUlamāʾ in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; Nāẓim al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-yi Īrānīyān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī-Sīrdjānī, Tehran 1361 *sh*./1982; Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1363 *sh*./1984; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, [2]Tabrīz n.d., ii, 159-60.

(H. ALGAR)

TIK WA-TUM, a technical term in Arabic music, corresponding to the learned term *ṭāʾ*; also used in Arabic dialectic metres for the *zadjal*. It means the note struck, sharp and heavy: *a.* on the edge of the tambourine, sometimes on the little cymbal that is fixed there; *b.* on the back of the closed left hand when the hands are beaten; *c.* with the left foot on the ground when dancing.

It is one of the two terms of the fundamental metrical dualism of the popular songs in Arabic dialects (called *muwashshaḥāt* [see MUWASHSHAḤ], where between the pauses there only follow a pair of antithetic values (like the iambic of classical metres, except that the antithesis depends not on the length but on the intensity): *ṭāʾ* (usually *tik*) and *dīh* (usually *tum*); the first being the sharp and heavy blow and the latter, *dīh*, the dense and sonorous. The latter is struck on the stretched skin: *a.* at the centre of the tambourine; *b.* on the centre of the open left palm if the hands are beaten; *c.* with the right foot on the ground when dancing.

Just as classical prosody built up a series of metres by arranging long and short in varying order, so the popular Arabic prosody of the *muwashshaḥāt* built up the series of special rhythmic types (called *ḍurūb*) on differentiated series of *ṭāʾāt* and *dīhāt* with pauses between. The *maṣmūdī* rhythm, for example, may be thus written:

k, *m*, *s* / *k*, *s* / *m*, *m*, *s* /
(where *k*=*ṭāʾ*, *m*=*dīh*, *s*=silence and /=caesura).

So that the phrases in the song may coincide with the series of characteristic beats of the rhythm selected, the following rules are observed: 1) each syllable must correspond to at least one beat (*naḳra*); 2) one or more *ṭāʾāt* may be intercalated (intercalation = *ribāṭ*) in the rhythmic series; 3) but certain pauses must not be interfered with, intangible caesuras, characteristic of the rhythm (first by pause after a *dīh*, otherwise short pause after a *ṭāʾ*); 4) contrary to Arabic classical metre, we may have open syllables when the time is strong and closed when the time is weak. Martin Hartmann was therefore wrong in trying to reduce the rhythm of the *muwashshaḥāt* to the *tafāʿīl* of the Arabic classical metres. Several Oriental musicians have given tables of identification, confusing intensity and duration, so as to force the Arabic *ḍurūb* to correspond with European musical notations.

Bibliography: Kāmil Khulaʿī, *Mūsīḳī sharḳī*, Cairo n.d., 64-77; idem, *Aghānī ʿaṣriyya*, Cairo 1921; anon, *Maghānī miṣriyya*, Cairo 1911; M.O. Guindi, *Rawḍ al-musirrāt*, Cairo 1313; Shaykh Shihāb, *Safīnat al-malak wa-nafsiyyat al-falak*, Cairo 1309 (and many other editions), 9-16; the note published in *RMM*, xxxix (1920), 146-50; and see *REI* (1928), 526.

(L. MASSIGNON)

TIKRĪT [see TAKRĪT].

TILANGĀNĪ, KHĀN-I DJAHĀN [see KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAḲBŪL].

TILIMSĀN, or, according to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 44, Tinimsān, conventionally TLEMCEN, a town of western Algeria, situated in lat. 34° 53' N., long. 1° 21' W. between Oran/Wahrān [*q.v.*] to the north-east (138 km/86 miles away), Sidi bel Abbès/Sīdī Bu 'l-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] to the east (91 km/56 miles) and the Moroccan frontier (63 km/40 miles). It is at the junction of the great national route linking Tunis with Oujda/Wadjda [*q.v.*] and the "Gold and Ivory Road" connecting the Mediterranean (ports of Hunayn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] to the west and Rachgoun, the ancient Arshakūl, to the east) with Tīzīl and then Sidjilmāsa and the gates of the Sahara. At the back of the town lie the Tlemcen Mountains, which rise in stages from north to south to 1,842 m/6,040 feet, and they turn towards the sea, which is visible from the higher parts of the town at 50 km/31 miles' distance through the trough of the Tafna through the coastal chain of the Traras. The town dominates, from its altitude of 827 m/2,712 feet, the plains of Hennaya to the north and Maghnia to the east, which form the vast territory of the Haouz, watered by the Tafna, the Isser and their affluents as well as by numerous streams which cascade down from the mountain massif and which, with their perennial flow, nourish in that region olive groves, vines, large-scale and small-scale cultivation, woods and pastures.

Tilimsān is "the town of springs", sc. ʿAyn al-Ḥadjar, ʿAyn al-Ḥūt, the waterfalls of El Ourit, the underground river of the Ghār, ʿUyūn Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dinār (the vanquisher of the Berber chief Kusayla [*q.v.*]), just near Tilimsān, etc. A plausible, if not certain, etymology derives the town's name from *tilmisān*, pl. of Berber *tilmas* "spring, water-hole", and there is another one from the Zanāta words *talam* "junction" and *sān* "two", i.e. the town which brings together two opposites, the desert and the mountain (Moubarak Mili, *Hist. de l'Algérie ancienne et moderne*, Constantine 1932, ii, 348). Muslim travellers (e.g. al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. Van Leeuwen and Ferré, Tunis 1992, § 1250; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, Beirut 1989, i, 248) speak frequently of its baths and its water-mills. It has had other names, after the time of Roman Pomaria ("the Orchards"), such as Agādīr, on the site of the Roman city, where in 174/790 Idrīs I built a mosque, of which there only remains, to the east of the present town, the minaret added by the first ʿAbd al-Wādid or Zayyānid Yaghmurāsan b. Zayyān. This then became the capital of the Zanāta Banū Khazar and Banū Yaʿlā,

and was conquered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, who in 474/1081 founded, to the west of Agādīr, the town of Tākrārt (Berber "camp"). Out of the fusion of Agādīr and Tākrārt arose the present town of Tilimsān, which the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin surrounded by a strong wall in 540/1145 (al-Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣāʾ*, Casablanca 1954, ii, 65, 95; Mili, *op. cit.*, ii, 350). The Marīnids subjected it to a long siege (699-707/1299-1307), and for this siege founded an encampment-town, al-Manṣūra ("the Victorious"), to the west of the town, of which substantial vestiges remain. Tilimsān is yet again called Madīnat al-Djidār or Arḍ al-Djidār ("town, land of the Wall"), alluding to the wall in Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 76/77, 81/82, where Moses met al-Khaḍir (see al-Warthilānī, *Nuzha*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 290), and these names with *djidār* could be reflections of the name Agādīr, which is itself probably derived from Punic *gader* = Ar. *djidār*. But out of all these names, only Tilimsān has survived today.

The Zanāta Berber dynasty of Yaghmurāsan (r. 633-81/1236-83 [*q.v.*]) (see above) was the goal of attempted conquests by the Ḥafṣids of Tunis and the Marīnids of Fās. The thirty or so princes who succeeded him in Tilimsān had various fortunes in their attempts to maintain their power, allying themselves with one or another of their rivals, fighting against the Hilālī tribes but in case of need allying with them, and finally appealing to the Turks of Algiers against the Spaniards in Bougie/Bidjāya, Bône/al-ʿAnnāba, Mers el-Kebir/Marsā al-Kabīr and Oran, and agreeing to pay the Turks tribute. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad VII al-Thābitī (910-23/1504-17) had in 912/1506 to give them 12,000 ducats a year, twelve assorted horses and six falcons (Mili, *op. cit.*, ii, 365). The Turks of Algiers, under Ṣalāḥ Reʾīs, deposed the last ʿAbd al-Wādid Abū Zayyān IV al-Ḥasan and annexed Tilimsān in 962/1555, ending 319 years of the town's independence. For three centuries, Tilimsān decayed under the rule of the Beys of Algiers, years marked by struggles in the town between the indigenous Arab and Berber Ḥaḍar (who also included *Andalusiyyūn* who had fled before the Christian *Reconquista* of Spain) and the Turkish Ḳul-oghlu [*q.v.*] troops, whose unions with the local womenfolk left a permanent element in the town's demography. Then came the French occupation of Algeria, with Tilimsān first captured in 1836, returned to the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] by the Treaty of the Tafna of 30 May 1837 between him and Bugeaud, followed in 1842 by a second, definitive occupation which was to last 120 years.

Amongst the remarkably fine Islamic monuments of Tilimsān and its vicinity, one may mention the remains of the ancient walls of Agādīr, Tākrārt and al-Manṣūra; the Great Mosque of Tilimsān with its 7th/13th-century minaret; the minaret of the Great Mosque of Agādīr; the Mosque of Sīdī Bel Ḥasan, now the Museum of Islamic Art; the citadel of Mashwar, the fortified palace built by Yaghmurāsan; and the great basin (now dry) of the Ṣahrīdj (200 m × 100 m × 3 m) dug out by Abū Tāshufīn I (718-37/1318-37) allegedly to please his daughter but more probably to irrigate his gardens. The stone minaret of the mosque of al-Manṣūra is impressive, 40 m in height and with polychrome tile work, reminiscent of such great Almohad buildings as the Giralda of Seville, the Kutubiyya of Marrakesh and the Ḥasan Tower at Rabat. To the east-south-east of Tilimsān is the mosque and mausoleum of Sīdī Bū Madyan [see ABŪ MADYAN], the famous Andalusī mystic and patron saint of Tilimsān (d. in the town 594/1197), built by the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan; the saint's tomb still today remains an object of great popular devotion. Finally, to the north of the town and at the very foot of its wall is the mosque of another Andalusī mystic, Sīdī al-Ḥalwī, built by the Marīnid Abū ʿInān Fāris in 754/1353 and in construction related, in several details, to that same sultan's Bū ʿInāniyya *madrasa* at Fās.

During the French Protectorate, Tilimsān became in 1854 a *commune de plein exercice* and in 1858 the chef-lieu of an *arrondissement*. In the 1920s it had a population of *ca.* 30,000 Muslims, 6,000 Jews and 4,000 Europeans. In the present-day Algerian Republic, the population is entirely Muslim, the Jewish and European population having all emigrated to France, Israel, etc. It is today the chef-lieu of a *wilāya* or governorate of the same name, covering 8,067 km², with five *arrondissements* and half a million people. In 1987 the town itself had *ca.* 140,000 inhabitants, a population constantly rising by 3.4% annually, in part from the prosperity arising from special development programmes and the creation of institutions of higher learning (including the Imāma University, with over 5,000 students in its five institutes). Industrial development involves factories for olive oil, tanneries, spinning and manufacture of silk textiles, manufacturing gas cylinders and telephone equipment, etc., permanently employing some 4,500 people. The industrial and new housing zones have considerably expanded the town's limits and encroached upon the cultivated area of the Haouz/Ḥawz which nevertheless continues to provide employment for 2,000 people.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see the *EI*[1] art. *Tlemcen* of A. Bel, to which should be added the standard histories of Islamic North Africa by Julien, Abun-Nasr, etc.; Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Algeria*, London 1943-4, ii, 109-12; *al-Aṣāla*, Algiers, no. 26 (1975) (= special number devoted to Tilimsān); G. Michell (ed.), *Architecture of the Islamic world, its history and social meaning*, London 1978, 219; M.L. Bates, *The Ottoman coinage of Tilimsān*, in *ANS Museun Notes*, xxvi (1981), 203-14; anon. (Ibn Mahshara?), *K. al-Istibṣār*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Casablanca 1985; R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture, form, function and meaning*, Edinburgh 1994, index at 624. See also ʿABD AL-WĀDIDS.

(A. BEL-[M. YALAOUI])

AL-**TILIMSĀNĪ**, *nisba* from the Algerian town of Tilimsān [*q.v.*], to which numerous authors and scholars are attributed. Kaḥḥāla, in his *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, lists no fewer than 37 persons called (Ibn) al-Tilimsānī, usually with a more defining *nisba*, e.g. al-ʿUbbādī, al-ʿUḳbānī; or a function, al-Ḳāḍī; a specialisation, al-Faraḍī, al-Manṭiḳī; or simply, a *laḳab, kunya* or family name. Hence many of these persons should be sought under their more particular name, e.g. the historian al-Maḳḳarī, the *faḳīh* Ibn Zakrī, or the families of Ibn Marzūḳ or al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī [*q.vv.*].

Some authors can nevertheless be conveniently grouped together under the *nisba* al-Tilimsānī:

1. IBN ZĀGHŪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān AL-MAGHRĀWĪ AL-KHAZRĪ, Mālikī *faḳīh*, b. 782/1380, d. of plague at Tilimsān in 845/1441. The Andalusī author al-Ḳalṣādī (d. 891/1486 in Tunisia) had followed his courses in Tilimsān, and gives him a eulogistic notice in his *Riḥla*, celebrating his piety, modesty and asceticism, plus his vast erudition in all branches of knowledge: exegesis (he wrote a commentary on the *Fātiḥa*), Mālikī *fiḳh* (a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ), mysticism (glosses on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*), the division of inheritances (a commentary on the *Tilimsāniyya* of no. 2 below), etc. He

also gave legal decisions and thus figures in the great collections of *nawāzil* such as al-Wans̲h̲arīsī's *Miʿyār*.

Bibliography: Ḳalṣādī, *Riḥla*, ed. Boulajfan, Tunis 1978, 102; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihād̲j̲*, in margins of Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībād̲j̲*, 78 (reproduces Ḳalṣādī); Kaḥḥāla, iii, 116; Mak̲h̲lūf, *S̲h̲ad̲j̲arat al-nūr*, Cairo 1349/1931, 254 no. 921. (M. YALAOUI)

2. IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ BAKR b. ʿAbd Allāh AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Mālikī *faḳīh*, from a family originally of Was̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ (Huecas, in the region of Toledo in al-Andalus), born at Tilimsān in 609/1212, died 690/1291 or 699/1300 at Ceuta, where he had settled after studies in Malaga. At the age of 20 he composed his *urd̲j̲ūza* on the division of inheritances (*farāʾiḍ*), which became celebrated as the *Tilimsāniyya*, stimulating the writing of numerous commentaries. He was also versed in grammar, as a student of the famous Abū ʿAlī al-S̲h̲alawbīn [*q.v.*], and in prosody, on which he composed another versified treatise. He also wrote edifying eulogies of the Prophet and Companions.

Bibliography: Ibn Farḥūn, 90; al-Wādīʾās̲h̲ī, *Barnāmad̲j̲*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, Beirut 1982, 114; Bag̲h̲dādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, i, 13; Kaḥḥāla, i, 16; Mak̲h̲lūf, 202 no. 695; Brockelmann, I², 482, S I, 666.

3. SULAYMĀN B. ʿALĪ b. ʿAbd Allāh ... b. Yāsīn (? Yātīnann) AL-KŪMĪ (from a Berber tribe, the Kūmiya [*q.v.*] living in the coastland near Tilimsān, and not al-Kūfī), ʿAFĪF AL-DĪN, usually known as AL-ʿAFĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, born at Tilimsān or Damascus in 610/1213, died at Damascus in 690/1291.

He was a poet, with mystical tendencies—he had lived in the Ṣūfī *k̲h̲ānaḳāh* of Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ in Cairo—and was accused of heterodox views, including as a "*zindīḳ* of the Ṣūfīs" (al-D̲h̲ahabī), a partisan of *ittiḥād* (Ibn al-ʿImād), and even of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*] or of mainstream S̲h̲īʿism (the latter, according to the modern S̲h̲īʿī author Ḥasan al-Ṣadr). Nevertheless, there are hardly any spiritual traces to be discerned in the poetry of his cited by his biographers. However, as well as his *dīwān*, collected by al-Ṣafadī and published at Cairo in 1308/1889, he is said to have written commentaries on several mystical works, including Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, al-Niffarī's *Mawāḳif*, al-Anṣārī al-Harawī's *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* (published at Tunis), a gloss on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *tāʾiyya* called *Naẓm al-sulūk*, and *al-Kas̲h̲f wa ʾl-bayān fī maʿrifat al-insān* on a poem on the soul by Ibn Sīnā. Al-ʿAfīf was equally skilled in grammar, prosody and the religious sciences. He occupied various official positions in Syria, including that of inspector of *mukūs*, market dues, in Damascus under the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], clashing with the latter's representative over the withholding of his accounts.

Bibliography: D̲h̲ahabī, *ʿIbar*, v, 367, year 690; Ibn al-ʿImād, *S̲h̲ad̲h̲arāt*, v, 412-13; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Bidāya*, year 690; Ibn S̲h̲ākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 72-6 no. 179; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xv, 408 no. 557; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-S̲h̲īʿa*, Beirut 1981, 129; Brockelmann, I², 300, S I, 458.

4. MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN, S̲h̲ams al-Dīn, son of no. 3, called *al-S̲h̲ābb al-Ẓarīf* "the Elegant, Witty Youth", also a poet, born at Cairo in 661/1263. He predeceased his father by two years, dying in 688/1289 at Damascus, where he was an official in the treasury. For his life and works, see IBN AL-ʿAFĪF AL-TILIMSĀNĪ, to the *Bibl.* of which should now be added *Dīwān al-S̲h̲ābb al-Ẓarīf*, ed. S̲h̲ākir Hādī S̲h̲akr, Nad̲j̲af 1967 (373 pieces, totalling 2,247 verses).

(F. KRENKOW-[M. YALAOUI])

TILSAM, also *tilsim, tilism, tilasm*, etc. from the Greek τέλεσμα, a talisman, i.e. an inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms.

The sage Balīnās or Balīnūs [*q.v.*], i.e. Apollonius of Tyana (*fl.* 1st century A.D.), is said to have been the great master of talismans (*ṣāḥib al-tilasmāt*). According to tradition, he left in many towns charms for protection against storms, snakes, scorpions, etc., and there is extant a Paris manuscript of a *K. Talāsim Balīnās al-Akbar* (see BALĪNŪS, at Vol. I, 995a, and add to the *Bibl.* there Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 77-91). Many rules for preparing talismans are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, i.e. Hirmis or Hirmīs, Harmis, etc. (see HIRMIS, and add to the *Bibl.* there, Sezgin, iii, 31-44).

One of the most widespread uses of talismans was in the form of amulets, often worn on or close to the human body, and used for protective purposes. Early Arabic poetry and other literature shows that the use of amulets was found amongst the pre-Islamic Arabs, in whose poetry is mentioned e.g. the amulets (*tamāʾim*, sing. *tamīma*, or *taʿāwīd̲h̲*, sing. *taʿwīd̲h̲*) hung round children's necks to ward off the evil eye (see G. Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen nach den Quellen geschildert*, ²Berlin 1897, and ʿAYN).

The use of amulets in these and similar circumstances was absorbed into the religious life and folklore of the early Muslims, with both Islamic religious and magical elements combined in these (see below). Dervishes and beggars often did a good trade in amulets for which they claimed special efficaciousness. Thus the 4th/10th century author Abū Dulaf al-K̲h̲azrad̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] mentions beggars who wrote out talismanic charms (*ḥarraza*, i.e. wrote out *aḥrāz*, sing. *ḥirz*) and who sold to credulous S̲h̲īʿīs little clay tablets allegedly made from the earth on the tomb of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ; these would doubtless be used for amulets (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, i, 86, 87-8, 90, ii, 192, 198-9, 221, 243: the *munfid̲h̲ al-ṭīn*). In the shadow-play [see K̲H̲AYĀL AL-ẒILL] *ʿAd̲j̲īb wa-G̲h̲arīb* of Ibn Dāniyāl (later 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), the man who writes out amulets is called ʿAwwād̲h̲ al-S̲h̲armāṭ (*ibid.*, i, 128). In the next century, the ʿIrāḳī poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [*q.v.*] lists the *naffād̲h̲* or seller of amulets and images as a well-known figure amongst the swindlers who preyed on the credulous (*ibid.*, ii, 297, 319).

In more recent times, the terms most frequently used for "amulet" have been such words as *ḥurz* (Class. *ḥirz*) in the Mag̲h̲rib; *ḥid̲j̲āb* in Egypt; *ḥimāla* (cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, i, 327), *ḥāfiẓ*, *ʿūd̲h̲a*, *miʿw ad̲h̲a* amongst the Arabs of the Mas̲h̲riḳ; *yafta*, *nusk̲h̲a* and *ḥimāla* amongst the Turks; and *tilism* amongst the Persians.

Amulets are often carried in little bags, lockets or purses, which are worn round the neck or fastened to the arm or turban. Among rich people they are of gold or silver. Children are given these amulets as soon as they are forty days old; the crudest articles may be used as amulets, such as a shell, a piece of bone, sewn into leather and fastened under the left arm (see Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete, *An Arabian princess between two worlds. Memoirs, letters home, sequels to the memoirs, Syrian customs and usages*, ed. with intro E. van Donzel, Leiden 1993, 202-3). Bedouin girls have an amulet which they call *ḥurz* and prize highly; it is a book of prayers 7 cm long and 4-5 cm broad

enclosed in a gold or silver box, and is worn as a brooch.

The prayers, signs and figures on these talismans are of very different origin and their investigation offers great difficulties. We find on them divine names, names of angels, verses from the Ḳur'ān, astrological symbols, Kabbalistic letters, magic squares, signs of geomancy, figures of animals and men [see DJADWAL]. According to Muslim tradition, God has 99 names, which in reality are only epithets, such as "the Great", "the Wise", "the Knowing", "the Merciful"; some authors like al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mādja enumerate them all. (They are also given in Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique au Nord*, 200; see also J.W. Redhouse, in *JRAS* [1880], and AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ.) These names may be used as one pleases or arranged according to the numerical value of the letters composing them. Besides these, God has a name not to be spoken, which men do not know but which is revealed only to prophets and saints.

The names of the angels are also numerous. The best known are those of the four archangels Mīkhā'īl, Djabrā'īl, 'Azrā'īl and Isrāfīl, which are found on many amulets. Besides these, there is a host of others, which are given in the angelologies. There are several works of this kind in Arabic which are ascribed to suppositious authors like Andrūn or Andahriush; they contain a doctrine, which is derived from the notion of the Gnostic aeons. There are angels who preside over the planets; others preside over the months or the days of the week. Seven are given for each day; their names, barbaric in their sound, frequently appear in pairs, e.g. Ṭalīkh and Ilīkh, Ḳayṭar and Mayṭar, Ḳinṭash and Yāḳintash, a kind of combination such as we find in the Gog and Magog of the Bible and the Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj [*q.v.*] of Arab tradition. An angel very prominent in the world of magic, who presides sometimes over the planet Jupiter and sometimes over Mercury, and whom the Arabs seem sometimes to have confused with Mīkhā'il, is Meṭaṭron. He is one of the great figures in Kabbalistic literature. We find him also in the Zohar, where he fills the part of a kind of demiurge. Two other angels, who have a history of their own and are also mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, likewise appear on talismans, namely, Hārūt and Mārūt [*q.v.*]. Besides the angels, several mythical beings are also invoked, notably the seven sleepers (*Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [*q.v.*]).

Of the verses of the Ḳur'ān, the most efficacious as amulets are the short sūras CXIII and CXIV: "Say: I take refuge (*a'ūdhu*) in the lord of the dawn, etc.—Say: I take refuge in the lord of men, the king of men, etc". These two sūras are called *al-mu'awwidhatān*ⁱ ("the two who preserve"). In the first, the evil women are mentioned "who blow upon knots", it is believed that it is particularly efficacious against the ills of the flesh; the other is credited with more power against psychic afflictions. Besides these, the sūra *Yā-Sīn* is highly esteemed by pious Muslims. This is also true of the *Fātiḥa*, the *Āyat al-Kursī* (II, 256) and the throne-verse, *Āyat al-'Arsh* (IX, 130). Other verses than these are also used in special circumstances.

The astrological signs, the signs of the planets and of the zodiac are well-known; they are naturally used for talismans. We often find quite peculiar signs which may be traced to different Kabbalistic alphabets; these frequently turn out to be transformations or corruptions of Hebrew or Kūfic letters. Kabbalistic alphabets are given by Ibn al-Waḥshiyya in his *K. Shawk al-mustahām*. Small circles, or rings or ornaments are often found behind the Hebrew letters; these scrolls are called "little moons" or "crowns". According to the *Sefer Yetsīrā*, every letter in a talisman ought to have its crown (*Sepher Yetsira*, tr. M. Lambert, 114).

Geomantic figures formed by points arranged in different groups are also sometimes used. Geomancy, the Arabic *'ilm al-ramal*, is divination from points formed in sand. Four lines are drawn in the sand, points marked at regular intervals and some of them wiped out at random. The remainder form definite figures to which names and different meanings have been given. These figures are used on talismans; for further details, see RAMAL.

Magic squares (*wafk*, *wifk* [see WAFḲ]) are also often met with. They consist of 9 or 16 compartments. Usually, the same number is added to each of the 9 or 16 numbers of which they consist. This gives the thing a more learned look. Thus they begin with 9 instead of 1 and run from 9 to 24 instead of 1 to 16. Instead of numbers, letters are often written in the squares, e.g. the four letters of the name Allāh, *allh*, four times in different order. The problem of magic squares has been thoroughly studied by the Arabs, for we see from the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' that squares of 9 columns were known.

Forms of men and animals are rarely found in North Africa on talismans; but in the East we find them on amulets and charms, which have been produced under the influence of Persian art. Looking-glasses, cups and seals to which magic power is ascribed, are often adorned with them. For this purpose, figures of angels or animals, particularly griffins with human heads or the signs of the zodiac are used. A talisman which Reinaud saw represented a man drawing something out of a well; this talisman had the peculiar property of helping to locate hidden treasure. Several other examples are given in G.A. Herklots, *The customs of the Musulmans of India*, 339.

The human hand is a very popular symbol among Muslims. It is carried around the neck, cut out of gold or silver or engraved on a medallion; it is said to avert the evil eye. This charm is usually called "the hand of Fāṭima". The Shī'īs interpret the five fingers as the five saints: Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

To sum up, it may be said that the subjects used, except the verses from the Ḳur'ān, may for the most part be traced back to Gnostic or Talmudic sources. According to Arab tradition, Adam himself discovered or rather revealed the talisman. According to the *Akhbār al-zamān*, of unknown authorship, (tr. Carra de Vaux, *L'Abrégé des merveilles*, Paris 1898, 142), 'Anāḳ, the son of Adam, stole from Eve, while she slept, the charms she used to conjure spirits; but he made bad use of them. Solomon was a great magician, according to Muslim belief; his ring plays a great part in Talmudic legends and Arabian tales. The *djinnī*, who appears in the story of the fisherman in the "Arabian Nights", was confined in a vase, which had been sealed with Solomon's ring. The talisman, still known as Solomon's seal and worn by Muslims and Jews alike, represents a six-pointed star. The Berbers also, according to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, were very skilled in magic and, when they threw their talismans into the Nile, they were able to bring numerous plagues upon Egypt.

In Arabic literature, there are various treatises on the science of talismans. The most celebrated writers on this subject are Maslama al-Madjrīṭī (*ca.* 398/1007 [*q.v.*]), who brought the ideas of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' to Spain, Ibn al-Waḥshiyya, the author of the *Nabataean agriculture*, and al-Būnī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. A number of

amulets preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are ascribed—certainly wrongly—to the great theologian al-Ghazālī.

Muslim theology, which prohibits black magic and sorcery [see SIḤR], tolerates the use of amulets. They are usually prepared by dervishes, who belong to various orders, and are only of value when they are received from their hands.

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(J. RUSKA and B. CARRA DE VAUX-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TĪMĀR (P.), literally "care, attention", Tkish. equivalent *dirilik, dirlik* "livelihood", a term denoting non-hereditary prebends to sustain a cavalry army and a military-administrative hierarchy in the core provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The system of *tīmār*s was not only the underpinning of the military-administrative organisation of the empire but also the determining factor for its *mīrī* [*q.v.*] land system and for the peasants' status and taxation, as well as for its agrarian economy in the classical age, 1300-1600.

1. *Origins.*

The earliest documentary reference to the *tīmār* system dates back to Sultan Orkhan's time. *Tīmār*s distributed by ʿOthmān I to his comrades-in-arms (ʿĀshīk-Pasha-zāde, 105) appear to be rather appanages or types of *yurd*, similar to *tiyul* or *ulka* (*ülke*) in the Turcoman states of eastern Anatolia. The terms *ulka* and *yurd* survived in the same area under the Ottomans in the sense of hereditary appanage. However, already in Persia under the Saldjūḳids and in Egypt under the Mamlūks, certain characteristics of the Ottoman *tīmār* can be seen. The number of the auxiliary cavalry to be brought to the field by the *iḳṭāʿ*-holder was to be in proportion to the amount of his *iḳṭāʿ*, a practice found in the Ottoman *tīmār* system and, earlier, in the Byzantine empire. It seems that in Anatolia under the Saldjūḳids there were appanage-type *tīmār*s as well as military prebends similar to the Ottoman *tīmār*. Generally speaking, in a state in which a cash economy and a central treasury were not adequately developed, and the soldiery consisted mainly of cavalry, a feudal or prebendal system imposed itself as a necessity. The cavalry's needs could be met only in a rural environment, and tithes on grain as the main source of the state revenues could be collected and turned into cash only in a local market. Conditioned by these basic factors, such a system became prevalent in ancient Persia, the Byzantine empire, Western Europe, the Islamic states, and the Turco-Mongol states (cf. Doerfer, s.vv. *tiyul, nutug, yurd*). The Ottoman state developed its distinct *tīmār* organisation, apparently borrowing in its successive periods of expansion elements from each of these feudal systems.

In general, the horse and armour were the principal features distinguishing the professional *sipāhī* class from people engaged in economic activities subject to taxation. It was a strict rule that these two classes did not mix with each other, this being believed to be the principle of good order in society. In the Balkans, the Ottomans found a class of professional armoured cavalry in possession of *pronoïa* or *bashtina*; and considering them *sipāhī*s or a military élite, different from the tax-paying *reʿāyā*, they incorporated them into their own timariot army without any discrimination, expecting their loyalty to the sultan. In sum, *sipāhīlik*, the *sipāhī* profession and class was a prevalent idea with the Ottomans until the use of hand guns made it necessary to resort to mercenaries during the war against the Habsburgs in 1593-1606 (see İnalcık, *Transformation*). Armoured cavalry, of a type known in ancient Persia, made up the select divisions in the Il-Khānid, Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and Ṣafawid armies in Persia. Such terms in the Ottoman timariot army as *djebe* and *gedjim*, all from Mongolian, may be taken as a proof of the prevalent influence. The influence of the Byzantine *pronoïa* system may also be discerned in the later development of the Ottoman *tīmār* system, being the exact translation of the Greek *pronoïa*. On the other hand, the Ottomans came into direct contact with the Mamlūks and they must have been familiar with the *iḳṭāʿ* system.

2. *The developed system.*

As the *tīmār idjmāl* registers drawn up under Murād II demonstrate, the Ottoman *tīmār* system was already fully developed in all its basic principles and features as described in the 16th-century regulations. The typical Ottoman province was one where the *tīmār* system was in force. Those provinces whose revenues were not distributed as *tīmār*s, sc. Egypt, Baghdād, Yemen, Ḥabesh, Baṣra, Lahsā (al-Ḥasā), Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis, were *sālyāneli*. A province under a *beylerbeyi* [see EYĀLET] was divided into *sandjaḳ*s under a *sandjaḳ-beyi*, and each *sandjaḳ* into *subashīlīḳ*s or *ziʿāmet*s under a *subashī* or *zaʿīm*. One of the *zaʿīm*s was chosen and was given the title of *alay-beyi* to be responsible for all matters concerning the *sipāhī*s in the *sandjaḳ*. All of these were commanding officers bearing the title of *beg/bey*. In fact, the *sandjaḳ* was the basic administrative and military unit, but the territory of a *beylerbeyilik* could be changed by adding or taking away *sandjaḳ*s. It was a basic rule that a *sipāhī* had to stay within his initial *sandjaḳ* and changes in

his *tīmār* has to be implemented only in this *sandjak*. Transfer from one *sandjak* or *beylerbeyilik* to another was exceptional. When the campaign season started, as a rule in March or April, *čeri-bashīs* rounding up the *sipāhīs* in the *ziʿāmet* joined the *subashī*. *Subashīs* then met the *sandjak beyi*. Uniting the *sipāhīs* from the *sandjaks* under his command, the *beylerbeyi* reviewed his troops before arriving at the meeting place with the imperial army.

A reliable source, Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, in his *Hasht bihisht*, estimated the timariot army of Anatolia at 20,000 and that of Rumili at 24,000 in 1473. In these figures, obviously the auxiliary *djebelüs* (see below) were included. In the official account of 933-4/1527-8, the timariot army numbered 37,521 (for the distribution among the *beylerbeyiliks*, see Table I).

Out of 37,521 *tīmār*-holders, 9,653 were *hiṣār-eri* or guards in the fortresses and the rest *eshkündji* or cavalry participating in the campaigns. Excluding the revenue from Egypt, where the *tīmār* system was not applied, almost half of the public revenues was allocated to *tīmārs*. Each *tīmār*, *ziʿāmet* and *khāṣṣ*-holder had to bring with him a number of *djebelü* or fully-armed auxiliary horsemen to the campaign commensurate with the amount of his *tīmār* (see Table II).

Although the *Ḳānūnnāme* of ʿAlī Čawush is dated 1653, his sources must be of the period 1560-80.

The figures in Table II suggest that, in general, the number of *djebelüs* was twice as many as that of the *tīmār*-holders. It is difficult to determine the exact number of the *djebelüs* which the *tīmār*-holders had to equip and bring to the field as their retinue (see Beldiceanu, *Timar*, Tables I-III). In accordance with the regulations, a *djebelü sipāhī* enjoying small *tīmārs* as low as 730 *aḳčes* had to wear a *djebe*, a simple armour perhaps made of metal plates, but after 3,000 *aḳčes* he would wear a *bürüme* or coat of mail consisting of linked steel rings (see the photo in *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute*, 85, 90) apparently a more efficient and expensive armour.

In the *tīmār* organisation, categories were distinguished on the basis of function and heredity. Functionally, *tīmārs* were essentially divided into three categories: *khāṣṣ*, *ziʿāmet* and *tīmār*. The *khāṣṣ* (pl. *khawāṣṣ*) were of two types, *khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*, and *khawāṣṣ-i wuzerā*ʾ and *umerā*ʾ. *Khawāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* or imperial revenues, belonging theoretically to the sultan but actually within the public treasury, were basically distinguished from all the other categories. The richest and most reliable sources of revenues were reserved for this category, although it was possible to transfer them to other categories at any time. *Khawāṣṣ-i wuzerā*ʾ and *umerā*ʾ were reserved for the members of the government and provincial governors, *sandjak-beyis*/*mīrliwās* and *beylerbeyis*/*mīrimīrāns*. In the Arvanid register of 835/1432, *tīmārs* are seen categorised only as *khāṣṣ* and *tīmārs*. *Subashīs*' prebends were either called *tīmār* or *khāṣṣ*, obviously in deference to their rank in the military hierarchy rather than the amount of the *tīmār*. Only later, those *tīmārs* recorded in the *idjmāl* as 20,000 *aḳčes* are referred to as *ziʿāmet*, and their recipients as *subashī* or *zaʿīm*, i.e. commanding officer who bore the title of *beg*/*bey*. A *ziʿāmet* could go up to 100,000 *aḳčes* by additions through promotions. *Khāṣṣ* was supposed to start from 100,000 *aḳčes*, reserved for *sandjak-beyis* and *beylerbeyis*. Toward 1609, the lowest *khāṣṣ* of a *sandjak-beyi* was that of the Kurdish bey of Egil, 96,750, and the highest that of Kilis in Bosnia, 642,500. The highest *khāṣṣ* for a *beylerbeyi* was that of Diyarbekir, 1,200,660, and the lowest, that of Kıbrıs (Cyprus), 600,000 *aḳčes*.

The surveyor, responsible for drawing up the *idjmāl* register, so arranged each *khāṣṣ* and each *ziʿāmet* unit that its components, villages or shares, were dispersed in various parts of the *sandjak* or *ziʿāmet* territory. So the *sandjak-beyi* or *zaʿīm*, responsible for security, felt a personal interest in visiting various parts of his *sandjak* or *ziʿāmet*. Shares in the ordinary *tīmār* were also dispersed in different villages. In addition to security, this arrangement must have been motivated by the state's concern to prevent the *tīmār*-holder from turning the village into a personal estate. So *khāṣṣ*, *ziʿāmets* and *tīmārs* made up a mosaic throughout the *beylerbeyilik*. The *sandjak-beyi* and *zaʿīm* had to make regular tours in their area of jurisdiction, looking for wrongdoers and punishing them after obtaining a verdict from the local *ḳāḍī* by due process of law. A contingent of *sipāhīs* was left behind for security when the soldiery went to a campaign. The distribution of the fines [see RUSŪM] between these three gave rise to frequent disputes, so that the Porte had to arrange the shares in special regulations.

A *tīmār* registered in the *idjmāl* register constituted an indivisible fiscal and military unit called *ḳilidj*, which had boundaries coinciding with those of the villages included in the *tīmār*. Also, the registered peasant households within the boundaries were legally the *tīmār*-holder's *raʿiyyet*. The uncultivated land or *khālī* or waste land, and all other natural resources within the *tīmār*, could be exploited by the *tīmār*-holder, who allowed farmers from outside to settle on such lands. All of the incumbent taxes belonged to the *tīmār*-holder until a new survey or *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] was made. So, when the *tīmār*-holder had one whole village or a cluster of villages as his *tīmār*, one can speak of a *tīmār* territory. The *tīmār*-holder was called *ṣāhib-i arḍ*, or the lord of the land, and *ṣāḥib-i raʿiyyet*, or the lord of the peasants in his *tīmār*, because he had exclusive jurisdiction over the land and peasantry there with full authority to implement the stipulations of the regulations concerning *mīrī* land and *reʿāyā*. If he transgressed these laws, he was subject to investigation and dismissal. Usually peasants from a neighbouring *tīmār*-holder came to cultivate.

In this case, the law-maker ruled that personal taxes such as *čift-resmi* and *ispendje* [see RUSŪM] were paid to the *ṣāḥib-i raʿiyyet* and tithes to the *sipāhī* who had jurisdiction over the cultivated land. In case of non-payment of the tithes, he had to pay a compensation called *čift-bozan resmi* or a second tithe. The attachment of the peasant to the land was secured by the law stipulating that the *tīmār*-holder was empowered to bring back a fugitive peasant within ten (in later regulations, fifteen) years. This stipulation was designed to ensure productivity and *tīmār*-holder's income. Later on, *ḳānūns* gave more freedom in this respect. In principle, the Ottoman régime was against exploitation of peasant labour by the local authorities as well as the establishment of personal ties between the military and peasants. A *raʿiyyet* was *ḥurr*, independent in the sense that he was free to organise his productive activities, and the *tīmār*-holder could not impose any tax or forced labour against the stipulations of the law. It was true that the state maintained some pre-Ottoman feudal corvées deemed necessary for the *sipāhī* to provide hay for his horse, to work on a *sipāhī*'s *khāṣṣa čiftlik*, to build his house and to carry tithes to the market place, to mention only the main *angaryas* or corvées. However, most of these services were converted into cash payments under the Ottomans. As in the Byzantine-Balkan context, the Ottoman *tīmār* was also a fiscal unit. The *ḥāṣil*, or the grand total

TABLE I
Revenues allocated to tīmārs *in the budget of 933-34/1527-28 (in million* aḳčes)

Province	Total Revenue million *aḳčes*	Imperial *Khāṣṣ* percentage	*Ewḳāf* and *Emlāk* percentage	*Khāṣṣ; zi'āmet* and *timārs* for *beys* and *sipāhīs*	
				percentage	number
Rumeli	198.2	48	6	46	17.288
Anadolu, Karaman, Dhulkadriyye, Rum	129.6	26	17	56	16.468
Diyarbakir	22.7	31	6	63	1.071
Syria (Aleppo and Damascus)	51.8	48	14	38	2.694
Egypt	135.4	86	14	-	-
Total	537.7	51	12	37	37.521

(Based on Ö.L. Barkan, *İA*, art. *Timar.*)

TABLE II
Ḳilīdj *or* tīmār *units and* djebelüs *by* beylerbeyilik/eyālet *according to 'Alī Čawush of Sofia*

Beylerbeyilik	Foundation Date	Number of *Sandjaks*	Number of the *Tīmār*-Holders	Number of *Djebelüs*	
1. Rumeli	*ca.* 1362	24	10,187	24,813	
2. Bosna	1580	7	1,980	5,010	
3. Budin	1341	17	2,864	8,136	
4. Temeshvar	1552	6	310	2,190	
5. Anadolu	1395	14	8,619	16,381	
6. Karaman	1468-1512	7	2,500	3,500	
7. Mar'ash (Dhulkadriyye)	1522	4	2,869	3,631	
8. Sivas (Rum)	1413	7	3,937	4,063	
9. Trabzon	*ca.* 1578	2	554	1,446	
10. Kefe	1568	1	-	-	for the reference to *tīmārs*, see Beldiceanu-Steinherr *et alii, La Crimée*
11. Diyarbekir (Amid)	1515	22	4,017	13,983	see Kurdish *odjaklik* and *yurdluk tīmārs* below
12. Sham	1516	11	1,250	2,750	
13. Haleb	1516	6	1,150	2,950	
14. Erzurum	1533	11	5,618	4,382	
15. Čildir (Akhisar)	1578	13	556	1,444	
16. Kars	1580	6	819	1,681	
17. Van	1548	13	1,215	1,785	
18. Rakka and Ruha (Urfa)	1515	7	1,100	1,400	
19. Shehrizol (Shehrizor)	1560 (?)	19 (6)	590	2,410	see Mehdi Ilhan, *Shehrizol*, 184-6
20. Musil (Mawsil)	-	5	610 (?)	2,390 (?)	
21. Trablus-Sham	1516	5	610 (?)	2,390 (?)	
22. Baghdad	1535	20	980	3,520	
23. Kıbrıs	1570	8	1,800	3,200	
24. Djeza'ir-i Bahr-i Sefid	1533	13	2,320	4,680	
		248	56,455	118,135	

of the *tīmār* revenue put at the end of each *tīmār* in *idjmāl*, indicated the *tīmār* itself.

In general, the relationship between the *tīmār*-holder and villagers was an uneasy one, since each party tried to exploit to the maximum, or tried to escape the obligations. The *re'āyā*'s rights vis-à-vis the *sipāhī* were detailed in the *ḳānūnnāmes* [*q.v.*], the stipulations of which were enforced by the local *ḳāḍī*, and the *re'āyā* were also free to take their complaints directly to the sultan.

Ottoman law-makers took various measures to keep the territorial and fiscal unity of the *tīmārs* so that the number of *sipāhīs* remained stable. Each *tīmār* unit, called *ḳîlîdj*, was recorded as a separate item in the *idjmāl* register, and these units were kept unaltered as much as possible. In order to preserve the *tīmār* organisation and the number of *ḳîlîdj* units, as settled in the *idjmāl* register, the state declared certain rules. A *tīmār* unit as recorded in the register could not be partitioned and bestowed as *ḥiṣṣe*, or shares, or added in its entirety to another unit; at the death of a *tīmār*-holder the *ḥiṣṣes* could be taken away and added to other units; a *sipāhī*'s son could not get a *tīmār* in his father's lifetime except in certain special cases; in the transfer or *farāgh* of the *tīmār* to a son, only the original *ḳîlîdj* unit could be transferred. In principle, a *ḳîlîdj* unit could not be held by more than one *sipāhī*. But in practice, as may be observed in the registers of Murād II and in later ones, a *tīmār* was given *mushterek*, jointly, to more than one *sipāhī*. In that case, they went to campaigns together or each in turn (*be-newbet*). The practice of *mushterek* appears to be the result of the pressure by those waiting for *tīmārs*, as well as of the Porte's need of more men in the field.

One of the main characteristics of the Ottoman *tīmār* system, distinguishing it from western feudal practices, was that a *tīmār* was not a patrimony inherited by the heirs. However, the Ottoman law recognised the right of the son to a part of the deceased father's *tīmār* in proportion to a beginner's *tīmār*, or, to the sons jointly, to the father's *tīmār* in its entirety, a practice commonly found in the early registers (for the sons eligible for *tīmārs* in each rank, see the table in Howard, *Ottoman administration*, 97-8, 110-12).

Following their policy of *istimālet* or conciliation, the Ottomans applied modified forms of the *tīmār* system in the conquered lands. For instance, during the Balkan conquests, the Ottomans left many former Christian *pronoïa*-holders or feudal lords of the pre-Ottoman régime in their former *pronoïa* or estates as Ottoman *tīmār*-holders. Conversion to Islam was not a prerequisite to be an Ottoman *sipāhī*. The number of Christian timariots reached as high as 35% of the total *sipāhīs* in some *sandjaks*. In Anatolia, in the Ḳaramān and Dhulḳadriyye *sandjaks*, members of the *sipāhī* class were bestowed *tīmārs* whenever they declared loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. It appears that for the Ottomans, *sipāhīlik* was a universally inheritable quality. Sons of the established military families were called *odjak-zāde*.

To ensure their loyalty in his struggle against the Türkmens and Ḳîzîlbash, Selīm I recognised *mülkiyyet* or freehold rights on their *yurdluk* land, and *odjaklîk*, *ḥukūmet* or internal autonomy to the nine Kurdish *sandjak-beys* in the *beylerbeyilik* of Diyarbekir. Lesser tribal chiefs, *'ashīret beyleri* treated as *za'īms*, also enjoyed *yurdluk* and *odjaklîk* status. Their *zi'āmet* and *tīmārs* were inheritable among the family members. The *yurdluk-odjaklîk* system was applied in other *beylerbeyiliks*, to eight *sandjaks* in Van, one *sandjak* in Ḥaleb, four *sandjaks* in Čîldîr and one *sandjak* in Shehrizol, and in some areas in northern 'Irāḳ. *Yurdluk odjaklîk* was applied also among the Yörük tribes in the *beylerbeyilik* of Konya. Over the course of time, *odjaklîk tīmārs* came into being in Bosnia, too. From the end of the 16th century, because of the constant threat of invasion by the Habsburg armies, the Porte had to accept the Bosnian *sipāhīs*' demand that their *tīmārs* or *zi'āmets* should pass in heredity not only to the sons but, in the absence of a son, to other male members of the family; such *tīmār*-holding families were known as *odjak* and their *tīmārs* as *odjaklîk*. The decision granting the privilege appears to go back to the reign of Aḥmed I (1603-17), confirmed by Ibrāhīm in 1644.

On the other hand, a category of *tīmārs* called *serbest* enjoyed certain immunities. All *khāṣṣ* and *zi'āmets* belonging to *ḍābiṭs*, or those who had police authority in their jurisdiction, including *beylerbeyi*, *sandjak-beyi*, *alay-beyi*, *za'īms*, *čeribashî* (*ser-'asker*), *dizdār* and *čawush*, were of this category. They did not share with other authorities the tax revenue accruing from fines, marriage tax and income from the sale of runaway slaves [see RUSŪM]. All *yurdluk-odjaklîk tīmārs* enjoyed the same immunity.

Tīmārs and *zi'āmets* of the *arpalîk*, *ḥukūmet* and *odjaklîk* types were distinguished from the ordinary *tīmārs* and *zi'āmets* by the fact that they enjoyed some kind of autonomy under the so-called *mafrūḍ al-ḳalem* and *maḳṭū' al-ḳadem* status. That is, the taxes in their prebends were "excluded from the registers" and "the interference of the local authorities are cut" as far as the pursuit of wrong-doers and the collection of fines were concerned.

Tīmārs and *zi'āmets* of the heads of groups organised in *odjaks*, such as *yaya*, *musallam* (*müsellem*), *yörük*, *akîndjî* and *voynuk*, as well as commanders in the fortresses, were also registered under the same category of *arpalîk* since headship was transferable only within the group. *Tīmārs* bestowed on religious functionaries, including *ḳāḍīs*, *imāms*, metropolitans and bishops appear to have been of the *arpalîk* type, too, since they often succeeded in the same function with the same *tīmār*.

Other forms of the Ottoman *tīmār* adapted to local conditions were *mālikāne*, *eshkindjilü*, *be-newbet* and *mushterek tīmārs*. In need of additional troops, Meḥemmed II required those in possession of the *yurd*-like freehold or *mulk* land to equip and send auxiliary soldiery called *eshkündji* to his campaigns. These were included in the *idjmāl* registers. He was also responsible for a large-scale land reform abrogating many useless *ewḳāf* and *emlāk* lands in order to create *tīmārs* for *sipāhīs*.

A regulation determined, on the basis of the amount of the *tīmār*, the type of the equipment and the number of *djebelü*, or fully-equipped armoured horsemen and *oghlan/ghulām* or esquire a *tīmār*-holder had to bring with him to a campaign. Already towards 835/1432, these rules were fully in force. For instance, all *tīmār*-holders enjoying a *tīmār* from 1,000 or less up to 2,000 had to be present in the campaign with a *djebe*, armour, but he had to bring with him a *ghulām* when promoted to 2,000. An *oghlan/ghulām* was usually a slave captured or bought by the *sipāhī*. Apparently after a certain period of service, a *ghulām* was promoted to the *djebelü* position. Runaway *ghulāms* are often mentioned in the sources. A simple *sipāhī* had to equip one *djebelü* for each extra 3,000 *akčes* of his *tīmār*, but the commanding officers, *subashîs* and higher, enjoying a *tīmār* over 20,000 brought one *djebelü* for each 5,000 *akčes*. Thus the Ottoman *sipāhī* army was altogether an armoured cavalry force. But

when confronted by its eastern rivals, Turkmen, Persian or Mamlūk armoured cavalry armies, the Ottomans secured military superiority mainly thanks to fire-power of artillery and muskets. The *sipāhī* with 3,000 *akčes* of *tīmār* had himself to wear a *bürüme* and bring a *djebelü* with him. The one with 5,000 had to wear a *bürüme* and bring one *djebelü*, one *ghulām* and a small tent.

Over the course of time, the *sipāhīs* undoubtedly became impoverished. A *sipāhī* had to take with him all he needed in equipment and food for a campaign. In addition to the decrease in the real value of *tīmārs*, high prices for necessary equipment must have made it difficult or impossible for a timariot to participate in a distant campaign. The final blow came with the 100% inflation in the period after 1584, whereas the rate of the *tīmārs* remained unchanged (see İnalcık, *Transformation*). Ottoman archival sources speak of an increasing number of *sipāhīs* involved in exactions from their peasants and of many joining brigand bands.

It was a strict rule not to allow anybody of *re'āyā* status to become a member of the *sipāhī* class and to get a *tīmār*. However, volunteers or *gönüllü* [*q.v.*] and *gharīb-yigids* of *re'āyā* origins who came to participate in the campaigns as fighters, as well as *akîndjis* [*q.v.*] and members of the fortress garrisons, might be recommended by commanders for *tīmārs*. The pressing demand for more men during the long wars against Persia and the Habsburgs in 1578-1618 made field commanders more tolerant in this matter, and thousands of Anatolian Turks, Kurds and other elements of the *re'āyā* found their way into the privileged class of *sipāhīs*. The complaints against *edjnebīs* or outsiders were spelled out already in the imperial orders under Süleymān I. Further strict rules were then introduced to verify the *sipāhī* origin of applicants. Besides those who were legally eligible for *tīmārs*, there were *mulāzims*, that is, *ma'zūls* or dismissed *sipāhīs*, and the young sons of the *sipāhīs* who participated in the campaigns with the hope of getting a *tīmār* as well as *eli-emīrlüs* (see below). Thus those claiming *tīmārs* constituted an impatient, tumultuous host ready to join any rebellious movement against the central government. All these, and discontented *sipāhīs*, joined rebellions, such as those of Sheykh Bedr al-Dīn in 1416, Shāhkulu in 1511 and the Kîzîlbash uprisings in the 16th century. Rival Ottoman princes struggling to succeed their father under Bāyezīd II and Süleymān I promised *tīmārs* to those who supported them, and finally the *Djelālī* bands in Anatolia [see DJALĀLĪ, in Suppl.] in 1593-1609 comprised similar elements.

The reasons for dismissal from a *tīmār* included in the first place failure to participate in a campaign. A *yoklama* or roll-call was made by the *beylerbeyi* during the campaign and the register of absentees was sent to the Porte [see ISTI'RĀD, 'ARD, at Vol. IV, 268a]. 'Aynī 'Alī emphasises the crucial importance of these registers in determining which *tīmārs* became vacant and in preventing double assignments and disputes. Among other reasons for dismissal were committing a grave crime such as murder or robbery or engaging in oppressive acts against the *re'āyā*. A *ma'zūl* timariot had to participate in the campaigns under the *beylerbeyi* in *mülāzemet* or "attendance" in order to be eligible for a *tīmār* again. If he did not join the army in campaign within seven years after his dismissal, he lost his eligibility and became a simple *ra'iyyet*, subject to taxation. So *sipāhīlik*, too, was not strictly hereditary. *'Azl* or dismissal was frequently practiced by the Porte, obviously in order to provide vacancies for a host of pressing candidates and to encourage the *tīmār*-holders to be present in campaigns. However, many *sipāhīs* were unenthusiastic for distant campaigns which were too expensive for their *tīmār* income. Those Anatolian *sipāhīs* who were not present at the crucial imperial campaign of 1596 were dismissed permanently from *sipāhīlik*, which caused grave disorders in the empire. There is no evidence that, to find jobs for many *sipāhīs* waiting for vacancies, the Porte introduced a rotation system through *mülāzemet*. Discouraged because of the widespread practice of bribery and favouritism in the last decades of the 16th century, many *ma'zūls* joined other discontented or rebellious groups. At the same time, following their growing inefficiency in the field when faced with the increasing fire-power of the Habsburg armies, *sipāhīs* were replaced by the increasing number of Janissaries and *sekbān we sarīdja* mercenary troops in the campaigns, so that the *tīmār* system declined and the government channelled most of the *tīmār* revenues into the central treasury, or else these ended up in the hands of palace favourites as sinecures, or as *tīmārs* and *zi'āmets* of influential people such as *čawushes*, *müteferrikas* or *kātibs* at the Porte (see Table III).

The same source tells us that in the campaign of 1030/1621, 2,882 *čawush* and sons of *čawush*, 94 *gedikli čawush*, 681 *müteferrika* and their sons, and 522 secretaries at the Porte were in possession of *tīmārs*. This confirms the complaint that a great number of *tīmārs* went to people outside the *sipāhī* army.

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TABLE III
Timariot sipāhīs *in seventeenth-century campaigns*

Beylerbeyilik/ Eyālet	The campaign of 1025/1616	The campaign of 1030/1621	The campaign of 1065/1655
Anadolu	3,864	3,447	1,897
Karaman	814	974	639
Sivas	1,250	1,558	471
Rumeli	4,633	4,157	2,696
Others	4,306	4,922	349
Total	14,867	15,058	6,052

(Source: Barkan, *Timar*, 327.)

patched to the *beglidji kalemi*, where the final *berāt* or *nishān* or imperial diploma was prepared and delivered to the recipient of the *tīmār*. The 91 registers of the *tahwīl kalemi* cover the period 1024-1335/1615-1916. The *tīmār tahwīl* or *rūznāmče* registers number about 2,000 from Bāyezīd II's time, to be found in the Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, see D.A. Howard, *The BBA rūznāmče tasnifi*, in *TSAB*, v/10 (1985), 11-19; N. Göyünç, *Timar rûznâmçe defterleri*, in *Belleten*, lx (1996), 127-38, which contains most comprehensive documents on *tīmār* since it summarises the complete procedure of bestowal before issuing the *tedhkire* for the delivery of the final *berāt*.

The basic sources for the *tīmār* system are the *Defter-i khakānī* registers, *idjmāl defterleri* in particular, see *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi katologlar rehberi*, Ankara 1995: *Tapu tahrir defterleri*, 118-23, 253-4; *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi rehberi*, Ankara 1992, 126-42, 186-230; *idjmāl* is a register drawn up to show the distribution of the revenues among the holders of *khāṣṣ*, *zi'āmet* and *tīmār*, arranged on the basis of *tīmār* units. The earliest *idjmāl* registers in the Osmanlı Arşivi belong to the reign of Murād II; see *Hicrî 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, ed. H. İnalcık, Ankara 1954. Also V. Velčov *et alii*, *Fontes turcici historiae bulgaricae*, xx, Sofia 1974; *Hüdavendigâr livâsı tahrir defterleri*, i, ed. Ö.L. Barkan and E. Meriçli, Ankara 1988, 47-115, at 92-104, 112-15; F.M. Emecan, *XVI asırda Manisa kazası*, Ankara 1989, 288-97, 326-90; N. Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l'état Ottoman*, Wiesbaden 1980, 13-17, 102-4; S. Pulaha, *Defteri i regjistremi të sanxhakut të shkodrës i vitit 1485*, 2 vols. Tirana 1974; H. Šabanović, *Kragjiste Isa-Bega Ishakovića zbirni katastarski popis iz, 1455 godine*, Sarajevo 1964; D. Bojanić, *Vidin i Vidinskijat Sandjak prez 15-16 vek.*, Sofia 1975; *Timar tezkire defterleri*, Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul MM 17893 (Bāyezīd II's reign); *Timar ve zeâmet tevcih ve yoklama defterleri kataloğu*, 2 vols., *Fon* 10/1 and 10/2, covering the period 923-1079/1517-1668, *Divan-i Hümayun tahvil kalemi*, Kâmil Kepeci classif.; other vols. in the same collection: *Ahkâm tezkire kayıdları*, no. 2924/377, Ali Emîrî classif.; *Timar ve zeamet, Fon* 1/2, covering the period 918-1058/1512-1628; edicts and laws on *tīmār* in the *sandjak kānūnnāmes*, collected by Barkan, *XV ve XVIinci asırlarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları, I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, esp. the *Kānūnnāme* of Niğebolu, 267-71; A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnameleri ve hukukî tahlilleri*, 8 vols., Istanbul 1990-4, which includes the *sandjak kānūnnāmes* and the general *kānūnnāmes* with chapters on *tīmār*.

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TIMBUKTU or TINBUKTU, in earlier writings Timbuctoo (Fr. Tombouctou), a city of commerce and learning in West Africa, situated at lat. 16° 46' N., long. 3° 01' W., and now the administrative headquarters of the sixth region of the Republic of Mali. The earliest recorded form of the name is "Tunbuktū" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 430), or in European sources "Tenbuch" (Catalan Atlas of 1375). Al-Saʿdī (*Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*, 21), glosses the name with *al-ʿudjra*, "protuberance" or "knot", and says that "in their language" (presumably Znaga) it was the name of the slave woman who was guardian of the first nomadic camp there; later writers have glossed this as "she of the enlarged navel". However, the name may more plausibly be derived from the Znaga root *b-k-t* meaning "to be distant or hidden" (R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, Paris 1909, 198), and the feminine possessive particle *tin*.

The city lies about seven miles from the main bed of the river Niger, but only some four miles from the town of Kabara which is reached by the rising waters of the Niger between September and April, and was linked year round to a creek of the Niger by a canal in former times. During the years of greatest flood, water from the Niger reaches to the heart of Timbuktu through a meandering channel that begins a little east of Kabara. At the time of its occupation by the French in 1894, the area of permanent settlement was approximately half-a-mile from north to south and 700 yards from east to west at its widest point; the fixed population was estimated at 7-8,000, with a floating seasonal population. In 1853 Barth estimated the settled population at 13,000, and the seasonal influx at an average of 5,000. He estimated that, at its height in the 16th century, it was perhaps twice the size, but there is as yet no archaeological evidence to indicate its fullest extent. Late 18th and early 19th-century accounts speak of low walls and gates, but by Barth's day these had disappeared. Houses were (and still are) mainly made of adobe with flat roofs, often of two storeys.

Historically, Timbuktu has been a point of exchange for caravan traffic of the Sahara and waterborne traffic that reaches downstream into present-day Nigeria, and upstream through the inland delta of the Niger into the heart of Mali. Its population has always been mixed. Founded by Ṣanhādja Berbers, it was settled by Arabs from various Saharan oases (Walāta, Tuwāt, Ghadāmis), by Soninke and Dyula merchants and scholars, by Songhay initially as conquerors, and by Fulbe and Tuareg as temporary occupiers. In the early 16th century, Leo Africanus considered it a Songhay-speaking city, and Songhay is still the dominant tongue, though Arabic and Tamadjaḳ are widely used.

Al-Saʿdī places the origins of the city at the end of the 5th century of the *Hidjra*, or *ca.* 1100, but it was clearly of little importance during its first two and a half centuries of existence, as it earned no mention in the external Arabic sources until Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it. He described it as mainly inhabited by Masūfa, one of the component groups of the Ṣanhādja of the veil (*al-mulaththamūn*). It was probably Masūfa who first settled the area, moving southwards and eastwards from their Saharan ranges at a time when others of their group moved northwards with the Almoravid movement into the Maghrib and Andalusia. Indeed, Masūfa moved farther east in the late 5th/11th century to intervene in the affairs of Kawkaw (Gao [*q.v.*]) and eventually migrated into the Takidda region [*q.v.*].

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Timbuktu, the city was under Malian domination, as it had been for probably half-a-century. In about 1325, the Malian ruler *mansā* Mūsā [*q.v.*] visited the city on his way back from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had in his company an Andalusian notary and man of letters Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Sāḥilī, known as al-Ṭuwaydjin. The latter, who was from Granada, had met *mansā* Mūsā in Mecca and was persuaded to accompany him back to Mali. Although his chief attraction to the *mansā* was no doubt his knowledge of Mālikī jurisprudence, he evidently had architectural skills, for he is credited with building for Mūsā a residence in Timbuktu, as well as the Djingere-Bēr (Great Mosque).

By the end of the 8th/14th century the power of Mali was in decline, and by 837/1433-4 the city had come under the domination of a group described as "Maghsharan" Tuareg (al-Saʿdī, 22), who installed a Ṣanhādja governor. In 877/1468 the Tuareg were driven out and the city was incorporated into the rising Songhay empire under Sunni ʿAlī. Many of the Ṣanhādja *ʿulamāʾ* of Timbuktu fled to Walāta, and harsh measures were taken against some of the non-Ṣanhādja *ʿulamāʾ* who stayed behind. Timbuktu remained part of the Songhay empire from this time until 1000/1591. From 899/1493 Songhay was ruled by Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*] and his descendants, and Timbuktu entered upon a period of prosperity and growth, its *ʿulamāʾ* generally respected by the rulers and in some cases shown material marks of favour.

In 1000/1591 Timbuktu again changed masters when Songhay suffered defeat at the hands of a force sent by the Saʿdian ruler of Morocco, Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. In the preceding century it had enjoyed some measure of autonomy, since the capital of the *askiyas* was at Gao. Under the *bāshās* (the military title retained by the new rulers), the capital was Timbuktu, and again the *ʿulamāʾ* suffered. Several members of the Masūfa Aḳīt family, the leading jurisprudents of the city, whose members had filled the office of *ḳāḍī* under the *askiyas*, were exiled to Marrākush. Other scholars left volontarily. Intellectually, and to a large extent economically, Timbuktu now entered into a long period of decline. Over a period of some forty years the military oligarchy gradually shook off its ties to the Saʿdians, who were themselves in political disarray after the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1603. Thereafter and until the early 19th century, the *bāshās* maintained a weak state around the Niger river from Djenne to around Bamba (in the early days, to a little beyond Gao), with their headquarters at Timbuktu. Arabic sources refer to them as *rumāt* ("arquebusiers"), and with the passing of time, their descendants evolved into a distinct social class and their name passed into Songhay as *arma*.

The state they ruled over was weak and a prey to attack by Tuareg of the Sahara, and later, in the 18th century, by Bambara from the south-west and by Fulbe. Members of the Moroccan and Andalusian divisions that made up the *rumāt* quarrelled among themselves and there were frequent changes of *bāshā* and subordinate officers; between 1591 and 1832 there were no less than 242 holders of the office, some individuals having multiple tenures. The 18th century was marked by ecological stress producing famines and epidemics which spawned a scramble for scarce resources. Late in that century, the Bambara kingdom of Segu [*q.v.*] harrassed the western reaches of the Bāshalik, but could not hold any part of its territory. Similarly, the Kel Tadmekkat Tuareg har-

rassed Timbuktu on several occasions, most notably in 1770-1 when a siege of the town was only lifted after the intervention of the Ḳādiriyya *shaykh* and scholar al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī [see KUNTA].

In 1826 the rising Fulbe state of Masina under Shaykh Aḥmad Lobbo [*q.v.*] took control of the city, but in 1844 the Tuareg forced them out temporarily. Two years later, having used their power to deny grain imports to Timbuktu from the inland delta region, the Fulbe regained control, but the agreement brokered by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī, grandson of al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, while involving tribute, stopped short of military occupation. When the Tukulor Tidjānī conqueror al-Ḥādjdj 'Umar [*q.v.*] defeated the Fulbe of Masina in 1862, al-Bakkā'ī defended the independence of Timbuktu, and in 1864 he besieged Ḥamdullāhi together with Fulbe forces. His clan continued to dominate the affairs of Timbuktu for a while, but by the time of the French occupation in 1893-4 they had withdrawn to the Azawād, leaving various Tuareg groups in control of the city's hinterland, and the city itself an easy prey.

French rule lasted until Malian independence in 1960, and Timbuktu was the headquarters of a *cercle*. Though trans-Saharan trade atrophied, salt caravans (*azalai*) continued to come in from Taoudeni. Since 1960 the city has survived mainly as a tourist attraction, though drought and a long Tuareg rebellion, ended only in 1996, have taken their toll. An archive and research centre, the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmad Baba, was established there in the early 1970s and has collected over 6,000 Arabic manuscripts (see J.O. Hunwick in *Sudanic Africa*, iii [1992], 173-81).

In European writing, Timbuktu became a fabled city based on its role in the gold trade. While gold was an important item in trans-Saharan trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the more prosaic staples of Timbuktu's prosperity were salt, cloth, grain and slaves, and in the 19th century, ostrich feathers. The principal desert routes led to Ghadāmis, Ghāt, Warghla, Tuwāt and the Dar'a valley. These in turn led on to North African cities such as Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Tlemcen, Fās and Marrākush, the first three of which were ports of entry for European manufactured goods such as paper, cloths, metalware and glassware. To the south, Timbuktu's principal trading partner was Djenne, whence routes led into central Mali and down to the savannah and forest lands of what are now Ivory Coast and Ghana. It was from these distant lands—the Bure region of Mali and the Akan forests of Ghana—that gold dust (*tibr*) was obtained. Gold dust was the principal medium of exchange for external trade, while smaller local transactions were conducted in cowries (*wada'*). Timbuktu's reputation made it the European explorer's prize in the early 19th century. The British officer Major Alexander Gordon Laing was the first to reach the city in 1826, but he was murdered in the Sahara while on his way back. The first traveller to survive the trip and bring back an account of the city was the Frenchman René Caillié in 1828. An earlier account of Timbuktu by the shipwrecked American sailor Robert Adams (published in London, 1816), though full of difficulties, is probably genuine.

Timbuktu was also, in the 10th-12th/15th-17th centuries, one of the major centres of Islamic learning in West Africa. The Sankore mosque and the quarter of that name in the north-east of the city were the focus of the teaching tradition, the older Djingere-Ber and the 9th/15th-century Sīdī Yaḥyā mosque being better known for devotional recitations. Two Ṣanhādja familes who intermarried provided most of the imāms of Sankore and the *ḳāḍīs* of the city in the period 1450-1650: the descendants of Anda-Ag-Muḥammad (*fl.* 1450) and his contemporary 'Umar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt. From the latter family came the celebrated Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]), who gained wider fame during his exile in Marrākush 1002/1594-16/1608, when he taught at the Djāmi' al-shurafā'. Other notable scholarly families of the period were the Dyula Baghayogho (Muḥammad Baghayogho (d. 1002/1594) was the principal teacher of Aḥmad Bābā), the descendants of the Fulbe scholars Muḥammad Gidado (d. *ca.* 1577) and of Muḥammad Gurdo (d. 1065/1655-6), and the descendants of Aḥmad Mughyā (d. 1002/1593). In the 13th/19th century, Arab scholars of the Kunta revived the city's scholarly tradition for a period, and in the 14th/20th century the families of Ḥaydara and Bu 'l-A'rāf have upheld it. The French also established a *madrasa* in Timbuktu in 1911 where Islamic sciences were taught in Arabic and select secular subjects were taught in French.

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TIMSĀḤ (a., pl. *tamāsīḥ*), masculine substantive denoting the Nile crocodile (*Crocodilus vulgaris*) of the class of reptiles (*zaḥḥāfāt*) and the order of saurians (*'aẓāliyyāt*); it is the only crocodile known in the Arabophone countries. The name appears to be derived from the Coptic *'imsaḥ*.

According to ancient authors, this crocodile is said to have been formerly present in the waters of the Jordan and the Euphrates. A carnivore, it devours all kinds of meat and fish. Of naturalists writing in the Arabic language, al-Damīrī (see *Bibl.*) is the only one to have dealt at length with the crocodile; he mentions all of its particular features, most of his information being borrowed from Aristotle (see *Bibl.*). The crocodile has as its avowed enemies the lion, the hippopotamus (*faras al-mā'*), the otter (*kalb al-mā'*) and the weasel (*ibn 'irs*); the latter gains access to the interior of the crocodile's belly by way of the open mouth, and devours its liver. The only effective defensive weapon at the crocodile's disposal is the violent thrashing of its tail, which can fell a man or an ox. It spends most of the time submerged; however, being oviparous it leaves the water to lay its eggs in soft soil and cover them.

In Islamic law, the consumption of the flesh of the crocodile is formally prohibited, the animal being a carnivore.

On the other hand, this saurian presents several specific qualities. Thus one of its eyes worn by a rheumy-eyed person (*ramad*) cures him rapidly, whether this be the left eye for the left or the right for the right. To carry one of its teeth about one's person has an aphrodisiac effect and, if it is from the left side, it dispels any kind of shivers (*kasha'rīr*). Its fat is a beneficial ointment for treating otitis and its gall makes an effective eye-wash for the treatment of albugo. When dried, pulverised and used in fumigation, its liver alleviates epilepsy (*ṣar'*) and its dung, extracted from the intestine and applied as a lotion to the affected skin of the leper (*bayāḍ*), makes the disease disappear. In spite of all this, the crocodile remains, in the opinion of most, an exceedingly harmful beast, as is shown by expressions such as *aẓlam min timsāḥ* "more tyrannical than a crocodile". As against this, there is a small bird which profits by association with the aquatic monster, this being the Egyptian plover (*Pluvianus aegyptius*) called *ṭayr al-timsāḥ* "crocodile bird" and also known as *saḳsāḳ, zaḳzāḳ* or *tawram*; it enters the open mouth of the saurian and, with its sharp-pointed beak, feeds on the morsels of meat stuck between the teeth.

In botany, there is the *ḥabḳa al-timsāḥ* "crocodile basil" which is the common calamint (*Clinopodium vulgare* or *Calamintha clinopodium*), a labiate member of the Melissa genus.

In oneiromancy, seeing a crocodile in a dream presages the defeat of an enemy.

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TIMSĀḤ, Lake, one of the series of swamps and lagoons in the Eastern Nile Delta region of Egypt (now administratively in the *muḥāfaẓa* of Ismā'īliyya) through which the Suez Canal passes on its way from Port Sa'īd south to Suez. The Canal enters the Lake at the 80th kilometre. On the northern shore lies the town of Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*]. The Lake is about 6 sq. miles in area, although before the construction of the Canal it was brackish and reedy. Now it is very picturesque, with its bright blue waters and the background of desert hills. The name means "Crocodile Lake" [see the preceding art.], being once upon a time the haunt of that creature. Archaeologists are undecided as to the part it played in historic times. Wallis Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, v, 131-2) supposes that it was somewhere in its neighbourhood that the Israelites crossed during their flight from Egypt. He identifies it with the *yam-sūp* or Sea of Reeds mentioned in Exod., xiii. 18.

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TIMTHĀL [see ṣanam].

TĪMŪR LANG ("Timur the Lame") b. Taraghay Barlas, the founder of the Tīmūrid dynasty [*q.v.*] which ruled in Central Asia and eastern Iran from 1370 to 1507. The birthdate commonly ascribed to Tīmūr, 25 Sha'bān 736/8 April 1336, is probably an invention from the time of his successor Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], the day chosen for astrological meaning and the year to coincide with the death of the last Il-Khān (Manz, *Tamerlane and the symbolism of sovereignty*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxi/1-2 [1988], 113-14 n.) Tīmūr rose to power in the Ulus Čaghatay, a tribal confederation forming the western section of the Mongol Čaghatay Khānate [*q.v.*] He was a member of the Barlas of the Kish region. This was an important Mongol tribe within the Ulus, tracing its leadership back to Činggis Khān's commander Ḳaračar, who shared a common ancestor with Činggis, and was later attached to his son Čaghatay. Tīmūr descended from Ḳaračar but was not of the chiefly lineage, and gained power through skilful politics and the help of a personal, non-tribal following.

1. His career.

The histories first mention Tīmūr on the invasion of the Eastern Čaghatayid Khān Tughluḳ Tīmūr in Rabī' II 761/February-March 1360. Ḥādjdjī Beg, chief of the Barlas, fled the Ulus, and Tīmūr obtained appointment to his place. He forged an alliance with Amīr Ḥusayn Ḳara'unas, nephew of the former tribal ruler of the Ulus. During the next ten years Tīmūr campaigned and intrigued, first in alliance with Ḥusayn against the Eastern Čaghatayids, and after Ḥusayn's

seizure of the Ulus in 767/1366, usually in competition with Ḥusayn. He frequently had to take refuge in Khurāsān and Māzandarān. According to contemporary histories, it was at one of these times, in a campaign for the kings of Sīstān, that Tīmūr received the wound which deformed his right arm, but examination of his skeleton suggests that this was in part due to illness.

In 771/1369 Tīmūr gathered the tribal aristocracy behind him and defeated and killed Sulṭān Ḥusayn. Since he was not descended from Činggis Khān, Tīmūr ruled through a puppet khān from the Ögedeyid branch, while posing as an upholder of the Čaghatayid order. He took for himself a Čingisid wife (Saray Malik) and assumed the title of *güregen* "royal son-in-law", making his capital at Samarḳand, which he embellished and fortified. On 12 Ramaḍān 771/9 April 1370 he had his government formally reaffirmed by the members of the Ulus Čaghatay. Nonetheless, he found the tribal leaders of the Ulus quick to react against any assertion of power. For the first twelve years of his reign he suffered numerous tribal uprisings and desertions, which he put down largely without force, especially in his first years of rule.

Tīmūr soon began to lead his armies outside the Ulus Čaghatay. In 772-3/1370-2 he began campaigning in the Farghānā Valley, and over the next several years gradually expanded his claims into the Eastern Čaghatayid regions, where the seizure of power by tribal leaders in 1369 offered opportunities for interference. By 777/1375 he had installed a governor in Andīdjān, and in 779/1377-8, in Kāshghar. These claims required effort to maintain, and Tīmūr stretched his forays as far as the Irtysh and Yulduz. Tīmūr's first attack on Khʷārazm came in 773-4/1372-3, after its ruler refused to cede to him the cities of Kath and Khīwa, to which he laid claim. This also embroiled Tīmūr in a set of continuing campaigns, culminating in the seizure and sack of Urganč in 789/1387.

In 777/1376 Tīmūr espoused the cause of Tokhtamïsh or Toḳtamïsh [*q.v.*], a pretender to the throne of the Djočid Blue (or in some sources, White) Horde north of the Syr Darya, and helped him to power in 778/1377. By 1382, Tokhtamïsh had taken control over the Golden Horde with the Russian lands, and re-imposed tribute over Lithuania. During this time, Tīmūr was active in Persia. In 782/1380 he appointed his third son, Mīrān Shāh [*q.v.*] governor of Khurāsān, and in winter 1380-1, began his Persian campaigns. Over the next years, Tīmūr campaigned in Khurāsān, Sīstān and in Māzandarān. In Shawwāl 786/Nov.-Dec. 1384, he took Māzandarān and re-installed Luḳmān b. Toghāy Tīmūr, last of the pretenders to the Il-Khānid throne (though descended from Činggis Khān's brother). From here Tīmūr proceeded to the Il-Khānid city of Sulṭāniyya.

It seems likely that Tīmūr was aiming at a restoration of the Mongol Empire; he had by now collected three Čingisid khāns beneath him (as he hoped): an Ögedeyid puppet khān, and "clients" from the Djočid and Il-Khānid Uluses. Tokhtamïsh, however, now revived the Golden Horde-Il-Khānid rivalry, attacking Tabrīz in winter 787/1385-6. The duel between the two men lasted almost ten years. In spring 788/1386 Tīmūr set out for his "Three-year campaign" to Luristān, Ādharbaydjān and the Caucasus. When Tokhtamïsh again prepared to attack Ādharbaydjān in early 789/1387, Tīmūr's army defeated him; Tīmūr then campaigned against the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] and the Muẓaffarid [*q.v.*] dynasty of Fārs. At the end of 789/1387 he learned that Tokhtamïsh had pillaged Transoxania and gained the support of the Khʷārazmian local dynasty and the Eastern Čaghatayids. Tīmūr spent the next four years campaigning in the east. In autumn 792/1390 he set out for a major offensive against Tokhtamïsh, and in June 793/1391 defeated him on the Kondurcha River near Samara. By 1394 Tokhtamïsh had recovered the Golden Horde, again forming an alliance with the Mamlūks against Tīmūr, and in autumn 796/1394 he raided Ādharbaydjān. Tīmūr counter-attacked and soundly defeated him on the Terek River on 23 Djumādā II 797/15 April 1395. He waged a systematic campaign of destruction in the Don and Volga regions up to Yelets, pillaging trading cities and nomad centres; Tokhtamïsh could not again challenge Tīmūr's power.

During this period, Tīmūr also campaigned in Persia. On 6 Ramaḍān 794/27 July 1392 he began his "Five-year campaign". In spring 795/1393 he destroyed the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and put southern Persia under his son ʿUmar Shaykh. He appointed Mīrān Shāh as governor of western Persia and set out to wrest the region from the Djalāyirids of Baghdād and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], less powerful, he recruited as allies, and this started their rise to power. In summer 798/1396 Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand and spent about a year there, then in spring, 800/1398 he went against India, sacking and burning Dihlī in Rabīʿ II 801/December 1398.

In the spring of 801/1399, Tīmūr returned to Samarḳand, and in early 802/September 1399 set out for his "Seven-year campaign" to the west. He reasserted his power in Georgia and Baghdād, and again fought the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu. Tīmūr's involvement in the politics of the Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen dynasties of eastern Anatolia had brought him into conflict with the Mamlūks and Ottomans. Since 1395 he had been considering war against the former. At that time, he had still been friendly with the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], but relations changed in 800/1398 with the deaths of the Mamlūk sultan Barḳūḳ and of the Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, ruler of Sīwās (Z.V. Togan, *Timurs Osteuropapolitik*, in *ZDMG*, cviii [1958], 279-98). The resulting confusion attracted both Tīmūr and Bāyezīd, and their relations as a result rapidly deteriorated. In autumn to winter 803/1400-1 Tīmūr campaigned in Syria, after the Mamlūks had murdered his ambassadors and given refuge to his enemies. In spring 804/1402 he set out against the Ottomans, whom he defeated near Anḳara on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 804/20 July 1402. He took Yïldïrïm Bāyezīd captive but treated him well. His armies campaigned through the Ottoman territories, collecting tribute from their cities, but left the Ottoman dynasty in place.

Tīmūr now returned to Samarḳand, where he staged a major convocation (*ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*]), attended by foreign ambassadors, including the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo. Chinese ambassadors were also present, but were publicly humiliated. In late autumn 807/1404 he set out with an enormous army against China, planning to winter in Utrār, but died there on the eve of 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405.

2. The method and purpose of his campaigns.

The Turco-Mongolian population of the Ulus Čaghatay, known as Čaghatays, formed the core of Tīmūr's army, decimally ordered and led by his family and personal following. He also levied contingents from the regions he conquered, whom he used in campaigns close to their place of origin. Thus the

composition of Tīmūr's army changed and conformed to the needs of specific expeditions. As Tīmūr appointed his sons and followers governors over new dominions, he assigned armies to them, each containing commanders from a variety of tribes and from the families of Tīmūr's personal followers.

Taking Činggis Khān as model, Tīmūr offered a choice of submission with safety or complete destruction; he carried off the skilled artisans and spared the religious classes, sometimes amusing himself by matching them in disputation and in chess. Even from submissive cities he extorted a massive ransom. His campaigns included displays of spectacular ferocity, sparingly used, and almost always intentional. The ravages of his army were considerable but frequently followed by the restoration of agriculture. On his first expedition to a region, Tīmūr simply extracted submission and taxes, returning later to punish insubordinate vassals and install governors. He destroyed only the larger dynasties within his dominions, notably the Karts [*q.v.*] of Harāt and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Fārs; small dynasties continued in place, providing hostages and troops.

Tīmūr incorporated only part of his conquered territory into his domains, sc. regions combining a strong agricultural base and largely Persian-speaking population with a significant nomad Turco-Mongolian stratum. This corresponded approximately to the Il-Khānid and western Čaghatayid territories. Tīmūr may originally have intended to restore the entire Mongol empire, and have changed his mind when he found steppe regions more difficult to control and less rewarding financially than settled ones. By the mid-1390s, he had probably decided not to incorporate the steppe into his domain; he chose simply to destroy the cities of the Golden Horde and to leave the nominal rulership to a Djočid protégé, whom he left without support. Tīmūr's campaigns into regions outside the Mongol empire seem to have been aimed to show that he was supreme also within the Islamic world. He installed no administration in India, Syria or Anatolia. One region Tīmūr tried to hold and failed, Ādharbaydjān, was ruled by Turkmen nomads whom he could defeat but not destroy. Although it was nominally within Tīmūr's realm, he held it only briefly.

3. The organisation of Tīmūr's realm.

Tīmūr installed a *dīwān* system on the model of earlier nomad dynasties, but during his lifetime it was probably not highly articulated. Persian bureaucrats appear to have held rather low status, especially in central government. The central *dīwān* (*dīwān-i aʿlā*), responsible for financial administration, was staffed largely with Persians, but Čaghatay *amīr*s were also active within it. Provincial governors were either princes or close followers; city governors (*darūghā*s [*q.v.*]) were appointed personally by Tīmūr from among his followers or tribesmen. Tīmūr controlled his governors through periodic changes in provincial appointment, and by demanding their presence on campaigns.

In 805/1403 he reorganised his dominions into four sections, each under the family of one of his sons: Mīrān Shāh's family in the west; ʿUmar Shaykh's sons in southern and central Persia; Djahāngīr's son in the southeast; and Shāh Rukh with his sons in Khurāsān and the regions to the east and north. In planning for succession, Tīmūr favoured the line of his second son, Djahāngīr, born of a free wife, but he died early; later, Tīmūr appointed as successor Djahāngīr's son by a Činggisid wife, Muḥammad Sulṭān. Muḥammad Sulṭān died in 805/1403, and it was not until just before his own death that Tīmūr appointed Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr, who failed to take power.

4. Foreign relations.

Tīmūr maintained active relations with both neighbouring and distant states. His initial contacts with China were friendly; in October 1394 his ambassadors arrived at the Chinese court with a letter whose Chinese version expressed submission. The Chinese reply of 1395 alerted Tīmūr, however, to the Emperor's understanding of the relationship. He detained the ambassadors, and from this time remained unfriendly to China, beginning as early as 800/1398 to plan a campaign against it. The same year, he welcomed a pretender from the dynasty of the Northern Yüan, who remained in his following, making up part of his projected China expedition in 807/1405.

Common enmity to the Ottomans attracted Tīmūr and the Christian powers, and during his later years he exchanged embassies with the Paleologi rulers of Constantinople, the Venetians, Henry IV of England, the Genoese of Ghalaṭa, Charles VI of France, Martin I of Aragon and Catalonia, and finally Henry III of Castile and León, whose ambassador, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, has left a valuable record of his embassy to Samarḳand in 1404-6.

5. Literary and artistic patronage.

Tīmūr was an active patron of religion, monumental architecture and historical writing. He had both Ṣūfīs and *ʿulamāʾ* in his suite; in belief, he was Sunnī, with a strong reverence for the family of the Prophet. In architecture, Tīmūr favoured the monumental. In 771/1370 he began to turn Samarḳand into a royal capital, and about 775/1373-4 he started building at his second capital of Kish (Shahr-i Sabz) [*q.v.*], adding fortifications, and the Aḳ Sarāy palace in 781/1379-80 after his conquest of Khʷārazm, whose craftsmen he transported to work there. He continued his building programme in Samarḳand, erecting garden palaces around the city, many designed for his wives. After his decisive defeat of Tokhtamïsh, Tīmūr undertook more grandiose building projects, including the shrine complex for Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] in Yāsī/Turkistān in 799/1396-7, and, on his return from India, the huge Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ (the Bībī Khānum). After his campaign against the Mamlūks and Ottomans, he ordered the building of canals and a bazaar at his winter quarters of Ḳarabāgh, and apparently a new bazaar for Samarḳand (Clavijo, *Narrative of the Spanish Embassy to the court of Timur at Samarkand in the years 1403-1406*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928, 278). It is notable that, during Tīmūr's lifetime, the patronage of large-scale architecture was reserved for him, royal women, and his heir-apparent Muḥammad Sulṭān.

Tīmūr also commissioned historical writing. Ibn Khaldūn, who met him, considered him highly knowledgeable in this area. Sources mention several contemporary chronicles of his reign, prose and verse, Turkic and Persian, most now lost. One commissioned work survives: the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī [*q.v.*], completed in 1404, which served as a major source for later Tīmūrid historians. Tīmūr's "memoirs", the *Tuzūk-i tīmūrī*, are a later fabrication.

Tīmūr's concern for his reputation was well rewarded, and he was remembered for centuries as a supremely charismatic figure, still invoked for legitimation in the 18th century by Nādir Shāh Afshār, and in the 19th by the Ming dynasty of Khoḳand.

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TĪMŪRIDS, a dynasty of Persia and Central Asia (771-913/1370-1507) founded by the conqueror Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*], who rose to power within the Ulus Čaghatay, a tribal confederation covering Transoxania and much of what is now northeastern Afghanistan. This was controlled by Turco-Mongolian military aristocracy, known as "Čaghatay", faithful to Mongol traditions but Muslim and living in close contact with the settled population.

1. History.
2. Literature.
3. Art and architecture.
   (a) The arts of the book and painting.
   (b) Architecture.
   (c) Ceramics.
   (d) Metalwork.
4. Numismatics.

1. History.

Tīmūr assumed leadership on 12 Ramaḍān 771/9 April 1370, and spent the first years of rule in campaigns against Kh^{w}ārazm and the eastern Čaghatayid Khānate. In 777-8/1375-7 he installed a Činggisid protégé, Tokhtamīsh [see TOKTAMĪSH] on the throne of the Blue (or White) Horde north of the Syr Darya. Tokhtamīsh soon took over the Golden Horde, and began a contest for power with Tīmūr which ended only with Tokhtamīsh's defeat on the Kondurcha River near Samara in 793/1391. In 782/1380-1 Tīmūr began campaigning in Persia, whose conquest he completed in 795/1393. In his campaigns to India (800-1/1398-9), Syria (803/1400-1), and Anatolia (804/1402), he achieved suzerainty but installed no administration. In the east, he incorporated Kh^{w}ārazm, the cities just north of the Syr Darya and the Farghānā Valley. He established forts near the Issyk Kul and claimed Kāshghar, but we do not know what level of control he held there. In Persia he created a regular administration, and he attempted to do the same in Arab ʿIrāk and Ādharbaydjān, but here his hold remained insecure.

Tīmūr ruled through a Činggisid puppet khān, and acquired Činggisid wives both for himself and for several of his sons, gaining the right to the title of *güregen* or "royal son-in-law", held by several of his descendants. At the same time, he patronised Islamic institutions and scholars.

Tīmūr left his realm divided into four sections, each under the family of one of his sons, ʿUmar Shaykh, Djahāngīr, Mīrān Shāh and Shāh Rukh. His death on the eve of 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405 unleashed a struggle for supreme power and struggles for supremacy within each of his sons' regions. Kh^{w}ārazm reverted to the Golden Horde, and Ādharbaydjān fell to the Turkmen Kara Koyunlu in 810/1408. The victor in this succession struggle was Tīmūr's fourth son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], governor of Khurāsān. Shāh Rukh took Transoxania from his nephew Khalīl Sulṭān b. Mīrān Shāh and installed his own son Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] as governor in Samarkand on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 811/13 May 1409. In 815/1413 he re-took Kh^{w}ārazm, and in the course of two expeditions in 817/1414 and 818/1415 asserted control over Fārs and installed his son Ibrāhīm Sulṭān as governor. Kirmān, Sīstān and Khuzistān also had to be regained through force. In Dhu 'l Kaʿda 823/November 1420 Shāh Rukh wrested Ādharbaydjān from the Kara Koyunlu, but for him, as for Tīmūr, it proved easier to conquer than to hold. He had to mount two more expeditions, in 832/1429 and 838/1435, and contented himself with the installation of Kara Koyunlu vassals of his own choosing.

For some time, Shāh Rukh held Tīmūr's domain and maintained formal suzerainty over the Ottomans and the sultans of Dihlī, Bengal and Mālwa in India. At first, he and Ulugh Beg pursued an aggressive policy against the eastern Čaghatayids and Djočids, welcoming in his lands rival khāns, but after a defeat on the Syr Darya in 830/1427, Ulugh Beg ceased to campaign, and the balance of power changed. The

eastern Čaghatayids re-took Kāshghar in 1435; in the 1440s Abu 'l-Khayr Khān Uzbek took the northern Syr Darya region, and repeatedly raided Transoxania.

Towards the end of Shāh Rukh's life, the death of several sons and major *amīrs* and his own illness weakened central control. Due in part to disagreement with his wife Gawharshād, he was unable to choose a successor, and after his death on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 850/13 March 1447, rival Tīmūrid princes ravaged Khurāsān and killed each other, damaging the prestige of Shāh Rukh's line. The event which aroused the greatest disapproval was the murder of the ruler Ulugh Beg by his son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in Ramaḍān 853/Oct.-Nov. 1449.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djahānshāh, Shāh Rukh's governor in Ādharbaydjān, expanded his power and by summer 856/1452 held ʿIrāḳ and central and western Persia, with the Tīmūrids limited to Khurāsān, Abarḳūh, Kīrmān and Transoxania. Within the Tīmūrid dynasty, a new figure emerged, sc. Mīrān Shāh's grandson Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*], who had served Ulugh Beg on the Syr Darya borders. With the help of Abu 'l-Khayr Khān he took Samarḳand from Ulugh Beg's line in Djumādā I 855/June 1451. In 862/1458 he profited from confusion in Khurāsān to take Harāt, and in 863/1459 made it his capital. He now held Transoxania, Khurāsān and Māzandarān, fending off attacks from the Uzbeks and from Ḥusayn Bayḳara, a descendant of ʿUmar Shaykh operating from Khʷārazm under Uzbek protection. In Shaʿbān 872/end February 1468, Abū Saʿīd undertook a campaign against Ādharbaydjān, hoping to retake the province and to halt the rise of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. This expedition was badly planned, and despite initial successes, Abū Saʿīd was captured by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and put to death on 22 Radjab 873/5 February 1469.

Khurāsān was now contested between Ḥusayn Bayḳara and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, promoting a Tīmūrid protégé, a descendant of Shāh Rukh called Yādgār Muḥammad. Ḥusayn took Harāt in 873/1469, lost it to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, and retook it permanently in Ṣafar 875/August 1470, inaugurating a period of great cultural florescence there. His realm included Balkh in the east; to the west, Bisṭām and Dāmghān; to the north Khʷārazm; and to the south, Ḳandahār and Sīstān. The northern Tīmūrid lands remained with Abū Saʿīd's sons. The eldest, Sulṭān Aḥmad, held highest place, in Samarḳand and Bukhārā. A younger brother, ʿUmar Shaykh, was centred on Farghānā. Tashkent and the border regions were contested between these two and the Eastern Čaghatayids. Badakhshān, Tirmidh, Čaghāniyān, and Ḥiṣār were held by another brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The boundaries between the two parts of the Tīmūrid realm remained relatively stable until near the end of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's life, despite attempts by both sides to gain territory.

In 902/1497 Sulṭān Ḥusayn's son Badīʿ al-Zamān, governor of Balkh, rebelled, and despite an initial defeat by Sulṭān Ḥusayn, his power increased until he controlled much of southern Afghānistān and was strong enough to threaten Harāt in 903/1498. In the same year, Sulṭān Ḥusayn faced rebellions from two other sons and had to cede the region of Balkh to Badīʿ al-Zamān.

The death of Abū Saʿīd's sons in 899-900/1494-5 inaugurated a power struggle in Transoxania, in which contending princes pulled in allies from the Eastern Čaghatayids and the Uzbeks under Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*]. Shaybānī Khān was related to the Tīmūrids by marriage, and spent the next several years contesting the region with them, most notably ʿUmar Shaykh's son Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur [*q.v.*]. In 1505-6 Shaybānī Khān crossed the Oxus. Ḥusayn Bayḳara set off against him, but died on 11 Dhu 'l Ḥidjdja 911/5 May 1506; Shaybānī took Harāt on 8 Muḥarram 913/20 May 1507, and soon thereafter much of Khurāsān.

Shaybānī's death at the hands of the Ṣafawids in Ramaḍān 916/December 1510 allowed Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur to regain power, but he was unable to hold Transoxania, and in 920/1514 left permanently for Kābul. The Uzbeks retook Transoxania and Balkh that year, but Badakhshān remained until *ca.* 1550 in the possession of Bābur's line.

Government and administration

Tīmūr's campaigns inflicted serious damage, but he restored many of the cities affected and he opened some new areas to agriculture; later succession struggles caused new ravages. Princes lacking cash allowed their soldiers to loot, even in their own provinces, and punished insubordinate rulers by devastating their regions. Sīstān and Kirmān suffered significantly in this way after Tīmūr's death. For Khurāsān, the Tīmūrid period was a prosperous one, athough it suffered in the disturbances after Shāh Rukh's death. Shāh Rukh, Abū Saʿīd and Sulṭān Ḥusayn, along with many of their leading *amīrs*, organised large-scale irrigation projects here. Transoxania, while actively developed under Tīmūr, later declined in relation to Khurāsān.

Tīmūr entrusted the highest government posts to the members of his personal, non-tribal following, who intermarried with his family, developing into a tight ruling élite. Their descendants continued to hold high positions up to the end of the dynasty. While the power of the tribes within the Ulus Čaghatay had been reduced under Tīmūr, it seems to have recovered thereafter, and by the end of the dynasty the Barlas, Djalāyir, Arghun and Tarkhan appear prominently. Tīmūrid administration—financial and military—was organised in two spheres, the Persian and the Turco-Mongolian, employing two sets of scribes, Persian and Čaghatay. Persian bureaucrats, relatively powerless under Tīmūr, increased their strength under later rulers, but Čaghatay *amīrs* usually held supervisory positions even within financial administration.

Most provinces of the Tīmūrid realm were governed by princes, usually sons or grandsons of the ruler. Tīmūr controlled his governors closely, and reserved to himself both major campaigns and ostentatious cultural display. The later Tīmūrid state was more decentralised. Shāh Rukh maintained effective control over the military activities of his governors, but allowed greater fiscal and personal independence. The courts of Shīrāz, Yazd and Samarḳand now became centres of major cultural activity. Thus began a period of active princely patronage of architecture, calligraphy and miniature painting, and the development of a new literature in "Čaghatay" Turkic, written sometimes in Uyghur script but more often in Arabic.

Shāh Rukh began the granting of large *soyūrghāls* [*q.v.*], landholdings with tax immunity, and he and his wife Gawharshād established major *waḳfs* for religious establishments. Under Sulṭān Ḥusayn both *waḳf* and *soyurghal* properties multiplied, leaving the dynasty without a secure tax base. Taxation was a contentious issue, expressed often as a conflict between Turco-Mongolian and Islamic practice (*yasa* and *sharīʿa*). Several rulers outlawed taxes not permitted by the *sharīʿa*, but most of these seem to have reappeared. Sulṭān Ḥusayn attempted a centralising tax reform in

SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGY OF TĪMŪRID RULERS

- TĪMŪR r. 1370-1405
  - ʿUmar Shaykh
    - Baykara
      - Manṣūr
        - SULṬĀN ḤUSAYN BAYKARA r. 1470-1506
          - BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN r. 1506-7
          - Muẓaffar Ḥusayn
  - Djahāngīr
    - Muḥammad Sulṭān
    - Pīr Muḥammad
  - Mīrān Shāh
    - KHALĪL SULṬĀN r. 1405-9
    - Sulṭān Muḥammad
      - ABŪ SAʿĪD r. 1451-69
        - SULṬĀN AḤMAD r. 1469-94
        - SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD r. 1494-5
        - ʿUmar Shaykh
          - Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur
            - MUGHALS
  - SHĀH RUKH r. 1409-47
    - ULUGH BEG r. 1447-9
      - ʿABD AL-LAṬĪF r. 1449-50
    - Bāysonghor
      - Sulṭān Muḥammad
        - Yādgār Muḥammad
      - Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur

the name of Islam, but failed to achieve it. In Khurāsān, this decentralisation fuelled cultural florescence, with a wealth of competing patrons among *amīrs* and bureaucrats (M. Subtelny, *Socio-economic bases of cultural patronage under the later Timurids*, in *IJMES*, xx [1988], 479-505). Sulṭān Ḥusayn's court achieved lasting fame for its brilliance, especially in poetry and the arts of the book. Two towering figures presided here. One was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī [*q.v.*], head of the Naḳshbandiyya in Harāt and a famed Persian poet. The other was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], companion and official to Sulṭān Ḥusayn, who became the supreme arbiter of poetic taste in Harāt and is probably the greatest Čaghatay poet.

The Tīmūrid period was important also in religious history. The two *ʿulamāʾ* patronised by Tīmūr and Shāh Rukh, Saʿd al-Dīn Taftazānī (d. 793/1390 [*q.v.*]) and Sayyid Sharīf Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413 [*q.v.*]), produced commentaries widely used thereafter in *madrasa* curriculums. The great shrine complexes which the Tīmūrids patronised, at Mashhad, Turkistān, Gāzurgāh and Mazār-i Sharīf, continued to dominate the landscape and to attract pilgrims for centuries to come. Royal patronage contributed to the spectacular rise of the Naḳshbandiyya, founded by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband (d. 791/1389 [*q.v.*]). Later Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 895/1490 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) acquired enormous wealth and power through dynastic favour, along with systems of economic patronage.

The Tīmūrids fell to the Ṣafawids and Uzbeks near the height of their cultural splendour, and the calligraphers, literati, and miniaturists of Harāt, seeking new patrons, carried Tīmūrid styles and prestige to the surrounding regions, including India, where Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur founded the later Tīmūrid or Mughal dynasty [see MUGHALS] in 1526.

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(BEATRICE F. MANZ)

2. Literature.

During the Tīmūrid period, three languages, Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, were in use. The major language of the period was Persian, the native language of the Tajik (Persian) component of society and the language of learning acquired by all literate and/or urban Turks. Persian served as the language of administration, history, belles lettres, and poetry.

The first member of the dynasty to show great interest in literature and the arts of book production was Shāh Rukh's son Prince Bāysonghor, whose edition of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* was the standard for centuries until modern critical editions. The sumptuously illustrated volumes produced for Bāysonghor's library are still treasured by museums and private collections.

This period, which began with the death of Ḥāfiẓ and ended with the death of Djāmī [*q.vv.*], saw the great flowering of the *ghazal* and the decline of the erudite, formalised court *ḳaṣīda* based on Arabic models. After the contributions of the great 6th/12th- and 7th/13th-century didactic poets of Ṣūfism, Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī, who imbued the amatory vocabulary of Persian poetry with mystical significations, and with the influence of Sa'dī, who did so much to give the *ghazal* its classical form, the language of the *ghazal* and the language of mysticism became so intertwined that by the 9th/15th century it was nearly impossible to extricate the mystical threads from the non-mystical. This ambiguity becomes, from the Tīmūrid period on, a hallmark of the Persian *ghazal*. Also during the period certain "baroquisms" and affectations are noticeable, primarily a marked tendency to use abstractions, a penchant for forms like the chronogram (*tārīkh* [*q.v.*]) and the *mu'ammā* [*q.v.*] (an enigmatic anagram of a name), and displays of technical proficiency in composing poetry, such as using only two-letter words in one line, three-letter words in the next, four-letter words in the next, etc.

A major contribution to Persian literary history, and a work that had lasting influence, is Dawlatshāh's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* (completed *ca.* 892/1487). This "memoir" of poets, containing biographical sketches and selections, did much to fix the canon of classical Persian poetry, and Djāmī's having become known as the "last classical Persian poet" is probably due more to the fact that he is mentioned toward the end of Dawlatshāh's work than to any objective assessment of literary history.

Three other works produced during the period that achieved lasting fame are Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Wā'iẓ Kāshifī's *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'* and *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and Ibn-i Ḥusām's *Khāwarān-nāma*. The *Rawḍat al-shuhadā'*, a martyrology of the Shī'ī imāms, is still today the primary text recited in Persia in sessions called, after the work, *rawḍa-khwānī*. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* is a reworking of Naṣr Allāh's Persian translation of Ibn al-Muḳaffa''s Arabic setting of the Bidpai fables, and the familiar and well-loved stories are cast into a fluid Tīmūrid prose interspersed with lines of poetry. Ibn-i Ḥusām's *Khāwarān-nāma* is a poetic "epic" on the exploits of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and it reflects not only the heroic legends that had accrued to the "Lion of God" over the centuries but also the blending of Sunnī and Shī'ī strains into a synthesis that is a distinguishing feature of the religiosity of the period, and one that was ruptured forever by Ṣafawid Shī'ism.

Persian historiography was patronised as never before, and the period is rich in historical literature. The tone of the period was set by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī's *Sharaf-nāma*, which was taken to be the model of refined history writing. Yazdī's style may strike the modern reader as florid and verbose, but he is restrained in comparison with the highly rhetorical style of his predecessor, the Il-Khānid historian Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍra, or with the laborious style of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, and he intersperses his prose with poetry in order to reinforce or highlight a point, a technique that can be seen in earlier works but which was used to great effect by Yazdī and his successors. The style was continued by Mīrkhwānd (*Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*); Khwāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*); and other historians of the period, like Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the author of *Madjma' al-tawārīkh*, Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, author of *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, and Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, author of the *Maṭla'-i sa'dayn* (a history from the Il-Khānid Abū Sa'īd to the Tīmūrid Abū Sa'īd). To this should be added Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī's gossipy *Badāyi' al-waḳāyi'* (ed. A.N. Boldyrev, 2nd ed. Tehran 1349), an interesting source that provides much information on the *madjlis* setting in which much of late Tīmūrid literary culture was conducted.

What is now called Čaghatay Turkish, which was then called simply *türki*, was the native and "home" language of the Tīmūrids throughout the period, and it was used sporadically as a literary medium also. It was written initially in the Uyghur script, a survival from the Mongol period, and later in the Arabic script. Surviving from the early years of the dynasty is a poetic anthology produced in 835/1431 in Yazd for Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūzshāh that contains poetry in Turkish written in the Uyghur script. The splendid *Mi'rādj-nāma* (Paris, B.N., Suppl. turc 190), also ascribed to Shāh Rukh's reign, is similarly in Turkish written in the Uyghur script. Turkish poetry was much in vogue in Harāt during Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign, and poets like Sakkākī, Luṭfī, Shaykhīm Suhaylī, the prolific 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, and Sulṭān Ḥusayn himself produced highly Persianate poetry in Čaghatay Turkish. Clearly, at the time of the "Harāt renaissance" Turkish was thought to be in need of patronage, for, as Sulṭān Ḥusayn says of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī in his *Apologia*, "those whose names have been mentioned and descriptions penned have banqueted in the assembly of Persian poetry and exhibited their ability to swim in the sea of Persian, but until today no one has clothed those virgins of meaning with a Turkish garb, and these musk-scented *élégantes* have remained veiled in their nakedness in the oblivion of poetical talent, and these angelic beauties have not been able to manifest their charm because of their lack of raiment....

He has infused life into the dead body of the Turkish language with his messianic breath. He has clothed those revivified ones with embroidery and silks woven with a Turkic warp and woof." A useful anthology of Turkish poetry produced during the period is to be found in ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī's own *tadhkira*, the *Madjālis al-nafāyis*.

Although others wrote Čaghatay prose (notably Sulṭān Ḥusayn and ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī), the great monument of Čaghatay prose is Bābur's memoirs, the *Bābur-nāma*, fittingly produced by the last scion of the dynasty in Central Asia. While Sulṭān Ḥusayn's and ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī's prose is a calque on very ornate and rhetorical Persian models, Bābur's writing records a simple, straightforward Turkish as it must have been spoken.

As it had been prior to the Tīmūrids and continued to be after them, Arabic was the language *par excellence* of science, philosophy, theology and the religious sciences. Much of the astronomical work of Ulugh Beg and his co-workers ʿAlī Ḳūshī and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Djamshīd Kāshī is in Arabic, although they also wrote in Persian. Theological works, like those of Masʿūd b. ʿUmar Taftāzānī, are generally in Arabic.

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3. Art and architecture.

(a) *The arts of the book and painting.*

Patronage of the arts by the Tīmūrid ruling house, an activity whose primary objective has been explained as political legitimisation and cultural assimilation, centred mainly on the production of books. The cumulative result of this wholesale sponsorship, with its refined visual canon and idiom, was to establish a benchmark for excellence but also criteria for the judgment of artistic quality and achievement. Conceptual, formal, and technical developments in secular and religious books, encompassing calligraphy, painting, drawing, illumination and binding, had an enduring impact on subsequent production, and, more broadly, visual culture. The court patronage model established by such enlightened Tīmūrid patrons as Shāh Rukh, Bāysonghor and Ḥusayn Bayḳara, provided the model for Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, Ottoman, Ṣafawid, and Mughal patrons that endured long after the house of Tīmūr had faded away.

Despite textual references to his acquisition of artists and craftsmen from cities in western Persia, there is no evidence that Tīmūr sponsored the production of illustrated manuscripts in Samarḳand. Accounts written by the contemporaries Ibn ʿArabshāh and Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī testify to the practice of figural wall-painting during his reign, but these too are uncorroborated by physical evidence.

The earliest documented visual record of Tīmūrid patronage is a corpus of illustrated books commissioned by Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, governor of Fārs between 1409 and 1413. These twelve manuscripts are dedicated to him, and most of their colophons contain calligraphers' signatures, mention places such as Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, and have dates ranging between 1410 and 1413. Other manuscripts attributed to his patronage suggest that it began as early as 1397; however, Shīrāz had been an important centre for book production before Tīmūrid political hegemony, as evidenced by manuscripts associated with Muẓaffarid patrons. Some continuity between these traditions is apparent in Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh's manuscripts, particularly in their format, spatial construction, organisation and illumination. Following the ruler Aḥmad Djalāyir's death in 1410, artists who had worked for him in Baghdād may have moved to Shīrāz seeking patronage from Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, thus providing him with access to developments in painting formulated under the Djalāyirids.

Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh's manuscripts are mainly anthologies by various authors, essentially didactic in tone, and, with rare exceptions small (*Anthologies*: Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation dated 813/1411; London, BL, dated 813-14/1410-11; Istanbul, TSK dated 816/1413). The recently developed *nastaʿlīḳ* script was used in all of them. Illustrations range from straightforward narrative illustration to charts and diagrammatic depictions, and marginal narratives unconnected to the text. Most striking is a series of illuminated full-page designs that mark structural divisions in the book, illuminated thumb-pieces, and tinted drawings, often based on Chinese motifs, that exceed any textual requirement, and display extraordinary inventiveness.

Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh was taken prisoner by Shāh Rukh in 816/1413, at which time Shāh Rukh acquired the treasury's contents, no doubt including its manuscripts. The impact of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh's manuscripts was manifest throughout the 15th century, as both components and entire compositions are copied repeatedly. Presumably Shāh Rukh also employed calligraphers and artists who had worked for Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh because the painting practised in Shīrāz during the subsequent governorship of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān (1414-35) largely returns to the illustrative traditions associated with the Muẓaffarids, and is markedly different from that in Harāt. The best-known manuscripts commissioned by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān are a *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī *ca.* 1435 (Oxford, Bodleian) and the *Ẓafar-nāma* (dispersed), the earliest illustrated panegyric of his grandfather Tīmūr.

Harāt became and remained the pre-eminent centre of patronage, but satellite artistic centres grew up at Shīrāz, Samarḳand and other places as a result of the Tīmūrid custom of appointing princes as regional governors. Support for poets, historians, calligraphers and artists—driven by the royal tradition of patronage and participation in poetry and calligraphy—established a network of competing cultural centres that encouraged the movement of artisans between courts. Calligraphic exercises written by Bāysonghor and Ḳurʾāns copied by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān survive, and both princes designed epigraphic programmes for architecture as public expressions of piety. Contributing to the complexity of patronage networks during Shāh Rukh's rule and later, was a broadening patronage base, one made possible by socio-economic change resulting from a freer distribution of the *soyūrghāls* [*q.v.*].

Important for the production of new historical, poetic, scientific and epic manuscripts was the collecting of books and loose materials comprising calligraphies, drawings, and paintings made under the Īl-Khāns, Muẓaffarids, Mamlūks and Djalāyirids which could act as models and offer a constant point of return in the development and refinement of new stylistic vocabularies and repertoires. The diversity of models available is manifest in the group of manuscripts commissioned by Shāh Rukh in the course of his reign. Among these are historical works written by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. One of the earliest is the *Kulliyyat-i tārīkh*, dated 818-19/1415-16 (Istanbul, TSK); its illustrations are evidence for the transfer of artists from Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh's atelier at Shīrāz to Harāt. A second

work by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the *Madjma' al-tawārīkh* dated 829/1425 (Istanbul, TSK), is characterised by its large numbers of illustrations, their horizontal rectangular format and their spare appearance, all features connected to an early 14th-century prototype, the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb. These Tīmūrid paintings have been labelled as displaying the "historical style". Two volumes of poetry made for Shāh Rukh show an aesthetic different from illustrations in his historical manuscripts. The first, Niẓāmī Gandjawī's *Khamsa* dated 1431 in Harāt (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage), is illustrated by paintings much like those made for his son Bāysunghur. The second, 'Aṭṭār's *Sitta*, is dated 841/1438 in Harāt (Istanbul, TIEM) and combines an extensive programme of illumination with polished, coloured Chinese papers painted with gold landscapes, patterns of flowing water, pomegranates, vines, and bird and flower subjects.

The *Sitta* manuscript signals one of many instances of the renewed impact of Ming dynasty Chinese vocabularies and forms in Tīmūrid painting and illustration. There were numerous exchanges between the Tīmūrid and Ming courts until *ca.* 1425. For example, in 822/1419, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Naḳḳāsh, a painter in Bāysonghor's retinue, joined an embassy to Peking and recorded his observations during the journey.

Although Bāysonghor's patronage is attested as early as 1411, the majority of manuscripts made for him are dated between 1426 and 1433; many of them are illustrated poetic texts. Two calligraphers, Dja'far al-Tabrīzī and Muḥammad b. Ḥusām, dominate this production. The most important of these manuscripts are an *Anthology* (Florence, I Tatti) and a *Gulistān* of Sa'dī (Dublin, CB) both completed in 830/1426-7, a *Kalīla wa-Dimna* of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh dated 833/1429 (Istanbul, TSK), and a *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī dated 833/1430 (Tehran, Gulistān Library). This group evinces a unity of conception, a consistently high quality of paper, ink and pigments, and harmony between image, illumination and calligraphy, and a technical execution of a level rarely equalled. Further refinements are made to the Djalāyirid pictorial tradition—in some instances direct restatements of Djalāyirid paintings—probably resulting from Bāysonghor's acquisition of manuscripts and practitioners after his capture of Tabrīz in 1420. The paintings expand to fill the page with a minimal amount of relevant text; compositions are strictly controlled and depict an abstracted and idealised realm, an effect heightened by radiant colour and minute attention to detail and surface that allows each item to be completely legible.

According to the sources, Dja'far directed production at Bāysonghor's *kitāb-khāna* [see MAKTABA], and one document, the *'arḍadāsht*, lists the projects underway there. Analysed in conjunction with the manuscripts and a vast array of drawings and designs bound into albums (Istanbul, TSK H. 2152; and Berlin, SPK Diez A. fols. 70-3), the design process of codification and distillation used at the workshop can be reconstructed. Artists followed a series of strict conventions and idioms that, in turn, were governed by the final context of the drawing or painting.

Production at Harāt continued after Bāysonghor's death. Manuscripts made for members of the Tīmūrid house include a *Shāh-nāma* for Muḥammad Djūkī *ca.* 1444 (London, RAS), and a *Khamsa* for 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā dated 849/1445-6 (Istanbul, TSK). Little is known about production between *ca.* 1447 and 1470, when numerous attacks on Tīmūrid Khurāsān and occupations of Harāt led to the migration of artists to Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu courts in western Persia.

Harāt once again became a high-level centre of book production under the last Tīmūrid ruler, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara (*r.* 875-912/1470-1506 [*q.v.*]), and the statesman, poet, and man of letters Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*]. A *Ẓafar-nāma* dated 872/1467-8 (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University) is the earliest manuscript associated with Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara; its paintings are invested with political overtones.

In Harātī painting of the late 15th century, compositions from earlier in the century are re-used, and much like the rhetorical complexity of contemporary poetry, the relationships between new and old paintings become increasingly intricate. The formal, static qualities of painting under Bāysonghor are replaced by freer compositions in which figural interaction and the activities of everyday life are emphasised. The temporal aspects of the narrative are also reintroduced and many of the texts chosen for illustration are mystical or Ṣūfī in nature. These developments in painting are clearly seen in a *Bustān* of Sa'dī dated 893/1488 at Harāt (Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organisation) made for Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara and a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī commissioned by Amīr 'Alī Fārsī Barlās, dated 900/1494-95 (London, BM). The formal qualities of painting take on the role of content. Some techniques are further perfected, notably filigree (*munabbat-kārī*), used for the doublures of bindings (e.g. *Mathnawī-i ma'nawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, dated 887/1483 [Istanbul, TIEM]), and *découpage* used in manuscripts (*Dīwān* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara *ca.* 1490 [Istanbul, TIEM]) and single-page calligraphies.

Developments in late 15th-century painting previously attributed to Bihzād [*q.v.*], on the basis of comments made by his contemporaries and 16th-century writers, now seem to have been the inspiration of several artists. In particular, the late Tīmūrid period is important for historiography and at this time biographical notices on artists and calligraphers—Shāh Muẓaffar, Ḳāsim 'Alī, Mīrak Naḳḳāsh, and Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī—begin to appear in contemporary chronicles, marking the increased value attached to painting and painters, and the beginnings of art history writing as a genre.

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(b) *Architecture.*

Tīmūrid architecture has been investigated on many levels and is well documented (early accounts are valuable for the photographic record, but for most complete documentation on individual monuments, see Pugachenkova 1981, O'Kane 1987, Golombek and Wilber 1988). Some 300 monuments are noted in publications and hundreds of others are mentioned in contemporary texts. Architecture during the period of Tīmūrid rule may be divided into three phases: (1) Imperial Tīmūrid (1390-1405); (2) Metropolitan Tīmūrid (1410-1445); and (3) Provincial styles (primarily, second half of 15th century).

(1) *Imperial Tīmūrid.*

This age was dominated by the *persona* of the dynasty's founder, Tīmūr. Aware of architecture's powers, Tīmūr built impressive monuments in both Samarḳand [*q.v.*, for descriptions of monuments], his chosen capital, and Shahr-i Sabz [see KISH], home of the Barlās tribe. These projects were characterised by mammoth scale, lavish glazed tile exteriors and painted interiors, tall, often ribbed, elliptical "double" domes, and experimental vaulting. The grandiosity of this style may be attributed to Tīmūr's self-image as Čingizid heir. Innovation resulted from the mingling of craftsmen from the many regions conquered by him.

At Shahr-i Sabz Tīmūr constructed a mausoleum near his father's tomb for his fallen heir-designate Djahāngīr (777-806/1375-1404) and the Aḳ Sarāy palace (781-98/1379-96) (Masson and Pugachenkova 1978), built with craftsmen from Tabrīz and Gurgandj [*q.vv.*]. The Aḳ Sarāy portal, the only element remaining (50.93 m wide with an arch spanning 22 m), could be seen from a distance of 7 farsangs. According to Clavijo (tr. Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, London 1928), the vast courtyard lying behind this portal was surrounded by many rooms, including harem apartments, a dining hall, and other reception areas, as well as a vast garden. Of the mausoleum of Djahāngīr (Dār al-Siyāda, "Ḥaḍrat Imām") only the imposing left pylon of the entrance block and a magnificent stone-lined crypt remain. Russian scholars reconstruct the mausoleum as a rectangle (50 m × 70 m), with a square courtyard (or covered hall) in the centre and a tomb-chamber over the crypt at the rear, similar to the shrine of Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*]. Built by Tīmūr at Turkestan in 799-801/1397-99, the Yasawī shrine (65.5 m × 46.5 m) is as impressive as the buildings of Shahr-i Sabz. It consists of a monumental portal, followed by a large square domed hall, leading into the mausoleum of the *shaykh*. This axis is flanked by a series of rooms of different shapes, some with designated functions (*masdjid*, kitchen, dining hall). Because of its excellent state of preservation and the rich documentation, it provided L.Yu. Man'kovskaya (1985) with important insights into the craft of the architect, such as the dimensions of the *gaz* (see DHIRĀʿ; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1336/1957-8, ii, 16) and the geometrical analysis of plan, elevation, and decoration (see also Bulatov 1978). Calling it a "museum" of vaulting technology, G.A. Pugachenkova (1981) saw these experiments as critical to the invention of the vault on intersecting arches in the next phase by Ḳiwām al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Architects associated with Shīrāz, either natives or their descendants, were particularly prominent in the Tīmūrid court. Two architects with Shīrāzī *nisbas* signed the tilework at Turkestan. Craftsmen from Tabrīz and Iṣfahān cast a huge bronze cauldron and other artifacts for the shrine (A.A. Ivanov, *O bronzov'ikh izdeliyakh kontsa XIV v. iz mavzoleya Khodža Ahmeda Yasevi*, in *Srednyaya aziya i ee sosedi v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, ed. B.A. Litvinskiy, Moscow 1981, 68-84).

But it was in Samarḳand that Tīmūr chose to make his mark (for descriptions of specific monuments, see SAMARḲAND). Prior to his return from the Indian campaign, Tīmūr's building activities here were limited to the citadel and two suburban gardens, described by texts as exceedingly beautiful, of the *čahār-bāgh* type, divided into four sections by axial canals, with a pavilion at the intersection. They were built for his wives but used for the reception of ambassadors and other occasions (L. Golombek, *The gardens of Timur: new perspectives*, in *Muqarnas*, xii [1995], 137-47). A series of cube-like mausoleums, notable for exquisite tilework, were erected along the lane leading up the slope of the old city to the shrine of Ḳutham b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (the "Shāh-i Zinda") by female members of his family and prominent *amīrs* (Nemtseva 1977). Tīmūr's *masdjid al-djāmiʿ* ("Bībī Khānum"), founded on 14 Ramaḍān 801/21 May 1399 (Yazdī, ii, 144-7) at the north end of the city, borrows many features from imperial architecture: colossal scale (109 m × 167 m), impressive towering façade, flanked by towers, and "green" tiled domes, signifying imperial power. An earthquake in 1897 destroyed much of what had already fallen in ruins, but the four axial

units around the courtyard remained, and the mosque has been fully restored. Minarets spring from the four corners and pairs of minarets flank both entrance portal and *ḳibla-īwān*. A large elliptical dome set on a cylindrical drum rises over the cruciform *miḥrāb* hall. The bulk of this *miḥrāb* hall, which is roofed by a second, shallower dome on squinches, is so enormous that it dwarfs the adjoining columned halls (once supported by some 480 stone columns). Smaller domed halls behind the side *īwān*s provide visual accents to the lateral axis. In addition to the other usual decorative techniques, unglazed terracotta was used on the *ḳibla-īwān* for the foundation inscription (801/1399), repeating the genealogy above the stone entrance portal (806/1403-4), which links Tīmūr to Čingiz Khān. When Tīmūr reviewed the progress of the project in 807/1404, he considered the scale too modest, had it torn down and rebuilt, and executed the supervisors.

In 805/1403 the heir-presumptive, Muḥammad Sulṭān, had died and was brought to Samarḳand for burial in his *madrasa-khānaḳāh* complex. This was one of the first Tīmūrid ensembles planned around a mutual courtyard. In 807/1404 Tīmūr commissioned a mausoleum to adjoin this courtyard, today known as the Gūr-i Mīr, which eventually became his own tomb (later burials include Shāh Rukh and Ulugh Beg [*q.vv.*]) (*Les mosquées de Samarcand*, 1905). Although not of mammoth scale, its melon-shaped turquoise ribbed dome evokes grandeur and elegance.

Decoration. Tīmūr's major buildings were lavishly reveted in glazed tile: carved and glazed terracotta, *haft-rangī* (a technique similar to *cuerda seca* in which the design is incised and/or drawn with a greasy substance to separate colours), mosaic tile (tiles of different colours are cut into shapes to form patterns), and *hazār-bāf* (lit. "thousand-weave", also known as *bannā'ī*, "mason's" technique, simulating the pattern of masonry, consisting of glazed bricks or ends of bricks, set into a matrix of unglazed bricks to form geometric and epigraphic patterns to cover large surfaces). Plastered interiors were often painted with gold and lapis designs, and vaults were filled with cascades of *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*], dados of hexagonal glazed tiles, turquoise or green, lined walls.

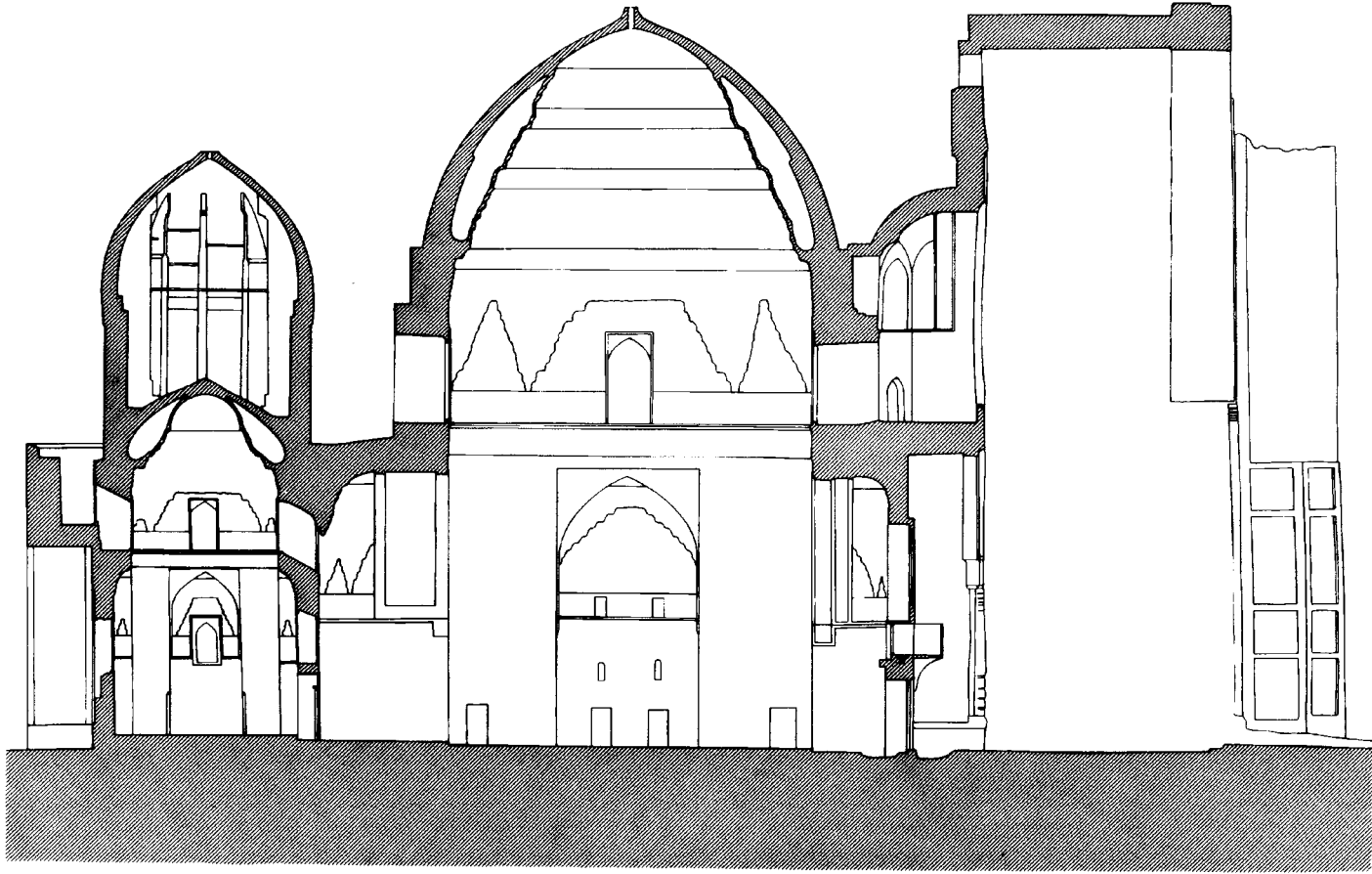
(2) *Metropolitan Tīmūrid.*

During the reign of Shāh Rukh, major building projects were undertaken by his wife Gawhar Shād and several of his powerful viziers and *amīrs*, such as Pīr Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khʷāfī and Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (O'Kane 1987; Allen 1981). Near the citadel within the old walled city, Shāh Rukh built a *madrasa-khānaḳāh* complex (non-extant) and rebuilt the chief bazaars in fired brick. Gawhar Shād undertook two major projects, both designed by the brilliant architect Ḳiwām al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn Shīrāzī. These were the *masdjid al-djāmi'* of Mashhad [*q.v.*] (819-21/1416-18; Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*] signed the inscription on the *ḳibla-īwān*) and the *masdjid al-djāmi'* and *madrasa* ensemble (later designated as the "Muṣallā") west of the old city of Harāt [*q.v.*] (820-41/1417-38). While the mosque at Mashhad has a classic four-*īwān* plan, the *madrasa*, only fragments of which remained after the destruction of the "Muṣallā" in 1885, must have shown the same innovative features as three other *madrasas* built at the same time but still preserved: at Samarḳand and Bukhārā (simultaneously by Ulugh Beg, 820-3/1417-21) and at Khargird (the Ghiyāthiyya, by the vizier Pīr Aḥmad al-Khʷāfī, completed 848/1444-5). The latter was also built by Ḳiwām al-Dīn but completed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī after the master's death in 842/1438. The shrine of Khʷādja 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] at Gāzur Gāh, built by Shāh Rukh in 829-32/1425-9, resembles a *madrasa* but is actually a monumentalised funerary enclosure (*ḥaẓīra*), the religious proscription against mausoleum, yet allowing for an awe-inspiring structure (Golombek 1969). All of these buildings stress symmetry and rationality, with impressive façades, corner towers or minarets (at Samarḳand all four corners have minarets), and a well-defined entrance block, accessed through a polygonal vestibule, leading laterally to two public halls for lectures or prayer. The Khargird *madrasa* has two domed halls, a *masdjid* with its dome resting on recumbent arches, and a lecture hall with an extraordinary lantern dome on intersecting arches. This innovative design repeats and improves on Ḳiwām al-Dīn's mausoleum for Bāysonghor in the Harāt mausoleum. The transition from square walls to circular dome is effected not by squinches bridging the corners, as had been the practice for centuries, but by opening the walls to form arches, intersecting in the corners. Plaster ribs rise from the arched recesses to create a sense of flotation in space.

Major monuments continue the same decorative techniques except for carved and glazed terracotta, which disappears, and *haft-rangī* tilework becomes less prominent. Inset technique is further developed (composite mosaic tiles are set into larger designs). Plaster *muḳarnas* ornament in vaulting gives way to the arch-net (a network of intersecting plaster ribs, forming stellate patterns).

(3) *Provincial styles.*

During the second half of the 9th/15th century, quality and quantity of major projects declined in Khurāsān. Most buildings were poorly constructed and sparsely decorated (except for royal sponsorship). Economical *haft-rangī* tilework resumed popularity. Complex vault construction gave way to simple corbelling, concealed by fancy plasterwork. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara [see ḤUSAYN (b. Manṣūr)] and Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*] were the major patrons, although many officials and aristocracy built minor constructions, such as funerary enclosures, *ḥaẓīra*. Most notable were the royal *madrasa* and dynastic mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥusayn in Harāt and the Ikhlāṣiyya complex of Nawā'ī, which included a *masdjid al-djāmi'*, a *madrasa* and *khānaḳāh*, a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ* (place for Ḳur'ān reading), a hospital, and a bath (M. Subtelny, *A Timurid educational and charitable foundation: the Ikhlāṣiyya complex of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī in 15th-century Herāt and its endowment*, in *JAOS*, cxi/1 [1991], 38-61). Only four minarets of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's *madrasa* remain, and nothing of Nawā'ī's complex. Nawā'ī's extensive patronage is eulogized by Khʷāndamīr [*q.v.*], but only his restoration of the Kartid mosque of Harāt and several caravanserais testify to his building activity. Outside the walled city on the east new suburbs were encouraged through the digging of the Djūy-yi Naw by Abū Sa'īd [*q.v.*], which enabled the creation of many garden estates, including Sulṭān Ḥusayn's famous Bāgh-i Djahān-Ārā.

The provinces benefited from the attention of local Tīmūrid governors or their Turkmen replacements. Yazd under Mīr Čaḳmāḳ Shāmī developed new suburbs with superb monuments, and Ṣūfī orders (e.g. the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya [*q.v.*]) acquired magnificent *khānaḳāhs* and mausoleums (in Yazd, Taft, Bundarābād, Maybūd and Abrandābād; see Afshār 1969). The characteristic Tīmūrid mosque in this region incorporated adaptations of the long transverse halls found in the old *masdjid al-djāmi'* of Yazd (late 8th/14th century

Shrine of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī, Turkestan, longitudinal section. After drawing by L.Yu Man'kovskaya.

Masdjid al-Djāmiʿ of Tīmūr, Samarḳand, ground plan.

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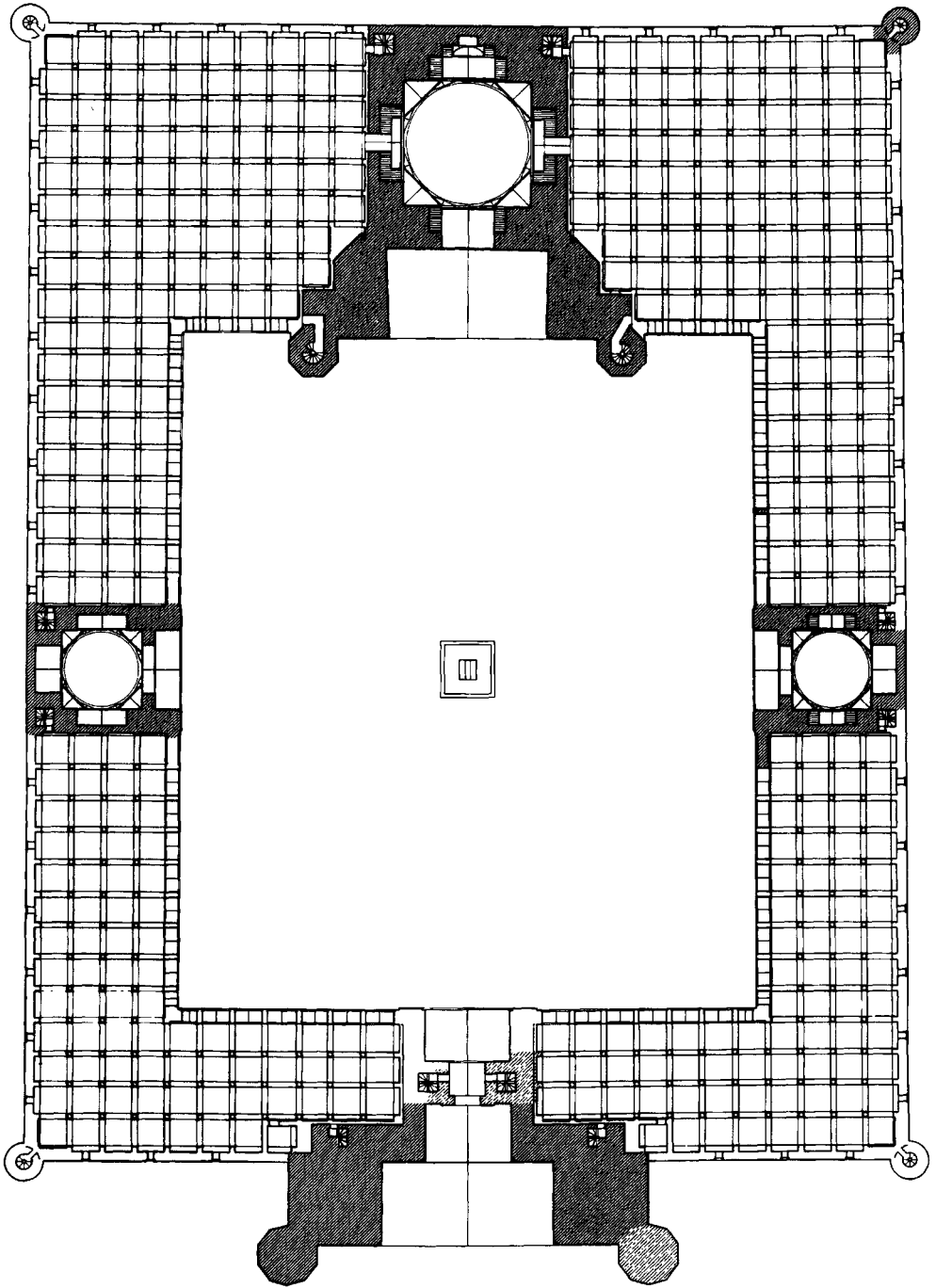
additions), either flanking the *kibla* dome or as a "winter" mosque unit. Little remains of Turkmen construction at Tabrīz, except for the "Blue Mosque" (Muẓaffariyya, 1465), a multi-purpose institution, with a central dome, surrounded by arcades and followed by a small domed *masdjid*, possibly with crypt below. Its type relates to such complex mausoleums as the ʿIshrat-khāna of Samarḳand (*ca.* 869/1464; M.E. Masson, *et alii*, *Mavzoleĭ Ishratkhana*, Tashkent 1958), built by Ḥabība Sulṭān Begum, the wife of Abū Saʿīd. At Ḳumm and throughout Māzandarān, new mausoleums were erected at Shīʿī shrines, mostly tomb towers of modest scale (B. O'Kane, *Timurid stucco decoration*, in *AI*, xx [1984], 61-84). Architecture in Shīrwān (Palace of the Shīrwānshāhs at Bākū; Bretanitskiy 1966) continues the fine stone masonry tradition of this region, untouched by the Tīmūrid "Metropolitan" style.

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(c) *Ceramics.*

Ceramic production in this period was strongly influenced by imported Chinese blue-and-white porcelains, travelling primarily by sea but also with embassies over land. The idea of painting in cobalt under a clear glaze, and initially the cobalt itself, was imported by the Chinese from the Middle East to suit the taste of the many foreigners (Muslims) employed by the Mongols. These wares were highly successful in the Muslim West, where they began to appear in Syria and Egypt in the late 14th century (P.J. Riis and V. Poulsen, *Hama: les verreries et poteries medievales*, iv/2 of *Hama, Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-38*, Copenhagen 1957). Large quantities of Chinese porcelain were amassed in the collections of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul (R. Krahl (ed.), *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum*, London 1986) and in the Porcelain House of Shāh ʿAbbās at the shrine of Ardabīl (J.A. Pope, *Chinese porcelains from the Ardebil shrine*, Baltimore 1956). They were widely imitated in the Islamic world thereafter, and much confusion has beset attempts to differentiate production centres on the basis of decoration alone. The following discussion incorporates findings based on petrographic analyses (study of the mineralogy and technology of the body fabric in thin-section; Mason and Golombek 1990; for results of recent studies, see Golombek, Mason, and Bailey 1996).

The Tīmūrids' passion for Chinese blue-and-white is attested in miniature paintings, in Clavijo's report, and accounts of gifts requested by Muslim visitors to the Ming court (E. Bretschneider, *Chinese intercourse with the countries of Central and Western Asia in the fifteenth century*, in *The China Review*, v/1-4 [1876-7], 13-40, 109-32, 165-82, 227-41). However, imports could not satisfy local demand. In 1402 Tīmūr brought home potters from Damascus (Clavijo, tr. Le Strange, 287-8), where they were already making fine imitations of Chinese porcelain. They introduced Samarḳand potters to stonepaste (frit-ware) technology and the repertory of Yüan motifs. Although no kilns of this period have been found at Samarḳand, petrographic analysis of dozens of sherds unearthed in the Tīmūrid citadel indicate a single source of origin in the region. The use of sand for quartz, which constitutes the bulk of the stonepaste fabric, also points to Syrian practice, as does the frequent occurrence of a spiky blossom peculiar to Syrian blue-and-white wares.

Ulugh Beg's edict of 814/1411 (J.E. Woods, *Timur's genealogy*, in *Intellectual studies on Islam: essays written in honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. M. Mazzaoui and V.B. Moreen, Salt Lake City 1990, 115) permitting foreign craftsmen and others to return home dispersed this technology and repertory to other pottery-producing centres in Persia, while still others returned to Damascus and Anatolia. Prior to the Mongol conquest, Nīshāpūr had a long history as a centre for pottery production (C. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: pottery of the early Islamic period*, New York 1973). In response to new demands from the court at Harāt for luxury pottery, Nīshāpūr production was revived. In the second half of the century, this city produced wares resembling Cizhou pottery, painted in black under a transparent turquoise glaze. Four of these bear dates (1468-95; see Lane 1957, pl. 20A; Reitlinger 1958, fig. 12) and are characterised by scrollwork scratched through the black pigment. Nīshāpūr was the chief producer of this style, as revealed through comparison with sherds found at a Nīshāpūr kiln (unpublished), but others were made at Mashhad. Imitations have been found in Khurāsān, Sīstān, Central Asia and Anatolia ("Miletus" ware; J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Sarachane in Istanbul*, ii, *The pottery*, Princeton 1992). The dominant line of production at Nīshāpūr consisted of imitations of Chinese blue-and-white, particularly of the Xuande period. Large dishes, bordered with Chinese wave-and-crest motifs, have floral designs with groups of peonies, chrysanthemums, or lichees, or animals in vegetation. The cobalt is often "heaped-and-piled" (applied in light and heavy tones, sometimes in relief) affecting the Chinese manner. A second blue-and-white group features interlaced stellate patterns with scale-fill or hatching. Both types bear the hallmark of the Nīshāpūr pottery on the exterior, a scroll made up of double volutes ("double-scroll" motif), sometimes with foliate elements. The city continued to make fine pottery into the Ṣafawid period, as attested by a dish dating to 929/1522-3 and naming Nīshāpūr as its place of manufacture (Golombek and Mason 1995).

The Mashhad workshop has been identified through sampling of two dated pieces: a small green-painted pot (848/1444-5, Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, no. 1888.570; Grube 1974) and a blue-painted floral

dish similar to the Nīshāpūr "peony" group (878/1473-4, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, no. VG2650; A.A. Ivanov 1980). Mashhad dishes often use a wave-and-crest border for the rim which resembles a caterpillar. Possibly also from Mashhad come the series of deep bowls and handled mugs bearing sinuous dragons (Grube 1988-9). The founding of a workshop in Mashhad was probably in response to the increased pilgrimage trade resulting from Shāh Rukh's build-up of the city.

A minor workshop in an unidentified region supplied blue-and-white pottery of inferior quality to ports on the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, as pots of the same petrofabric were found at Sīrāf [*q.v.*] and in East Africa.

Toward the end of the 9th/15th century, the Turkmen dynasties founded a pottery in the Tabrīz region, importing potters from Khurāsān for this purpose. The geology of the region did not easily support stonepaste production, and a glassy substitute gave poor results (Mason and Golombek 1990). Nevertheless, potters initially made finely-painted wares in the Khurāsān style and, later, mass-produced wares. The first phase is characterised by very precise drawing and resembles early Iznik blue-and-white pottery (for example, dish in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, illus. in Reitlinger 1938, fig. 33). Some of these potters were probably among those named in Ottoman documents as having worked on a building in Istanbul (G. Necipoğlu, *From international Timurid to Ottoman: a change of taste in sixteenth-century ceramic tiles*, in *Muqarnas*, vii [1990], 136-70). The second phase, which continued into the 10th/16th century, comprises a wide-footed (with comma-like motifs on the exterior) and a narrow-footed group (with water-weed design on the exterior). Designs copy earlier Tīmūrid models or contemporary Chinese imports. A large quantity of these survive in the Dāghistān village of Kubāča and show much duplication (Lane 1939; Golombek 1993). How they arrived there is not known, but the assemblage includes Nīshāpūr and Mashhad wares, as well, and large quantities of 16th-17th century pottery from an unknown kiln source. The Tabrīz workshop also produced celadon-like wares. A small production in lustre-wares, particularly tiles, continued, probably at Kāshān (O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985, 157-63).

In this period not only did Chinese designs come to dominate but pottery shapes also followed Chinese models. Unlike European potteries, which fell under the same spell a century later, the Tīmūrid kilns were unable to reproduce true porcelain. Chinese porcelain had an impact on Persian pottery far outlasting the Tīmūrid period, for subsequent generations of potters scarcely deviated from Chinese models.

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(Lisa Golombek)

(d) *Metalwork.*

The earliest examples are part of a group of seven objects—a large cauldron and six tall oil lamps—from the shrine complex of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī (see (b) above). All but one lamp carries an Arabic inscription indicating that it was made by order of Tīmūr, while the cauldron's inscriptions specifically state that it was made for the shrine in 801/1399. These first Tīmūrid wares represent the coalescing of a number of distinct artistic trends and metalwork techniques from within and outside of the Persian world, a fusion that came about as a direct result of the Tīmūrid invasions of central and western Asia in the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

Apart from the objects from the shrine, which date or are datable to this same period, there are more than twenty examples that bear inscribed dates from the 15th or early 16th century. These represent two basic types of metalwork: brass inlaid with precious metal; or brass or copper that is frequently tinned, producing a silvery surface. Along with their dated inscriptions, these wares are further distinguished from earlier Persian metalwork in terms of their shape, technique, decoration and/or epigraphy. Numerous other metal objects can likewise be ascribed to the Tīmūrid period based on analogies with the dated examples.

The most common shape is a type of small pot-bellied tankard with a dragon-shaped handle. Other vessel types include a shallow dish whose prototype may be found in 14th-15th century Chinese pottery and a large hemispherical bowl. There is a bucket with wide shoulder that gradually tapers towards the base and a very similarly-shaped vessel with a spout. The characteristic candlestick has a chamfered shoulder; the base gradually tapers outward toward the wide, splayed bottom, and the socket is often in the form of a pair of entwined open-mouthed dragons. The tankard occurs among inlaid and non-inlaid wares, while other shapes are restricted to non-inlaid wares. Such metalwork is depicted in Tīmūrid painting, although it is unclear whether or not they represent objects made of precious metal that have not survived.

Among the inlaid wares, the technique is much finer than in earlier periods and is restricted to small-scale decoration, while for the first time tinned brass and copper, with bold, large-scale designs, are pro-

duced as a luxury ware. The decoration virtually excludes figural representation and instead relies on floral and vegetal motifs, as well as geometric and abstract ornament. Inscriptions in *naskh*, *thulth*, and occasionally *nasta'lik* often have a prominent role in the decoration. Inscriptions quote from Persian poetry, including the work of Ḥāfiẓ, Ḳāsim-i Anwar, Ṣāliḥī and Djāmī; the three latter poets were all active in Khurāsān in the 15th century.

Most objects have been ascribed to Khurāsān, and, for the inlaid wares, its capital Harāt. Evidence for such attributions is provided, in part, by signed examples where the artist's *nisba* is formed after a place-name in eastern Persia. One inlaid tankard, in the British Museum, is inscribed with the name and titles of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara. Some brass candlesticks carry a particular verse by the contemporary poet Ṣāliḥī, whose work seems not to have been well-known outside eastern Persia, suggesting that such wares are products of Khurāsān. The decorative repertoire and style of the inlaid and non-inlaid wares is in keeping with that of other Tīmūrid arts, particularly manuscript illumination.

Bibliography: A.A. Ivanov, *A group of Khurasanian coppers and bronzes of the 15th century*, in *Trans. of the State Hermitage*, x (1969), 157-67 (in Russian); idem, *On bronzes from the late 14th century from the shrine of Khodja Ahmad Yasawi*, in *Central Asia and its society*, ed. B.A. Litvinskiy, Moscow 1981, 68-84 (in Russian); A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic metalwork from Iranian lands, 8th-18th century*, London 1976; L. Komaroff, *The Golden Disk of Heaven: metalwork of Timurid Iran*, Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York 1992; eadem, *Persian verses of gold and silver. The inscriptions on Timurid metalwork*, in *Timurid art and culture*, ed. L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, Leiden 1992, 144-57.

(LINDA KOMAROFF)

4. Numismatics.

The Tīmūrids based their currency on a monometallic system of silver coinage for the entire period of their rule. A gold coin exists, however, struck by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu in Baghdād dated 849 in the name of Shāh Rukh as evidence of Tīmūrid overlordship of 'Irāḳ al-'arabī. Quarter-ashrafī gold coins were also struck in Badakhshān by Sulaymān Mīrzā and Shāh Rukh during the reigns of their Mughal cousins Humāyūn and Akbar in India. An occasional copper coinage is also known in the names of Tīmūr and his son Shāh Rukh, but little of this has been published. It may be presumed that foreign gold coinage (mostly Venetian ducats and Mamluk ashrafīs which were treated as a commodity) was readily available in dealings between important traders and merchants. Equally, it is likely that the authorities of important towns issued a plentiful anonymous copper coinage to facilitate the daily purchases of their inhabitants.

It is obvious from examination of the coins themselves that the origins of the Tīmūrid tanka [*q.v.*] and its subdivision the dirham lie in the coinage issued by the Čaghatayid Khāns of Transoxiana, Tīmūr's immediate predecessors and later his theoretical overlords in Samarḳand. This was never part of the Il-Khānid coinage system established by Maḥmūd Ghazan in 696/1296-7, where the currency was based on a silver dīnār divided into six dirhams, and 10,000 dīnārs were equal to one tuman (the principal unit of account). Because the Tīmūrids had no central government bureaucracy to organise a unified coinage for their territories, they tended to continue the coinage standards of the states they had conquered, resulting in a multiplicity of silver coins of varying weights. This decentralised system was the rule both before and after the time of Shāh Rukh, except for a period between 827 and 850/1424-46 when a generally uniform tanka weighing approximately 5.2 grams circulated throughout his lands. This tanka, which was issued in huge quantities, received the popular name of Shah Rukhī, and became a unit of account in its own right in Eastern Persia, Afghānistān and early Mughal India.

The obverse on nearly all Tīmūrid coins contains the Sunnī *kalima*, with the names, and frequently the epithets of the four Orthodox Caliphs in the margin, although three conciliatory-minded rulers, Abū Sa'īd, Ḥusayn Bayḳara and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Bābur used the Shī'ī *kalima* or the names of the Twelve Imāms when their mint towns were located in strongly Shī'ī areas. Occasionally the name of the mint was inscribed in a central cartouche in the centre of the obverse die. The reverse inscriptions carried the names and titles of the rulers, followed by a benedictory formula and frequently the names of the mints and dates in which they were issued. The usual title was *al-Sulṭān al-A'ẓam*, but Tīmūr himself never took a title higher than *Amīr* or *Amīr al-Mu'aẓẓam* on his coinage.

Tīmūr struck most of his coinage in the name of his nominal Čaghatayid overlords: Soyūrghatmīsh, between 771 and 790/1370-88, Maḥmūd from 790-806/1388-1404, and finally in his name alone in the last year of his life, 806-7/1404-5. None of the other Tīmūrids struck coinage in the name of a Čaghatayid overlord, but Ulugh Beg, Abū Sa'īd and Aḥmad continued Tīmūr's custom of naming himself *Kūrakān* or *Küreken* (son-in-law). The inclusion of this word provided evidence that the ruler had married a princess of the royal Čaghatayid house, thus continuing the line of Čingiz Khān through their children. In addition, Tīmūr, Ulugh Beg and Abū Sa'īd placed a *tamgha*, formed of three circles arranged in a triangle, as the dynastic mark on their coinage. Most of the other Tīmūrids described themselves as Bahādur Khān, a title made popular by the Il-Khān Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khān.

One feature of the later Tīmūrid coinage, also found on that of their contemporaries the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, was the widespread practise of countermarking coins once, twice or even several times. This custom, which spread rapidly throughout the Iranian lands in the latter part of the 9th/15th century, was probably a way of generating income by charging a fee for validating coins in circulation. The table (see below) summarises the principal members of the family who struck coins both in their own names and by countermarking those of others. While the coins of Tīmūr, Shāh Rukh and Ḥusayn Bayḳara are abundant, and others such as those of Abū Sa'īd are scarce, most of them are rare to extremely rare, which suggests that when the numismatic resources of museums in the former Soviet Union are examined the coinages of other minor rulers may either come to light or become much better known.

The chief Tīmūrid mints were located in the capital cities Samarḳand and Harāt, but, as might be expected in such a decentralised régime, mints operated in nearly every other town of note. It is unfortunate that the superb artistic heritage left by the Tīmūrids did not extend to their coinage, whose dies varied widely in quality. Like those of the Čaghatayids, some were surprisingly crude, while others attempted to uphold the higher artistic standards of the western Persian mints. Their actual striking was, more often

TABLE

Chief Ruler of Dynasty	Area of Rule	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Tīmūr Gūrkhān b. Taraghay	With capital in Samarḳand or Harāt	771-807/1370-1405	AR & AE	
Khalīl Sulṭān b. Mīrān Shāh	"	807-11/1405-9	AR	
Shāh Rukh b. Tīmūr	"	807-50/1405-1447	AV & AR	AR
Ulugh Beg b. Shāh Rukh	"	851-3/1447-9	AR	
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ulugh Beg	"	853-4/1449-50	AR	
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Shāh Rukh	"	854-5/1450-1	AR	
Abū Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Mīrān Shāh	"	855-73/1451-69	AR Sunnī and Shīʿa	AR
Aḥmad b. Abī Saʿīd	"	873-99/1469-94	AR	AR
Maḥmūd b. Abī Saʿīd	"	899-900/1494-5	AR	AR

Lords of Transoxiana	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Bāysonghor b. Maḥmūd	900-3/1495-8	AR	AR
ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd	900-5/1495-1500	AR	AR
Bābur b. ʿUmar Shaykh	903 and 906/1497 and 1500	AR	AR
Lords of Khurāsān			
ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh	851/1447	AR	
Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur b. Bāysonghor b. Shāh Rukh	851-61/1447-57	AR	
Shāh Maḥmūd b. Bābur b. Bāysonghor	861-3/1457-9	AR	
Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Rukn al-Dīn b. Bāysonghor	861/1457	AR	
Yādigār Muḥammad b. Mīrān Shāh b. Bāysonghor	873-5/1469-70		AR
Ḥusayn Bayḳara b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara b. ʿUmar Shaykh	873-913/1469-1508	AR Sunnī and Shīʿa	AR
Muẓaffar Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	911-2/1506	AR	
Badīʿ al-Zamān b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	911-4/1506/8	AR	AR
Lords of Djurdjān and Māzandarān			
Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Bābur	851-61/1447-57	AR Shīʿa	
Shāh Maḥmūd	861-3/1457-9	AR	
Ḥusayn Bayḳara	862-4/1459-60	AR	
Maḥmūd b. Abī Saʿīd	864-900/1460-95	AR	AR
Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd	899-906/1494-1500	AR	AR
Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	903-6/1498-1501	AR	AR
Farīdūn b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	912/1506	AR	
Muḥammad Zamān b. Badīʿ b. Ḥusayn Bayḳara	920-3/1514-7	AR	
Lords of Ādharbāydjān and Gīlān			
ʿUmar b. Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807/1405	no coinage known	
Abū Bakr b. Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807-9/1405-7	AR	
Shāh Rukh b. Abī Saʿīd, in Gīlān	896-9/1490-1	AR	
Lords in al-Djibāl and ʿIrāḳ			
Mīrān Shāh b. Tīmūr	807-10/1405-8	no coinage known	
Rustam b. ʿUmar Shaykh	*ca.* 807-17/1405-15	AR	
Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Shaykh	810/1408	AR	
Other princes until 818/1418		no coinage known	

Lords of Fārs and Sid̲j̲istān	Dates	In own name	Countermarks
Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲	807-12/1405-10	no coinage known	
Iskandar b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲	812-7/1410-5	AR	AR
ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲	838-50/1434-47	no coinage known	
Muḥammad Mīrān S̲h̲āh b. Bāysong̲h̲or	850-5/1447-51	AR	AR
Lords of Kābul, Ḳandahār, G̲h̲azna and, finally, India			
Ḳaydū b. Pīr Muḥammad b. D̲j̲ahāngīr b. Tīmūr	812-20/1409-17	no coinage known	
Soyurg̲h̲atmis̲h̲ b. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲ b. Tīmūr	821-30/1418-27	no coinage known	
Masʿūd b. Soyurg̲h̲atmis̲h̲	830-43/1427-39	no coinage known	
Karats̲h̲ar b. Soyurg̲h̲atmis̲h̲	843-65/1439-61	no coinage known	
Ulug̲h̲ Beg b. Abī Saʿīd	873-907/1468-1501		AR
Bābur b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ b. Abī Saʿīd	910-37/1504-1530	AR	AR
Lords of Balk̲h̲ and Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān			
Pīr Muḥammad b. D̲j̲ahāngīr b. Tīmūr	807-8/1405-6	AR	
Ḳaydū b. Pīr Muḥammad	808-11/1406-9	AR	
Ibrāhīm b. S̲h̲āh Ruk̲h̲	812-7/1409-14	no coinage known	
Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad D̲j̲ūkī	851/1447	AR	
Lords of Uzkand and Farg̲h̲ānā			
Aḥmad b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ b. Tīmūr	812-7/1409-14	no coinage known	
Masʿūd b. b. Soyurg̲h̲atmis̲h̲	830-43/1427-39	no coinage known	
ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ b. Abī Saʿīd	870-99/1465-94	no coinage known	
Bābur b. ʿUmar S̲h̲ayk̲h̲	899-903/1494-7	AR	AR

than not, very careless. The coins were usually dated in ciphers which, to the exasperation of numismatists and collectors, are all too frequently missing from the flan. These numismatic shortcomings may be a contributory factor to the dearth of published material on the dynasty, a regrettable lack because a thorough examination of the Tīmūrid coinage would throw a much clearer light on the history of the rulers who issued it.

Bibliography: S. Album, *A checklist of popular Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa, Calif. 1993 (a useful summary of the Tīmūrid coinage with principal weights and denominations listed by ruler); B. Fragner, *Social and internal economic affairs*, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 491-567; S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum*, vii, and additions, x, London 1875-90. (R.E. Darley-Doran)

TIMURTĀS̲H̲ b. IL-G̲H̲ĀZĪ, second Artuḳid ruler of Mārdīn, was born probably *ca.* 487/1094 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, 418). On Il-G̲h̲āzī's death in 515/1122, Timurtās̲h̲ took Mārdīn without opposition (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 47; *Anon. Syr. Chron.*, 89; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 208; *Kāmil*, x, 426; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, 209; Michael the Syrian, 218), whilst his brother Sulaymān ruled at Mayyāfāriḳīn. In the service of his energetic cousin, Balak, Timurtās̲h̲ was present at Balak's siege of Manbid̲j̲ in 518/1124. That same year, Timurtās̲h̲ took possession of Aleppo (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, 220; Ibn al-Azraḳ, 50).

After a short, disastrous rule at Aleppo, Timurtās̲h̲ withdrew to Mārdīn, thus ending the intermittent interest of the Artuḳids in Aleppo, which had begun seven years earlier. Thereafter, Timurtās̲h̲ furthered his own modest territorial ambitions in the D̲j̲azīra, rejecting the life of virtually ceaseless campaigning adopted by his father and grandfather. Timurtās̲h̲'s abandonment of Aleppo is roundly condemned by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the chronicler of Aleppo (*Zubda*, 225; *Bug̲h̲ya*, 204-7). On Sulaymān's death in 518/1124, Timurtās̲h̲ took Mayyāfāriḳīn, which he was to rule jointly for thirty years (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 48).

It was Timurtās̲h̲'s political misfortune to encounter the tough expansionist policies of Zangī in the D̲j̲azīra. There was also local rivalry between Timurtās̲h̲ and his more bellicose cousin, Dāwūd, the ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā since *ca.* 502/1108-9. After Zangī had defeated the combined Artuḳid forces in 524/1130 (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Atābegs*, 38-9; Michael the Syrian, 240; *Kāmil*, x, 467), Timurtās̲h̲ became "Zangī's vassal" (al-ʿAẓīmī, 408). From 530/1135-6 onwards, Timurtās̲h̲ played a pragmatic game of shifting alliances with Zangī and Dāwūd, outliving both of them. After the deaths of Dāwūd in 539/1144-5 and Zangī in 541/1146, Timurtās̲h̲ enjoyed a brief period of genuine, if modest, power in the D̲j̲azīra.

The pro-Zangid Ibn al-At̲h̲īr castigates Timurtās̲h̲ for a life given over to pleasure (*Atābegs*, 79). However, Ibn al-Azraḳ, the local chronicler of Mayyāfāriḳīn, who worked for Timurtās̲h̲, views his achievements more favourably and provides some glimpses, not found in other sources, of the social and economic life of the time and of Timurtās̲h̲'s increasing commitment to the area. An Artuḳid family tomb was constructed at Mārdīn, and the Karamān bridge, begun in 541/1146-7, was "one of the marvels built in this age" (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 110, 115). Towards the end of his reign, a copper mine was discovered north of Mayyāfāriḳīn (*Kāmil*, x, 215) and Timurtās̲h̲ minted copper coins for local trade (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 120; Spengler-Sayles, 71-8). Timurtās̲h̲'s exact religious allegiance is impossible to determine, although his warm reception of an Ismāʿīlī *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* is described in

Fig. 3. Gūr-i Mīr (tomb of Tīmūr), Samarḳand. Photograph: Donald Wilber.

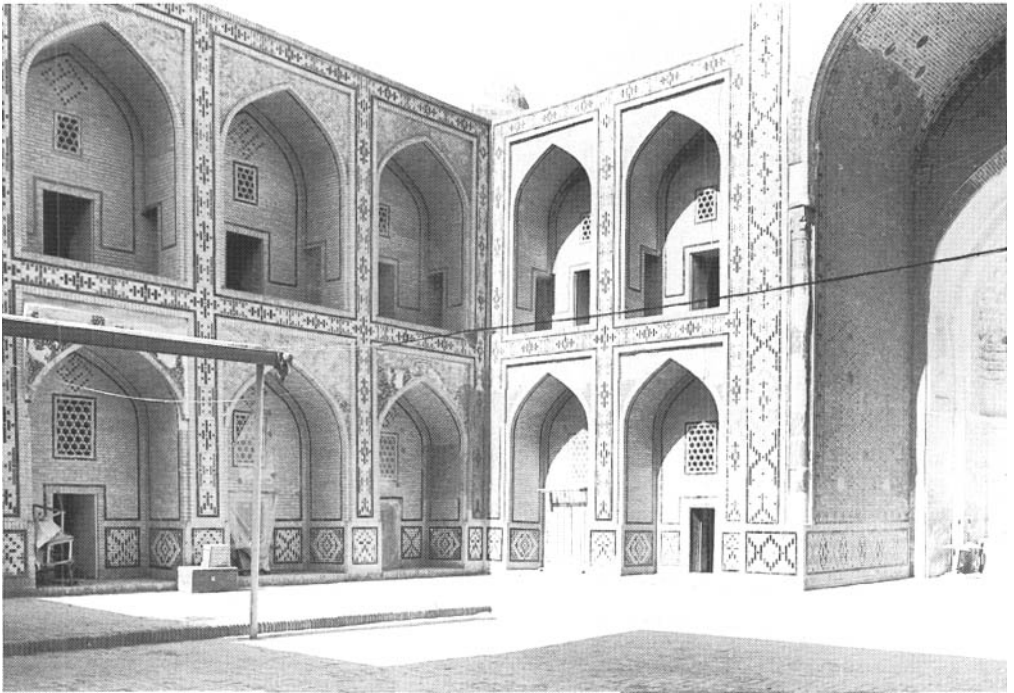



Fig. 4. Madrasa of Ulugh Beg, Bukhārā, courtyard. Photograph: Lisa Golombek.

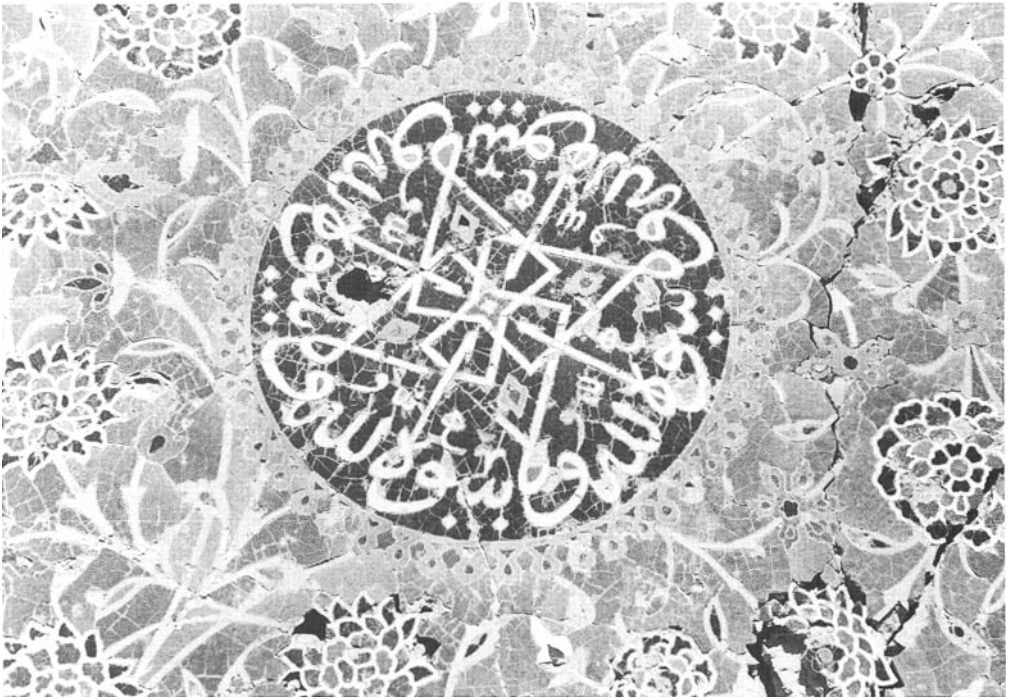
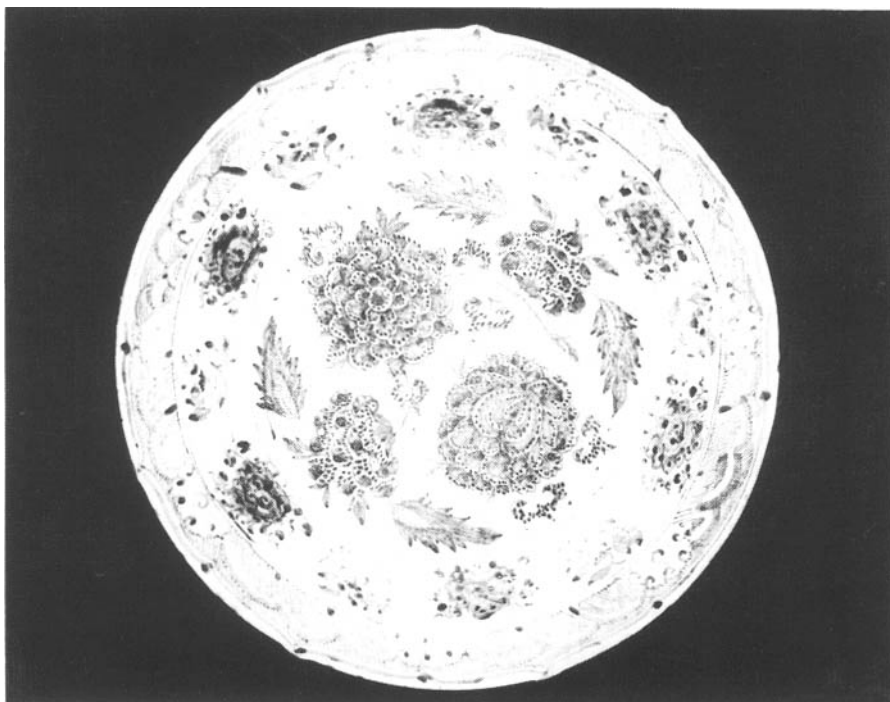



Fig. 7. Muẓaffariyya ("Blue Mosque"), Tabrīz, tile mosaic. Photograph: Donald Wilber.

Large dish, painted in cobalt blue under clear glaze, "peony group", Nīs͟hāpūr workshop, *ca.* 1460. Courtesy of the British Museum, London (no. 1965 7-29,1).

Large dish, painted in cobalt blue under clear glaze. Inscribed with date and place of manufacture (878/1473-4, Mas͟hhad). Courtesy of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (no. VG 2650).

detail by Ibn al-Azraḳ (112). Michael the Syrian states that Timurtās̲h̲ did not treat his Christian subjects well (311). Caliphal recognition of Timurtās̲h̲'s rule arrived in 547/1152-3, only a year before his death (Ibn al-Azraḳ, 134), perhaps an indication that only then did he enjoy genuine local power in the D̲j̲azīra. He died in 548/1154 (*ibid.*, 141; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, 329; al-Bundārī, 244; Sibṭ, 218-9; *Atābegs*, 106).

Timurtās̲h̲ may have lacked the panache and frenetic energy of his father, but his more limited horizons and adaptable style of government over thirty years at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriḳīn laid the foundations for Artuḳid Turcoman rule in the D̲j̲azīra until the early 9th/15th century. Broadly speaking, his successors retained the local emphasis of his polity.

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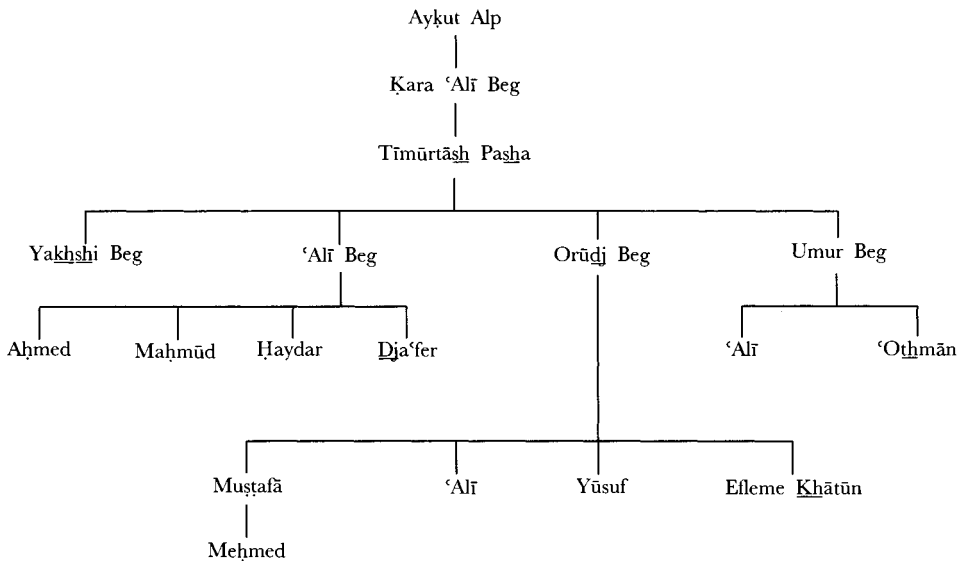
2. Studies. Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76; C. Hillenbrand, *The establishment of Artuqid power in Diyar Bakr in the twelfth century*, in *St. Isl.*, liv (1981), 129-53; W.F. Spengler and W.G. Sayles, *Turkoman figural bronze coins and their iconography*, Lodi, Wisc. 1992; O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi*, Istanbul 1973; G. Väth, *Die Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer in Syrien und der Ǧazīra 'l-Furātīya*, Berlin 1987. See also ARTUḲIDS.

(CAROLE HILLENBRAND)

TĪMŪRTĀS̲H̲ OG̲H̲ULLARÎ, a family which flourished in the service of the early Ottoman sultans in the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries, the most celebrated of its members being the general and *wezīr* Tīmūrtās̲h̲ b. Ḳara ʿAlī Beg, d. 806/1404. In the early Ottoman historical sources, it is called the Āl-i Tīmūrtās̲h̲.

Ḳara ʿAlī Beg's father Ayḳut Alp (d. 725/1325) had been in the service of the somewhat shadowy founding figures of the Ottoman dynasty, Ertog̲h̲rul and ʿOt̲h̲mān I [*q.v.*]. In the first year of Ork̲h̲an's reign (726/1326), Ḳara ʿAlī Beg took the fortress of Hereke on the Gulf of Nicomedia and displayed particular bravery at the siege of Aydos, when he removed with his own hand an arrow that had pierced his eye. Of the origin of the family very little is known, as is also the case with the other noble families of the early Ottoman empire, viz. the D̲j̲andarlî, the Ewrenos and the Mīk̲h̲āl-og̲h̲lu [*q.vv.*]. Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a is mentioned for the first time, when he continued the sultan's conquests along the Tund̲j̲a valley in Bulgaria by Murād I's order with the help of Lālā S̲h̲āhīn Pas̲h̲a [see S̲H̲ĀHĪN, LĀLĀ]. In 767/1365 he took Yeñid̲j̲e Ḳîzîlag̲h̲ač (see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 49-50, where the date is given as 768/1366-7) and Yānbolî (*ibid.*, 53-4, with the same date) in the plain of the Tund̲j̲a. The sources tell us nothing of his activities during the next decade. When Lālā S̲h̲āhīn died towards the end of the Serbo-Bulgar War (777/1375), Tīmūrtās̲h̲ succeeded him as *Beglerbeg* of Rūm-eli. In this capacity he distinguished himself in the first place by organising the army, including creating the *voynuḳs* [see WOYNUḲ], which consisted mainly of Bulgarian Christians who were chiefly used as drivers (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 181-2). It appears that it was at Tīmūrtās̲h̲'s instigation that the felt caps (usually made in Bile̲d̲j̲ik), since the time of Ork̲h̲an worn generally, were limited to the army and that red was decided on as the colour for the headdresses of the Begs and officers (see von Hammer, *op. cit.*, i, 89-90). Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a again came into prominence when he took the fortress of Monastir (the modern Bitolj), Prilep and Is̲h̲tip (the modern Štip) (the date given is 784/1382; see Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 92, 96-97, and also his *Taḳwīm al-tawārīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1146/1733-4, 97. Tīmūrtās̲h̲ crossed the Vardar, invaded the south of modern Serbia and conquered there three strongholds for the sultan. Ḳārlî-eli, viz. Aetolia and Acarnania, the land of the "King of the Epirotes" Carlo II Tocco (d. July 1429), was also hard pressed by him on this occasion. In 787/1385 Tīmūrtās̲h̲ is said to have undertaken a campaign against the Arta (not far from the Ionian Sea), who were showing separatist tendencies (cf. *Epirotica*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1849, 229,22 and Jorga, *GOR*, i, 273), so that he was sometimes here, sometimes there, in Thessaly and in Epirus, districts in which Ṭurak̲h̲ān Beg [*q.v.*] also fought with success. In 788/1386 Ṭurak̲h̲ān Beg suddenly appeared in Anatolia. In the battle which Murād fought on the plain of Ḳonya against his most dangerous opponent, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī of Ḳaramān, he commanded the rearguard of the Ottoman army, and it was his intervention that put the ruler of Ḳaramān to flight and thus decided the battle in favour of the Ottomans. As a reward, he was given the greater part of the plunder and the title of vizier, i.e. a Pas̲h̲a with three tails, which he bore as the first *Beglerbeg* of the kingdom. When in the following year (789/1387) Murād was again preparing for a campaign in Europe, Tīmūrtās̲h̲ remained in Anatolia and administered the district of Germiyān-eli [*q.v.*] in the absence of prince Yaʿḳūb. in 792/1390 Tīmūrtās̲h̲ again appears in the Balkans. In this year, according to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa's *Taḳwīm al-tawārīk̲h̲*, he took Kratovo (Turkish Ḳaraṭowa) east of Üsküb, famous for its mines of silver and copper. In the next year (793/1391) he was taken prisoner in Bursa during a Ḳaramānid raid on it and on Anḳara, was released and revenged himself by defeating the Ḳaramānid on the plain of Aḳčay (in Germiyān-eli), when he hanged him without ceremony, although he was the brother-in-law of Bāyezīd I. From Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲î, who probably drew on Idrīs Bitlīsī (*Has̲h̲t bihis̲h̲t*, iii, 311), we learn of the further history of Tīmūrtās̲h̲ Pas̲h̲a that he conquered Čanḳîrî [*q.v.*] in Anatolia by order of Bāyezīd I in (799/1396-7), and in the following year (800/1397-8), Athens (cf. *Chronicon breve*, in Ducas, ed., Bonn, 516 (Μουρτάζης), and J.H. Mordtmann, in *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, iv [1923], 346 ff.) with the surrounding lands, also Behesnī or Besni [*q.v.*] and Malaṭya [*q.v.*] from the Turkomans, Dīwrigī from the Kurds, Dārende and Kemāk̲h̲ [*q.v.*] (cf. also Saʿd el-Dīn, i, 150), and was busy with warlike enterprises, sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor (see von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 248-9). In the battle of Anḳara (19 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 804/20 July 1402), he with his son Yak̲h̲s̲h̲ī shared the fate of Bāyezīd I and passed as a prisoner into Tīmūr's hands. When the treasures accumulated by Tīmūrtās̲h̲ were discovered in Kütahiya [*q.v.*], Tīmūr heaped

*The geneaology of the Tīmūrtā*s*h O*gh*ullarĭ*

- Aykut Alp
  - Kara ʿAlī Beg
    - Tīmūrtāsh Pasha
      - Yakhshi Beg
      - ʿAlī Beg
        - Aḥmed
        - Maḥmūd
        - Ḥaydar
        - Djaʿfer
      - Orūdj Beg
        - Muṣṭafā
          - Meḥmed
        - ʿAlī
        - Yūsuf
        - Efleme Khātūn
      - Umur Beg
        - ʿAlī
        - ʿOthmān

reproaches upon him and at first refused him his liberty (see von Hammer, *op. cit.*, i, 330, following Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tr. Petis de la Croix, v, 54, p. 1). He only survived the collapse of the Ottoman kingdom for a short time. While lending an army for prince ʿĪsā in the battle of Ulubāṭ (Asia Minor), he was treacherously murdered by one of his own servants in Ramaḍān 806/March 1404. Sultan Meḥemmed I sent the head of the old warrior to his brother Süleymān as a token of victory. His body was taken to Bursa and buried there in a *türbe* by the mosque founded by him, the tomb bearing his name as *Malik al-Umarāʾ Tīmūrtāsh b. ʿAlī Beg*.

He had four sons, who rose to distinction as commanders and *wezīrs*, scholars and ambassadors. Yakhshī Beg fought in the Balkan wars, including at the taking of Nish [*q.v.*] in 788/1386 and at Kosovo, and the battle of Ankara. Orūdj and ʿAlī Begs played roles in the events revolving round Düzme Muṣṭafā and Izmīr-oghlu Djunayd [*q.vv.*]. Umur Beg (d. 865/1461) was a scholar who established *ewḳāf* for the mosque in the quarter named after him at Bursa, with an inscription surviving (see Aḥmed Tewḥīd, in *TOEM*, no. 13, ii, 868 ff.), and was a source for the historian ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde. Of the next generation, Umur Beg's son ʿAlī Čelebi was *defterdār*, to the prince Muṣṭafā, and another son ʿOthmān Čelebi is said to have been killed in 832/1428-9 at the siege of Varna as *sandjaḳ-begi* of Germiyān-eli.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see the sources for early Ottoman history (ʿĀshïḳ-pasha-zāde, Neshrī, Idrīs Bidlīsī, Rūḥī, ʿĀlī, Saʿd el-Dīn, Kemāl-pasha-zāde, Ferīdūn Beg, Ismāʿīl Belīgh) in the bibl. to *İA* art. *Timurtaş* (M.C. Şehâbeddin Tekindağ); İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1961, index; C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, index.

(F. Babinger-[C.E. Bosworth])

TĪN (A.), the common fig (*ficus carica*) and, after Lane, the tree of the *balas*; or, the tree and the fruit itself. Another tree and fruit resembling the *tīn* is called *djummayz*, the sycamore fig, a name included in some lists of simples and treated along with *tīn* (Ibn al-Ḳuff, 338; al-Rāzī, 43). Widespread throughout the Mediterranean from antiquity, it is mentioned in both the Hebrew Bible and the Ḳurʾān (together with the olive, XCV, 1). There are dozens of species and hundreds of varieties, both cultivated and wild, covering a wide spectrum of flavour, sweetness, size and colour. The common fig needs no pollination and is seedless, while other varieties which produce seeds (e.g. Smyrna figs) require pollination with the aid of a species of small wasp. Figs are described as hot and dry, and any ill effects to the stomach may be avoided by washing out the mouth after eating them and drinking *sakandjabīn* (the classical oxymel). Apart from their known laxative property, they are said to dissolve phlegm, purify the kidneys and open obstructions in the liver and spleen. The juice of cooked figs (together with other ingredients) appears in several medical recipes mentioned by Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr (d. 525/1130). The fruit was apparently eaten most commonly unaccompanied, fresh or dried. One culinary preparation recommends how the dried fruit, filled with honey and saffron and steamed in a sieve over boiling water, creates the effect of a freshly tree-picked fig.

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(D. Waines)

ṬĪN (A.), mud, clay.

1. In the Ḳurʾān, it is said that God created man from base clay (contrasted with the superior fire from which Iblīs [*q.v.*] boasts he has been made), and *ṭīn* is the most commonly used word here for "clay" (together with e.g. *turāb*, *ḥamāʾ*) See e.g. sūra VI, 2, VII, 11/12, XVII, 63/61, XXIII, 12, XXXII, 6/7). *Ṭīn* is further used as the substance from which Jesus

will create a live bird (III, 43/49, V, 110). On the general topic of creation from these materials, see KHALḲ, at IV, 981b, and further, ṬĪNA.

2. As the potter's material. See for this, KHAZAF. One might also note that the Ḳur'ān, LV, 13/14, speaks of man being created from clay such as potters use (*ṣalṣāl ka 'l-fakhkhār*).

3. Edible clay or earth. This was a diatomaceous earth or kieselguhr, made up of the siliceous remains of minute marine organisms, and was found in various parts of Persia in mediaeval Islamic times. Al-Thaʿālibī in his *Laṭā'if al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128, 131-2, mentions edible earth (here called *nuḳl*) from Sīrāf [*q.v.*] on the Persian Gulf coast, but above all, from Khurāsān, the districts of Nīshāpūr, Ḳā'in and Zawzan. This last was highly prized, exported all over the Islamic world and given as a present to *amīrs* and kings. This commerce is confirmed by Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, 446-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 432, who styles it *ṭīn nadjāhī* "successful, auspicious, valued clay".

Bibliography: See also Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 410-1, Eng. tr. 436. The whole subject of earth eating was exhaustively treated by B. Laufer in his monograph *Geophagy*, Field Museum of Natural History Publications, 280, Anthropological Ser., vol. xviii/2, Chicago 1930, 101-98, cf. 150-5 on earth eating in the Islamic world. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬĪNA (A.), "matter", originally "a piece of earth", *ṭīn* "earth, clay" [*q.v.*] being the Ḳur'ānic term for the material of creation, and specifically of man (III, 49; V, 110; VI, 2; VII, 12; XXIII, 12; XXVIII, 38; XXXII, 7; XXXVII, 11; XXXVIII, 71, 76; cf. Wensinck *et alii*, *Concordance*, s.v. *ṭīn*, on *ṭīnat Ādam* in the Ḥadīth; Lane, s.v., hence *ibn al-ṭīn* for "man"). In philosophical allegory, the term occurs in direct reference to the Ḳur'ānic *ṭīn*, as in Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy ibn Yaḳẓān* (ed. Gauthier, 27) where the spontaneous generation of a human being from a "fermented mass of clay" is depicted as an allegory for the creation of man.

As a technical term of philosophy, *ṭīna* is used in some early Arabic translations from the Greek, and in the first period of Arabic philosophical writing, to render the basic meaning of Greek ὕλη, Ar. *hayūlā* [*q.v.*], as "matter, material substrate" (synonymously with *mādda*), especially in the sense of the Aristotelian Prime Matter, the substratum of the forms of the primary bodies or στοιχεῖα (*usṭuḳussāt*, *ʿanāṣir*), while *hayūlā* renders the general use of ὕλη in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's introduction to the *Organon* (*al-Manṭiḳ li-Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ*, ed. M.T. Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1978, 4, 4) as of "matter relative to form". See e.g. *ṭīna* for ὕλη in an early version of Aristotle's *De anima*, 403b18, ed. ʿA. Badawī, *Arisṭūṭālīs fī 'l-nafs*, Cairo 1954, 7.13, 31.4; al-Kindī's definition of *ʿunṣur* ("elementary body", "material cause") in his *Risāla fī ḥudūd al-ashyā' wa-rusūmihā* (ed. D. Gimaret, *Al-Kindî, Cinq épîtres*, Paris 1976, 15 no. 9) as *ṭīnat kull dhī ṭīna* "material of everything that has material"; cf. M. Guidi and R. Walzer, *Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele* (*Studi su al-Kindi*, I), Rome 1940, 394 (V 5), 397 (VI 44-6), 403 (XI 8-10); al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 136.4 (explaining *hayūlā*). Ibn Sīnā, in the *Physics* of his *Shifā'* (*al-Samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī*, ed. Saʿīd Zāyid, Cairo 1983, 14-15), explains *hayūlā* qua "prime matter" partaking in all the forms as *mādda wa-ṭīna*, in distinction from *ʿunṣur* "matter" (relative to form) as a general principle of all composition, and from *usṭuḳuss* as a primary element of compound matter (viz. one of the four elements).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, 166. (G. ENDRESS)

AL-TINBUKTĪ [see AḤMAD BĀBĀ].

TINDŪF, conventionally TINDOUF, a small town in the southwestern part of modern Algeria, in the governorate (*wilāya*) of Saoura and at the southwestern end of the Hamada of the Dra near where the modern borders of Algeria, Morocco, the former Spanish Sahara and Mauritania meet (lat. 27° 42' N., long. 80 10' W.). It is now on the road connecting western Algeria with Mauritania, with an airstrip, and has recently acquired economic and political importance because of the proximity of iron ore deposits at Gara Jubeilat just to the south of Tindūf; it was around Tindūf that fighting took place in 1963 between Algeria and Morocco. In *ca.* 1980 the population of the town was 6,500. (ED.)

TINMAL, TINMALLAL (in Berber, denoting terraces for agriculture on a mountain side, though other etymologies have been put forward), the name of a mountain and a village on a plateau in the High Atlas, on the road to the col of Tizin-Test, which was the centre for the Almohad expansion. Surrounded as it is by high peaks (around 3,000 m/ 9,800 feet), with steep access routes, the site is almost impregnable. It had of old a sacred character, where the mountain tribes made agreements and took oaths, explaining, in part, the choice there of the future Almohad Mahdī, with whose dynasty Tinmal was closely linked. It came within the territory of the Hazmīra who provided Ibn Tūmart with a refuge during his campaigns against the Almoravids.

Once installed at Tinmal after his *hidjra*, the future Mahdī formed around himself a community formed of various tribal elements: Hargha, Hintāta, Gadmīwa and Ganfīssa. Fearing the power of his hosts there, Ibn Tūmart pitilessly had them massacred. Tinmal now became the bastion of the *ahl Sūs* against the power of Marrākush. The town was ringed with walls topped by towers, access was by a single bridge, and al-Idrīsī affirmed that four men could defend the capital Tinmal. The Mahdī's own house and mosque formed the core of this embryonic state. The Almohad campaigns and the influx of booty and captives gave the region considerable prosperity. After the destruction of the Almoravid fortress of Tasghimūt in 526/ 1132, its gates were brought, with great pomp, to decorate the Bāb al-Fakhkhārīn at Tinmal. It is possible that Tinmal had a mint at this time. It was here that Ibn Tūmart set forth the main lines of the new order and perfected his strategy against the Almoravids.

On his death there, his heir and successor ʿAbd al-Mu'min transformed Tinmal into a pilgrimage centre, praying at Ibn Tūmart's tomb before making any great decision and endowing the shrine with *awḳāf*; the cult of the Mahdī was in fact to survive the demise of his dynasty. The caliph continued building works at Tinmal, including a remarkable mosque. On his death, he was buried with Ibn Tūmart, and henceforth Tinmal became the official necropolis of the Almohad caliphs; thus the remains of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, killed at the siege of Santarem, were brought back there. Exchanges between Marrākush and Tinmal remained important during the Almohad period, and after the fall of Marrākush and the victory of the Marīnids, the remnants of the Almohads rallied at Tinmal. But the governor of Aghmāt, Abū ʿAlī al-Milyānī, seized Tinmal in 674/1275 and despoiled the tombs of the Almohad caliphs. Even so, the region retained a certain prosperity, and Leo Africanus, *De-*

scription, 113, described Tinmal as very populous, with a fine mosque. From the recent edition of the ms. of al-Zarhūnī, we have information on the place at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. The great Almohad mosque was still functioning, but was shortly to be abandoned on account of its incorrect *ḳibla* orientation. It was still a pilgrimage centre, even though there were only sixty families there. The memory of the Mahdī was still alive, and Almohad coins, brought to the surface by rain storms, were considered as valuable talismans. But the abandoned mosque fell into ruins, and Tinmal fell into oblivion. In the 19th century, the *ḳā'id* al-Gundāfī tried unsuccessfully to restore it.

The archaeological excavations of the present century have shown the importance of the monuments of Tinmal in the history of Maghribī art and architecture. In 646/1248 ʿAbd al-Mu'min announced, in his *Risālat al-Fuṣūl*, the beginning of work on his splendid mosque, replacing the modest building of Ibn Tūmart. The walls of Tinmal had been built within the Almoravid tradition, but the mosque reveals the new Almohad style, with its construction from concrete instead of stone and its use of brick mainly to decorate the doorways, merlons, window surrounds and the walls supporting the four domes. There was a great profusion of stucco decoration, although calligraphic decoration was relatively rare; the dome interiors had *muḳarnas* [*q.v.*] work. Many of the mosque's decorative features were innovations which became points of reference in the future art of the Maghrib. Restoration is in progress, but the limits of the little town at its apogee are still unknown, since its ruins are now partly subsumed under cultivated land.

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(Halima Ferhat)

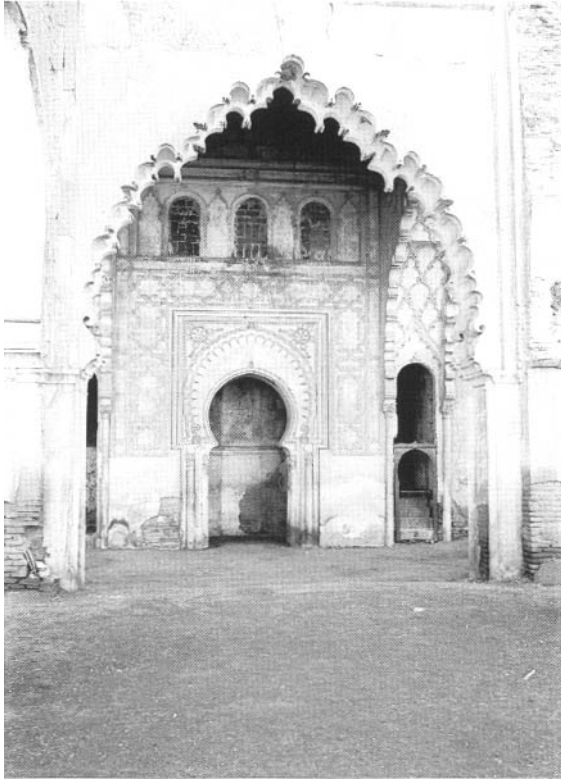
al-**TINNĪN** (a.), lit. "dragon". In astronomy and astrology, this is (1) the Arabic name for the constellation Draco (the third of the 21 northern constellations according to Ptolemy). It contains 31 stars. It became known to the Arabs through translations of Greek astronomical texts, especially Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and is mentioned by this name throughout the Arabic astronomical and astrological literature. The north pole of the ecliptic is situated in this constellation; (2) the Arabic name for the figure of a mythological dragon, or serpent (not of Greek origin), which was assumed to cause solar and lunar eclipses. Its head (*al-ra's, ra's al-tinnīn, caput* [*draconis*]) marked the point of the ecliptic at which the moon's orbit crosses the ecliptic towards the north, its tail (*al-dhanab, dhanab al-tinnīn, cauda* [*draconis*]) the point of its crossing towards the south. At these points eclipses are liable to occur. Arabic and—following them—mediaeval European astrologers treated these two points as pseudo-planets and included them in their casting of horoscopes. These two points of the ecliptic, called in Greek astronomy the ascending and the descending nodes (*al-ʿuḳdatān*ⁱ), respectively, have a retrograde movement along the ecliptic of *ca.* 19½° per year; a full revolution is completed in *ca.* 18.6 years.

Bibliography: *ad 1*, see P. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*..., Wiesbaden 1974, 172.—*ad 2*, see al-djawzahar; cf. also al-kayd (with further literature).

(P. Kunitzsch)

TINNĪS, a town of the eastern part of the Nile Delta of Egypt, in Antiquity called Tenessos. The medieval town of Tinnīs was situated in the fourth climate of the Muslim geographers, occupying almost all of a small island in the Lake Manzala or the Lake of Tinnīs, at the confluence of the waters of the Tanaitic branch of the Nile with the Mediterranean ones, some 30 miles behind the chain of lagoons.

At the time of the Muslim expansion, Tinnīs was governed for the Byzantines by a Christian Arab, one Abū Thawr, but in 20/641, just after the fall of Damietta, it was conquered by force (*ʿanwat^an*) by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's forces, probably explaining why the main church was transformed into a mosque. The city's population continued to grow up to the 11th century, according to the figures of various chroniclers, even though these are probably much exaggerated. At the time of the conquest, the Byzantine governor had 20,000 men to oppose the Arabs. When the Patriarch of Antioch Dionysius of Tell-Mahré passed through Tinnīs in 832, he counted 30,000 Christians; and in 1048 Nāṣir-i Khusraw estimated its male population at 50,000. At least until the 4th/10th century, it remained essentially a Christian city, of Copts but also of some Melkites; Tinnīs was in fact one of those rare places where Melkite bishops maintained themselves after the Islamic conquest, although there seem to have been tensions between the two Churches. This strong Christian presence in a coastal city posed problems for the Muslim rulers. After a Byzantine raid which temporarily captured Damietta [see dimyāṭ] in 238/853, they decided to reinforce the Muslim element of the population. The Christians suffered persecution, moreover, from the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim, who in 403/1012-13 ordered the destruction of most of the churches there (72 destroyed, according to Ibn Bassām); this brought about much Christian emigration, including one of textile industry workers to the Byzantine lands. The progressive Islamisation of Tinnīs was signalled by the building of numerous mosques; in the 6th/12th century, Ibn Bassām again mentions a great mosque and 160 oratories. The Jewish population seems to have been very small; Benjamin of Tudela counted it at this time as some 40 only.

The main problem for the city in mediaeval times was its food supply. The island could not produce enough food for the population, which lived essentially on fish, trapped aquatic birds and a small number of milk-yielding cows. Other provisions arrived from outside, thanks, so Nāṣir-i Khusraw says, to a fleet of small boats which loaded supplies from larger ships touching in at the port or from the mainland. The supply of water was, it seems, even more difficult, since the lake waters were only potable for part of the year, during the summer, when the high Nile waters pushed back the salt waters of the Mediterranean. During the winter, drinking water was stored

Miḥrāb of the Great Mosque.

Arcading of the prayer hall of the Great Mosque.

up in underground cisterns, called "those of the *amīr*" since they were hewn out after Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's visit to Tinnīs in 269/882-3; some of these were rediscovered in the 1980s by excavations carried out by the Egyptian Antiquities Service.

In the Crusading period, Tinnīs was the third port for Egyptian commerce in the Mediterranean after Alexandria and Damietta, and it had especially strong commercial connections with the Syrian ports and then with the Northern Italian trading states. It imported the raw materials for its textile industry such as wool, silk, and gold and silver thread, but the city was also a port of entry for more strategically-valuable materials such as wood, iron and pitch. The textile industry seems to have flourished at Tinnīs since Antiquity, but it was under Islam that it formed, with Damietta, Dabīḳ and some fifteen other less important sites in the Delta, the main centre for linen textiles in the whole Muslim empire. This activity was favoured by the nearby production of flax in the Delta, the presence of still waters for retting or steeping the flax, and a particularly humid climate guaranteeing suppleness of the thread and thus spinning and weaving. The main material used there was flax, spun by women and woven by men. The Egyptian Delta was especially noted for the fine linen cloth known as *ḳaṣab*, that of Tinnīs being coloured whilst that of Damietta was white. Silk thread was imported into the city, probably from Syria, and gold thread was used notably for weaving *dabīḳī* cloth, made essentially from linen and often stitched with gold or silk. This product, of international repute, was at first woven only in the nearby city of Dabīḳ, but production gradually spread to other neighbouring centres of the Delta. Tinnīs had a particularly high place amongst these textile production centres of the Delta in that it had a caliphal workshop (*ṭirāz* [*q.v.*]) working essentially for the Baghdād court of the ʿAbbāsids and then, from the end of the 4th/10th century, for the Fāṭimids in Cairo. Amongst robes made for the Fāṭimid caliphs, the chroniclers mention a seamless robe, the *badana*, made from linen and gold thread. The Tinnīs workshops also produced a cloth especially prized by the court in Cairo, *būḳalamūn*, coloured (violet, red and green) and with a moiré, watered-silk effect, copied from Byzantine models. Finally, the veil of the Kaʿba, the *kiswa* [see KAʿBA] was for most of the mediaeval period woven in workshops of the Delta, and notably at Tinnīs, where detailed mentions of its production there for the years 159/776 and 162/779 exist.

It was apparently in the 3rd/9th century that the eastern shores of the Delta began to be the target of maritime raids. The city was fortified in 230/844 under al-Wāthiḳ and finished in 239/853-4 under al-Mutawakkil, who also ordered the nearby cities of Damietta and Pelusium to be fortified. In the 6th/12th century, Tinnīs's wall had 19 gates. From the second half of this century, raids against the Egyptian Mediterranean ports by Christian ships increased. The Normans attacked Tinnīs in 1151 and again in 548/1154, pillaging the city for three days and carrying off many inhabitants into slavery. In 571/1175, forty Norman ships launched a fresh attack on the city, but retreated after two days' of fighting. However, an attack two years later took the garrison by surprise, and the city was in Norman hands for several days, and was plundered and burnt. In 577/1181-2 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had to order the building of a citadel and the repairing of the city walls. The Third Crusade had led to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's fleet becoming weakened, and fresh expeditions against the Egyptian coasts were feared. Hence the sultan in 588/1192 evacuated the civilian population of the city and left there only the citadel's garrison. Frankish threats continued into the first decades of the 7th/13th century and assumed firm shape at the time of the Fifth Crusade in the occupation of Damietta. The Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil [*q.v.*] drew a lesson from this episode, and in 624/1227 decided to destroy Tinnīs in order to prevent a new descent and occupation of the region by the Franks. It nevertheless seems that a small town maintained itself for some time amid the city's ruins; but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the town in ruins in 726/1326, and the French traveller Gilbert de Lannoy, who was there in the 1420s, found the same situation.

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(J.-M. MOUTON)

TIPPU TIP [see AL-MURDJIBĪ].

TĪPŪ SULṬĀN, ruler of the south Indian state of Mysore (Mahisūr [*q.v.*]) from 1782 until his death in 1799, was probably born in 1760. His father, Ḥaydar ʿAlī Khān Bahādur [*q.v.*], was a military commander who in 1761 took control of Mysore from the descendants of the dynasty of Hindū rulers that had built up the state from early in the 17th century.

Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and later under Tīpū was in constant contention with the Marāṭhās [*q.v.*] and with those who claimed to exercise Mughal authority in southern India, the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and the Nawwābs of Arcot [*q.v.*] or the Carnatic, as well as with the British East India Company. At Tīpū's succession in 1782, Mysore was locked in a war with the British in which its troops had been more than able to hold their own.

Following peace in 1784, Tīpū built up a well-equipped and trained army of over 60,000, supported by a strong and relatively centralised state administration. Revenue yields were enhanced by eliminating intermediaries between the peasantry and the state and by increasing the levels of taxation. Tīpū also tried to levy resources for the state from commerce, taking some trades under direct government management. Any internal challenge to the ruler was ruthlessly repressed. Tīpū took the title of *Pādishāh*, seeking confirmation from the Ottoman Khalīfa and thus rejecting Mughal authority. He stressed the Islamic nature of his régime without active persecution of his Hindū subjects.

Tīpū's Mysore was drawn into repeated wars: against the Niẓām and the Marāthās and against the British at the head of Indian coalitions from 1789 to 1792 and again in 1799. In the first of the two wars, Tīpū was able to hold the British at bay until the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, defeated him near his capital at Seringapatam [see ŚRĪRANGAPAṬṬANAM] in 1792 and forced him to make large cessions of territory. In 1799, a new Governor-General, the future Lord Wellesley, launched an invasion of Mysore. Seringapatam was stormed and Tīpū died in the fighting. The Hindū dynasty displaced by Ḥaydar ʿAlī was restored under British domination.

Myths attached themselves to Tīpū, both in his lifetime and since. He is seen in modern India both as a secular nationalist and as an enemy of Hindus. To the British, he appeared to be a cruel and implacable foe, bent on expelling them from India with French aid. A more realistic interpretation would be that his efforts to maintain a strong and independent state alarmed the British, who sought first to reduce his power and then to eliminate it altogether.

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(P.J. MARSHALL)

TIRAN, the Ottoman Turkish name for TIRANA, the capital of the modern Albanian Republic.

It is situated on a plain at the foot of Mount Dajti (1,610 m/5,280 feet) some 40 km/25 miles from the port of Durrës [see DRAČ], with the Lana river running through it. It is a relatively recent foundation, of the Ottoman period, from the opening of the 17th century when there was built a mosque, an oven (or *ʿimāret*), a *ḥammām* and shops by Süleymān Pas͟ha (Berkīn-zāde or Bargjini, from a nearby village, d. 1024/1616 during a campaign in Persia, buried in his own mosque). The date of the mosque's construction, 1023/1614-15, is generally taken as the foundation date for the town. The name Tirana comes from that of a pre-existing village on the site, and not, as legend has it, from Ṭihrān/Tehran in Persia, because Süleymān Pas͟ha had been in Persia (cf. Kaleshi, *İA*, art. *Tiran*).

For roughly two centuries, during which the town grew gradually, it remained under the governorship of Süleymān's descendants from father to son: Aḥmed Muk͟htār (who built the minaret on his father's mosque); Ibrāhīm Bey (executed by the Ottomans); Aḥmed Bey; and finally, Ḳahramān Pas͟ha. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, who was there in 1072/1661-2, Tirana was at that time a *ḳaṣaba*, a *voyvodalïḳ* of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Ohrid [see OK͟HRĪ] and seat of a *ḳāḍī* (but this last point does not seem accurate; see Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*, 249-50). It was in the 18th century that it developed most. Ibrāhīm Bey had a fortress built, but it still remained primarily a market town, the centre of an agricultural area, with *ca.* 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants around 1700, all Muslims except for one Roman Catholic family which had been installed there almost from the start. After the struggle with Ḳurt Aḥmed Pas͟ha of Beirut, in which the Orthodox population of the plain had contributed to the defence of the town, Ibrāhīm Bey offered them land along the Lana where the church of St. Procopius was now built; some of these Orthodox now became traders or small manufacturers in the town itself. In *ca.* 1800, Tirana had around 480 shops and 2,000 houses. In 1208/1793-4 Mollā Bey, a descendant of Süleymān Pas͟ha, built a new mosque, completed three decades later by his son Ḥād͟jd͟jī Edhem Bey when he was temporarily in control of the town.

On the death of Ḳahramān Pas͟ha, the male line of beys from Süleymān Pas͟ha came to an end. At this time, the end of the 18th and the opening of the 19th centuries, the region was very troubled by various struggles amongst the notables (Ibrāhīm Bus͟hatlī of S͟hkodra [see ISHKODRA, in Suppl.], Ḳaplan Aḥmed Pas͟ha Toptani of Kruja, ʿAlī Pas͟ha of Tepedelen [*q.v.*], etc.). The town, whose population had been reduced by these wars, finally fell definitively to the Toptanis of Kruja, sons of Ḳaplan Pas͟ha (d. 1816) having married, moreover, the four sisters of Ḳahramān Pas͟ha, and Ḳaplan Pas͟ha himself had become installed in Tirana. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pas͟ha (d. 1837) gave Tirana a new *medrese* and a library, restored the ancient mosque and laid out the town in six quarters. His prudence allowed the family to survive, unlike others, *vis-à-vis* the central Ottoman government, even though the fortress was demolished by the authorities in 1830-1. It was in the time of Aḥmed Bey b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that the Roman Catholic cathedral (*Kïsha e së Madhes virgjin*), financed by Austria-Hungary, protecting power of the religious interests of Albanian Catholics, was built (1856). In the atmosphere of the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms, a *rüs͟hdiyye* school was built in 1862 and also a post and telegraph office. In 1873, a new and more splendid Orthodox cathedral was built (*Kïsha e vangjelismos*). Two bridges were built over the Lana. As part of the administrative reforms of 1864-5, Tirana became the centre of a *ḳaḍā*, with about 100 villages, almost all Muslim, of the *sand͟jaḳ* of Durrës in the *wilāyet* of S͟hkodra. On the plain, almost all the lands were *čiftliks* [*q.v.*] belonging to the Toptani family.

According to the Austrian consul J.G. von Hahn, *ca.* 1850 the town had 2,000 houses, including 100 Orthodox (almost all Vlachs) and 6 Catholic. This would give a population of about 10,000. The population lived to a considerable extent off their beasts of burden, and the *kirad͟jïs* (purveyors of caravan transport) of Tirana were famed throughout Rumelia. At the opening of the 20th century, the population rose to around 15,000, including 900 Orthodox Vlachs and a handful of Albanian Catholics, to which a certain number of gypsies living in a quarter on the periphery should probably be added. The assertion of the French consul A. Degrand that the Muslims of Tirana were at that time in general Bektās͟hīs and adherents of the Rifāʿiyya must be corrected; in fact, the people were entirely linked with the *medrese* and its three *müderris*. There were 19 mosques, great and small, and a *namāz-gah*, and a dozen *tekkes* belonging to the Ḳādiriyya and the K͟halwatiyya. Only three or four families in the town were linked with the Bektās͟hīs (probably with the Bektās͟hī establishments of Kruja).

The upheavals consequent on the demise of the Ottoman empire affected Tirana, and in 1920, because of its central position, it was chosen as the provisional capital of the Albanian state, whose independence had been recognised in 1913 by the Great Powers. This choice was confirmed in 1925, to the detriment of more important towns like S͟hkodra and Korča [*q.v.*]. Tirana has thus been the capital of the Republic, then the Kingdom (1928-39), then Fascist Albania (1939-44), then the Communist People's Republic (1944-92) and now the new Republic. Population growth was

slow in the inter-war period, but more rapid under Communism (108,200 in 1955; 225,700 in 1989). With the fall of the Communist régime and the possibility for the first time for peasants to move around, population has grown greatly, to 300-400,000 now. The religious proportions have changed, but it is difficult to assess precisely these proportions. The first new arrivals were Muslims in 1919-20 from the town of Dibra, allotted then to Yugoslavia. With the Communist régime and the foundation of Tirana University in 1957, Albanians of all localities and confessions have come to the capital, but in the absence of data on religious confession in censuses, no estimates can be given.

In the 1920s, the religious communities took their place in the new state, in general, with central organisations in Tirana. The Sunnī Muslim community held its first congress there in 1923, a higher *medrese* (*Medrese e naltë*, thereafter *Medrese e përgjithshme*) was founded in that decade for the training of religious cadres. Regarding the Bektās̲h̲īs, it was only in 1929 that a congress on the outskirts of Korča decided to set up a seat of the head of the community (*Kryegjyshata*) in the suburbs of Tirana, with Salih Niyazi Dede (an Albanian by origin), the last chief of the Bektās̲h̲īs in Turkey, as this head. Since the *ṭuruḳ* were now banned in Turkey, the new *tekke* became the "world centre of Bektās̲h̲īs". In the 1930s, two organisations were founded in Tirana grouping together the *ṭuruḳ*: the "Divine Light" (*Drita hyjnore*) for the Ḳādirīs, Rifāʿīs, Saʿdīs and Tid̲j̲ānīs, and the Directorate of the "ʿAlevī sects" for the K̲h̲alwatīs, D̲j̲alwatīs, Guls̲h̲anīs and Malāmīs.

In the Communist period, religious activity was much impaired, especially after 1967 when all places of worship were closed and all religious groups dissolved. The *Kryegjyshata* became an old folks' home, and several mosques and *tekkes* were destroyed or transformed into storehouses, museums (like the mosque of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Edhem Bey), etc., as elsewhere in the land. Since the end of 1990, the Albanian government reauthorised religious practices, with a consequent reorganisation of the various communities. The first act of worship in the Edhem Bey mosque was held on 18 January 1991, two months after the re-opening of the "Lead Mosque" at S̲h̲kodra, followed by three other mosques. The Bektās̲h̲ī *Kryegjyshata* re-opened on 22 March 1991. The K̲h̲alwatī *tekke* of Pazar is being repaired, and the *türbe* of the Ḳādirī Derwīs̲h̲ K̲h̲ātid̲j̲e is visited again. *D̲h̲ikrs* have been held in the Ḳādirī *tekke* of S̲h̲eh Dürri and in a Rifāʿī *zāwiye*. A *medrese* has been provisionally opened near the Kokonozi mosque. Links with the outside Muslim world are numerous, and some fifteen Arabo-Islamic organisations have an office in Tirana.

Bibliography: J.G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, i, Jena 1854, 85-7; S̲h̲ems ül-Dīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1717; A. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la haute-Albanie*, Paris 1901, 184 ff.; Th. Ippen, *Skutari und die Nordalbanische Küstenebene*, Sarajevo 1907, 79-81; G. Louis-Jaray, *Au jeune royaume d'Albanie*, Paris 1914, 49-71; J. Godart, *L'Albanie en 1921*, Paris 1922, 51 ff.; H.I. Dalliu, *Patriotizmi në Tiranë*, ²Tirana 1995 (¹1930), L. Rey, *Guide d'Albanie*, Paris 1930, 86-93; *Tirana 1604-1937*, Tirana 1937; K. Frashëri, *Fillimet e historisë së Tiranës*, in *Bull. per shkencat shoqërore*, Tirana, ii (1956), 126-45; H. Kaleshi, art. *Tiran*, in *İA* (with further references); art. *Tirana*, in *Fjalori Enciciklopedik Shqiptar*, Tirana 1985; Koço Miho, *Trajta të profilit urbanistik të qytetit të Tiranës*, Tirana 1987; A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986, 11-65; M. Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*, Istanbul 1990, 249-65; Nathalie Clayer, *L'Albanie, pays des derviches*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1990; H.T. Karateke (ed.), *Işkodra şairleri ve Ali Emirî'nin diğer eserleri*, Istanbul 1995 (with details of several poets who lived in Tirana during the Ottoman period).

(Nathalie Clayer)

TĪRĀN [see tihrān. II.]

TIRANA [see tiran].

ṬIRĀZ (a., pl. *ṭuruz*), a Persian loan word (cf. Pers. *tarāz* "adornment" or "embellishment" and *tirīz* "gusset" or "gore") originally meaning "embroidery" or "decorative work" (*ʿalam*) on a garment or piece of fabric. It later came to mean a *k̲h̲ilʿa* [*q.v.*], a robe of honour, richly adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially in the form of embroidered bands with writing upon them. In the earliest centuries of Islam, such a garment was worn by rulers and members of their entourage (*aṣḥāb al-k̲h̲ilʿa*). *Ṭirāz* (and *dār al-ṭirāz*) also came to designate the workshop in which such fabrics or robes were manufactured. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing", border or braid in general, applied not only to inscriptions woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind, whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass or faience, or carved in wood (see e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, ii, 79: *al-ṭirāz al-manḳūs̲h̲ fi 'l-ḥid̲j̲āra*). Until about the middle of the 4th/10th century, when the production of papyrus [see ḳirṭās; raḳḳ] ceased in Egypt, the word *ṭirāz* sometimes also designated the inscriptions officially stamped with ink upon the rolls of papyrus in the factories. This usage of *ṭirāz* was in turn extended to indicate the factories themselves (see J. von Karabacek, *Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde. II. Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle*, in *SBAW*, clxi/1 [1908], 8-10; A. Grohmann, *Corpus papyrorum Raineri*, i/2, Vienna 1995, nos. 175, 204, 214, 265, 270).

1. Origins of the institution.

The production of certain luxury textiles was an imperial privilege in both the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires and had antecedents in the earlier Roman and Persian states. The Byzantine emperors established royal weaving ateliers or *gynacea* (literally, "women's quarters"), in various places throughout their domains, including in Egypt, where there developed a distinctive Coptic style marked by embroidered decorative patches (either squares or roundels) and bands (*clavi*) that continued for nearly seven centuries into the Islamic era (see A. Baginski and A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th centuries C.E.*). Some scholars surmised that such establishments were probably taken over by the Umayyad caliphs, who were known to have had a *dār al-ṭirāz* in Alexandria (al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, iv, 7) and adapted to their special needs and tastes (E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Catalogue of dated tiraz fabrics: Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid*, 1). Ebersolt has proposed a connection between the *ṭirāz* bands and the Roman *clavus*—the sign of the senatorial and knightly rank—which is ultimately traced to an Etruscan origin. It is worth noting that, in Muslim fabrics also, the band of writing was often embroidered or woven in red silk. The preference for red in embroidery is likely due to the fact that the wearing of red was considered to be a caliphal prerogative (Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-k̲h̲ilāfa*, Bag̲h̲dād 1964, 75). The privilege of the *Princeps* to grant the *latus clavus* to the senators and the reservation of purple for the use of the ruler and, from A.D. 369, the limitation of the production of gold braid to the *gynacea*,

at least, afford parallels to the sovereign right of the Muslim caliphs to the *ṭirāz* and its presentation.

In contradistinction to the scholars who have looked to Byzantium and Rome for the source of *ṭirāz* as object and institution, others, most notably Serjeant, following the testimony of many mediaeval Arab historians, have been of the belief that the *ṭirāz* system had its origin in Sāsānid Persia and that during the Umayyad period it expanded westward to Egypt, North Africa, and Spain (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 9). Ibn Khaldūn, for example, states outright that "the pre-Islamic Persian kings (*mulūk al-ʿadjam*) used to make that *ṭirāz* with the images and likenesses of monarchs or other images and likenesses specifically designated for that use, and later the Islamic monarchs substituted for that the inscribing of their names together with other words of good omen or praises of God" (*Muḳaddima*, ii, 57-9, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 65-7). Ibn Khaldūn's remarks concerning garments with royal insignia in Sāsānid times are corroborated by the much earlier testimony of the Talmud (*BT Shabbat* 58a, where it is mentioned that the robes of scholars associated with the house of the Exilarch bore some sort of badge with his seal). (S.D. Goitein, *Petitions to Fatimid caliphs from the Cairo Geniza*, in *JQR*, NS, xlv [1954-5], 34-5, has suggested that the custom was borrowed by the Jewish Exilarchs from the Sāsānid court at which they served.)

The truth concerning the origins of the *ṭirāz* system, it would seem, combines both views. The institution of royal ateliers was so widespread throughout the ancient and early mediaeval Near East that its adoption by the Muslims, who were decidedly eclectic, need not be attributed to a single source. The name of the system is clearly Persian, but on the other hand, it is an established fact that the Umayyads, based as they were in the former Byzantine province of Syria, were at first far more under the influence of Eastern Roman rather than of Persian culture, as the Dome of the Rock, the great mosque of Damascus, and the numerous desert chateaux in Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan bear ample witness.

2. Development of the *Ṭirāz* institution.

i. *Historiographical considerations.* In addition to debates over the origins of the institution, scholarship on the development of the *ṭirāz* institution has followed several different trajectories. Considerable attention has been paid to the content of the inscriptions themselves. Since most known *ṭirāz* are held in museum collections, catalogues of dated or datable *ṭirāz* fabrics have dominated scholarly publication in the field (see *Bibl.*). Considerably less is known, therefore, about *ṭirāz* fragments which cannot be dated or about uninscribed textiles, though these represent by far the majority of recovered fragments. The catalogues of *ṭirāz* fabrics, which have emphasised the content and style of inscriptions themselves, have formed a major source for students of Arabic calligraphy and epigraphy. Historians have shown particular interest in the content of their caliphal inscriptions for the obvious reason that they provide documentary evidence about titulature, which is a central element of the political culture of mediaeval Islamic dynasties, and have used them primarily in conjunction with literary evidence, which includes sometimes detailed descriptions of textiles. In spite of the relative abundance of both literary and material evidence, however, not a single known *ṭirāz* fabric has ever been matched to a description provided in a literary source.

Furthermore, in spite of the abundant literary evidence about the function of *ṭirāz*, almost no information has been preserved about the uses or the original dimensions and style of the actual textiles that are known. This situation is the consequence both of the emphasis on the content of inscriptions themselves (leading to the practice of cutting out only the inscribed portion of a textile and discarding the rest) and of earlier excavation priorities and practices, which largely excluded textiles from being considered as important archaeological finds. Thus there are almost no inscribed textiles whose original or even last uses are documented (see J.A. Sokoly, *Between life and death. The funerary context of Ṭirāz textiles*, in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters. Aktuelle Probleme*, 1997, 71-8; Suʿād Māhir Muḥammad, *al-Nasīdj al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1977).

New directions in research and standard archaeological practice are changing this situation. As Lisa Golombek and Veronika Gervers note, "The interest in *ṭirāz* studies has paralleled that of numismatics, where the content of the inscription was initially the leading concern. The object itself, either coin or textile, was of secondary importance. More recently, numismatists have turned to the study of the intrinsic qualities of coins" (*Tiraz fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum*, 82-3; Sokoly, *Towards a model of early Islamic textile institutions in Egypt*, in *Islamische Textilkunst*, 115-21). New documentary evidence (most notably from the Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*]) has provided information about the production, distribution and uses of a wider variety of textiles, thereby creating greater interest in documenting the technical characteristics and actual uses of inscribed textiles. One trajectory in this newer research situates *ṭirāz* fabrics within the history of the public uses of writing by Islamic rulers from early Fāṭimid times onwards (Irene A. Bierman, *The art of the public text: medieval Islamic rule*, in *World art. Themes of unity in diversity*, ed. I. Lavin, ii, 283-8). Finally, recent archaeological excavations have yielded textiles, many of them in funerary settings (R.-P. Gayraud *et alii*, *Istabl ʿAntar (Fostat) 1994: Rapport de Fouilles*, in *AI*, xxix [1995], 2-24). The full implications of these new directions and evidence will no doubt be borne out in the years to come.

ii. *The institution under the Umayyads.* The earliest regular production of Arabic-inscribed *ṭirāz* probably goes back to the time of the reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik, when not only did Arabic become the official chancery language but it was henceforth inscribed on all coins and was used for the stamp (also called *ṭirāz*) on papyrus. Although the earliest Muslim historians, such as al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, mention only the coinage and papyrus, al-Bayhaḳī claims that the reforms included inscriptions on garments (*thiyāb*) and tapestries (*sutūr*) (*K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 498). The first Umayyad caliph who is specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having had *ṭirāz* factories was ʿAbd al-Malik's son Hishām (al-Djahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1983, 60), who was known as a dandy and a great lover of fine robes, textiles and carpets (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 466; also Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIkd al-farīd*, ii, Cairo 1331/1913, 338). He is also said to have worn silk garments with what may have been embroidered bands (*al-khazz al-raḳm*: al-Masʿūdī, *loc. cit.*), but the term is somewhat ambiguous and could also merely indicate striping. Hishām's successor, al-Walīd II, is reported to have worn "caliphal garments" (*thiyāb al-khilāfa*: *Aghānī*[1], vii, 83). This term was later synonymous with *ṭirāz* robes, although it is not clear whether al-Walīd's royal garments actually had the embroidered bands or were simply designated caliphal because they were white, the Umayyad official colour.

One of the oldest surviving *ṭirāz* fabrics, which has

a red silk ground with designs in several colours and an inscription in yellow silk, exists in three pieces, all discovered in Egypt, and bears the name of the caliph Marwān. The question is which Marwān—Marwān I (64-5/684-5) or Marwān II (127-32/744-50)? Most scholars prefer the latter on historical grounds, since one piece bears the inscription "in the *ṭirāz* factory of Ifrīḳiya," and it seems unlikely that the Maghribī province was secure enough in the earlier reign to have such an establishment (R. Guest and A.F. Kendrick, *The earliest dated Islamic textiles*, in *Burlington Magazine*, lx [1932], 185-6; G. Wiet, in *RCEA*, i, no. 36; Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 13). F.E. Day, on the other hand, has pointed out that from a stylistic point of view, the inscriptions look more like 1st/7th century, rather than 2nd/8th century (*The ṭirāz silk of Marwān, passim*, but esp. 52-61). Another very early *ṭirāz* fragment of wool tapestry has a partial inscription "[commander of the] faithful Ma[rwān]" that also appears to come from the reign of Marwān. Its Sāsānid ground design of cocks on pedestals enclosed in roundels again points stylistically to the time of Marwān I; yet again, most scholars favour attributing the piece to Marwān II on the grounds that the reign of the former was too brief to make any attribution to him likely. In any event, it seems clear that by late Umayyad times, the *ṭirāz* system extended across the caliphate.

There is one dated *ṭirāz* fragment from the Umayyad period, an Egyptian linen turban cloth with an inscription giving the date of Radjab 88 (June 707) and the name Shamū'īl b. Mūsā (M.A.A. Marzouk, *The turban of Samuel ibn Musa, the earliest dated Islamic textile*, 143-51). This was probably a privately-commissioned piece made for a wealthy Jew or Christian. It mentions neither the caliph nor the factory and was not, therefore, an official *ṭirāz* cloth. However, in later periods, private *ṭirāz* production for the bourgeoisie became increasingly common (see below).

iii. *The development of the institution under the ʿAbbāsids.* The *ṭirāz* system continued to flourish in the Muslim East under the ʿAbbāsids. Hārūn al-Rashīd is reported to have entrusted the *ṭirāz* operations (*dūr al-ṭuruz*) to his famous vizier Djaʿfar al-Barmakī (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 249), and control of the *ṭirāz* factories was considered one of the most important of administrative responsibilities, along with oversight of the mints, the post and the bureaux of taxation, and only individuals of high rank and the most trusted individuals among their freedman were given this office. Al-Rashīd made regular presents of *ṭirāz* garments and fabrics to his favourites. His Christian physician Bukhtīshūʿ b. Djurdjīs received every Muḥarram an allotment of garments, furs and textiles that included twenty garment-sized pieces (*shiḳḳa*) of royal *ṭirāz* linen shot with gold or silver thread (*al-ḳaṣab al-khāṣṣ al-ṭirāzī*) and a like number of pieces of *mulḥam ṭirāzī* (a combination fabric of silk warp and woof of another material with embroidered bands) (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ed. Müller, i, 136). Certainly from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd onwards, the symbolic importance of *ṭirāz* as a caliphal prerogative was well established and was accepted, then and later, as a medium for extending the prestige of the court to favoured individuals. The importance of *ṭirāz* and in this connection was subsequently described by Ibn Khaldūn:

> It is part of royal and governmental pomp and dynastic custom to have the names of rulers or their peculiar marks [*ʿalāmāt*] put on [*tursam*] on the silk.... The writing is brought out by weaving a gold thread or some other coloured thread of a colour different from that of the fabric itself into it. [Its execution] depends upon the skill of the weavers in designing and weaving it. Royal fabrics are embellished with such a *ṭirāz*, in order to increase the prestige of... those whom the ruler distinguishes by bestowing on them his own garment when he wants to honor them or appoint them to one of the offices of the dynasty (tr. Rosenthal, ii, 65-6).

Supervision of the *ṭirāz* factories was so important to the caliph because it was considered one of his royal prerogatives to have his name on the textiles produced in them, just as it was to have his name on the *sikka* or coinage and pronounced in the *khuṭba*. Omission of the ruler's name from any or all of these was tantamount to rebellion. For example, al-Ma'mūn dropped his brother al-Amīn's name from the *sikka* and the *ṭirāz* when he began his revolt in 194/809-10 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, ed. Juynboll and Mattes, i, 551-2), and Ibn Ṭūlūn dropped the regent al-Muwaffaḳ's name from the *ṭirāz* and the *khuṭba* in 269/882-3, when he broke relations with Baghdād (Ibn al-Athīr, Būlāḳ 1290, vii, 143). This latter act was of particularly far-reaching consequence since the annual caliphal gift of an inscribed covering to the Kaʿba (*kiswa*) was produced in the *ṭirāz* factories of Egypt, and the absence of the regent's name would be seen by pilgrims from all around the *dār al-islām*. Serjeant has suggested that it was perhaps at this time that Kaʿba coverings began to be produced in the East, although it is only three generations later that Tustar (Shustar) in Persia is first mentioned as the place where the coverings were produced (*Islamic textiles*, 20, 42; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 92).

Despite the political importance of caliphal inscriptions on the Kaʿba coverings, it is by no means clear that such inscriptions featured prominently on *khilaʿ* distributed by the caliph during the first century of the ʿAbbāsid period. Bierman has pointed to the universal silence of the numerous texts describing the bestowal of robes of honour at this time (*Art and politics*, 20-1), whereas for the later Fāṭimid period such descriptions frequently include details on the political inscriptions. On the other hand, the literary sources do mention that, starting with the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when the Persian secretarial class were the trendsetters in all matters of high culture and good taste with their polite educational ideal of *adab* [*q.v.*], it became the fashion to have verses of poetry embroidered onto the garments. The poet Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya presented al-Rashīd on the occasion of the Nawrūz festival with a perfumed *thawb* with verses embroidered on its borders (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, i, 203). The *adīb* al-Washshā' (d. 325/936 [*q.v.*]) devotes a chapter of his book *On elegance and elegant people* to "What [verses] may be found [inscribed] on shirt tails [*dhuyūl al-aḳmiṣa wa 'l-aʿlām*] and on pieces of embroidery on cloaks and sleeves (*wa-ṭuruz al-ardiya wa 'l-akmām*)," another to the verses on headdresses and head bands (*karāzin wa-ʿaṣā'ib*) and a third to the verses on belts, pantaloon drawstrings and scarves (*zanānīr wa-tikak wa-manādīl*) (*K. al-Muwashshā aw al-ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafā'*, Cairo 1362/1953, chs. 42-4, pp. 219-30).

iv. *The institution under the Fāṭimids.* The Fāṭimids had adopted the use of inscribed textiles even in North Africa, and clearly brought a number of these fabrics produced in Ifrīḳiya with them when they came to Egypt, as is attested by the presence of *ṭirāz* fabrics dating from the North African period in a Fāṭimid funerary site in Fusṭāṭ (Gayraud, 1995). In the North African period, a man had asked for a garment (*thawb*) of the caliph's to use as a funeral shroud because of its *baraka* (*Sīrat al-Ustādh Djūdhar* [*Djawdhar*], 138),

although there is no indication that the textile was inscribed. The evidence (which is admittedly meagre) suggests that the mass production of textiles inscribed with the caliph's name and given as a robe of honour (*khil'a*) may have developed as the demand for robes of honour increased and the caliph abandoned the practice of giving a piece of his own clothing in favour of bestowing a garment that had been produced in the *ṭirāz* factories. Already in the reign of al-Ẓāhir, a man who aspired to both a larger *iḳṭā'* and greater prestige requested a robe and skullcap from the caliph, specifying not only garments that were the caliph's own (*thiyāb min thiyābihi... wa-shāshiyya min shawāshīhi*) but that the caliph had actually worn (*thiyāb min thiyāb mawlānā ... allatī yalbisuhā*) (al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 57-8).

The flourishing of the *ṭirāz* industry under the Fāṭimids is attested both by the large number of surviving inscribed textiles and by the literary and documentary records. The chronicles and administrative histories which survive establish that *ṭirāz* production was an integral part of the Fāṭimid bureaucracy. There is little information on the structure of the *ṭirāz* administration for the earlier Fāṭimid period, but for the later period we have not only the accounts of Ibn Mammātī and al-Makhzūmī but also the excerpts from Ibn al-Ṭuwayr preserved by al-Ḳalḳashandī and al-Maḳrīzī. The head of the *ṭirāz* institution was a high-ranking court official, the only one to receive his *khil'a* in a private ceremony according to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, who devotes a section in his chapter on the Fāṭimid *dīwāns* to the *ṭirāz* (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, Cairo 1992, 101-4).

The sums spent in the *ṭirāz* were apparently quite large, though the sparse information in the chronicles makes systematic tracking of the expenditures impossible. Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī reports that the expenditures for costumes (including gold thread) in the year 516/1122 were nearly 20,000 dīnārs (*Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid, 48 ff.). Ibn al-Ṭuwayr put the amount spent on costumes for various court occasions at 10,000 dīnārs a year (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn*, 75, 104).

The management of the *ṭirāz* was closely related to that of the mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) for two reasons. First, *ṭirāz* involved the same prerogative of inscribing the caliph's name as *sikka*. Indeed, the inscription of textiles (*ṭirāz*) is mentioned alongside the minting and inscription of coins (*sikka*) among the prerogatives that the *wazīr* al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī restored to the caliph al-Āmir after the fall of the *wazīr* al-Afḍal b. Amīr al-Djuyūsh. Second, the *ṭirāz* factories used large quantities of gold, which was spun into thread under the careful supervision of the mint. The close association of the mint and *ṭirāz* is clear in both Ibn Mammātī (*Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 330-3) and al-Makhzūmī (*Kitāb al-Minhādj fī 'ilm kharādj Miṣr*, 30-3), who describe the mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) and the *ṭirāz* sequentially. The production of gold thread is specifically mentioned under the discussion of each institution. The elaborate inventory preserved in Ibn al-Ma'mūn records not only the amount of gold in each garment, but also the labour charges for spinning the gold thread.

Abundant material from the Cairo Geniza (particularly business letters, marriage contracts and trousseaux) documents the vitality of the textile industry that was the cornerstone of the Egyptian economy (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley, etc. 1967, 101 ff.; Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The agrarian administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, 1986). Fāṭimid Egypt had five major *ṭirāz* centres: Alexandria, Tinnīs, Dimyāṭ (Damietta), Dabīḳ and the Fayyūm. These were not just centres of *ṭirāz* but also more generally of textile production. The overwhelming majority of *ṭirāz* fabrics with dated or datable Kūfic inscriptions are from Egypt, and nearly all are of linen or other light-weight fabrics. Egypt was especially famous during the Fāṭimid period for its flax cultivation and finished linen textiles; Goitein and Stillman identified 22 different varieties of linen, mostly named after localities, rulers, or type, in the Geniza documents (Goitein, *op. cit.*, i, 104-5; Y.K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt, according to the trousseau lists and cognate material from the Cairo Geniza, passim*). The *ṭirāz* institution under the Fāṭimids was not merely a court institution but was integrally connected to the economy as a whole. This is particularly true in view of the fact that fine clothing was a valuable commodity in the mediaeval Mediterranean economy, and high-quality textiles, even after having been worn, had considerable cash value. Textiles of various kinds often constituted a major portion of bridal trousseaux. *Ṭirāz* textiles were classified as either *khāṣṣa* (exclusively for the court) or *'āmma* (available for public purchase). The sale of *ṭirāz* textiles to the public was a significant source of revenue for the Fāṭimid caliphs. In the late 4th/10th century, the largest *ṭirāz* factories apparently provided an income of more than 200,000 dīnārs each day. Income from the *ṭirāz* for the later Fāṭimid period is not reported, but must have been considerable, given the dramatic increase in *ṭirāz* production at court and the penchant of the middle and upper classes for imitation.

The wealthier classes imitated the court by wearing garments with inscribed bands just as they addressed each other respectfully by their *kunyas* or used the honorific titles that had become commonplace by the 5th/11th century. In a 12th-century Geniza document, the Jewish India trader Abraham b. Joseph b. Abraham b. Bundār b. Ḥasan ordered a *ṭirāz* turban with his son's name embroidered on it as a gift for the latter (Stillman 1972, 18). The fashion of élite imitation of the court resulted ultimately in the production of fake *ṭirāz* with pseudo-inscriptions, i.e. of textiles with decorative bands that merely create the appearance of an inscription (Gervers, *Rags to riches*, 28). The *ṭirāz* institution by the late 6th/12th century, then, had developed far beyond its original political uses at court into a widespread social and economic phenomenon. This is confirmed by the oft-quoted passage in al-Dimashḳī's *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra* (later 6th/12th century), in the section devoted to the two fine linens, *dabīḳī* and *sharb*, which often formed the ground fabric for *ṭirāz*: "People's tastes vary in regard to the *ṭirāz* borders and the ornamented embroideries, but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden" (tr. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, 140).

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(YEDIDA K. STILLMAN and PAULA SANDERS)

3. The term's use in architecture.

Ṭirāz came to architecture from textiles at an unknown date, but no earlier than the Fāṭimid period (10th-12th centuries), and seems to have remained in use until the early Ottoman period in Egypt and Syria. Oddly, no Arabic dictionary records the architectural application of the term, which nonetheless frequently appears in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *waḳf* [*q.v.*] documents and in Mamlūk primary sources such as al-Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (noted in *EI*[1], art. *Ṭirāz*). Like its prevailing meaning for textiles as an epigraphic band embroidered on the sleeves of robes of honour, *ṭirāz* in architecture designates any inscription band. It may appear on the inside or the outside of the building: as a frieze running along a wall, on the side of doors, above or around a window, or around the drum of a dome. It may be executed in different media: carved in stone, moulded in stucco, or painted or gilded on wood. A *ṭirāz* may include Ḳur'ānic verses, the name and titles of the patron and the superintendent of construction (*shādd*), the date of building, sometimes the name of the master builder or decorator, and in a few instances, poetic citations or an abbreviated text of the building's *waḳf* document (Laila Ibrahim and M.M. Amin, *Architectural terms in Mamluk documents*, Cairo 1990, 76).

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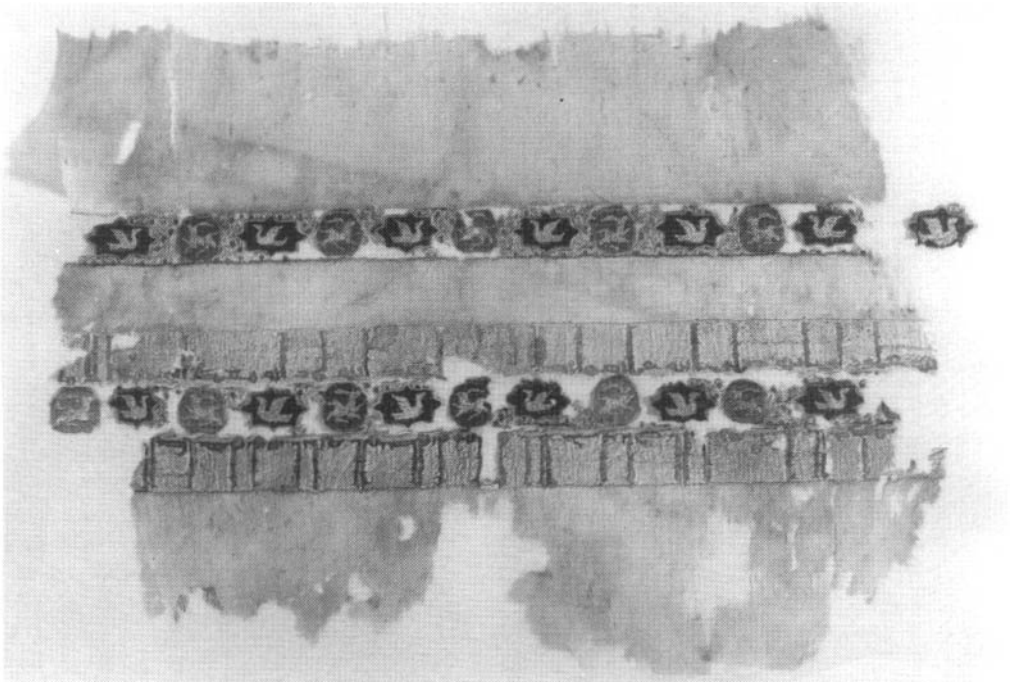
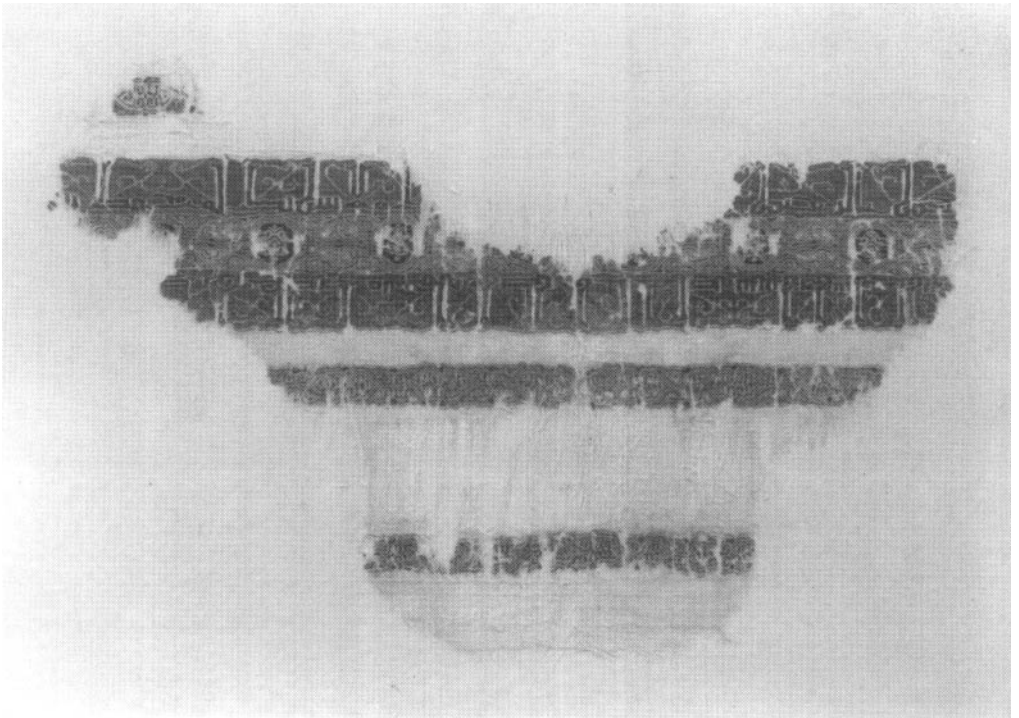
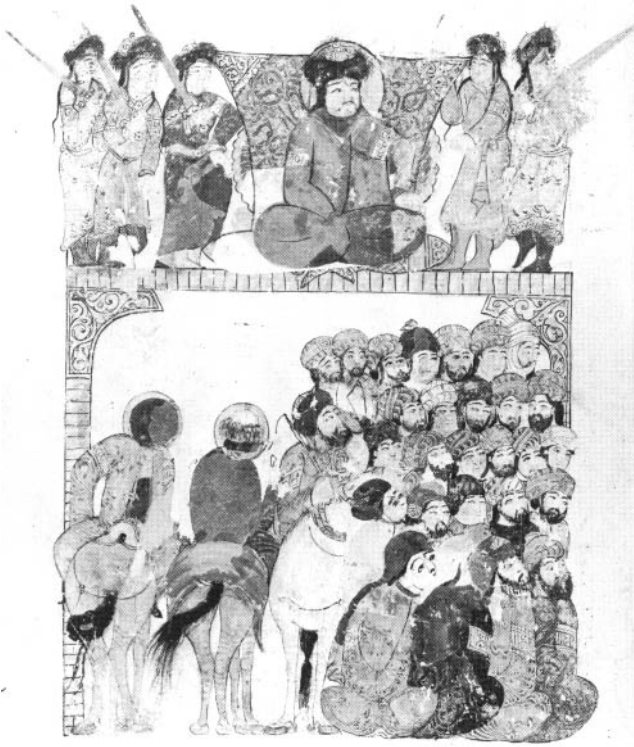
(NASSER RABBAT)

TĪRE, modern Turkish Tire, a town of south-western Anatolia, in the southern part of the Küçük Menderes valley, 67 km/40 miles south-east of Izmir (lat. 38° 64' N., long. 27° 45' E., altitude 108 m/350 feet), in early Turkish times a town in the *beylik* of the Aydïn-oghullarï [see AYDÏN; AYDÏN-OGHLU].

The present town presumably occupies the site of the ancient Arcadiopolis, later called Teira (i.e. "town", e.g. in Thya-teira; cf. W.M. Ramsay, *The historical geography of Asia Minor*, 104, 114). In the Byzantine period the town appears as Thyrea (Θύρεα) and Thyraia (Θύραια: cf. Ducas, 38, 73, 97, 109,

Ṭirāz bands on sleeves, ms. *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, B.N. arabe 5847, fol. 58b. Probably ʿIrāḳ, 634/1237. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Ṭirāz used as shroud, Iṣṭabl ʿAntar, Fusṭāṭ. Courtesy of Roland-Pierre Gayraud, IFAO Cairo.

175, 196) and repeatedly plays a part in history. Travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 307-8, tr. Gibb, ii, 444), who went via Bīrge to Tīre, which lay in the midst of orchards, gardens, and streams in the land of the "Sultan of Bīrge", i.e. of the Aydîn-og͟hlu, or the adventurous Catalonian chronicler Ramon Muntaner (sect. 25), passed through Tīre. When in 1403 Tīmūr advanced against the town, the inhabitants fled to Izmir (cf. Ducas, 38, 97, 109). After the Ottoman annexation of the principality of the Aydîn-og͟hlu in 830/1426, Tīre became the capital of a *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the empire. It plays no particular part in later history; it was a mint down to the 10th/16th century and is occasionally mentioned in connection with risings (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 398 n., v, 50 n.). In Tīre is the tomb of the celebrated scholar ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Firis͟hte (Ar. Ibn al-Malak, Turk. Firis͟hte-og͟hlu, d. according to the *Sālnāma* of Aydîn of 1302, 239, in 799/1396), known as the author of a once much-used Turkish dictionary in verse (*Lug͟hat-i Firis͟hte-og͟hlu*) and of a commentary on the principles of jurisprudence, *Manār al-anwār* of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. He taught there in a *medrese* which bears his name and is still in use. Tīre was also the birthplace of several Ottoman authors, e.g. S͟hayk͟h Ḥaydar b. Saʿd Allāh and Molla Naṣr Allāh al-Rūmī, and the scene of activity of *ḳāḍīs* who also played a part in literature (F. Babinger, *GOW*, 146: D̲j̲arrāḥ-zāde). Tīre is also mentioned as a place of banishment; the versatile historian S͟hānī-zāde, for example, ended his life here (cf. *ibid.*, 346).

The earlier European travellers rarely visited Tīre. The chaplain of the English factory in Smyrna, Edmund Chishull (d. 1733), is one of the few who visited Tīre (cf. *Travels in Turkey and back to London*, London 1747, 19, and Thos. Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitia*).

It was then thought that Tīre represented Thyáteira (= Aḳ-ḥiṣār), one of the "Seven Churches of Asia". Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] describes Tīre in his *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, Istanbul 1935, 159 ff. The town does not seem to possess any antiquities. Mention may be made of the library of 1,325 volumes (including the holograph of the above-mentioned commentary of Firis͟hte-og͟hlu), presented by Ned̲j̲īb Pas͟ha, governor of Bag͟hdād. Down to the Turko-Greek exchanges of population after the First World War, Tīre had about 15,000, mainly Greek, inhabitants (see V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 508 ff.), who were mainly occupied in carpet-weaving and the cultivation of the vine.

Present-day Tire is the chef-lieu of an *ilçe* in the *il* or province of Izmir; its population *ca.* 1970 was 28,000.

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(F. Babinger*)

TIREBOLU, a town on the Black Sea coast of Turkey, in the province (*il*) of Giresun, and also the centre of a county (*ilçe*). The town lies 80 km/50 miles to the west of Trebizond in lat. 41° 01' N., long. 38° 49' E.

Originally a Milesian colony of the 7th century B.C. and called Tripolis, it has had little importance because of the port's lack of shelter and difficult communications with the interior, along the steeply-rising sides of the Harşit valley (ancient Philabonites). From 1204 it was a personal fief of the Great Comneni, emperors of Trebizond [see ṬARABZUN]. It was mentioned by Clavijo, and captured by Meḥemmed II at the time of the conquest of Trebizond in 1461. After the Ottoman conquest, the town, called Driboli in documents, came within the *nāḥiye* of Kürtün, settled by the Čepni Turkmen tribe, which had occupied the hinterland of Tirebolu from the 14th century onwards. The census of 891/1486 (BBK, Tapu tahrir no. 828, p. 592) enumerated for the *ḳalʿa* of Tirebolu 67 Christian hearths (and 5 widows) but no Muslim ones. In 921/1515 (*ibid.*, no. 52, pp. 609-13) there were 211 older and 60 new Christian hearths (plus 6 bachelors and 4 widows) and 4 Muslim hearths, but no Christian villages in the hinterland. Finally, in 961/1553 (*ibid.*, no. 288), there were 320 Christian hearths and 15 Muslim ones. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through in 1050/1640, he found an ancient rectangular fortress and a very flourishing town inhabited by Greeks (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 80). Tournefort (1701) called it a village; it seems to have been the seat of an *aʿyān* when local disputes of petty chiefs rent the region at the opening of the 19th century. W.J. Hamilton estimated the population in 1834 at 400 Muslim families and 100 Christian ones (*Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 253-7), and Hommaire de Hell in 1846 estimated 450 Muslim families and 150 Christian ones (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1859). Cuinet gives for the early 1890s 8,000 inhabitants (5,600 Muslims, 2,000 Greek Orthodox, 400 Gregorian Armenians (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 53). At that time the town had 8 mosques, 2 Greek churches and one Armenian one, 350 booths and shops, 2 *k͟hān*s and a *ḥammām* (*ibid.*, i, 54-5). The region produced an average of 5,000 tons of nuts. During the First World War, the Russian advance of 1916 reached the right bank of the Harşit river and caused the Muslim population to flee, followed by the deportation of the Greek population from 29 November 1916 to Şebinkarahisar. In the 1927 census, Tirebolu had a mere 3,375 inhabitants, and it was only in the 1980s that it passed the 1914 figure. Today, the town is the centre of an agricultural region in which tea planting has partially replaced nut growing.

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(St. Yerasimos)

TIRḤĀLA, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Trik(k)ala in western Thessaly [see TESALYA].

The Byzantine citadel of Trikala is built on the acropolis of ancient Trikki on the Lithaios river, in the northwest of the Thessalian plain; not far from it was the oldest shrine of Asclepios known in Greece. The town prospered in early times from its situation at a crossway for communications. Procopius mentions

the restoration of the town's walls in Justinian's time. The ancient name Trikki survived in ecclesiastical geography, with the bishopric of Trikki attached to the metropolitanate of Larissa from the 4th century onwards. The form Trikkala first appears in the 12th century in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*.

The town probably fell into Ottoman hands in the time of Bāyezīd I in 1395-6. The presence of Ewrenos Beg in the conquest of Thessaly is not certain, even if the sources refer to one of his descendants, Aḥmed Ewren-oghlu, as *sandjak beg* of a large *sandjak* of which Tirḥāla was the capital [see EWRENOS OGHULLARI]. In the 14th century it had been the flourishing capital of the Greco-Serbian state of Western Thessaly under Simeon Uresis, half-brother of Stefan Dušan, and it formed part of the domains of the great noble Turkish family of the Turakhān-oghlu.

Turakhān Beg (d. 860/1456 [*q.v.*]) settled Muslim colonists on the plains and granted privileges to the Greek population. As an administrative and commercial centre, the town attracted a Turkish population, and in 1520 Tirḥāla was one of the twelve towns of the hinterland with an annual revenue above 100,000 *akčes*. From the works of Turakhān Beg and his son ʿÖmer (d. 889/1484), the town acquired the appearance of a typical Ottoman town, with mosques, *medreses*, a *ḥammām*, *ʿimāret*, *khān* and *karwānsarāy* extending beyond the citadel and the Varoussi (Varosh) quarter which remained Christian. The market, with workshops and booths, stretched further eastwards to where was constructed in the mid-9th/15th century the Turakhān Beg or Pazar Djāmiʿi adjacent to the great cemeteries.

In the census of 859/1454-5 Tirḥāla had *ca.* 2,453 inhabitants (251 Muslim families and 9 widows, and 212 Christian families and 73 widows). In 912/1506, 3,100 persons were counted, including 260 Muslim families, 310 Christian ones and 19 Jewish ones, their first appearance here, although Byzantine sources of the 14th century mention Jews in the outskirts of Tirḥāla, and Turakhān Beg's testament of 850/1446 mentions a Jewish quarter of Y(ah)ukdi outside the town. Between 926/1520 and 945/1538, 301 Muslim families were counted, 343 Christian ones and 181 Jewish ones.

The oldest description of the Ottoman town is that of Ewliyā Čelebi in the later 11th/17th century, who noted 16 Muslim quarters and 8 Christian ones, with a total of 2,300 houses. He mentions eight mosques, the oldest being that of Ghāzī Turakhān Beg (built in 895/1489-90 according to its inscription), and the most important one that of ʿOthmān Shāh Beg, of unknown date but which must have been built by the famous architect Sinān [*q.v.*] around 1550-60. Ḳara ʿOthmān Shāh was Süleymān the Magnificent's nephew and governor of Thessaly, and died at Tirḥāla in 974/1567, being buried in a mausoleum by the mosque. The latter has been restored and is the sole one remaining in the town today. Ewliyā gives what is probably an exaggerated number for the shops, 1,000, and does not mention the *bezesten*; yet old authorities describe an imposing stone building, locked and guarded at night, which corresponds to the *bezesten* demolished at the beginning of the 20th century. There were also four *ḥammāms*, six *tekkes* and many fountains. Famous persons connected with Tirḥāla included the Turkish historian Aḥmed Para Para-zāde, buried there in 968/1560, and its *ḳāḍīs* included ʿAṭāʾī and Weysī. In 1601 the bishop of Trikki was Dionysios the Philosopher, head of an abortive attempt at rebellion by the Christians of Yannina.

The town was destroyed by a great fire in 1749. In 1771, during the rising of Christians at the time of the 1768-74 Russo-Turkish war, 4,000 Albanian irregulars sacked the town and burnt down the market and 500 shops. At this time, the town had 25,000 inhabitants, the same figure given by Pouqueville at the time of the Greek Revolt. Ami Boué visited Tirḥāla just before 1840 and attributed to it 10,000 inhabitants, comprising Muslims, Greeks, Gypsies and a few Albanians. On the basis of the descriptions of numerous 19th century travellers, plus cartographical material from 1885, the plan of the 19th century town can be reconstructed: it had seven mosques (four of them mentioned in the *sāl-nāme* of the *wilāyet* of Yānya (1288/1871), a synagogue, six *tekkes*, etc.

The last Ottoman census (1294/1877-8) listed 25,000 inhabitants and 2,500 buildings for the *sandjak* of Tirḥāla. From 1881, the town became part of Greece, and a census then numbered 5,563 persons in the town itself. An urban plan of European type was put into force in the 1930s, numerous old buildings were destroyed, and the town has now lost its mediaeval character. From 20,200 inhabitants in 1926, the town had over 50,000 in 1991.

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(ALEXANDRA YEROLIMPOS)

TIRHUT, often referred to as Mithila in Indian epic, historic name of the northern tract of the present Indian state of Bihar (lat. 25° 28'-26° 52' N., long. 84° 56'-86° 46' E.; roughly 6,343 sq. miles) bordering Nepal, comprising Darbhanga (Persian *Dār-i-Bang* "gateway to Bengal"), Muẓaffarpur and the adjoining districts, sometimes extended as far eastwards as the river Mahananda (Purnabvaba) in Bengal. Located in the present district of Champaran, Simarāon was one of the oldest capitals of the region. The Pala empire (*ca.* 750-1161) of Bengal dominated the area from time to time. Several Hindu dynasties ruled the Kingdom of Mithila, such as the Karṇāta 1087-1325, the Oinwāra 1325-1532 and the Khaṇḍawāla (founded by Maheśa Thākura in 1556), who took Bhoura as their capital.

Because of its strategic location on the central route

between North India and Bengal, the green, fertile land of Tirhut (known as the granary of Bihar) was one of the earliest regions in Eastern India to be known to the Muslims. Its south-eastern part came under Muslim sway when Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyār Khaldjī in 1204. Narasimhadeva (*ca.* 1188-1227), the third king of the Karṇāta dynasty, agreed to pay tribute to this newly-emerged power, but this did not save Tirhut from further military pressure from the Muslim rulers of Bengal, Bihar, Oudh and Dihlī. Islamic inscriptions in Tirhut, such as a citadel inscription dated 692/1292 from Maheśwara, Mungher or Mungīr [*q.v.*] (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 23-5), suggest that Muslim settlement began in this region as early as the 13th century. Though Tirhut was annexed to Muslim territory from time to time, its Hindu kingdom remained as a tributary vassal state for centuries until the transfer of the Dīwānī to the East India Company in 1765, when it lost its power completely. Though a large number of Muslims from Tirhut emigrated to Pakistan after 1947, a sizeable Muslim population still exists in the region.

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(MOHAMMAD YUSUF SIDDIQ)

AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ, meaning in Arabic "tall", or "proud", the name of at least four persons from the 1st century of the Hidjra. On the basis of al-Āmidī's (d. 370/980) *Mu'talif*, Cairo 1381/1961, 'Izzat Ḥasan's Introduction to the *Dīwān* of al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm (²Aleppo and Beirut 1414/1994) and, above all, Salīm al-Nu'aymī's article *al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, in *Publics. of the Arab Academy*, Baghdād (1964), 401-22, four persons of this name can be disentangled:

1. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ AL-AKBAR, or Ḳa'ḳa' b. Nafr or Ibn Ḳays al-Ṭā'ī, the paternal uncle of al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm or rather, his father's uncle. According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, in al-Nu'aymī, 412, he is said to have been born in Syria, migrated to Kūfa, where an old man from the Banū Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba reportedly initiated him into Khāridjism and where he is finally said to have written a poem wrongly attributed to al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm (*Dīwān*, 201-2, no. 22).

2. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. 'ADĪ b. 'Abd Allāh al-DJUBAYRĪ, also called al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Akbar. According to Ibn 'Asākir, *T. Dimashk*, vii, 53, in al-Nu'aymī, *loc. cit.*, he is also said to have been a Khāridjite. However, in al-'Ashshāsh, *Ash'ār al-tashayyu'*, Beirut 1997, 223-4, he has been rightly placed amongst the Shī'ī poets.

He is said to have been al-Ḥusayn's guide and to have fought at Karbalā' in 61/680, and several ancient authors (Abū Mikhnaf, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Shahrāshūb and Ibn Kathīr) rank him amongst al-Ḥusayn's faithful partisans. A *radjaz* poem attributed to him (al-'Ashshāsh, 223-4) confirms his Shī'ī allegiance. Al-Nu'aymī also adds three verses which he is said to have composed against al-Farazdaḳ, and thus denies the poetic exchange and satires between al-Farazdaḳ and al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm, even though in the *Dīwān* of the latter is a long poem (257-8) in the same rhyme and metre.

3. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. DJAHM AL-ṬĀ'Ī OR AL-SINBISĪ, from the Banū Sinbis of Ṭayyi' or al-Uḳdī from a woman, Uḳda, also of the latter tribe. He is also called al-A'war, the one-eyed, and al-Shinnī (not to be confused with another poet, Bishr b., Munḳidh al-Shinnī, d. 50/670). Al-Āmidī attributes to him, *Mu'talif*, 48, a poem in *basīṭ* metre and a *radjaz* poem.

4. AL-ṬIRIMMĀḤ B. ḤAKĪM b. Ḥakam b. Nafr b. Ḳays ... b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyi', generally known as al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī, the best-known of the four. He stemmed from a well-known family, the Thu'al, of the Yemeni tribe of Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*], and his forebear Ḳays was a maternal cousin of the famed Ḥātim of Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*], said also to have come to the Prophet at Mecca in 9/630-1 to render homage, hence counted amongst the Companions.

(a) *Life*.

His exact birth date is unsure, but must have been *ca.* 45/660 in al-Shām (and not in the Sawād of 'Irāḳ, as Blachère, *HLA*, 530, correctly pointed out). Al-Nu'aymī, 413, however, basing himself on Ibn Ḳutayba and al-Marzubānī, thought that it was al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Akbar who was born in Syria. In any case, it seems to be generally agreed that al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm was amongst troops sent by 'Abd al-Malik against rebels in 'Irāḳ, probably *ca.* 70/689, then staying in Kūfa to study, where he became a noted poet and orator. Several of his biographers state that he became affected by Khāridjism *ca.* 65/684, some of them assigning him precisely to the Azāriḳa or Ṣufriyya [*q.vv.*]. Yet al-Nu'aymī, basing himself on internal criticism of the poems and on external biographical information, seems to be correct in querying or denying his Khāridjism. At all events, he then worked at Kirmān and Rayy in Persia, reportedly in the latter place as a school master (*mu'addib ṣibyān*, cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 257).

Like most of the great Umayyad poets, al-Ṭirimmāḥ frequented certain of the Umayyads' governors, notably the Muhallabids [*q.v.*], including Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Khurāsān for 'Abd al-Malik and Sulaymān; he relates in his verses Yazīd's combats in Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān and mourns his death. He was also connected with Yazīd's son Makhlad, also appointed governor of Khurāsān, this time by 'Umar II in 100/718, but who died shortly afterwards. His relationship with the Muhallabids, of Yemeni stock like himself, made him the mouthpiece of Yemeni aspirations and attacker of Ḳaysī groups like the Tamīm, especially on the killing of Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] by Ḳaysīs in Khurāsān, contrasting these with the faithful Yemenis (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, 531). He was further connected with the governor of 'Irāḳ during 105-20/724-38, Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], also Ḳaḥṭānī in *nasab* and a fierce opponent of the Khāridjites. All these connections confirm that al-Ṭirimmāḥ can hardly have been himself a Khāridjite, but was, rather, a tribal poet. Also, the fall of Yazīd b. Muhallab, in part through Tamīmī treachery, put him in opposition to al-Farazdaḳ [*q.v.*], from Mudjāshi' of Tamīm, though it seems that after a trenchant satire by al-Ṭirimmāḥ (*Dīwān*, 66-8), al-Farazdaḳ abandoned the fight. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ was also connected, by a great friendship, with the Shī'ī poet al-Kumayt [*q.v.*], and is said to have had links with the *radjaz* poet Ru'ba b. al-'Adjdjādj (d. 145/762 [*q.v.*]), but, as pointed out by Krenkow in his *EI*¹ art., followed also by Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 351, al-Ṭirimmāḥ died before Ru'ba acquired his fame.

We lack firm information on the poet's last years and date of death. A *khabar* given in the *Aghānī* states that the *ḳāḍī* of Kūfa Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/763), apparently a friend of al-Ṭirimmāḥ's, saw the latter's

funeral cortège, but no date is given. Sezgin thought that a probable date was 126/743. The editor of his *Dīwān* states, without supporting reference, that he died at Kūfa. Of the poet's family, we know of his wife Salm(ā), his three sons and a grandson Amān b. Ṣamṣāma, also a poet and grammarian and in the service of the Muhallabids in Ifrīḳiya until Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab thrust him aside there, probably because of his grandfather's satires on Tamīm.

(b) *Poetry*.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ's *dīwān* is said by Ibn al-Nadīm to have had several recensions, notably by Ibn al-Sikkīt, Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] and al-Ṭūsī (d. after 250/864); al-Ḳālī [*q.v.*] introduced it to al-Andalus when he arrived in Cordova in 330/941; and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa lists it. F. Krenkow was the first to publish it (GMS, London 1927), with an English translation, after a Spanish ms. with al-Ṭūsī's recension in a Kūfan transmission. Using this and a Turkish ms. of the 7th-8th/13th-14th century, ʿIzzat Ḥasan republished it at Damascus in 1385/1968 and then in Beirut-Aleppo in 1414/1994. This scholarly satisfactory edition has a good introduction on the life of the poet and a thematic analysis of his poems, and, at pp. 107-303, his *dīwān* with 1,443 verses (against 800 in Krenkow's ed.), plus a *dhayl* (305-31) of some 40 verses gleaned from other sources by the editor, but it lacks an index of rhymes. In this edition there is one *radjaz*, seven short fragments of 2 to 6 verses, and 29 poems, some very long, with 118, 92, 84, 81 and 77 verses (nos. 25, 20, 13, 7 and 12). Blachère suggested, *HLA*, 332, that the length of these poems suggests the hypothesis of an early fixing of the text, or even of a written, and not oral, transmission.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ uses nine metres, sc. *ṭawīl* (15 times), *kāmil* (6), *basīṭ* and *wāfir* (5), *khafīf* (2) and *sarīʿ*, *radjaz* and *mutaḳārib* once each, showing the poet's classicism in this respect, and regarding his rhymes, the rarity of those in *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *fāʾ* and *ḳāf* is surprising given the frequency of these in classical poetry. His rather Bedouin style has often been remarked upon, whilst his use of rare words and difficult turns of phrase explain the pedantic allure of his verses, but a careful reading of his work shows a certain heterogeneity in style and language which are, taking everything into account, traditional.

Likewise his genres and themes. Khāridjite touches are very few, only in one poem and two short fragments, and Blachère, *loc. cit.*, concluded that, as might have been expected, everything which had the mark of militant Khāridjism has disappeared; but as noted at the outset, al-Nuʿaymī thinks it improbable that he was ever a Khāridjite anyway. The second genre to be discerned is personal and tribal satire, above all against al-Farazdaḳ and Tamīm (notably no. 4, in 53 verses). Then there is panegyric poetry, again personal and tribal, devoted to Yemen and the Muhallabids, above all, to Yazīd (in particular, no. 25, in 118 verses, is dedicated to him). *Fakhr* poetry is naturally frequent, as is poetry descriptive of Bedouin life (e.g. no. 12, in 77 verses). There is an elegy on Yazīd, and wisdom and *zuhd* poetry. Finally, one may note that, if *ghazal* poetry properly speaking is absent, there is one piece, no. 7 of 81 verses, expressing in lyric style his nostalgia and affection for his wife Salmā, whom he left in Kūfa when he went to Kirmān and Khurāsān.

In conclusion, in his *dīwān*, al-Ṭirimmāḥ shows himself as a tribal poet, like so many of his contemporaries, in the service of Yemen and of the Muhallabids without, however, forgetting his own family, wife and children. But the tradition is ancient and firmly stated, that many authors, fairly old ones and also modern and contemporary ones, classify him amongst the great poets of Khāridjism.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned above, such as Blachère, *HLA*, 530-4; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 351-2, ix, 280, with recent bibl.; and al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, see works in general on politico-religious poetry of the period, and especially those on Khāridjite poetry: Khalīl Mardam, *al-Ṭirimmāḥ al-Ḥakīm*, in *RAAD*, xii (1942), 48-56, 119-27; Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī, *Adab al-Khawāridj*, Cairo 1945; Nāʾif Maḥmūd Maʿrūf, *al-Khawāridj*, Beirut 1983; Iḥsān ʿAbbās, *Shiʿr al-Khawāridj*, [2]Beirut 1984.

(F. Krenkow-[Taïeb El Achèche])

TIRMIDH, a town on the north bank of the Oxus river [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ] near the mouth of its tributary, the Surkhān river (lat. 37° 15' N., long. 67° 15' E.), now the town of Termez in the southernmost part of the Uzbekistan Republic.

As Samʿānī, who spent 12 days there, testifies, the name was pronounced Tarmīdh in the town itself (*K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, iii, 41) which is confirmed by the Chinese Ta-mi (e.g. Hüan Tsang, tr. St. Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, i, 25). Russian officers in 1889 also heard the pronunciation Termiz or Tarmîz (*Sbornik materialov po Azii*, lvii, 393, 399).

Tirmidh does not seem to have been touched by Alexander the Great and is not mentioned in Antiquity, although its foundation was afterwards ascribed to Alexander the Great. According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (text by Barthold in *al-Muẓaffariyya*, St. Petersburg 1897, 20), not only Tirmidh but also Burdāghūy, not far from it on the river, was built by Alexander; Burdāghūy is said to be a Greek word and to mean "inn" (*mihmān-khāna*) (? Greek τιαραδυχεῖον?).

At the time of the Muslim conquest, Buddhism was predominant in Tirmidh; there were 12 monasteries and about 1,000 monks there (Hüan Tsang, *loc. cit.*). Tirmidh was then under an important ruler who bore the title Tirmidh-Shāh (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1147; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 39); there was a powerful fortress on the bank (al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the year 70/689-90, Tirmidh was conquered by Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim, who had thrown off allegiance to the Muslim government, and was ruled for 15 years by him (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 417; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1145). Only towards the end of 85/704 did ʿUthmān b. Masʿūd, by order of the governor al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab, succeed in taking the town for the government. In this fighting and in later sieges and bridge-building, the island at Tirmidh, called in the Arab period Djazīrat ʿUthmān, played an important part; in the Özbeg period, the island was called Orta Aral or Orta Aralî ("middle island") (J. Senkowski, *Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns* etc., St. Petersburg 1824, text, 20, and the passages quoted from manuscripts in Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914). The worship of the prophet Dhu 'l-Kifl (al-Muḳaddasī, 291) mentioned as early as the 4th/10th century in Kālif, was transferred here; after this cult, the island is now called Aral Payghambar ("island of the prophet").

On geographical conditions in the 4th/10th century, see especially al-Iṣṭakhrī, 298, and al-Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.* Tirmidh was an important port on the Oxus; boats were built and exported from there (al-Muḳaddasī, 325). Like Balkh, Tirmidh was noted for its soap (*op. cit.*, 324). Two natives of Tirmidh attained fame in Muslim literature: the author of the famous collection of traditions Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892 [*q.v.*]) and the traditionist and

mystic Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]); cf. Brockelmann, I², 169-70. The latter's tomb, probably erected in the 9th/15th century, is now the finest building in the ruins of Tirmidh and one of the most beautiful in Central Asia. The inscriptions give us in part what we are told about Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ* (*Pers hist. texts*, v, 93) of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], and in the *Nafaḥāt al-uns* (lith. Calcutta 1859, 77) of Djāmī [*q.v.*]; we are further told that he studied under the same scholars as al-Bukhārī, which al-Samʿānī (iii, 42) refers to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā.

Tirmidh afterwards shared the political history of Khurāsān and Mā warāʾ al-Nahr, sometimes, as at the present day, the Oxus frontier and sometimes the connection with Balkh being of greater importance. Under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his immediate successors, Tirmidh, like other dependencies of Balkh north of the Oxus, belonged to the empire of the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*]. When as a result of the battle in the desert of Ḳaṭwān near Samarḳand (5 Ṣafar 536/9 September 1141) rule over Transoxania passed to the Ḳara Khiṭāy [*q.v.*], Tirmidh remained in the hands of the Saldjūḳs, as is shown by the fact that Sultan Sandjar [*q.v.*] sought refuge here in 551/1156. Tirmidh was later in the possession of the Ḳara Khiṭāy, from whom it was taken in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 601/June-July 1205 by ʿImād al-Dīn ʿUmar, governor of Balkh for the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 135). ʿImād al-Dīn's son Bahrām Shāh (the name occurs in al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 39) was appointed governor of Tirmidh. The very next year it was taken by the Khʷārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, then allied with the Ḳara Khiṭāy, and handed over to the latter; according to Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 152), this news provoked great indignation against the Khʷārazmshāh throughout the Muslim world. According to Djuwaynī (ii, 64), the town was surrendered by the governor on the advice of his father to ʿUthmān, Khān of Samarḳand; in Mīrkhʷānd (*Hist. des sultans du Khorezm*, ed. Defrémery, Paris 1842, 51) the Khʷārazmshāh is mentioned in place of the Khān. After the fall of the empire of the Ḳara Khiṭāy, Tirmidh belonged to the empire of the Khʷārazmshāh; in the autumn of 617/1220 it was taken and completely destroyed by the Mongols. In Djuwaynī's narrative (i, 102) of the conquest, it is mentioned that half of the city walls are in the middle of the river.

A few years earlier, we have the first reference to the Sayyids of Tirmidh, whose importance was not affected even by the Mongol conquest. When the Khʷārazmshāh Muḥammad had quarrelled with the caliph al-Nāṣir, he proclaimed through the learned men of his empire that the ʿAbbāsids had appropriated by unjust means the power, which really belonged to the descendants of ʿAlī. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, one of the great Sayyids (*az sādāt-i buzurg*) of Tirmidh, was appointed caliph (Djuwaynī, ii, 97, 122). The appointment had no further consequences, and we know nothing of the life or end of this anti-caliph. In the *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda* of Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (ed. Browne, 496) he is called Sayyid ʿImād al-Dīn Tirmidhī.

In the next century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 48, tr. Gibb, iii, 565) records happenings in the Čaghatayid [see ČAGHATAY KHĀNATE] kingdoms. ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk Khudāwand-zāde, a descendant of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Tirmidh, is mentioned. He is said to have thrust himself upon the Khān Khalīl Allāh at the head of 4,000 Muslims and to have been appointed vizier by him. The members of his house are also called Khudāwand-zāde in later times (in the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 210, *passim*, and in the *Bābur-nāma*, facs. Beveridge, fol. 208, contracted to Khān-zāde. The full form is found in the oldest recensions of the *Ẓafar-nāma*, composed in Tīmūr's time, *Tekstî po istorii Sredney Azii*, St. Petersburg 1895, 131, 199). In the *Ẓafar-nāma*, the "Khān-zāde" Abu 'l-Maʿālī and his brother ʿAlī Akbar are mentioned several times; in 772/1371 Abu 'l-Maʿālī was banished for his share in a campaign against Tīmūr (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 231), but his exile was not of long duration; in the very next year we find him taking part in Tīmūr's campaign against Khʷārazm (*op. cit.*, i, 241). A Khān-zāde ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk is again mentioned later; Tīmūr stayed at his home on his return from his Indian campaign in 801/1399 and from the campaign in the west in 807/1404 (*op. cit.*, ii, 190, 593). In 892/1487 Aḥmad Mīrzā married a wife of the house of the Sayyids (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 206).

In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when Balkh was still in ruins, Tirmidh had already recovered from its destruction by the Mongols; the town was not rebuilt on its old site but two Arab miles from the river; it was a fine large town with prosperous inhabitants (iii, 56-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 570-1). Among the ruins of this town is the mausoleum described by A.A. Semenov (*Protokoli turk. kružka lyub. arkh.*, xix, 3 ff., with pictures) with the tombs of the Sayyids now called Sultan Sadat (probably *Sulṭān-i Sādāt*). The descendants of the Sayyids now live in the village of Ṣāliḥābād near Tirmidh. A. Semenov obtained from them a manuscript genealogy and history of their house ending on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1046/29 April 1637. According to this ms., the Sayyid Ḥasan al-Amīr, son of the *amīr* Ḥusayn, came to Samarḳand in 235/849-50 and thence went to Balkh and Tirmidh in 246/860-1. We are told something of his relations with the Sāmānids, with a number of anachronisms; for the rest, the genealogy only contains names (Sulṭān Sādāt occurs in it as a woman's name) without facts or historical associations.

In the *Ẓafar-nāma* (i, 57) "Old Tirmidh" (*Tirmidh-i kuhna*) is mentioned alongside of Tirmidh. In literary works, including the ms. just mentioned, and on coins, Tirmidh after the Mongol period is frequently called "The Men's Town" (*madīnat al-ridjāl*). After Tīmūr's death, the Oxus frontier again came into prominence for a brief period. Khalīl Sulṭān, who had seized Samarḳand, could only hold the territory north of the Oxus. During the preparations for war between him and Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], Khalīl Sulṭān in 810/1407 restored old Tirmidh, and Shāh Rukh, the defences of Balkh (Ibn ʿArabshāh, ed. Egypt, 205-6). It is to this period that probably belongs the memorial to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Tirmidhī.

From the 10th/16th century Tirmidh, and as a rule Balkh also, belonged to the kingdom of the Shībānid [*q.v.*] Özbegs. During the fighting for Balkh between the Özbegs and the Indian prince (later emperor) Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] in 1056-7/1646-7, Tirmidh was occupied by Indian troops under Saʿādat Khān (Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 79).

In the early years of the 18th century, Tirmidh was in possession of Shīr ʿAlī of the Ḳungrāt family, the founder of the town of Shīrābād (*ZDMG*, xxxviii, 276). A distinction was made at this time between the "great citadel" (*kalʿa-yi kalān*) of Tirmidh and the "citadel of the village" (?) where the bulk of the inhabitants (of Tirmidh?) lived. The unsettled condition of the following decades brought about the complete ruin of Tirmidh as of many other towns. In 1758 the Mangït *Atalïḳ* Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān rebuilt the town (Barthold, *K istorii oroshenīya Turkestana*, St.

Petersburg 1914, 74); it was afterwards destroyed once more.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was nothing near the ruins of the old town of Tirmidh except the insignificant village of Patta Ḥiṣār (with 1,257 inhabitants) and Ṣāliḥābād (see above). Patta Ḥiṣār acquired more importance when it was made the starting point of the Russian steamships on the Oxus. In 1894 the Russian fort of Termez was built 5 miles from the ruins and gradually became a town, but with a predominantly male population. In 1916 the Bukhārā-Ḳarshī-Termez railway was opened; during the Russian Revolution it was destroyed but has since been rebuilt.

The modern town of Termez, on the Ḳarshī-Dushanbe railway, has some light industries and serves as a port on the Oxus. In 1970 it had a population of 35,000. Archaeological excavations there have yielded, *inter alia*, Buddhist remains.

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(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-TIRMIDHĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD b. ʿALĪ AL-ḤAKĪM, eminent mystic.

Numerous dates have been suggested for his birth and death; according to any of these he would have lived more than one hundred years. He was probably born in the first decade of the 3rd/9th century, in Tirmidh [*q.v.*] (where Buddhism and Manichaeism in particular had preceded Islam). The most plausible date for his death is located between 318/936 and 320/938. The little that is known of his life mostly derives from his *Badʾ shaʾn al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī* which, rather than being an autobiography, represents his spiritual itinerary. His first teacher was his father. Leaving home at the age of 27 to perform the Pilgrimage, he spent time in Baṣra engaged in the study of *ḥadīth*. On his return, he acknowledged his vocation and commenced his mystical itinerary.

Ca. 261/874, accused of speaking of love, of corrupting the public and of claiming the gift of prophecy, he was summoned to Balkh to appear before the *wālī* (according to al-Dhahabī, two of his writings, *Khatm al-awliyāʾ* and *ʿIlal al-sharīʿa*, formed the basis of the charges against him). After proceedings which lasted several years, his enemies were obliged to flee from Tirmidh and he himself, rehabilitated, was enabled to return to his home. In 269/883, a dream experienced by his wife confirmed that he had just acceded to the rank of the forty *ṣiddīḳs*. In 285/898, he is said to have made his way to Nīshāpūr. After this date, nothing more is known of his life.

Doctrinal tendencies. A traditionalist, he adopted numerous themes characteristic of the *Ahl al-ḥadīth*, refused to accept discussion of the Ḳurʾān and of the *Sunna*, repudiated *kalām* and controversies, rejected reason and personal opinion (*raʾy*), and showed clear sympathy for the Ḥanbalīs, and also for the Umayyads rather than the ʿAbbāsids. However, he scorned the exoteric and preached esoteric knowledge interpreting Ḳurʾānic verses in the most fantastical manner, and approving of the in-depth interpretation of *ḥadīth* and even of the Law. As was later to be the practice of the Ashʿarīs, he accepted the condensing of the hundred names of Allāh into ten attributes. Furthermore, he denounced philosophy, at least that of others, and accepted the cognomen of al-Ḥakīm, evidently in the sense of monotheist and Muslim philosopher. He borrowed numerous themes from the Shīʿīs, and used them against them. These contradictions reflect the multiplicity of tendencies which then co-existed and the degree of freedom present in religious thought, still in something of a state of flux. Clearly influenced by the scientific, alchemical and philosophical thought of his time, he separated their various strands. His work retained numerous vestiges of it, most often employed as elements of a lyrical expression of his mystical sensibility, without concern for logic, coherence or compatibility: earth deriving from water and light from the refinement of water; absence of fire in man, but the earth of which he is composed capable of blazing with the fire of his passion; the heart of an initiate becoming, after its evil tendencies "have been melted", "an ingot of pure silver"; etc. Also found were numerous reflections of neo-Platonist and Pythagorean thought, widespread at that time among a certain élite of Muslim society, in the East as in the West. He called God the One and Only, grouped the sciences into three categories (assessed, however, from an essentially religious point of view), and, finally, he assimilated the mystical grades to levels of reason, and while paying no heed to the "Fall", attached primordial importance to the ascent following upon it.

Pre-formation of man. Around several Ḳurʾānic verses, al-Tirmidhī constructed a veritable myth of Adam and of Iblīs, which replaces the "fall of souls" with the "casting of divine light". Here, transcendence and anthropomorphism are not easily separated, and the same applies to the material and the spiritual. God created other beings, in the service of man, by His Word, *kun*, but He created man by His own hand. Before man's arrival on the earth, there were three preparatory phases:

(1) *The "Day of Destinies" (yawm al-maḳādīr).* God has "sown" men in the earth and has determined their status as believers or infidels by sprinkling them with His light, simultaneously at random and according to His will. According to the quantity of light received, men are to be divided into three groups: infidels, hypocrites and believers (among these last being the mystical "saints" whom God has touched with His right hand).

(2) *The Formation of Adam.* 50,000 years later, God kneads a fragment of earth with the "water of His mercy", makes the dough rise with the "light of gnosis", adds the "five things" or components of intelligence and provides the finest physical forms, by virtue of which Adam is close to Him ("light of proximity"). Then God insufflates there, with gnosis, the "light of life" and the spirit (which regulates speech) and, by virtue of the combination in him of gnosis and of the "light of gnosis", Adam "acknowledges his Lord" and recites the *shahāda*. Form, light of gnosis and spirit constitute the "light of destinies" (*nūr maḳādīrī*). Every one of his future descendants has his part of all this.

(3) *The "Day of the Pact" (yawm al-mīthāḳ).* God brings forth all men from the loins of Adam. He asks them "Am I not your Lord?" and all reply "Yes"; the evil reply out of fear, and the demons lead them towards unbelief; the believers reply out of love and conviction, and God rewards them with His alliance. "Proximity of form", vision of God in His light and divine speech (or "Word") constitute the "light of the pact" (*nūr mīthāḳī*), and the five components of intel-

ligence recognise it by analogy with the "light of destinies" which are a part of them.

Transgression. Iblīs had refused to bow before Adam, whose body and soul were made from a soil which he himself had trampled underfoot. He tempted Adam to prove his superiority over him. God granted that Iblīs should rule only over the wicked, leading them by appetites of the soul supplemented by a hundred traits of Satanic nature. But he accepted the repentence of Adam, promised to send prophets who will be bearers of revelations to the believers, to subordinate their soul to their heart, supported by a hundred traits of virtuous character (deriving from the divine attributes), through reason, gnosis and the five components of intelligence.

Human organism and faculties. Based on a fundamental duality (the heart and the soul) there is a somewhat anarchic multiplicity of organs and faculties. The following are identified: the exterior soul (which is nothing other than the body with its members and organs and which, by means of its senses, already has embryonic knowledge); the inner soul (located in the lungs, made from soil trampled underfoot by Iblīs); the heart (both organ and faculty); reason (located in the brain); the spirit (located in the head, below the ears); then the five components of intelligence (located in the chest): intelligence proper (*dhihn*), faculty of memory (*ḥifẓ*), understanding (*fahm*), penetration of spirit (*dhakā'*; almost non-existent role) and knowledge (the immediate perceptions of awareness; cf. Gobillot, 617). All the faculties which God gave to Adam and his descendants on the "Day of the Pact" constitute the *fiṭra* (on the subject of the *fiṭra*, cf. Gobillot, 611 ff., FIṬRA and MĪTHĀḲ).

Believers and infidels. All men are thus endowed at the outset with "natural reason" (*'aḳl al-fiṭra*) which should make them into Muslims, and their duty would be to use this in combination with the five components of intelligence. Then, *dhihn*, assisted by understanding (*fahm*), receives exterior knowledge (sensible awareness) in bulk, conveys it to the breast, on the lining of which each idea leaves a shadow of its form. Then *dhihn* entrusts all this to the memory (also located in the breast). When the heart has need of a particular thing, it looks at the memory (illuminating it with the "light of life" which is in it) and the latter shows it the thing which is sought. It is a purely external, utilitarian and concrete knowledge "which has no solidity in the heart". But from the outset, there is rivalry between the heart and reason on the one hand, and the inner soul on the other. Charged with lesser functions, such as satisfying appetites, licit or illicit, the latter has no knowledge, only appetites. Appetites are a soft breath, created from the fire of Hell, located in a thin vesicle between heart and lung and distributed throughout the body by the blood-vessels (like the demons); they bring delight to the inner soul and are the acolytes of Iblīs. Men whose appetites dominate heart and reason and who do not feel the need to love God (on the love of God, cf. Gobillot, *passim*), thus those to whom God has refused "alliance" because of their disregard for the "Day of the Pact", are the prey of the demons and the latter lead them to polytheism or to infidelity. On the other hand, God has given to the believer the privilege of the "light of reason" which, through the door of the brain which opens onto the breast, illumines that which the eyes of the heart wish to see; and the latter can classify the objects of awareness and also distinguish between the fair and the ugly (evil actions leave a black stain on the heart). Furthermore, God has added to the "light of life", in his heart, the "light of monotheism", and with the eyes of his heart seeing this, man acknowledges God and proclaims His uniqueness. Then "natural reason" is replaced by "reason of faith". Despite their love of God, simple believers have nothing more than utilitarian and concrete knowledge and they retain their appetites, which co-exist with the heart and with reason. But believers, even those of a relatively higher level, must beware of being swamped by their appetites, for these accumulate in the breast—according to whether they are more or less excessive or illicit—clouds, dust or even smoke, and prevent the imprisoned heart seeing the shadows of knowledge on the lining of the breast. Eventually, faith will give way to the domination of passion.

Spiritual ascent. For a certain type of believer who has already acquired a well-organised awareness of the exterior world, the knowledge which is accumulated in the chest and seen by the eyes of the heart becomes "knowledge of the heart" (abstract), and his faith is strengthened. But he will soon be in a position to aspire to a higher level. The heart, observing the breast, discovers in itself and in the creatures of this inferior world attributes which they owe to the divine Omnipotence. Gradually, it will thus ascend towards the divine Unity and the awareness of God. There, finally, is the highest level accessible to man, and the heart will bring back to the chest the quintessence of an incomparable knowledge. Heart, reason and *dhihn* together illuminate the chest, the "light of gnosis" and that of "monotheism" shine forth and, in the illumined chest, all these lights become a single one, the "light of certitude" and of the love of God (Gobillot emphasises, 578 ff., that all lights corresponding to the divine attributes are derived from the divine light), for the heart is like a mirror where heaven and the other world are reflected, extending as far as the "Throne", and there eyes see the Majesty of God. It seems (yet to be confirmed) that the echelons of reason correspond to these stages (a decidedly muffled echo of the concepts of Plato and of Aristotle): above "reason of faith" there are "reason of knowledge and of perception (*idrāk*)", "reason of right guidance (*hidāya*)" and "reason of gnosis and of insight (*baṣīra*)". But mystical grades are also superimposed here.

The mystical grades. Al-Tirmidhī does simple believers the honour of according them a "grade", that of the *awliyā' al-tawḥīd* who, as has been seen, are permitted to retain the appetites of the soul. Above them come: (1) *The ṣādiḳs*. Despite their love of God, the mundane life constantly brings them back to concrete realities. They are required to exert the extenuating effort of ceaseless struggle with the soul, with the aim of cleansing it of appetites and of the hundred traits of diabolical nature; achieving the passivity of members, the instrument of the soul, and at least overseeing their actions; and avoiding acts of obeisance not required by the Law, for fear that the soul will interfere. Finally, they plead for the divine mercy which will transport them directly to the higher level.

(2) *The aḥrār kirām*. The lights of "proximity" and of "divine grace" are interposed between them and their soul, which cannot threaten the heart. But it survives with its appetites and this grade should not be left, nor anything done, without the permission of God, Who then guarantees the safeguarding of the heart. Finally, passion extinguished and the soul submissive, one may pass to the next grade.

(3) *The "forty" ṣiddīḳs*. Despite the soul, there is nothing in them other than the love of God. They benefit from the *madjālis al-nadjwā* which include inspiration, physiognomy and *ṣiddīḳiyya* (revelation through dreams). They can now progressively assimilate, by means of the divine *minna*, ten virtues deriving from the divine attributes; each of the ten is acquired by the traversing of a "kingdom".

(4) *The munfarid*. The man who reaches the tenth "kingdom", that of the divine Unity, has attained the highest of all grades and the deepest point of esotericism. He is then caliph of God on His earth. He is *muḥaddath*: besides the three modes of inspiration of the *ṣiddīḳs*, he is a beneficiary of *ḥadīth* (*ḳudsī*). His level is much closer to that of the prophets than to that of the *ṣiddīḳs*: he is introduced to a third, even to half and more, of the practices associated with prophecy, of which the "veracious dreams" (an idea borrowed from the Shīʿīs) are one forty-sixth of revelation.

Ahl al-ṣidḳ and ahl al-minna. The former are those who are obliged to make the extenuating effort to escape the slavery of the inner soul. The *ahl al-minna* easily traverse the echelons because *minna* and the divine creative will have predisposed them to it naturally through their fine traits of character. It is their vocation to accede to *infirād*.

The seal of the saints. Al-Tirmidhī no doubt borrowed from the Shīʿīs this notion of a seal of the saints, at the end of time, parallel to the seal of the prophets, Muḥammad, and much closer to him than any other saint.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that the influence of al-Tirmidhī remains perceptible among later mystics (especially ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*]; *Ghunya*, 160-2); furthermore, borrowing from Shīʿism and representing a first wave of Neo-Platonism in Islamic mysticism, he is in this sense a precursor of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*].

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(Y. MARQUET)

AL-**TIRMIDHĪ**, ABŪ ʿĪSĀ MUḤAMMAD B. ʿĪSĀ b. Sawra, great collector of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], the author of one of the Six Books, *al-kutub al-sitta*. He is said to have been born in 210/825 near the town of Tirmidh [*q.v.*]. He travelled widely in search of traditions through Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz. He was among others a pupil of al-Bukhārī [*q.v.*]. Later in life he became blind, allegedly as a result of excessive weeping, and he died in Tirmidh in 279/892.

He is famous in the first place for his *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, a collection generally considered to hold the fourth rank after those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd [*q.vv.*]. In the edition of Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir *et alii*, Cairo 1937-65, it contains 3,956 traditions. Like his predecessors, al-Tirmidhī included in his collection many dozens of traditions, which he provided with single strand *isnāds*, for which he may solely be held responsible. These traditions can be identified by consulting *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-aṭrāf* of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341 [*q.v.*]) where they are easily recognised by a single Arabic *tāʾ*. At the end of his *Djāmiʿ* (v, 736-63) an extremely important early theoretical work on common defects (*ʿilal*) is appended: his *Kitāb al-ʿIlal*. In this chapter, al-Tirmidhī defines his methods in *ḥadīth* classification (*ṣaḥīḥ-ḥasan-gharīb*), three technical terms which he often used in seemingly contradictory combinations. These methods met with some criticism as well as bewilderment on the part of his fellow-traditionists. For a detailed survey of these, see the important commentary of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Radjab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795/1393), *Sharḥ ʿilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣubḥī Djāsim al-Ḥumayd, Baghdād 1396, 287-91. Al-Tirmidhī also made a collection of traditions solely comprising the Prophet's characteristics entitled *K. al-Shamāʾil*; for editions and commentaries, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 156-9. It was probably modelled on the latter part of the biography of Muḥammad by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845 [*q.v.*]) in *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt al-kabīr*, i/2, 87-186.

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(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

TIRMIDHĪ, SAYYID BURHĀN AL-DĪN AL-ḤUSAYN MUḤAḲḲIḲĪ, also known as Sayyid Ḥusayn or Sayyid Sirdān, disciple of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad and spiritual master of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.vv.*], *fl.* in the first half of the 7th/13th century.

Born at an unknown date and originally from the town of Tirmidh [*q.v.*] on the Oxus, where he already had a circle of disciples, he became the disciple and then successor of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Walad. He went to

join his master at Ḳonya, but Bahā' al-Dīn had died a year previously (628/1231) and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī had succeeded him in teaching the religious sciences. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn took charge of Djalāl al-Dīn's education and became his spiritual master, with Rūmī studying under him for nine years. They set off together for Syria, but Burhān al-Dīn settled at Ḳayṣariyya [q.v.] whilst Rūmī went on to Aleppo. Burhān al-Dīn is said to have retired to Ḳayṣariyya and to have been there at the time of the Mongol invasion of Anatolia. The Saldjūḳ governor of Ḳayṣariyya, Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, was at the same time protector and disciple of Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn. It is possible that the latter died in 638/1240; according to Djāmī he was buried there, but there exists also at Ḳonya a *turba* traditionally referred to as being his.

Attributed to him is a large work in Persian called the *Maḳālāt-i Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaḳḳiḳ-i Tirmidhī*, bearing witness to the breadth of his knowledge of the theological sciences and the intellectual currents of his time. In it he cites various mystical poems, including those of Sanā'ī, whom he loved as much as Djalāl al-Dīn loved Shams-i Tibrīzī [q.v.], and he also discusses various questions pertaining to Ṣūfī mysticism, covering Ismā'īlī doctrines, the topic of the Mahdī and theological problems. For Burhān al-Dīn, the Malāmatiyya [q.v.] were the highest grade of the mystics, whilst the philosophical scholars did not have access to the real truth.

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(P. Ballanfat)

TİRNOWA, the Ottoman name of a town in northern Bulgaria, capital of the Bulgarian rulers from the 12th to the 14th centuries, called until 1965 Tarnovo, now Veliko Tarnovo.

It is situated on the River Yantra, whose waters have cut into the limestone hills where the town is situated. It was fortified by the Romans and Byzantines, until in 1185 the local feudal lords Assen and Peter rose up against the Byzantines, and Tarnovo became the capital of the restored Bulgarian monarchy. The mediaeval town had some 40 churches and five monasteries, a *Frenk* town for Western European traders and a Jewish quarter. In 795/1393 it was besieged and captured by the Ottomans, with severe reprisals against the town; the Tsar's palace and the fortress walls were demolished, the Bulgarian Patriarch exiled and many local dignitaries executed. Tirnowa now became the centre of a *ḳaḍā* within the *sandjaḳ* of Nīkbūlī [q.v.] or Nicopolis, and a *khāṣṣ* of the sultan or the *sandjaḳ-beyi*. In 1864, after the formation of the Tuna or Danube *wilāyet*, Tirnowa became the chef-lieu of a *sandjaḳ*. In 1877, during the Russo-Turkish War, the town was entered by Russian troops and since 1878 has formed part of Bulgaria.

After the Ottoman conquest, part of the population was massacred and others subjected to forced deportation (*sürgün*). According to the taxation registers of the later 15th and the 16th centuries, Tirnowa had about 4,600 inhabitants, about one-third of them Muslims. In the mid-17th century, the two communities of Christians and Muslims were almost equal and totalled *ca.* 5,000. In the second half of the 19th century, it had *ca.* 12,000 inhabitants, one-third of them Muslims; in 1900 there were 11,628 Bulgarians, 748 Turks, 52 Armenians, and 23 Gypsies and others; in 1976 the town had 58,096 inhabitants.

It seems that the development of the town was marked, for the Orthodox Bulgarians, by their memories of its past glories as a royal capital and its continued role as the seat of an archbishop under the Greek Oecumenical Patriarch. By the end of the 18th century there were in the town eight churches and three monasteries, and in the next century, twelve Orthodox churches served by a considerable number of priests. It was probably significant that it was in Tirnowa that plans for links with the European Powers for the ejection of the Ottomans were hatched. On the other hand, the concentration of Muslim religious functionaries in the town was relatively high, and in the 17th century there were between 29 and 35 of them. The sizeable colony of Catholic Ragusan merchants of the 16th century was by the 17th century ousted by Armenians, who came to use the former Catholic church of the Ascension. There were also a Jewish community and Albanians, these last living in the satellite settlement of Arbanassi.

The strong religious feelings between the communities may explain why so few Islamic monuments have been preserved there compared with other Bulgarian towns. In 839/1435-6 the Ḥiṣār mosque was built by the greatest benefactor of the town of that time, Fīrūz Bey, whose *waḳf* also supported a monumental mosque which survived until 1957 (its inscription is preserved in the Tărnovo Historical Museum), an *ʿimāret*, a *medrese*, a caravanserai, a *mesdjid* in the bazaar, a *ḥammām*, a *mekteb*, etc. The Muslim part of the town was sharply divided off from the Christian one, and held the administrative buildings plus the most imposing mosque of the town, the Ḳurşum one, with a *medrese*, seven fountains and a library (whose building was destroyed when Russian troops entered the town in 1877 and its books scattered; no information exists today on their whereabouts). According to the *sālnāme* of 1872-3, the town had 22 mosques (*djāmiʿ*s and *mesdjid*s), of which 13 survived in 1912, a *tekke*, seven *medreses*, etc. At some point in the later 15th century, the Ḳawaḳ Baba *tekke* had been established round the former church of the Forty Martyrs by a *waḳf*, and places of pilgrimage included the tomb of one Maḥmūd Fātiḥ, believed to have conquered the town. In the Ottoman period, commercial activity was brisk in Tirnowa, seen in the fact that by the 19th century there were 1,008 *dukkāns*, nine *khāns*, 120 warehouses, three *ḥammāms* and 35 fountains.

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(Svetlana Ivanova)

ṬIRS [see RAKK. 1].

TIRYĀKĪ, ḤASAN PASHA [see MEHMED PASHA, TIRYĀKĪ].

TISHRĪN, the name of the first two months of the Syrian calendar. It is found as early as the Palmyrene inscriptions and there means only one month, namely the first (in the Jewish calendar, the seventh) while the next was called Kānūn. In the calendar of the Syriac church, however, we find this name applied to two months, the third and fourth Syrian = ninth and tenth Jewish, Kislēw and Ṭēbhēth, while the original Kānūn was replaced by a second Tishrīn month. As a stage in the development of the four first Syriac names of months from four different to two pairs, A. von Gutschmid recognised the calendar of Heliopolis, the first four months of which bore the names Ag, Thorin, Gelōn and Chanu. The last three names correspond to Tishrī, Kislēw and Kānūn. The development from Gelōn to Kānūn is explained by a change of letters, while the replacement of Ag by Tishrī might be due to Jewish influence. The Syrians distinguished the two Tishrīns by the epithets *ḳᵉdēm* and *ḥrāy* (so al-Bīrūnī) for which the Arabs used *al-awwal* and *al-ākhir* or *al-thānī*.

In time, the two months coincide with the October and November of the Roman calendar and have 31 and 30 days. In the two months, the four first stations of the moon set and the 15th to 18th and the rise. The days on which this happens are, according to al-Bīrūnī, 10 and 23 Tishrīn I, and 5 and 18 Tishrīn II; according to al-Ḳazwīnī, 18 and 31 Tishrīn I, and 13 and 26 Tishrīn II. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (= A.D. 989), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the four stations rose or set on 22 Tishrīn I and on 5, 18 and 31 Tishrīn II.

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ṬĪṬ, ṬĪṬ AN FIṬR and ʿAYN AL-FIṬR, the name of a place on the Atlantic coast of Morocco to the south of Casablanca, the modern Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. It lies some 12 km/7 miles southwest of al-Djadīda [*q.v.*].

The chroniclers explain this toponym by the linking of a Berber word with an Arabic one; there was on the beach a sacred spring (*tīṭ*) covered by the sea at high tide, from which the mythical founder of the *ribāṭ* there drank to break his fast (*fiṭr*). This last word, however, comes more likely from Berber *anfṭār*, a vessel used for measuring turns of water allocation. The presence of springs on this Atlantic coastal plain, which normally lacks them, favoured an early human settlement, and there are traces, connected with some Punic tombs, showing that this littoral has been inhabited since Antiquity. Ṭīṭ was, however, most famous for its *ribāṭ*, founded by the Ṣūfī family of the Banū Amghār, which had a role beyond its immediate vicinity all through mediaeval times. Originating from the Gudāla, a section of the Ṣanhādja [*q.vv.*], the Banū Amghār settled in this region at some unknown date but certainly before the conquest of their Almoravid cousins. The chroniclers list their miracles and their merits but give little information on the small urban settlement of Ṭīṭ or on the function of its fortified *ribāṭ*.

The most important historical source on Ṭīṭ is late, and somewhat suspect from its hagiographical nature, the *K. Bahdjat al-nādhirīn wa-uns al-ʿārifīn* of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Zammūrī, written *ca.* 900/1494-5 (and not in the 8th/14th century, as is sometimes said), so far unpublished. The author gives a series of decrees, the oldest from the prince Tamīm b. Zīrī b. Yaʿlā of the Banū Ifran from Rabīʿ I 409/July-August 1018. The series of letters, Almoravid, Almohad and Marīnid, confirm the fiscal and spiritual privileges granted by the central power to the *ribāṭ* of Ṭīṭ, but there are false dates and doubtful facts which render them suspect. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm adopts a current procedure and asserts that the Banū Amghār, of Idrīsid origin, had become Berberised through contacts and marriage alliances with the Ṣanhādja, the founder, Ismāʿīl b. Amghār having left Medina in the 4th/10th century and settled at Ṭīṭ, with his descendant Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad making the *ribāṭ* renowned. The *sharīfī* genealogy of the Banū Amghār was strongly denounced by Ibn al-Ḳāḍī [*q.v.*] at the opening of the 11th/17th century, but in the 6th/12th century the family's role in religious life and its reputation for sainthood was incontestable; it seems to have been involved also with the teaching of Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Situated as it was on a rich, cereal-growing plain, the *ribāṭ* of Ṭīṭ was occupied by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century and made tributary, but the small town there seems to have profited by the situation to become involved in trade exchanges. In order to frustrate the Portuguese, the Moroccan ruler in Fās decided to dismantle Ṭīṭ and the population was transferred to the plain of Sāʾis, whilst the family of the famous ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madjdhūb settled at Miknās. The abandoned town fell into ruins, even if the *ribāṭ* managed to carry on a modest religious life. Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh tried unsuccessfully to revive the port. The village there acquired a certain vitality in the 19th century thanks to the efforts of the *ḳāʾid* of Dukhāla, Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī. The name Ṭīṭ was forgotten, and the modern village there bears the name of its presumed founder, Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh.

The ruins of Ṭīṭ were excavated by H. Basset and H. Terrasse. The area uncovered is quite large, that of a small town. The strong fortifications of the *ribāṭ* were meant to defend it from attack by sea. The hypothesis of struggles with the Barghawāṭa [*q.v.*] could explain the defensive system; the kingdom of these last does not seem to have gone beyond the Umm al-Rabīʿ and hardly anything is known of their maritime activities. The walls of Ṭīṭ, of cement on a stone base, much resemble other Almohad fortresses. Of its two mosques, a sole minaret remains, that of the more recent mosque stemming from the 7th/13th century and including the *zāwiya* of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh. One of the most important *mawsims* in Morocco celebrates each summer the founder of Ṭīṭ. As an ensemble of buildings created by a family and not by a ruling dynasty, Ṭīṭ is a unique exception in Morocco's urban history.

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(Halima Ferhat)

TĪṬṬĀWĪN, the Berber name for Tétouan, the Tetteguin of Leo Africanus, *Description*, tr. Épaulard, i, 267, a town on the Mediterranean coast of northern Morocco. It lies on the flanks of the Djabal al-Darsa, part of the Rīf [*q.v.*] chain at the mouth of the Martil river (the Wād Rās and Wād Madjaksa of the mediaeval texts).

The region was Romanised, and the *oppidum* of Tamuda (mentioned by Pliny, and later the seat of a bishop, *Tamudensis episcopus*) is 8 km/5 miles from the modern town. Tīṭṭāwīn's history before the 15th century is only imperfectly known, with few sources and uncertain chronology. Its actual Berber name ("the springs", a quarter of the town still being known as al-ʿUyūn) is first mentioned at the death of Idrīs II in 213/828, probably with reference to a simple fortified place rather than a true city. Its military and strategic function is confirmed by al-Bakrī, who mentions its *kaṣaba*, and in al-Idrīsī's geography (ii, 531), who calls it a *ḥiṣn* but not a *madīna*. Between the 4th/10th and 7th/13th centuries, the region had an important economic and urban growth, thanks to its connections with al-Andalus, but Tīṭṭāwīn itself stagnated and is hardly mentioned, unlike the remarkable fortunes of Sabta [*q.v.*] some 34 km/16 miles away. Not till 685/1286 does the name of Tīṭṭāwīn appear again in the chronicles, when the Marīnid sultan Yūsuf b. Yaʿkūb al-Nāṣir "founded" the fortress (*kaṣaba*) of Tīṭṭāwīn plus a mosque; whether this was a true foundation or simply a restoration, is unclear. In 708/1308 Abū Thābit ʿAmr b. Yūsuf set up there a fortified camp, Afrāg [*q.v.*], against the Naṣrids of Granada, who had occupied Sabta. The 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries are obscure, but after Sabta fell into Portuguese hands, Tīṭṭāwīn seems once again to have played a military role, although the Portuguese chronicler Azurara states that the Portuguese of Ceuta in 1437 dismantled its new fortifications, and the abandoned town apparently remained deserted till 889-90/1484-5.

Around the time of the fall of Granada, the ruler of Shafshāwan [*q.v.*], the Sharīf ʿAlī b. Rāshid al-ʿAlamī, welcomed Andalusī refugees and let them partly restore the place, with a further, more important restoration in 898/1493 by one of the last defenders of Granada, ʿAlī b. Manẓarī, considered in oral tradition as the true founder of the town; his family retained power there for several generations. The cordial relations with the ruler of Shafshāwan were crowned by the marriage of Ibn Rāshid's successor with the famous Sayyida al-Ḥurra. With some breaks, she led Tīṭṭāwīn from 931/1525 to 948/1541, organising corsair raids against the Portuguese whilst nevertheless developing relations with the Iberian powers. These activities and the town's richness attracted envoys from Lisbon, Madrid and Fās, who negotiated with her. But the victory of the Saʿdians in Morocco ended the rule of the Manẓarī family, which gave way to the Naḳsīs, feudatories of the new dynasty. The history of Tīṭṭāwīn is indeed narrowly linked with its great families, those of Manẓarī, Naḳsīs, ʿAshʿāsh and Riffī, who built many public edifices, and who, whilst still linked with the central power in Morocco, maintained a considerable degree of autonomy.

From the 11th/17th century into the next one, the town enjoyed great prosperity, and most of its great buildings date from this period. As a commercial centre, it had linen, cotton and silk production, gold and silver work, tanning, the manufacture of slippers, pottery, and arms, sending these wares to other regions of Morocco and exporting part of them. A rich bourgeoisie built impressive houses and invested in agriculture outside the town walls.

But signs of crisis appeared at the end of the 18th century. European envoys abandoned Tīṭṭāwīn for Tangier, and the founding of the port of al-Suwayra/Mogador adversely affected it. The revolt in the town of 1821-2 showed up the division between the threatened world of commerce and the ruinous financial demands of the Moroccan central government. External events, like the bombardment of Tangier in 1844, aggravated this trend, culminating in the war of 1859-60 between Morocco and Spain, the War of Tétouan or of Africa, with Spain occupying the town early in 1860 after its victory for 27 months, till 2 May 1862. The disaster revealed the feebleness of Morocco's social cohesion and its military power, whilst within Tétouan, Muslims who felt threatened vented their rage on the local Jews, accused of connivance with the enemy, so that the Jewish community left the town for Tangier, Gibraltar or Orania (although at a later date, many Jews returned to the town and in 1925 they formed one-sixth of the population). The Muslim traders left a ruined town to carry on their trade in the Atlantic ports, whilst the traditional artisanal activities decayed under competition from European imports. The silk industry, previously a great feature of the local economy, fell into oblivion. After the establishment of the French and Spanish protectorates over Morocco, Tétouan in 1913 became the capital of "Spanish Morocco", with a *khalīfa* of the Sultan of Morocco at the side of the Spanish authorities. After Moroccan independence, the town lost this status as part of the increased state centralisation.

Tīṭṭāwīn represents a special case amongst Moroccan towns. Moriscos expelled from Spain rebuilt the town and profoundly affected its culture, seen in patronyms, jewelry, embroidery, cuisine and vocabulary, so that the town appeared as a happy synthesis of Andalusī and Maghribī traditions. Jews, installed there after the fall of Granada, made up one-tenth of the population till the War of Tétouan. After the French occupation of Algiers, refugees from Oran and Tlemcen settled there, bringing in Turkish influences which are discernible in the minor arts. Yet despite the richness of its past Tétouan is now undergoing a serious economic and social crisis, marginalised by its site and the poverty of its agricultural hinterland, and badly affected by smuggling activity. The proximity of Ceuta and Gibraltar, with their special statuses, encourages this traffic. However, the present University of Tétouan is endeavouring to recover the proud Moroccan-Andalusī heritage of the town's past, and there are in the town numerous valuable libraries, private and public.

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TĪTŪ MĪR or **MIYĀN**, Sayyid Mīr Nithār ʿAlī (1782-1831), anti-colonial Islamic activist and leader of peasant uprisings in Bengal.

Born into a noble family in Chandpur, Bashirhat subdivision in the district of 24 Parganah in West Bengal, Tītū Mīr studied Arabic, Persian and various Islamic subjects in a local *madrasa*. He was also a renowned wrestler in his time. He entered the service of local Hindu *zamīndārs* (landlords), but was subsequently imprisoned for defying feudal power (Colvin report, Bengal Judicial [Criminal] Consultation of 3 April 1832). In 1822, while accompanying a member of the royal family of Dihlī on the Ḥadjdj, he met Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] in Mecca, who initiated him into the *Ṭarīḳa-yi Muḥammadiyya*, a religious school of thought influenced by Ibn Taymiyya and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Returning to Bengal in 1827, Tītū Mīr called for a revival of the original teaching of Islam stripped of influences from local culture and religious practices (*al-bidʿa wa 'l-shirk wa 'l-tawassul*). He inspired the peasants to rise up against the oppression of the *zamīndārs*, both Hindu and Muslim, and colonial indigo planters, and also garnered support from armed resistance groups of *faḳīrs* (e.g. Miskīn Shāh) and even some Hindus (e.g. Zamīndār Manōhar Rāy of Bhusna). Alarmed by his growing influence, a number of *zamīndārs* led by Krishna Dēv Rāy imposed ruinous taxes to punish and humiliate those who wore the Islamic beard or constructed new *masdjids*. After failing to achieve justice through legal means, Tītū Mīr gravitated towards armed resistance, eventually leading to confrontation. His idea of erecting a fort of bamboo made him a popular hero, but the fort was demolished by the artillery of the East India Company, and Tītū Mīr, together with a large number of his followers, perished on 19 November 1831. A pioneer of the Bengali egalitarian *ʿulamāʾ*, Tītū Mīr called for a kind of class struggle (completely misunderstood by Karl Marx in his *Notes on Indian history*, Moscow n.d., 152) based on Islamic ideology (sometimes referred to as the *Mawlawī Movement*), which was continued by his disciples Munshī Muḥammad Yāsīn and Munshī Fayḍ al-Dīn Mukhtār, leaders such as Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh and his son Dūdū Miyān in the 19th century [see FARĀʾIḌIYYA], and most recently by Mawlānā Bhasani (d. 1976).

Bibliography: See that to FARĀʾIḌIYYA, and also *Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings*, West Bengal State Archives, 1831, 1832, 1833; Djaʿfar ʿAlī Naḳwī, *Tārīkh-i Aḥmadī*, ms. Panjab Univ. Library; anon., *Narkel Barir Djanga* (a Bengali *puthī*), Calcutta 1853-4; Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, *The struggle of Titu Mir, a re-examination*, in *Jnal. Asiatic Soc. Pakistan*, iv (1959), 113-33; idem, *Muslim struggle for freedom in Bengal*, Dacca 1960; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 216-17; P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972, 57-8; Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, *Titu Mir and his followers*, Dhaka 1980; Biharilal Sarkar, ed. Sapan Basu, *Tītū Mīr* (in Bengali), Calcutta 1981; K.W. Jones, *Socio-religious reform movements in British India* (*The New Cambridge hist. of India*, III.1), Cambridge 1989, 22-3, 25. (Muhammad Yusuf Siddiq)

TIYŪL, TUYŪL (T.?), a term denoting a grant of money or land in pre-modern Persian lands. The word is not attested before the 9th/15th century [see SOYŪRGHĀL]. Doerfer suggests that it is a misspelling of the Čaghatay Turkish word *yatul*, "land, domain" (ii, 667-9, no. 1014). Minorsky distinguished the *tiyūl* from the *soyūrghāl*, as being a temporary grant of the right to collect government taxes while the latter was a hereditary grant (*A soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-Qoyunlu (903/1498)*, in *BSOS*, ix [1938], 960; see also *EI*[1], art. *Tiyūl*). The term appears to have been in use under the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu. Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī states that Djahānshāh summoned the *amīrs* and the holders of *tiyūls* (*tiyūldārān*) from the provinces in 871/1466-7 to take part in his expedition against Baghdād (*Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ii, ed. Necati Lugal and Faruk Sümer, Ankara 1964, 371). After Djahānshāh's death in 872/1467-8, those of the army leaders who had remained in their *ulkās* and *tiyūlāt* left them and joined Abū Saʿīd b. Ḳarā Yūsuf (*ibid.*, 517). In the latter case, if not in the former, it would seem that the *tiyūl* was a district or province.

In the Ṣafawid period, references to *tiyūl* are frequent, though the exact nature of the grant and the terms on which it was given varied. In the early years of Ṭahmāsp's reign (930-84/1524-76) it occurs in conjunction with the term *ulkā*, a district or region held by a tribal group. It is not clear from the textual references whether the two terms were synonymous, though the presumption is that the *tiyūl* was probably a grant of the right to collect taxes in the *ulkā* of the holder or a grant of immunities within the *ulkā*. Ḥasan Rūmlū records that in 931/1524-5 the *tiyūls* which belonged to the Ustadjlū *amīrs* were cut off (*ḳaṭʿ gardānīdand*) (*Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. and tr. C.N. Seddon, Calcutta 1931, Persian text, 189), and that because of this they began to oppose the shah in the following year (*ibid.*, 191). Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī states that Ṭahmāsp, in the sixth year of his reign (936/1529-30), gave an *ulkā* and *tiyūl* to each of the Ustadjlū *amīrs* who had been in Gīlān and had come to his court (*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran AHS 1359/1980, i, 195); and he records that, having received permission in 938/1531-2 to return to their *ulkās*, they set out for the places (*maḥāll*) where they held *tiyūls* and *iḳṭāʿs* (*ibid.*, 218). In 977/1569, because of the tyranny committed by some of the *amīrs*, Ṭahmāsp ordered changes to be made in their *tiyūls*, and Ḳāḍī Aḥmad mentions some of the changes made in their *ulkās* also (*ibid.*, 563).

As the structure of the Ṣafawid empire changed, the great *amīrs* were given provinces rather than *ulkās* as *tiyūls*. The term *tiyūl* thus appears to have been used in a somewhat similar sense to the Saldjūḳ "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] and virtually to have superseded the term *iḳṭāʿ*, though references are occasionally found in the sources to *iḳṭāʿs* (e.g. Iskandar Beg, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 322, 352, ii, 1060, and Iskandar Beg and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khʷānsārī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9, 286).

Tiyūls were granted on state (*dīwānī*) land and crown lands (*khāliṣadjāt*) and also on private property and, less commonly, on *wakfī* land. Prior to the 19th century,

the holder of a *tiyūl* (the *tiyūldār*) was usually an *amīr* or a tribal or military leader. In return for the grant of a *tiyūl* he was expected to provide a military force on demand. In some cases, the number of men to be provided was stipulated in the document granting the *tiyūl* (*tiyūl-nāmača*) [see KHARĀDJ. iv, Iran. at Vol. IV, 1044a-1045b, and see Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 124-5). Immunity from the entry and interference of government officials in the district or region on which the *tiyūl* was granted was frequently given in the document granting the *tiyūl*. In effect, the *tiyūldār* often thus had full administrative control of the district where his *tiyūl* was held. Consequently, in practice, if not in theory, the *tiyūl* came to be regarded as a grant of land. On the death of the ruler, the *tiyūl* fell in, unless confirmed by his successor. In the case of a powerful *tiyūldār*, the holder usually retained possession, with or without the payment of a fee. Certain dues were paid by the *tiyūldār* on the grant of his *tiyūl* and sometimes annually (see *Landlord and peasant*, 124-5). Practice, however, varied. In the event of the *tiyūldār* dying, his heir or heirs were frequently able to secure the regrant of the late holder's *tiyūl* in their favour. As in the case of the earlier *iḳṭāʿ*, there was a tendency for *tiyūls* to become hereditary and to be assimilated to private property.

It is difficult to arrive at reliable figures for the extent of land held as *tiyūl*. It varied at different times and in different provinces. Under Nādir Shāh there was apparently an attempt to resume *tiyūls* and *soyūrghāls* or, at least, to exert stricter control over them. He ordered all the *tiyūlāt* and *mawḳūfāt* of Fārs to be resumed in 1151/1738-9, but it is unlikely that this order was fully implemented (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-yi nāṣirī*, lith., Tehran 1984-6, i, 181; Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 129). Under the Ḳādjārs, large areas of the country were alienated from the control of the central government as *tiyūls* whether given as grants to collect the taxes of a given district, or given to government officials in lieu of salary (*ibid.*, 139-40). H.C. Rawlinson calculated that about one-fifth of the whole revenue of Persia was thus alienated in the form of *tiyūl* from the crown towards the middle of the 19th century (*Notes on a journey from Tabríz through Persian Kurdistán to the ruins of Takhti Soleïmán*, in *JRGS*, x [1841], 5 n.). One of the first actions of the National Assembly after the grant of the Constitution was to abolish the *tiyūl* (*Landlord and peasant*, 179).

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TĪZNĪT, a town of southwestern Morocco (lat. 29° 43' N., long. 9° 44' W., altitude 224 m/735 feet above sea level), in a Tashelḥīt [*q.v.*] Berber-speaking area. It is today on the highroad RP 30 that passes by Agadir [*q.v.*] and runs roughly parallel to the coast towards the Western Sahara. Its position in the plain of the Sūs [see AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ], between the Atlantic Ocean 15 km/9 miles to its west, the High Atlas to the north (90 km/56 miles) and the Anti-Atlas to the south and east, has given it a role of a crossroads town.

Before the 19th century, nothing is known of it apart from a legend that its foundation was due to a certain prostitute, who became thereafter a saint; oral tradition recounts that her dog found the first spring, *Iʿin aḳdīm* ("the ancient spring") of Tīznīt. Tīznīt was besieged by the Sharīf [see SHURAFĀʾ] Hāshim u-ʿAlī (murdered in 1825), and because of its constant opposition to the hegemony of Tāzerwālt [*q.v.*], it was fortified in 1883. The expedition of the sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan I [*q.v.*] in 1886 strengthened the position of the *Makhzan* [*q.v.*] in the region. The town now attracted many Jews from the so-called *Bilād al-Sībā*. It probably had *ca.* 1,000 inhabitants in 1882, according to Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, 56; by 1936 the population had reached 4,662, including 357 Jews and 132 Europeans.

Chased from the Sahara at the beginning of the 20th century, Shaykh Māʾ al-ʿAynayn [*q.v.*] took refuge at Tīznīt in 1909. His son Aḥmad al-Hība [*q.v.* in Suppl.] succeeded in mobilising the surrounding tribes and launched a *djihād* against the forces of the French Protectorate. When he proclaimed himself sultan in 1912, al-Hība made Tīznīt his capital until he was defeated near Marrākush. From that time until the decolonalisation of the Spanish Western Sahara took place in 1975, Tīznīt remained a small town from which the Spanish enclave of Ifni [*q.v.*] was supervised. In 1982 it had 23,000 inhabitants, with increasing importance as the chef-lieu of the province of the Sūs.

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(ABDERRAHMANE LAKHSASSI)

TOBOL, the name of a river in Western Siberia from which *Tobolïḳ*, the ethnonym of a subgrouping of the Siberian Tatars derives, as does also the name of the Russian city Tobol'sk built (1587) near Sibir, the capital of the Sibir Khānate [see SĪBĪR]. The Tobol Tatars, together with the *Tümenli*, constitute one of the principal subgroupings of the Siberian Tatars along with the Tara, Baraba, Tomsk and Bukharlïḳ groupings. The Tobolïḳ presently number about 50,000 and live interspersed among Russian, Siberian Bukhārān and Ḳazan Tatar settlements along the Irtïsh river, from Tara to Tobol'sk and on the Tobol. They descend from the Ḳïpčaḳ Turkic and Turkicised population of the eastern regions of the *ulus* of Djoči (the White and Blue Hordes of the territories of Orda and Shiban) which in the late 15th century formed the Khānate of Sibir. These Tatars mixed, to varying degrees, with the local Ugric (Khantï/Ostyak) tribes that had been brought under Tatar rule. Some of their tribal components are reflected in the names of administrative units: Ḳurdaḳ, Ishtek (a Turkic term for Ugric groups, cf. Ostyak, the Ḳazaḳs often refer to the Siberian Tatars as *Üshtek*, Tomilov, *Étničeskaya ist.*, 32), Toghus in the Uvat district (who are also called *Sas Ḳalḳï* "swamp people"), Yasḳalbï, Nanga and Tsavaltsïḳ. Included among them are also descendants of Bukhārān merchants who settled in the region (15th-16th centuries) as are also the linguistically more closely related Volga Tatars. The language of the latter serves as their literary tongue. They are Sunnī Muslims, and Islam has served as one of their primary sources of identity. They are

largely engaged in agriculture, fishing and hunting.

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(P.B. Golden)

ṬŌḌAR MAL, Hindu finance minister to the Mughal emperor Akbar (d. 998/1589).

Of the Khatri caste, probably a native of the Pandjāb, he rose early under Akbar (acceded 964/1556). In 971/1563-4 he was appointed to serve under Muẓaffar Khān, and to organise the revenue administration and soon afterwards he received the title of *rādjā*. In 981/1573-4, after the conquest of Gudjarāt, Ṭōḍar Mal was assigned the task of settling its revenues. He was then sent to serve with the armies operating in Bihār and Bengal, where he worked hard to suppress the rebellion that broke out in 988/1580-1. He was appointed *Dīwān* of the Empire in 990/1582-3 and occupied this office till his death. In 993/1585 he was promoted to the high *manṣab* [*q.v.*] or rank of 4,000. As *Dīwān* he introduced important financial reforms, obtaining in later tradition a high reputation as the architect of Akbar's revenue reforms, although much spade work had been done by his predecessors Muẓaffar Khān and Shāh Manṣūr. Contemporaries saw him as loyal, competent and harsh. His memorandum on revenue administration, 990/1582, preserved in B.L. ms. Add. 27,247, fols. 331b-332b, bears out this assessment. The formulation of the *dastūrs* or cash revenue rates, for different localities for each crop, was largely the work of Shāh Manṣūr, but Ṭōḍar Mal certainly gave the arrangements their final form. According to later tradition, he made Persian the official language of accounts at all levels.

Ṭōḍar Mal left behind palatial buildings in Jhusi near Allāhābād. He was personally an orthodox Hindu, and was, on this account, regarded as narrow-minded (*muta'aṣṣib*) at Akbar's court; but Akbar never wavered in his appreciation of his loyal service, and grieved at his death.

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(M. Athar Ali)

TOGHA TEMÜR (d. 754/1353), last Mongol Īl-Khān [*q.v.*] of Persia. He was descended from Čingiz Khān's younger brother Djoči Khasar. His father Suday had received permission from the Īl-Khān Abū Sa'īd to enter Khurāsān, but died in 733/1332-3, and Togha Temür settled in Sarakhs. In the winter of 736/1335-6, following Abū Sa'īd's death, he was raised up as sovereign by the *amīrs* of Khurāsān, led by Abū Sa'īd's governor of the province, Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Alī Ḳūshčī, in opposition to the successive puppet *khāns* enthroned in 'Irāḳ. In 738/1337-8, he advanced into north-western Persia at the instigation of certain *amīrs* there, only to be defeated near Tabrīz by Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg, the founder of the Djalāyirid [*q.v.*] dynasty, and his *khān* Muḥammad, and forced to retreat. When a similar invitation came in Radjab 739/January-February 1339, this time from Ḥasan-i Buzurg himself, Togha Temür again moved westwards and was courted in the vicinity of Sulṭāniyya by representatives of all the competing factions. But his ambitions were foiled by a stratagem on the part of Ḥasan-i Buzurg's rival, the Čūbānid [*q.v.*] Shaykh Ḥasan-i Küčük, which produced a league against Togha Temür, and he was obliged to withdraw yet again.

Togha Temür was largely successful in overcoming recalcitrant Mongol *amīrs* within Khurāsān. Following his first abortive westward advance, he was for a time a prisoner of Arghūn Shāh and 'Alī-yi Mīkā'īl, who had earlier deserted him on the march and who now put to death his principal supporter Shaykh 'Alī. But subsequently they rallied to Togha Temür and enthroned him a second time in Nīshāpūr. Within a short time, however, Togha Temür was confronted by a more formidable threat to his authority in the shape of the Sarbadārids [*q.v.*], who greatly reduced his sway in Khurāsān and against whom he struggled almost until his death. He sent against them an army under his brother Shaykh 'Alī Ke'ün, who was routed and killed near Bayhaḳ (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Cinq opuscules*, 23-4), probably in 742/1341-2. From 752/1351-2 the Sarbadār leader Yaḥyā Karāwī reversed his predecessor's policy and submitted to Togha Temür, but only as a prelude to a treacherous attack on his camp in the course of negotiations, in 754/1353. Togha Temür, unprepared and unguarded, was cut down and his troops dispersed.

Togha Temür did not receive any permanent recognition outside Khurāsān and Māzandarān, although coins were episodically minted in his name elsewhere. According to Faryūmadī (320), Mu'izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, the Kart [*q.v.*] ruler of Harāt, submitted to him; but Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (*Cinq opuscules*, 32) claims that the two men were merely on friendly terms. Despite the restricted size of his kingdom and the upheavals that characterised his reign, Faryūmadī (327) nevertheless credits Togha Temür with all the kingly qualities and worthiness to occupy the throne of Čingiz Khān, and comments on his justice. He was the last Čingizid to reign as Īl-Khān, although his son Luḳmān, who escaped from the Sarbadārid attack in 754/1353, was later set up as client ruler in Astarābād by Tīmūr.

Bibliography: The most detailed primary source is Faryūmadī's continuation (*dhayl*) of Shabānkāra'ī's *Madjma' al-ansāb*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith, Tehran 1363 *sh.*/1984, 306-11, 327-9. See also Ahrī, *Ta'rīkh-i Shaykh Uways*, ed. and tr. J.B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, 163-8 (tr. 64-9), *passim*; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Madjmū'a*, partial ed. F. Tauer, in *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, Prague 1959, 5-8, 23-4; idem, *Dhayl-i Djāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. K. Bayani, [2]Tehran 1350 *sh.*/1971, 199-201, 205-7. The fullest treatment in secondary works is by J.M. Smith, Jr., *The history of the Sarbadar dynasty, 1336-1381 A.D., and its sources*, The Hague and Paris 1970, index s.v. "Taghāytimūr", and by H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 20-9.

(P. Jackson)

ṬOGHRÏL (T.), a designation in Old Turkish for a bird of prey, described by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī

as larger than a *sonkur*; a possibility is the Crested Goshawk, *Astur trivirgatus*. It was certainly used for hunting purposes [see for this, BAYZARA].

Its chief importance, however, in early Turkish history and culture, from Uyghur times onwards, was as a frequent personal name. In Islamic times, its most notable holder was Ṭoghrïl Beg [*q.v.*], co-founder with his brothers Čaghrï Beg [*q.v.*] and Bighu (whose names are also those of avian raptors) of the fortunes of the Great Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*]. It remained common in Saldjūḳ onomastic and in that of the early Ottomans, e.g. the Er-toghrïl of the 8th/14th century and a son of Bāyezīd I at the end of that century; but thereafter it fell out of use. The Turkish word may have given Magyar *turul* "a kind of falcon or eagle".

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ṬOGHRÏL (I) BEG, ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD B. MĪKĀʾĪL (b. towards the end of the 10th century A.D., d. 455/1063), leading figure of the Saldjūḳ family and, with his brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd [*q.v.*], founder of the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate in Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

Ṭoghrïl and Čaghrï must have been born when the Oghuz tribe [see GHUZZ] was still in the Central Asian steppes to the north of Khʷārazm and Transoxania, and after their father's death were apparently brought up in the Djand [*q.v.* in Suppl.] region by their grandfather Saldjūḳ b. Duḳāḳ, eponymous founder of the Saldjūḳ line. This part of the Oghuz apparently became at least nominally Muslim around this time, and in the first three decades of the 11th century A.D. the Saldjūḳ family became drawn into the military and political affairs of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] of Transoxania in the service of such rulers as ʿAlītigin b. Boghra Khān [*q.v.*]. They moved into Khʷārazm in the early 1030s, but in face of the hostility of a rival Oghuz ruler, Shāh Malik of Djand, were compelled in 426/1035 to transfer to Ghaznawid Khurāsān under the leadership of Ṭoghrïl, Čaghrï, Mūsā Yabghu and Ibrāhīm Ināl. In 429/1038 Ṭoghrïl was temporarily in control of Nīshāpūr, making the *khuṭba* in his own name (though perhaps at the side of that of the Ghaznawid sultan Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd) and assuming the title of *al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam* "Most Exalted Ruler". The Saldjūḳ take-over of Khurāsān and all the Ghaznawid possessions west of Balkh was sealed by Ṭoghrïl's victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 (for details of all these events, see SALDJŪḲS. II.).

Exactly what was the relationship at this time between Ṭoghrïl and his brother Čaghrï is not clear, but R.W. Bulliett concluded that they were in fact equal in status, at least at the outset (see his *Numismatic evidence for the relationship between Tughril Beg and Chaghrī Beg*, in D.K. Kouymjian (ed.), *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, 289-96). In practice, Čaghrï took over the eastern lands of the new Saldjūḳ state whilst Ṭoghrïl expanded through northern Persia. He reduced the Ziyārids [*q.v.*] of the Caspian provinces to tributary status in 433/1041-2 and acquired control of Rayy, dislodging the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār Fanā-Khusraw b. Madjd al-Dawla from the citadel of Ṭabarak in 434/1042-3, and he started to mint coins there, making it his capital (see G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 196-7). Operations were carried out against the Kākūyids [*q.v.*] in Hamadhān, with Ṭoghrïl in 437/1045-6 despatching Ibrāhīm Ināl against its ruler Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp; this Saldjūḳ commander drove out the Kākūyids and led his bands into Kurdistān and against the Christian Abkhāz of Transcaucasia (440/1048). In 438/1046-7 Ṭoghrïl launched his first attack on Iṣfahān and made the Kākūyid Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz his tributary, returning to the city in 442/1050. It was a measure of the inexperience of the Oghuz bands when faced with the necessity for siege warfare that the siege took a year; Farāmurz only surrendered in early 443/1051 when his supplies ran out. He was given Yazd and Abarḳūh as *iḳṭāʿ*s in compensation for Iṣfahān, which Ṭoghrïl restored and rendered prosperous. He transferred his capital from Rayy to Iṣfahān and made it his chief residence for the remaining twelve years of his life [see IṢFAHĀN. 1.].

The process of overcoming the more powerful Būyid dynasty in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ took longer, and was not completed until 454/1062 in the case of their rule in Fārs [see BUWAYHIDS]. When the three Saldjūḳ leaders had crossed the Oxus in 426/1035 they had styled themselves "clients of the Commander of the Faithful", and Ṭoghrïl had established diplomatic relations with the ʿAbbāsid al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] during his first occupation of Nīshāpūr. Ṭoghrïl had been conducting raids into Ādharbaydjān (successfully) and into eastern Anatolia (unsuccessfully) in 446/1054 when he was invited to intervene in ʿIrāḳ by the caliph's vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*], at a period when the Būyid amīrate of ʿIrāḳ had fallen into chaos and when the security of the caliphate seemed threatened by the Turkish soldiery under Arslan Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], who was suspected of pro-Shīʿī, pro-Fāṭimid sympathies. Hence Ṭoghrïl assembled troops at Hamadhān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Ḥulwān, and in Ramaḍān 447/December 1055 entered Baghdād. It was not, however, until he paid a second visit to Baghdād at the end of 449/beginning of 1058 that the caliph actually received Ṭoghrïl, bestowing on him the *laḳab*s of *Rukn al-Dawla* and *Malik al-Mashriḳ wa 'l-Maghrib* and allowing him to be addressed formally as Sultan (as now begins to appear on his coins), and it was not until the end of 451/beginning of 1060 that the threat to the capital from Basāsīrī was dispelled. Although Ṭoghrïl seems to have exulted in his role of deliverer of the caliphate from the Shīʿī Būyids, al-Ḳāʾim was perceptibly less enthusiastic at exchanging the chaotic but weak Būyid presence in his capital for the strong, potentially restrictive one of the Turkish Saldjūḳs. This coldness was seen in 452/1060 when Ṭoghrïl aspired to marry a daughter of the caliph's; in 448/1056 al-Ḳāʾim had married one of Čaghrï Beg's daughters, but the union of an ʿAbbāsid princess with a rough Turkmen was a different matter. The caliph at first refused, and only yielded under duress two years later, after Ṭoghrïl had threatened to confiscate the caliphal *iḳṭāʿ*s in ʿIrāḳ; even then, Ṭoghrïl did not see his bride until his visit to Baghdād in 455/1063 and the marriage was never consummated (see G. Makdisi, *The marriage of Tughril Beg*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 259-75). The Great Saldjūḳs were, in fact, always to have an uneasy relationship with the ʿAbbāsids [see e.g. MALIK SHĀH].

Ṭoghrïl died aged around 70 on 8 Ramaḍān 455/4 September 1063. He was childless, and it was assumed that the sons of Čaghrï would succeed to the Great Saldjūḳ Sultanate after him. Before he died, Ṭoghrïl proclaimed as his heir Čaghrï's son Sulaymān, by a wife whom Ṭoghrïl took over just after Čaghrï's death in 452/1060, but a comparative nonentity; hence it

was not difficult for the more able Alp Arslan b. Čaghrī [*q.v.*] to assert his dominion over the whole Saldjūḳ empire. All the subsequent Great Saldjūḳ sultans, and the heads of the existing branch of the family in Kirmān and, later, that in Syria [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 3-4], were descendants of Čaghrī.

The achievements of Ṭoghrīl were remarkable for one who started out as an illiterate nomad chief, and he emerges from the sources as a full-scale, lively figure at the side of his more sketchily-described brother Čaghrī. He had survived attempts at seizing power by Ibrāhīm Ināl and other Saldjūḳs holding to a more patrimonial view of power rather than the Perso-Islamic view of it as a monolithic, authoritarian concept, probably because he was viewed by the Turkmen rank-and-file of his following as a supremely successful military leader. Also, he skilfully used the talents of his Persian advisers and administrators, such as the expertise of his vizier the ʿAmīd al-Mulk Kundurī (*q.v.*; see also H. Bowen, *Notes on some early Seljuqid viziers*, in *BSOAS*, xx [1957], 105-10) to embark on constructing the fabric of a typical Perso-Islamic state, a process developed more fully by his two successors Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. This he was able to do together with, as noted above, generally keeping the allegiance of the Oghuz tribesmen who still essentially made up his military backing; it was fortunate that Ṭoghrīl's reign was one of steady expansion, with raids into rich territories which provided a stream of plunder. Ṭoghrīl was thus to lay the foundations of an empire which was to endure, though with lessening effectiveness, for some ninety years.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see the *Bibls.* to SALDJŪḲIDS. II, III. 1-2, in which articles the political, social, constitutional and religious trends of the early Saldjūḳ period are considered. There is a biography of Ṭoghrīl in Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, v, 63-8, tr. de Slane, iii, 224-9, and a connected narrative of events of the time by C.E. Bosworth in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 18-23, 38-49. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬOGHRĪL (II) b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, brother of the Saldjūḳ sultan in the West, Maḥmūd [*q.v.*], and himself briefly ruler in ʿIrāḳ under the patronage of his uncle Sandjar b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*], sultan in the East and head of the Saldjūḳ family (ruled 526-9/1132-4).

Born in 503/1109, he received as Atabeg or guardian from his father Sultan Muḥammad the *amīr* Shīrgīr and received as his fief a large part of the province of Djibāl with the towns of Sāwa, Ḳazwīn, Abhar, Zandjān, Ṭālaḳān, etc. On the death of his father (511/1118), the Atabeg Shīrgīr was thrown into prison and his place taken by the *amīr* Kündoghdī, who was on bad terms with Sultan Maḥmūd, Ṭoghrīl's brother. With Kündoghdī he took part in the unfortunate campaign against the Georgians in 551/1121 and was in a serious position when his Atabeg died in the same year and his relations with his brother, never very good, became still worse. In these straits he was easily persuaded by the Mazyadid Arab Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa [see MAZYAD, BANŪ] that it would be easy to seize the province of ʿIrāḳ and get rid of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and the sultan. The enterprise failed, however, and the two sought refuge with Sandjar, who took up their cause and began negotiations on their behalf with Maḥmūd in Rayy (end of 522/1128). Some years later (525/1131), Maḥmūd died and his son Dāwūd was summoned to the throne temporarily until Sandjar had finally decided the succession. The latter declared for Ṭoghrīl, but in the meanwhile another brother, Masʿūd, had claimed the throne and was approaching with considerable forces. In the battle that followed at Dīnawar (526/1132) between Sandjar and Masʿūd, the latter was defeated and sent back to his province of Gandja, while Ṭoghrīl was installed as sultan. Sandjar then departed and left his nephew to enforce his recognition upon his opponents. He was successful in routing Dāwūd's adherents, but the latter himself escaped to Baghdād. Masʿūd was soon in power there, and was able to persuade the caliph to mention him in the *khuṭba* and designate Dāwūd as his successor (527/1132). Ṭoghrīl was not a match for his brother and, after wandering about a great deal, sought refuge with the Bāwandid Ispahbad of Ṭabaristān, where he spent the whole of the winter of 557-8/1132-3. In the following year, fortune was rather more favourable to him and he succeeded in again taking the capital Hamadhān, but, on arriving there, he fell ill and died early in 529/October-November 1134. His widow later married Ildegiz [*q.v.*], who raised Ṭoghrīl's son Arslan to the Saldjūḳ throne (555/1161).

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Bundārī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, Rāwandī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ibn al-Athīr. Of secondary sources, see C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 12-5. See also SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 2 and its *Bibl.* (M.T. HOUTSMA*)

ṬOGHRĪL (III) b. Arslan b. Ṭoghrīl (II), Rukn al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, last Great Saldjūḳ ruler in the West, reigned 571-90/1175-94.

Born in 564/1168-9, when still a boy he was raised to the throne by the Ildegizid Atabeg Nuṣrat al-Dīn Pahlawān [*q.v.*], after his father had been poisoned to thwart his endeavour to escape the burdensome tutelage of the Atabeg (cf. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saldjuks*, in *AO*, iii, 140-1). It was only on the death of Pahlawān in 581 or 582/1186 that Ṭoghrīl, now grown up, who had enjoyed a careful education and was distinguished by physical and intellectual gifts—he composed a number of short Persian poems—showed that he was not at all inclined to do as his father had done, and be content with the mere name of sultan. He was assisted by the fact that Pahlawān's successor, Ḳīzīl Arslan, had quarrelled with the widow of his deceased brother and their two sons, so that he was able to make arrangements with a number of Turkish *amīrs* and seize the Saldjūḳ capital Hamadhān. In order to be more sure of completely disposing of his dangerous opponent, Ḳīzīl Arslan asked the caliph to send him troops from Baghdād while he himself advanced from Ādharbāydjān, but the incapable leader of the Baghdād army, the vizier Ibn Yūnus, attacked Ṭoghrīl at Dāymarg (584/1188) and suffered a terrible defeat from the impetuous bravery of his opponent. Little, however, was won thereby for Ṭoghrīl's cause, for Ḳīzīl Arslan was coming nearer and the caliph was equipping a new army. To add to his troubles, the young sultan quarrelled with his own people and on his return to Hamadhān hanged several of his most prominent supporters. The result was that he could not hold out in his capital, which was very soon taken by Ḳīzīl Arslan; he spent some time ravaging the region of Urmiya, Khōy and Salmās, endeavoured in vain to win the caliph to his side, applied without success to several Muslim princes, including the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, for help, and had finally to surrender to Ḳīzīl Arslan, who imprisoned him in the castle of Kahrān near Tabrīz in 586/1190. Ḳīzīl Arslan then himself occupied the throne of the Saldjūḳs

but, when he was murdered the following year at the instigation of the widow of his brother, Ṭoghri̊l succeeded in escaping and found an asylum with the Banū Kafshūd in Zandjān.

The lack of unity among the sons of Pahlawān, now the rulers of Ādharbāydjān, gave him the opportunity of coming again to Hamadhān and marrying Pahlawān's widow, only, however, to put her to death. He also took Iṣfahān and Rayy and sacked the stronghold of Ṭabarak near the latter town (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iii, 507-8), but this brought upon him the enmity of the powerful Khwārazm Shāh Tekish, who only a short time before had taken Rayy. He was not inclined to lose this city, and sent troops there to take it from the Saldjūḳ sultan. The wise course would have been to avoid their superior numbers, but Ṭoghri̊l felt it a point of honour to defend the Saldjūḳ claims on ʿIrāḳ even at the cost of his life, calmly awaited the approach of the enemy in spite of the advice of his friends, then threw himself with a few faithful followers on the foe and was immediately slain (29 Rabīʿ I 590/25 March 1194).

Ṭoghri̊l is praised in the sources for his martial qualities and his scholarly attainments. His death marked the end of the Great Saldjūḳ line and the partition of western Persia between the Ildegizids in the north and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] in the south, whilst eastern Persia fell briefly, before the Mongol onslaught, into the hands of the Khwārazm Shāhs.

Bibliography: The main primary sources are Bundārī, Rāwandī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Nasawī, Ibn al-Athīr and Djuwaynī. Of secondary sources, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 346-7; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 180-2; Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225). Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Berlin-New York 1975, 72-5. See also SALDJŪḲIDS. III, 2 and its *Bibl.*

(M.T. HOUTSMA-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

ṬOGHRI̊L SHĀH b. Ḳi̊li̊dj Arslan II, Mughīth al-Dīn, minor prince in eastern Anatolia from the family of the Saldjuḳs of Rūm [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5].

When the old king Ḳi̊li̊dj Arslan II [*q.v.*] divided his kingdom among his many sons, Ṭoghri̊l Shāh received the town of Elbistan. In 597/1200-1 his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān conquered Erzerūm, which he handed over to Ṭoghri̊l Shāh, while he himself took Elbistan. A few years later, Balaban, lord of Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ), was attacked by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Awḥad Ayyūb b. al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. As he was unable to defend himself alone, he appealed to Ṭoghri̊l Shāh for help and they attacked and routed al-Awḥad with their combined forces. Ṭoghri̊l Shāh who also coveted Khilāṭ, then had Balaban treacherously murdered, but when he tried to seize the town he met with a vigorous resistance, so he turned his attention to Malāzgird [*q.v.*]. Here also he was defeated, and there was nothing left for him but to return to Erzerūm. The people of Khilāṭ then turned to al-Awḥad, who occupied the town in 604/1207-8. Ṭoghri̊l Shāh was unable to defend himself against his neighbours, the Georgians; he had to pay tribute to King Giorgi III Lasha in Tiflis, and show himself his vassal in other respects also. Finally, a son of Ṭoghri̊l Shāh adopted Christianity and married the sister of Giorgi, Rusudan, who succeeded him on the throne [see AL-KURDJ]. Ṭoghri̊l Shāh died in 622/1225 and was succeeded by his son Rukn al-Dīn Djahān Shāh, who in 627/1230 was dethroned by his cousin ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*]. According to another, undoubtedly incorrect, story, Ṭoghri̊l Shāh died as early as 610/1213-14 after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the kingdom of his nephew Kaykāwūs I [*q.v.*], being taken prisoner and put to death by him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 58, 134, 180, 271, 279, 295, 318; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv, 249, 251; *RHC, Historiens orientaux*, i, 84, 87, ii/1, 69, 97-8, 172-3; Ibn Bībī, in Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, II, 27-8, 57, 59-60, 99, 102, 104-5, 187; iv, 5, 9, 21-3, 40-3, 84, 148; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 143-4. See also the *Bibl.* to SALDJŪḲIDS. III, 5.

(K.V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

TOGHUZGHUZ (Turkic *Toḳuz Oghuz* "the Nine Oghuz"), the name of a Turkic tribal confederation that was used in often chronologically confused Muslim accounts as the general designation of the Uyghurs until the late 5th/11th century.

Chinese sources, in which they are first attested in 630, invariably translate rather than transcribe this name as *Chiu hsing*, the "Nine Surnames", i.e. clans or tribal groupings. The ethnonyms Uyghur and Toḳuz Oghuz were not, strictly speaking, coterminous. The Uyghurs (consisting of ten tribes or clans) were one of the constituent tribal confederations that formed part of the Toḳuz Oghuz and had earlier been components of the T'ieh-lê (**Tegreg* "wagon", i.e. "people of the wagon", cf. Chin. *Kao chü/Kao-ch'e* "the High Carts", an earlier, 5th-6th century designation for the Uyghurs), a tribal confederation that in the 6th century stretched across Eurasia and included the Oghur (the Oghuric form of *Oghuz*) tribes of the Pontic steppes. The other eight tribes were: Buḳu(t), Ḳun/Hun, Bayi̊rḳu, Tongra, Si̊ḳar, Ch'i-pi, A-pu-ssu and Ku-lun-wu-ku (Liu, *Chin. Nachr.*, ii, 392; Pulleyblank, *Remarks*, 35-9; Hamilton, *Toquz Oγuz*). The Shine Usu Inscription, N3 (*ca.* 759) notes the *On* ("ten") *Uyghur, Toḳuz Oghuz* over whom the Uyghur Ḳaghan ruled for 100 years (Orkun, i, 164). Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Rawshan and Mūsawī, i, 138-40, provides some interesting data on their early history deriving from Uyghur informants and based on their extensive, written accounts. These historical traditions (*ḥawādith*) go back to their pre-imperial period when the Uyghur-Toḳuz Oghuz were living in the Orkhon-Selenge river region of Mongolia, in which Ḳara Ḳorum, the Činggisid capital, was subsequently constructed. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the "On Uyghūr" and "Toghūz Uyghūr" (*sic*), were living along a system of ten rivers, the On Orghun (the Orkhon and various tributaries) noted as: 'yylshlk, Ötnkr (= * اوتيكر *Ötīkär, cf. Hu-tu-ko = *Uturḳur), Būḳīz (for بوقوت *Būḳūt, *Boḳut*, Chin. Pu-ku, see Hamilton, *Toquz Oγuz*, 26, 42, 45), Ūzḳndr, Tūlār, Tārdār, 'dr (= * ادز *Ädiz), Ūč, Tābīn, Qamlāndjū and Ūtīgān (Ötigän, cf. Old Turk. *Ötükän*, the sacred refugium of the Kök Türks, Mong. *etügeni* "shamanist goddess of the earth"). These names, however, can only partially be matched with the Uyghur clan names known in Chinese and Khotanese sources (Yaghlaḳar, *Uturḳar, Küräbir, Boḳasi̊ḳi̊r/Boḳsi̊ḳi̊t, Avučagh, Ḳasar, Hu-wu-su, Yabutḳar, Ayavïr [Ḳayamur]; for these see Hamilton, *Les Ouïgours*, 3-4, and his *Toquz Oγuz*, 41-9). In their early period, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, these tribes possessed neither "kingship (*pādshāhī*) nor sovereign power (*sarwarī*). At any time, a person from each tribal grouping could become ruler of his own tribe through the use of force (*ba-taghallub*)". Deciding at a congress (*kengäč*) that "for us an absolute monarch whose authority extends to all is necessary", they established a dual rulership with Mängü Bay of the 'yyshlk/'yylshlk (clearly not the Yaghlaḳar, the ruling clan of the

Uyghurs for much of their pre-imperial and imperial periods), who was given the title of *īl īltabar* (Turk, *il el teber*, cf. Bilge Ḳaghan inscription, E, 37 *uyghur elteber*) and another person, of the Üzḳnd(r) who was chosen as *kül irkin* (an old Turkic title held by tribal chiefs, Clauson, *ED*, 225). "They made the two of them the king of the people and tribes. Their clan (*urugh*) ruled for a period of 100 years". In recent times, the ruler was called Īdī Ḳūt, which Rashīd al-Dīn translates as "possessor of fortune" (*khudāwand-i dawlat*), an accurate rendering of the Turkic *Volksetymologie: idi* "master, owner" + *ḳut* "heavenly good fortune". Actually, the term comes from Turk. *idhuḳ* ("heaven-sent") *ḳut*, a title associated with the Basmîl, whom the Uyghurs toppled in 744 to form their Ḳaghanate in Inner Asia and who were associated with the Toḳuz Oghuz.

Chinese sources, before the accession of the Uyghurs to the Ḳaghanate in Mongolia, note the Toḳuz Oghuz as nomads who sold horses to the Middle Kingdom and fashioned armour from horse hides. They were unruly and often rebellious subjects of the Kök Türks, as they had earlier been of the Jou-jan. The Uyghur grouping, located at this time on the Orkhon-Selenge rivers, near the Türk core lands, was the dominant element in the union. The other Toḳuz Oghuz were in the Altai-T'ien-shan region. Their relationship to the ruling house of the Türks is unclear. The Orkhon inscriptions (Kül Tegin, N4, Bilge Ḳaghan, E29) refer to them as "my own people" who had become enemies. The Uyghurs and Ḳarluḳs [*q.vv.*] assisted the Basmîl overthrow of the Türks in 742. Two years later, when the Uyghurs seized the Ḳaghanate, their one-time allies fled. The Muslim authors came to know them during the latter stages of their imperial period (744-840) in Mongolia. Their capital Ordu Balîḳ ("army/royal camp city") or Ḳara Balghasun was established in the traditional nomadic imperial precincts in the Orkhon-Selenge region. Other cities, such as Bay Balîḳ on the Selenge, were constructed as well by Chinese and Soghdian craftsmen. The latter figured prominently in Uyghur diplomacy, cultural, religious and commercial life, introducing religions (most notably Manichaeanism, which became the state religion in 762) and script systems, while China was the principal source for the much-desired goods of the sedentary world. Uyghur involvement in T'ang affairs, often to prop up the dynasty in the face of internal rebellions, became a source of considerable wealth in the form of payment for Uyghur assistance and often unequal exchanges of barely serviceable steppe ponies for hundreds of thousands of pieces of Chinese silk. The Ḳirghîz [*q.v.*], able to take advantage of mounting Uyghur internecine strife, overran Ordu Balîḳ in 840 and ended the empire. The Uyghurs formed a number of smaller, diaspora states in Eastern Turkistan based on the earlier Tokharian and Khotanese Saka city-states, whose populations, over time, were absorbed and Turkicised. One such centre was located in the Tarim Basin, centering on Beshbalîḳ ("Five Cities" = Pandjīkath, Chin. Pei-t'ing). According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 94, Pandjīkath, earlier associated with the Basmîl, was the summer residence of the "king of the Toghuzghuz" and on this basis has been viewed as the centre around which the actual Toḳuz Oghuz tribes clustered. Another centre formed in the Turfan region at Hsi-chou/Kao-ch'ang/Ḳara Khodja/Ḳočo. The winter residence of the Eastern Turkistānī Toḳuz Oghuz located in the Turfan region is identified with the ruins of Idiḳut Shahri ("City of the Idiḳut"), the Čīnāndjkath ("Chinese City") of the Muslim authors. It was also an important commercial and religious centre. Another diaspora kingdom was established at Kan-chou in Kansu [*q.v.*], which by 902 came under the rule of scions of the Yaghlaḳar, the one-time imperial clan.

The earliest references to the Toḳuz Oghuz in the Muslim sources date from the their Orkhon-Selenge imperial period. Al-Yaʿḳūbī reports that the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) sent emissaries to the rulers of the eastern lands, including the "khāḳān of the Tughuzghuz", inviting them to submit. He further remarks that Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth [*q.v.*], who led a revolt in the East in 190/806, brought in the "Tughuzghuz" among others to aid his cause (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Beirut, ii, 398,435). Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1044, *s.a.* 204/821, reports that they had penetrated Ushrusāna. The father of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, who came as a *ghulām* into ʿAbbāsid service in the early 9th century from the Bukhārā region, is reported by later sources (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 313) to have been a Toḳuz Oghuz. Our most important notices stem from the travel account of Tamīm b. Baḥr [*q.v.*] who journeyed to Ḳarā Balghasun *ca.* 821, i.e. in the late imperial period. He entered the country through a system of relay horses sent by the "Khāḳān" that is reminiscent of the Mongol *yam*. He found a land of "villages lying close together and cultivated tracts". Most of the population consisted of fire-worshipping Magians and Manichaeans. The capital itself was "a great town, rich in agriculture and surrounded by *rustāḳ*s full of cultivation... populous and thickly crowded and has markets and various trades. Among its population, the Zindīḳ religion prevails". Much of this is repeated by al-Idrīsī, ed. Bombaci, *et alii*, 510-11, who calls the capital *tntbgh*, perhaps for بيبلغ *Baybalîgh*, بيشبلغ *Beshbalîgh* or خنبلغ *Khanbalîgh*). The ruler also possesses a gold tent which can hold 100 men. He is related to the ruler of China (al-Ṣīn) who "is sending him yearly 500,000 (pieces of) silk". Surrounded by an army of "some 12,000 strong" (apparently a reference to the imperial guard, al-Marwazī, ed. and tr. Minorsky, 18/29, reports that this guard corps, the *shākirī*, number 1,000, along with 400 female servants), "there is no one stronger than they among all the Turkish tribes". The Khāḳān had "seventeen chieftains (*ḳāʾid*) each having 13,000" troops. These form a huge encircling presence around the ruler. The latter was also the sole possessor of the magical rain-stone (Turk. *yat tashî*, Tamīm/Minorsky, Arabic text 278-82/tr. 283-5; see YADA TASH). The later 6th/12th century anonymous *Risālat fī ʾl-aḳālim* (Köprülü Library, N. 1623, fols. 210a-b, see R. Şeşen, *Hilâfet ordusunun menkıbeleri ve Türkler'in faziletleri*, Ankara 1967, 33-35, Arabic text and Turk. tr.) depicts him as a sacral ruler possessing 360 slaves "according to the number of days in the year" who appears only once a year to the populace who prostrate themselves before him.

The pre-eminence of the Toḳuz Oghuz among the Turks is illustrated by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*K. al-Buldān*, 329), who calls them the "Arabs of the Turks". Al-Masʿūdī, in several notices (*Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 155, 161-2, 190) conflating data from the pre- and post-imperial periods, remarks that they are the "masters of the city of Kūshān (Kao-ch'ang?) and considers them to be the most powerful of the Turkic peoples. "Their king is *Uyghurkhān (* ايغر خان, ms.: اير خان, ار خان) and their religion is the sect (*madhhab*) of Mānī. There are no others of the Turks who adhere to this religion", (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 329, however, who says that a "majority of the Turks are adherents of the Zanādiḳa", equally an exaggeration). In another reference, unconfirmed elsewhere, al-Masʿūdī reports

that "as long as the king of China is a *sāmānī* of the faith of animal sacrifices, there will be ongoing war between him and the ruler of the Turks, *Uyghurkhān. But when he is a Manichaean, they rule jointly". The *Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, 94-5, clearly referring to their post-840 situation, notes Čīnāndjkath as the capital but comments that the "kings of the whole of Turkistān in the days of old were from the Toghuzghuz" and describes them as warlike, heavily-armed pastoral nomads.

The Uyghur and other Tokuz Oghuz tribes played a crucial role in the Turkicisation of Eastern Turkistan. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (tr. Dankoff, i, 83) makes the interesting comment that the Uyghurs "have a pure Turkic language and also another language which they speak among themselves". The latter tongue was most probably the Iranian and/or Tokharian languages of the settled population of Eastern Turkistan. Under influences stemming from the latter, Manichaeanism was replaced by Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity. Having gradually become sedentarised, the Uyghurs/Tokuz Oghuz became important players in the international caravan trade and culture-bearers throughout the Inner Asian steppes, especially among the Mongolic peoples (the Kitan and later the Mongols themselves).

In 1028-36, the Kan-chou state and neighboring statelets of the Kansu corridor were conquered by the Tanguts. Their descendants are the Buddhist "Yellow Uyghurs" (Sarïgh/Shera Yughurs). The Kao-ch'ang Uyghurs were opponents of the Muslim Karakhānids and their struggles are reflected in the martial poetry recorded by al-Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 243, 270, 327. The Karakhānids expanded their borders and Islamic influence into Eastern Turkistān. By the 1130s, however, significant parts of the region came under the control of the Buddhist Kara Khitay, although it is not clear how much actual authority the latter exercised in Turfan. In 1209, the Idikut, Barčuk Tegin, assassinated a representative of the Gürkhān's authority and pledged his allegiance to the newly-created Činggisid empire. The Uyghurs became ubiquitous as officials and bureaucrats in the Mongol state. Their writing system, derived from the Syriac alphabet brought to them by the Soghdians, was adopted by the Mongols (and from them passed on to the Manchus).

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(P.B. Golden)

TOGO, Islam in the West African Republic of Togo.

The Islamisation of what is now the Republic of Togo dates from the beginning of the 18th century, through the activities of traders and the settlement of Islamised population groups. Islam has been weak there, but has constantly progressed, whilst affecting different regions and groups in a variable manner. On 27 September 1963, what had been previously completely unstructured saw the formation of the Muslim Union of Togo (UMT), breathing into its structure a new dynamic as part of the one-party state of the *Rassemblement du peuple togolais*.

1. Demography and geographical distribution.

The censuses of 1970 and of 1981 (the latest) show that Islam increased in Togo from 11.6% to 12.2% (i.e. some 330,000 persons), behind Christianity (from 26.7 to 28.4%) and animism (now in decline, from 61.7 to 59%). Thus in ten years Islam achieved only a minute advance of 0.6%, and it is uncertain if it has perceptibly increased since then.

The Muslim population is distributed, according to the latest census, amongst the five regions of the country as follows: Central region, 39%; the Kara, 18%; the Plateaux region, 16.8%; the Savannah region, 14%; and the coastal region, 12.2%, this last region being in the first rank for Roman Catholicism (53.1%) and animism (38.2%). In regard to ethnic divisions, a dozen or so groups lead the field: the Hausa, through whom Islam first appeared in Togo, 96%; the Kotokoli, 95.5%; the Tchamba, 95.2%; the Peul, 86%; the Yoruba, 79%; the Mossi, 71.6%; the Nago, 66.9%; the Yanga, 54.3%; the Tchokossi, 41.1%; and the Bassar, 16.2%. The other ethnic groups vary between zero for the Adja and 13.1% for the Ana.

According to Raymond Delval, Togo has three main urban centres of Islam: Lomé, considered its intellectual and spiritual capital, from its mosques, Kur'ān schools, *madrasas* and zongo which play an important role in the diffusion of the faith; Sokodé, the "historic capital" because of the antiquity and numerical importance of its Islam; and Kpalimé, the "centre of regional spreading forth", where the Islamised population enjoys, in this region of agricultural lands rented out, a certain measure of material prosperity.

2. The framework of Islam and its social practices.

Islam in Togo does not have a strong representation of the Ṣūfī orders, and those which exist are not characteristic of its nature. Orders like the Ḳādiriyya, Ṭarabiyya and Aḥmadiyya are virtually non-existent, and the only *ṭarīḳa* really implanted there is that of the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*], introduced mainly by Hausas, who have given Togolese Islam a special mark. Islam there is thus deeply affected by Hausa, which is the religious language of the land. The religious leaders, who include few *imāms*, theologians or competent directors, hardly bother to explain the basic doctrines of Islam, and the mass of faithful do not even know about their linkage with the Tidjāniyya.

Religious education in the Ḳur'ān schools generally consists of a wearisome repetition of prayers and learning the writing and reading of Arabic. Even though there has been since the 1970s a real effort to send qualified students to universities in Egypt, Morocco, Kuwait, etc., the rarity of teachers and

qualified leaders, much more than the lack of great mosques, bears witness to the superficial character of Islam in Togo, where old social practices and local beliefs, especially in regard to the rites of birth, marriage and funerals, overlap with the faith, resulting in a syncretism which is not always well viewed by orthodox Islam. The tendency is much more to keep the easier aspects of Islam than its constraints on behaviour. Hence one can be a good polygamist performing the worship, Pilgrimage and fasting, whilst Islamic orthodoxy, preaching an exemplary lifestyle and an exigent faith, considers these practices as superficial, especially as the practice of giving alms is generally ignored whilst the Muslim festivals are followed with enthusiasm.

Since they only see Muslims who have reached a certain standard of prosperity through their commercial activities, the Togolese have come to view Islam as assuring, more successfully than others, the social success of its adherents, even though at the same time, the mass of Muslims, being peasants, have a standard of life more or less identical with the rest of the population. Notwithstanding this popular view, many Togolese are not ready to take the step of conversion, as the population figures seem to indicate.

Islam in Togo remains dependent on outside. Teachers coming more and more from the Arab lands and also from neighbouring lands like Nigeria and Ghana will have much to do if their aim is to install orthodox Islam. It will also depend on financial subsidies from countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya for the construction of mosques, Ḳur'ān schools and *madrasas*, as well as the sending of teaching materials. Egypt usually confines its efforts to providing scholarships for students at al-Azhar.

3. The UMT: a reformed or a politicised Islam?

Delval considers that the *Union musulmane du Togo* has become the impulse for a modernising current in Islam, aided by the less important *Association de la Jeunesse Musulmane du Togo*. The UMT aims to combat deviations from Islam, especially maraboutism, reinvigorate Ḳur'ānic teaching, take charge of organising the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and the festivals of the two ʿĪds and to develop links with outside, especially with Libya. But because of internal resistance and external constraints of many kinds, the achievements of this modernisation programme have been very limited after 30 years of the UMT's existence.

Nevertheless, one should acknowledge that, since its formation in 1963, the UMT has successfully organised the previously diffuse Togolese Islam and has made it part of the country's power structure, being since 1969 an annex of the ruling single party. A dominant personality here has been al-Ḥādjdj Fousséni Mama, who has been involved in the various stages of Togolese politics from the 1950s, including minister of the interior in the government of Nicolas Grunitzky 1963-7 and a minister under the President Eyadéma who then assumed power.

Instead of renewing Islam as its statutes proclaim, the UMT has become in practice the mouth-piece of the one-party government, with a pro-establishment attitude aimed at keeping the government in power. The worship led by Fousséni Mama and various *imāms* often includes prayers for the continuance of the government in power. The UMT's internal structure is a reflection of that of the one-party state, just as its links with Libya are in line with the foreign policy of Eyadéma. When democracy was restored in October 1990 but followed by the bloody restoration of authoritarian rule in 1991, the UMT remained silent, probably not having any doctrine or political discourse suitable to the events.

Morever, the Tidjānī way, the majority in Togolese Islam, which, as elsewhere, preaches submission to state authority as much as to God, serves the different religious interests and established political rule by putting the Muslim community outside all political agitation. But this comforting reassurance for the powers that be neglects the fact that, amongst those demonstrating in the streets in October 1990 against the Eyadéma régime, were members of all the religious confessions of the land. Things may also change from the fact that it is in the main towns (Lomé, Kpalimé and Sokodé) that younger people are more mobilised for challenging the ruling power.

4. Summary.

Islam progresses slowly in Togo, where it is numerically the smallest of the three faiths there, touching regions and groups unequally, certain of these being resistant to it. Togolese Islam contains ancient popular beliefs and practices which the modernist current embodied in the UMT wishes to eradicate. Whilst not succeeding here, it has made Islam, including the Tidjānī current which preaches submission to the powers that be, a constituent part of the present régime. Its silence at the time of the democratisation process is thus explicable by its choice of Tidjānī attitudes which younger, more challenging Muslims may in the future contest, involving a possible political radicalisation.

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(Comi M. Toulabor)

TOḲAT, modern Tkish. Tokat, a town of northern Turkey in the interior of the Pontic region (lat. 40° 20' N., long. 36° 35' E.), now the chef-lieu of an *il* or province of the same name.

It is situated in the north to south-running valley of the Toḳat Suyu, enclosed between two mountains before debouching into the Yeşil Irmak [see yeshil irmaḳ], the Iris of Antiquity, whose upper course also has the name of Tozanlı Su. The *il* is also watered by the Yeşil Irmak's two main affluents, the Kelkit and the Çekerek Çayı. Their valleys separate three mountain ridges, the Canık Dağları in the north, the Yaylacık Dağı in the centre and the Deveci Dağı in the south. From its intermediate position between the Pontic littoral and the Anatolian interior, the region has a transitional climate, with a perceptibly smaller rainfall than the coast (455 mm/18 inches per annum at Toḳat).

The first signs of human settlement in the region, at Maşat Höyük and at Kayapınar Höyüğü, go back to the Chalcolithic period, with several sites then inhabited during the older Bronze Age (3rd millennium B.C.). In the 2nd millennium, Maşat Höyük was an important town on the northern borders of the Hittite kingdom and was called Tapigga. The region passed successively to the Phrygians, Cimmerians, Medes and Persian, to Alexander and his Diadochi before becoming an important part of the kingdom of Pontus, conquered from Mithridates by the Romans in 66 B.C. Towns now multiplied in Polemonic Pontus, including Zela (modern Zila), from where Julius Caesar,

victorious over Mithridates' son Pharnaces in the year 47 B.C., addressed to the Senate his famous message *veni, vidi vici*; Gazioura (Turhal); Sebastopolis of Pontus (Sulusaray); Nea-Caesarea (Niksar); and above all, Comana Pontica, together with Amaseia the main city of Pontus, situated in the main valley 8 km/5 miles north-east of the site of Toḳat, now occupied by a citadel called Dazimon (Ramsay).

The name Toḳat, found in the Arab geographers from the time of Yāḳūt (i, 188), is said by Vivien de St.-Martin (i, 188, repeated in Cuinet, i, 712), to derive from the Armenian form of the name of the Empress Eudoxia, mother of Theodosius; but numerous other etymologies have been proposed (see *Yurt ansiklopedisi*, x, 7077), none convincingly. In any case, it was after the Turkish conquest that the town developed in a side valley at the foot of the citadel, where the *amīr* Dānis̲h̲mend G̲h̲āzī, founded the town's first mosque in 1074 and established the centre of the petty Dānis̲h̲mendid principality, attached to the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultanate of Rūm in the reign of Ḳilīd̲j̲ Arslan II [see DĀNIS̲H̲MENDIDS]. The Sald̲j̲ūḳ (1175-1304) and Il-K̲h̲ānid periods (1304-35) saw its monuments multiply, of which the most remarkable in the first period were the Gök Medrese (the modern Museum), the mausoleum of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Ṭūsī, the *zāwiye* of Sünbül Baba and a stone bridge of four arches over the Yeşil Irmak, and in the second one the mausoleum of Nūr al-Dīn S̲h̲entimur. Nīksār [*q.v.*] also has several important monuments from the Dānis̲h̲mend period (the Ulu D̲j̲āmiʿ, the mausoleum of Melik G̲h̲āzī, *medrese* of Yag̲h̲basan) and from the Sald̲j̲ūḳ one (the mausoleums of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Čiḳrïḳ and Ḳïrḳ Ḳïzlar).

After being dependent on the *amīrs* of Sivas, Bāyezīd II incorporated Toḳat into the Ottoman empire in 1392. Toḳat now developed perceptibly, with the building in the early 15th century of the mosques of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī ʿIwaḍ Pas̲h̲a and Ḥamza Bey, the *medrese* of Emīr Ḥiṣār, the mausoleum of K̲h̲orozog̲h̲lu and the *ḥammām* of Yörgüč Pas̲h̲a, so that according to the census of 1455 it had 2,888 families, of which one-third were Christian, divided into 54 quarters, though this development was brutally interrupted in 1471 when the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] pillaged and destroyed the town. But once it was again within the Ottoman boundaries, it developed rapidly out of its ruins all through the 16th and 17th centuries, despite some ups and downs due to revolts or fires. The mosque and baths of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a were built in 1572 and the Great Mosque rebuilt in 1679, but the main monuments of this period were the covered market (*bedesten*) and some caravanserais which completed the layout of the town, the Voyvoda K̲h̲ānï of 1631 (now called Taşan "of stone") and the K̲h̲orozog̲h̲lu K̲h̲ānï of the 18th century. Toḳat was at that time an important commercial centre, situated as it was on the great west-east caravan route connecting Istanbul with Erzurūm, Tabrīz and Persia, and at the junction of three other routes, the northwestern one connecting with the maritime traffic of Sinop [see SĪNŪB], that going west-south-west to İzmir, and that going south-eastwards to Sivas and Diyārbakïr, Mawṣil and Bag̲h̲dād. The caravan traffic also supplied important manufactures and crafts in the town: silk cloths, coloured linen cloths, leather from hides and copper vessels.

Tavernier in 1632 and then Pitton de Tournefort in 1701 visited the town at the height of its activity, and the latter gave the population as 24,400 families (20,000 Turks, 4,000 Armenians and 400 Greeks). Yet despite its importance, Toḳat was dependent administratively on the Pas̲h̲a of Sivas and had within its own bounds only an *ag̲h̲a* and a *ḳāḍī*.

In the 19th century, the town entered a period of decline, linked with the general decline of manufacturing activity within the Ottoman empire and aggravated by an earthquake in 1825. For long it remained simply the centre of a *ḳaḍā* within the *merkez sand̲j̲aḳ* of the *eyālet*, then *wilāyet*, of Sivas, before being raised in 1883 to be the centre of a new *sand̲j̲aḳ*, with four *ḳaḍās* (Toḳat-Merkez, Erbaʿa, Nīksār and Zīle), 45 *nāḥiyes* and 1,155 villages. According to Cuinet, this *sand̲j̲aḳ* had 202,800 inhabitants, of which 101,200 were Sunnī Muslims, 50,600 S̲h̲īʿī Muslims, 37,879 Armenians, 12,681 Greeks and 400 Jews, whilst the town of Toḳat itself had 29,890 inhabitants, including 17,500 Sunnī Muslims and 10,450 Armenians. The *sand̲j̲aḳ* was enlarged in 1918 by the addition of a fifth *ḳaḍā*, that of Res̲h̲ādiyye in the east, and then raised to the status of a *wilāyet* under the Republic.

The present *il* keeps the same boundaries, with an area of 9,958 km^2 and a population in 1990 of 719,251. The number of component *ilçes* or counties rose to eight by the addition of Artova and Turhal in 1944 and Almus in 1954, then to twelve in 1990 with the four new *ilçes* of Yeşilyurt (formerly Arabacımusa), Başçiftlik, Pazar and Sulusaray (cited by Bazin as an example of gradual rise to urban status). The main economic activity remains agriculture, which employed 75% of the active population in 1990, but this has been modernised, and yields are obtained above the national average, including *inter alia* 250,000 tonnes of corn and 750,000 tonnes of sugar beet, processed in the Turhal refinery founded in 1934. The food industry sector retains the main role in a still limited industrial sphere of activities; it includes the mineral waters of Niksar, bottled and marketed all over Turkey. The warm, sulphurous waters at Çermik, near Sulusaray, supply a modest watering-place. Placed over the middle-sized towns of Turhal (pop. 68,384 in 1990), Zile (46,090), Niksar (35,201) and Erbaa (33,554), Toḳat has strengthened its functions as administrative and commercial centre of the *il* by adding some new manufacturing activities to its traditional one of coloured linen cloths, and its population reached 83,058 in 1990. Whilst stretching out towards the Yeşil Irmak valley to the north, the town has retained an important architectural and urban heritage, with, in addition to the monuments mentioned above, numerous traditional houses of the 19th century which have benefited by some restoration works.

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TOḲMAḲ, a town in the modern Kirghizistan Republic (lat. 42° 49' N., long. 75° 15' E.), on the left bank of the Ču river [*q.v.*], near the Ala Tau mountain chain and 60 km/37 miles to the east of Bishkek [see PISHPEK].

It is near the ancient site of Suyāb (Su yek in Chinese sources) where the Turkic tribes of the Western Turkish kaghanate (603-704) (notably the Kaghan's own clan) had their winter quarters and carried on trade with the Chinese. These last destroyed the kaghanate when in 748 the Chinese army marched westwards for its final confrontation with the Arab army at Talas [see ṬARĀZ] and its defeat by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ [*q.v.*] in 133/751, opening up the region from the south for the Muslim troops (V.I. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 279). The town must have been rebuilt some time later, further to the north. Suyāb was also the residence of the Türgesh, and especially of their kaghan Su-lu (d. 738) (W. Barthold, *Hist. of the Semirechyé*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 84-5), who founded the Türgesh kaghanate (704-56) and subsequently moved to Talas, and who was involved in warfare with the Arabs and Chinese.

As well as the "stone women" funerary stelae found at the foot of the Ala Tau, there are some Nestorian Christian cemeteries with Syriac inscriptions from the 11th and 13th-14th centuries, attesting the survival there of Christianity and Manichaeism well after the region's Islamisation (Masal'skiy, 319, 768, and see PISHPEK). The Khāns of Khokand [*q.v.*] built a fortress there in the first third of the 19th century as part of their expansion into the lands of the Kirghiz and Kazakh tribes, said to have been founded in 1832 by Lashker, *koshbegi* [*q.v.*] of Tashkent, at the same time as the fortresses of Merke, Pishpek and Atbashî (Yu.A. Sokolov, *Načalo voennîkh deystvii protiv Kokandskogo khanstva*, Tashkent 1969). In reality, the date of its foundation is uncertain. The Uzbek historian Kh. Ziyaev asserts, *Urta Osië va Sibir XVI-XIX asrlar*, Tashkent 1962, 162, that Pishpek and Tokmak were fortified under Muḥammad ʿUmar Khān, hence before his death in 1822, whilst N.A. Aristov held that neither existed before 1847, since they are unmentioned in the stories of the fighting between the Kirghiz and the Kazakh supporters of the revolt of Kenesarî Kasimov and only appear in the report of 1848 of the Kazakh Abdullah Ačurov (V.M. Ploskikh, *Kirgizî i Kokandsii khanstva*, Frunze 1977, 139). The Russian envoy M.I. Venyukov described Tokmak in 1859 as a fortress with four walls 5 m high and 60-70 m long, able to hold 150-200 soldiers. V. Radlov, *Kratkiy očerk o poezdke v Semirečenskuyu oblast' i na Issîk Kul letom 1869*, in *Izvestiya RGO*, iv, no. 3 [1870], 96, visiting it ten years later, described its strategic position at the mouth of a defile. In the mid-19th century, the local Kirghiz raised cereals to supply the fortresses, providing thereby a stimulus to local food production, and they also had a salt mine. Tokmak was conquered by the Russians in 1860 together with other fortresses forming the line Pishpek—Auliyé-Ata—Čimkent—Tashkent, and with Russian colonisation, a village of some 3,000 people grew up in its vicinity.

With industrialisation in the Soviet period, Tokmak acquired two car repair factories, sugar refineries, mills, glass, packaging and reinforced concrete factories, and a co-operative for producing meat and woollen and felt goods for the yurts (B.S. Čormonov, *Gorod Tokmak*, Frunze 1973). It had 19,000 inhabitants in 1939, 52,000 in 1975 but less than 50,000 in 1990.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also PISHPEK; YETI SU. (CATHERINE POUJOL)

TOḲTAMÎSH (in the sources most often thus, but occasionally "Tokhtamîsh" and less frequently "Toghtamîsh;" his coins assign him the *laḳab*s "Nāṣir al-Dīn", "Ghiyāth al-Dīn", and evidently "Djalāl al-Dīn"), *khān* (r. *ca.* 780-97/1378-95) of the Mongol successor state known as the *ulus* of Djöči (Djüčī) or "Golden Horde" [see BATU'IDS]. His reign saw the reunification of the Golden Horde after the internecine struggles that followed the murder of Berdi Beg Khān *ca.* 761/1360. His struggle with his erstwhile patron, Tīmūr [*q.v.*], however, ended in disaster for himself and for Činggisid power in a united Golden Horde: Toktamîsh himself spent the last years of his life as a fugitive as power in the Djöčid *ulus* devolved first upon Činggisid princes supported by Tīmūr, and soon upon powerful tribal chieftains such as Edigü. Činggisid power was restored only in separate khānates that emerged, alongside the Noghay [*q.v.*] tribal confederation that traced its roots to Edigü, as the Golden Horde's successor states.

Toktamîsh was the first Čingissid ruler from the "left hand", i.e. the eastern half, of the Djöčid *ulus*, who managed also to dominate the western parts of the Golden Horde for an extended period. His Činggisid lineage was traced through Tokay Tīmūr, usually counted as the thirteenth son of Djöči b. Čingīz Khān; Toktamîsh, indeed, first appears on the historical scene in Central Asia, in the southeasternmost regions of the Golden Horde, as a rival of Urus Khān, the Činggisid ruler (also a Tokay Tīmūrid) who consolidated his power in the eastern half of the Djöčid *ulus* around 1374-5. Tokay Tīmūrid dominance in the eastern part of the Golden Horde followed that of the descendants of Djöči's eldest son Orda, and preceded the rise there of the descendants of the fifth son, Shībān.

Toktamîsh's full genealogy first appears in the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, a genealogical compendium compiled for Shāh Rukh in 830/1426-7 (ms. Paris, A.F. pers. 67, fols. 25b-26a; cf. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, ii, 59, 61-2), in this form: Djöči > Tokāy Tīmūr > Ürüng-bāsh > Sārîča > Könček > Kutluk-khʷādja > Toy-khʷādja > Toktamîsh. The view maintained in some studies (e.g. Spuler, *Horde*[2] and BATU'IDS, Grekov and Yakubovskiy) that Toktamîsh's father Toy-khʷādja was a brother of Urus Khān and that both were descendants of Djöči's eldest son Orda, appears to be based upon a misunderstanding of Naṭanzī's garbled genealogy of Urus Khān (Kafalı, though allowing that both were Tokāy Tīmūrids, cites Ötemish Ḥādjdjī in affirming that Toktamîsh was Urus Khān's cousin, but the accessible manuscript

of Ötemis̲h̲ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī's work does not confirm this, and the corresponding passage from 'Abd al-G̲h̲affār Ḳîrîmī's work might be construed as implying only a more distant kinship; the *Muʿizz al-ansāb* shows Urus K̲h̲ān and Toḳtamîs̲h̲ sharing an ancestor in the fifth generation). The form "Tūlī-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a" adopted as the name of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s father by Bartol'd, *EI*[1] art. *Toḳtamîs̲h̲*, and Spuler is based on one copy of Naṭanzī's work; the form "Tūy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a" is well-established in a wide range of early sources.

The Tīmūrid historical works that are our earliest sources on events in the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] during the latter 14th century, however, say almost nothing of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s ancestry or the specifics of his Čingisid lineage; his father, Toy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a, is named, among narrative histories, only by Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī. Naṭanzī is likewise alone in affirming that Toy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a was the governor of Māngḳîs̲h̲lāḳ (on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, near the traditional homeland of the Ḳungrāts, the tribe of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s mother), and that the enmity between Toḳtamîs̲h̲ and Urus K̲h̲ān resulted specifically from Toy-k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a's execution following an unsuccessful rebellion against Urus K̲h̲ān. Other Timurid sources ignore this prelude and note only Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s arrival at Tīmūr's court, soon after Tīmūr's return from an inconclusive campaign against Ḳamar al-Dīn, the powerful *amīr* of the Dūg̲h̲lāt [*q.v.*] tribe dominant in Mog̲h̲olistān [*q.v.*], most likely in 777/1375-6 (the chronology of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s repeated flights to Tīmūr remains unclear).

According to the earliest account, that of Niẓām al-Dīn S̲h̲āmī, Tīmūr welcomed Toḳtamîs̲h̲ and installed him as ruler over the region of Utrār [*q.v.*] and Sawrān along the middle Sîr Daryā [*q.v.*]. That region was often a hostile frontier between the D̲j̲öčid and Čag̲h̲atayid realms, and if, as S̲h̲araf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī writes, Tīmūr stipulated Sîg̲h̲nāḳ [*q.v.*] as well among the towns given to Toḳtamîs̲h̲, the move was clearly a direct challenge to Urus K̲h̲ān; Sîg̲h̲nāḳ was the traditional residence of the rulers of the "left hand" of the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* and was Urus K̲h̲ān's base before, and possibly even after, he succeeded in establishing his power in the Golden Horde's "capital" Sarāy [*q.v.*]. Once installed in that region, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was attacked by an army led by Urus K̲h̲ān's son Ḳutlug̲h̲-Bug̲h̲ā, who was killed in the battle even as Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was defeated and forced to seek refuge once more with Tīmūr. Tīmūr re-equipped him and sent him back; this time another son of Urus K̲h̲ān, Toḳtā Ḳîyā, inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ fled alone and escaped with difficulty. S̲h̲āmī's account of this episode suggests Tīmūr's doubts about his protégé's abilities, and the versions in most Tīmūrid sources combine condescension toward the hapless Toḳtamîs̲h̲ with an emphasis upon Tīmūr's solicitude.

After this defeat, according to S̲h̲āmī and the later Tīmūrid sources, Urus K̲h̲ān sent envoys to Tīmūr demanding that he hand over Toḳtamîs̲h̲ and threatening war if he refused; in response Tīmūr, accompanied by Toḳtamîs̲h̲, led his army to Utrār, Urus K̲h̲ān's forces came to Sîg̲h̲nāḳ, and the two armies faced each other for three or four months, each unable to gain advantage during an exceptionally harsh winter (evidently that of 1376-7). After some successes by Tīmūr's commanders broke the stalemate, we are told, Urus K̲h̲ān died; his son Toḳtā Ḳîyā succeeded him but soon died as well. Tīmūr again installed Toḳtamîs̲h̲ as ruler on the Sîr Daryā frontier and returned to Samarḳand, but yet another (apparent) son of Urus K̲h̲ān, Tīmūr Malik, soon challenged Toḳtamîs̲h̲; and after yet another defeat Toḳtamîs̲h̲ had to make his way alone back to Tīmūr.

News came, however, that Tīmūr Malik was alienating his subjects with excessive drinking and lassitude. Tīmūr therefore supplied Toḳtamîs̲h̲ with a large army and several of his commanders, whom he instructed to install Toḳtamîs̲h̲ as ruler in Sîg̲h̲nāḳ; they did so, and evidently aided Toḳtamîs̲h̲ soon thereafter in decisively defeating Tīmūr Malik in the latter's winter quarters at Ḳarātāl. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ sent word of his victory to Tīmūr, and then in the spring began the conquest of the rest of the Golden Horde, seizing Sarāy and preparing to deal with his chief remaining rival in the D̲j̲öčid *ulus*, the chieftain Mamāy (in the Tīmūrid sources "Mamāḳ"), of the Ḳîyāt tribe, based in the Crimea. The only date provided by S̲h̲āmī for these events is the year 780, which began in April of 1378: it was then that Tīmūr sent his army to Sîg̲h̲nāḳ with Toḳtamîs̲h̲, after the death of Urus K̲h̲ān, and S̲h̲āmī's account implies that Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s campaign against Mamāy did not begin until yet another winter had passed, i.e. in the spring of 1379. According to S̲h̲araf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, however, Tīmūr's army installed Toḳtamîs̲h̲ as ruler in Sîg̲h̲nāḳ during the Year of the Snake (which began in March 1377) late in 778 (which ended in early May 1377), evidently placing Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s victory over Tīmūr Malik as well in the late winter or spring of 1377.

Not only the chronology, but the details as well, of Tīmūr's war with Urus K̲h̲ān and his sons, and the establishment of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s power, are handled somewhat differently even in the various Tīmūrid sources; Naṭanzī, for instance, identifies the D̲j̲öčid ruler finally defeated by Toḳtamîs̲h̲ at Ḳarātāl as "Tīmūr Bek K̲h̲ān b. Muḥammad K̲h̲ān" (*Muntak̲h̲ab*, ed. Aubin, 93-4).

Perhaps the most divergent account, though the only "internal" one, is that of Ötemis̲h̲ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī in his *Tārīk̲h̲-i Dūst Sulṭān*, compiled *ca.* 1555 for a Čingisid ruler of the K̲h̲ʷārazmian Özbeg "'Arabs̲h̲āhid" dynasty [see K̲H̲ʷĀRAZM], who does mention Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s dependence upon Tīmūr during his struggle with Urus K̲h̲ān, but presents also an apparently independent narrative recounting Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s rise to power. According to this version (Yudin, 115-8, 142-5), Toḳtamîs̲h̲ gathered around himself the young men of the S̲h̲īrīn, Barîn, Arg̲h̲ūn, and Ḳîpčāḳ tribes, which were his hereditary peoples (*els*); this, incidentally, marks the only suggestion we have, aside from the Ḳungrāt connections implied by Naṭanzī, of a particular tribal base for Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s power (Tīmūrid sources often identify the tribal origins of specific commanders in Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s armies, but refer collectively to his people only by the generic designations "Özbeg" or "Toḳmāḳ"). When these tribes appealed to Toḳtamîs̲h̲ that Urus K̲h̲ān was oppressing them because of their ties with him, he arranged to lead the four tribes away from Urus K̲h̲ān during a planned migration to summer pastures. As the plan unfolded, Urus K̲h̲ān realised what was afoot and set off with a small force to pursue the disaffected tribes, but after initial success against Toḳtamîs̲h̲, Urus K̲h̲ān's force was defeated, and the k̲h̲ān himself killed, in a counterattack led by Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s son D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn and by other youths who had been sent off to safety. Following this victory, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ sought support for his campaign against Mamāy; the S̲h̲ībānid Ḳān-bāy agreed but then changed his mind, while another S̲h̲ībānid, 'Arab-og̲h̲lān (called elsewhere "'Arab-s̲h̲āh", ancestor of the K̲h̲ʷārazmian Činggisids whom Ötemis̲h̲ Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī

served, and evidently identical with the ʿArab-s̲h̲āh whose coins bear dates from 775/1374-5 and 779/1377-8), gave complete support to Toḳtamîs̲h̲, who went to Sarāy, made himself *k̲h̲ān* there, and led the campaign that ended with Mamāy's defeat and death.

None of these particulars is reflected in the Tīmūrid sources, which lose interest in Toḳtamîs̲h̲ until his wars with Tīmūr; as a result, we know little of the internal situation in the Golden Horde during much of Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s reign. His consolidation of power served not only to reunite the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* (numismatic evidence has been interpreted as indicating a conscious attempt to unify the Golden Horde economically as well), but also to re-establish control over frontier regions where vassals of the *k̲h̲āns* had become essentially independent; these included not only areas in which his efforts led inevitably to his clash with Tīmūr, but more westerly regions as well, beginning with the Russian principalities. Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s battle with Mamāy evidently came soon after the latter was defeated by the Russians at Kulikovo in September 1380; that victory led the Russians to defy the new *k̲h̲ān*'s demand for submission the following year, and in 1382 Toḳtamîs̲h̲ ravaged Russia, pillaging and destroying Moscow and re-imposing D̲j̲öčid control. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ also sought, it seems, to revive the old pattern of diplomatic and commercial ties between the Golden Horde and Mamlūk Egypt; Mamlūk sources record the arrival of ambassadors from Toḳtamîs̲h̲ in 786 and 787/1384-5, and again in spring 796/1394, in the latter case bearing an invitation from Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to join in a war (already not his first) against Tīmūr.

The reasons for Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s turn against Tīmūr, whom sympathetic sources portray as a quite indulgent patron, are treated in personal terms in the earliest accounts. S̲h̲āmī credits several close companions of Toḳtamîs̲h̲ with counselling loyalty to Tīmūr; but after their death, a group of "Māngḳūt idiots" (i.e. of the Mang̲h̲ît [see MANGÎT] tribe) turned Toḳtamîs̲h̲ from the path of concord and gratitude. Naṭanzī claims that the Dūg̲h̲lāt Ḳamar al-Dīn, fleeing from Mog̲h̲olistān, intrigued with Toḳtamîs̲h̲ against Tīmūr, and K̲h̲ʷāndamīr says plainly that it was Ḳamar al-Dīn who induced Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to rebel against Tīmūr. Ibn ʿArabs̲h̲āh and Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī even claim that Toḳtamîs̲h̲ broke with Tīmūr in anger over the latter's treatment of Amīr Ḥusayn (Tīmūr's former ally in the Čag̲h̲atāyid realm and eventual victim). It is clear, however, that in his challenges to Tīmūr, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was pursuing traditional claims and interests of the D̲j̲öčid *k̲h̲āns* in regions—Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, K̲h̲ʷārazm, the middle Sîr Daryā valley—where Tīmūr had already sought to extend his influence. The first such challenge may have been in K̲h̲ʷārazm, which Tīmūr conquered, after several years of tolerating a local dynasty inclined to intrigue and rebellion, in 781/1379; in the same year, however, and indeed through much of the 1380s, coins of Toḳtamîs̲h̲ were struck in K̲h̲ʷārazm, which evidently quickly reverted to the hands of local rulers inclined to prefer D̲j̲öčid suzerainty over that of Tīmūr.

Similarly, soon after Tīmūr installed a compliant ruler in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in 787/1385, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ invaded the region and ravaged Tabrīz, prompting Tīmūr to lead a campaign into Persia and the Caucasus during 788/1386; Toḳtamîs̲h̲ again led an army into Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in the spring of 789/1387, but his forces were dispersed by those of Tīmūr, who sent him a warning not to repeat such an act. Unable to reassert his claims there, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ moved next in Central Asia, sending armies from K̲h̲ʷārazm and the Sîr Daryā frontier into Transoxania late in 789/1387-8; his forces reached as far as the Amū Daryā, besieging Buk̲h̲ārā and plundering the surrounding countryside, forcing Tīmūr to return to Central Asia. Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s armies retired to the steppe as Tīmūr approached early in 790/1388; later the same year Tīmūr destroyed K̲h̲ʷārazm for its support of Toḳtamîs̲h̲, but as winter came Toḳtamîs̲h̲ led an army from the steppe to challenge Tīmūr along the middle Sîr Daryā. His initial thrust toward Yasî, Sawrān, and Zarnūḳ was repulsed, but once again the armies of the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* and Tīmūr faced each other through the winter along the Sîr Daryā frontier; in the spring of 791/1389 further successes by Tīmūr's forces induced Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to withdraw into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčāḳ.

Persuaded by his commanders to deal first with Ḳamar al-Dīn and other threats in Mog̲h̲olistān, Tīmūr delayed his punitive expedition against Toḳtamîs̲h̲ until late winter 793/1391; he set off then with his army from Tashkent, rebuffed envoys bringing apologies from Toḳtamîs̲h̲, marched deep into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčāḳ, left an inscription at Ulugh Tagh (Ulutau) commemorating the purpose of his campaign, and finally, in mid-Rad̲j̲ab 793/mid-June 1391, at Ḳandîrča (Ḳunduzča ?), a site near present-day Orenburg, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Toḳtamîs̲h̲. Tīmūr's forces marched further west, as far as the Volga, then turned back, crossed the Yayîḳ/Ural river, passed by Sawrān, and crossed the Sîr Daryā near Utrār, reaching Samarḳand in Muḥarram 794/December 1391.

In the aftermath of this campaign's decisive battle, Tīmūr showed favour to Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s enemies in the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčāḳ, the Čînggisids Künče Og̲h̲lān and Tīmūr Ḳutlugh (the son of Tīmūr Malik), and the Mang̲h̲ît chieftain Edigü, who had earlier fled from the k̲h̲ān and taken refuge with Tīmūr; he directed them to "win over, gather up, and bring their peoples" (*els*) to him, evidently intending at least the eastern half of the D̲j̲öčid *ulus* to submit to him through these grateful protégés. All of them quickly ignored their patron's wishes and pursued their own power in the D̲j̲öčid *ulus*, and due as much to their activities as to the immediate effects of Tīmūr's expedition, Toḳtamîs̲h̲'s sphere of activity was ironically limited, for several years, to the western parts of the Golden Horde. Even there his prestige suffered from his defeat, but his efforts to reassert control in the west apparently succeeded; one product of this effort was his decree (*yarlîḳ*) to the Polish king Wladislaw II Jagiello noting the setbacks occasioned by the treachery of several conspirators (Edigü among them) who had incited Tīmūr against him and had then evidently abandoned the *k̲h̲ān* in battle, but affirming also that he had succeeded in regaining control and was thus in a position to demand tribute (the *yarlîḳ*, written in Uyg̲h̲ur script, was sent from Tana/Azov in Rad̲j̲ab 795/May 1393).

By the summer of 796/1394, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ felt strong enough to challenge Tīmūr again, this time in the Caucasus; his attacks reached as far as Darband and S̲h̲īrwān; again, news of Tīmūr's approach led Toḳtamîs̲h̲ to withdraw, but in the spring of 797/1395 Tīmūr began a second campaign into the Das̲h̲t-i Ḳîpčāḳ that would prove the final blow to the *k̲h̲ān*'s power. Toḳtamîs̲h̲ was defeated in a battle near the Terek river on 23 D̲j̲umādā II/15 March; Tīmūr's forces pursued him northwards, and soon, his army scattered, Toḳtamîs̲h̲ himself "abandoned *k̲h̲ān*-ship" and fled, to "Būlar" (possibly referring to Bulg̲h̲ār, but more likely to Poland), according to Yazdī, or, according to Mamlūk sources, "to the lands of the

Russians", or to "L.b.ḳā" or "L.b.tā" (no doubt referring to Lithuania [see LIPḲA]) according to Naṭanzī. Meanwhile Tīmūr's army marched deep into the Golden Horde through the summer of 1395, reaching nearly as far as Moscow and then sacking the Horde's major cities, Sarāy and Ḥādjdjī Tarkhān (Astrakhān), during the winter and returning to Persia via Darband in the spring of 798/1396.

Tīmūr's destructive campaign is typically regarded as the death-blow to the Golden Horde's unity and prosperity; it clearly marked the effective end of Toḳtamîsh's rule as *khān* of the Djöčid *ulus*. He lived another ten years as an adventurer, and in his continuing efforts to reclaim his throne he ranged with his followers throughout the territory of the Golden Horde, seeking a suitable arena in which to base his power, and a willing patron to facilitate his return to rule. The notice in Mamlūk sources, for Djumādā II 799/March 1396, that Toḳtamîsh had had gathered an army and was besieging the "Genoese Franks" at Kaffa in the Crimea must reflect one such attempt; no doubt with the same aim he sought refuge in Kiev with the Lithuanian prince Vytautas (Witold), who refused the demands of the new *khān*, Tīmūr Ḳutlugh, to hand over the fugitive Toḳtamîsh and set out against him. According to Russian sources, Tīmūr Ḳutlugh feared Witold's enormous army and was inclined to make peace, but his ally, the *amīr* Edigü, strengthened the *khān*'s resolve; their forces were victorious over Toḳtamîsh and his latest patron in a battle at the Vorskla river in August 1399. As far as the sources reveal, the final ally sought by Toḳtamîsh in a bid to reclaim his throne was none other than Tīmūr, who just weeks before his death in Utrār in Shaʿbān 807/February 1405 received envoys from the fugitive *khān* seeking reconciliation and aid in restoring his rule in the Djöčid *ulus*. According to Yazdī, Tīmūr agreed to assist Toḳtamîsh upon returning from his intended campaign against China; not only the rapprochement between Tīmūr and Toḳtamîsh, but also its aim—opposing Edigü, by then the real ruler of the Djöčid *ulus* through a succession of puppet Čingisids—were mentioned by the Castilian envoy Clavijo.

In all likelihood, Toḳtamîsh did not long outlive Tīmūr. The earlier version of Naṭanzī's work says that Toḳtamîsh died a natural death in the region of "Tūl.s" (var. "Tūlīn", no doubt to be read as referring to Tyumen in western Siberia) in 800/1397-8 (a date precluded by his alliance with Witold and by his final embassy to Tīmūr), but the later version was corrected to state that he was killed by Edigü in 807 (which ended in June 1405), in the same region. The latter account accords reasonably well both with a Russian source affirming that Toḳtamîsh was killed in battle with forces of Shādī Bek Khān, near Tyumen, in 1406 (Edigü was the *de facto* ruler in the Golden Horde during Shādī Bek's reign), and with Ibn ʿArabshāh's claim that Toḳtamîsh was killed in the last of 16 battles he fought against Edigü.

Even before Toḳtamîsh's death, several of his sons were prominent players in the struggle for power in what remained of the Golden Horde, with Djalāl al-Dīn, Djabbār Berdī, Karīm Berdī and Kebek customarily ranked among those who reigned briefly as *khān* during the first quarter of the 15th century; they continued their father's struggle with Edigü, whom another son of Toḳtamîsh, Ḳadîr Berdī, was credited with killing in 822/1419. The struggles between Toḳtamîsh and Edigü, and their sons, ensured a prominent place for Toḳtamîsh as a character in the extensive oral epic tradition that developed around the heroic figure of Edigü/Idige; versions of this epic tale have been preserved among the Noghāys, Bashkirs, Ḳazaḳs, Ḳaraḳalpaḳs and Özbegs.

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(D. DEWEESE)

TŌLĀ, a weight used in India (Skr. *tulā*, Hindi *tōlā* "balance, scales") for both gold and silver. In earlier times, 1 *tōlā* = 96 *rattīs*, the *rattī* being the old Indian unit of weight, according to E. Thomas = 1.75

grains. In British India, by a regulation of 1833, the *tōlā* of 180 grains, being also the weight of the rupee [see RŪPIYYA], was established as the unit of the system of weights, with 3,200 *tōlās* = 1 *man* or maund.

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(ED.)

TOLUY, the fourth son of the founder of the Mongol empire, Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] by his chief wife, Börte, and father of the Great Khāns Möngke and Ḳubilay [*q.vv.*], as well as Hülegü (Hūlāgū [*q.v.*]), who established the Īl-Khānid state [*q.v.*] in Persia. The name derives from the Mongolian word for mirror (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, i, 274-6).

Toluy was probably born in the late 1180s (P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, Leiden 1951, 375), and was known for his personal bravery and military leadership. He first came into prominence as a commander in the early Mongol campaigns into northern China in the early 1210s. Toluy and his brothers joined their father in the campaign against the Khʷārazm-shāh [*q.v.*] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad in 615/1219. He accompanied Čingiz in the conquest of Bukhārā, and was subsequently dispatched with part of the army to subdue western Khurāsān, involving the bloody destruction of Nīshāpūr and Marw (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 150-2). Toluy thereupon rejoined his father in Afghānistān, and participated in the pursuit of the new Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, returning in 1223 to the east with Čingiz and the main Mongol army and subsequently participating in the punitive campaign against the Tangut. Čingiz ordered that after his death, Toluy, as youngest son (*otčigin/ottegin*), was to be given his camp, personal property and the original Mongolian homeland, as well as the vast majority of the Mongolian army (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Karīmī, i, 399). After Čingiz's death in 1227, and in accordance with his instructions, Toluy played an important role in the accession of his brother Ögedey [*q.v.*] to the throne in 1229, and joined the latter in the campaign against the Chin emperor in northern China. It was during these operations, apparently in 1332, that Toluy met his death, probably from overdrinking (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 549), although according to both the *Secret history of the Mongols* (§ 272) and Rashīd al-Dīn (in E. Blochet, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, ii, 23-4, 220-1 = J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, 38-9, 167-8), he died after having taken on Ögedey's illness, by drinking the water with which the latter had been washed by the shamans. Toluy was posthumously referred to as Ulugh or Yeke Noyan "great commander" in Turkish and Mongolian respectively, and Jui-tsung "wise emperor" in Chinese. His main wife, Sorḳaḳtani Beki, whose wisdom and moderation are lauded in the Persian sources, succeeded over the next few years in laying the groundwork for the rise to power of her son Möngke, who replaced the line of Ögedey as Great Khāns. Toluy is likewise praised for his virtues, but—as with his wife—this is doubtless coloured by the fact that both Djuwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn were employed by the Īl-Khānid descendants of this couple.

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(R. AMITAI)

TONK, a former Native State of British India, when three of its component districts fell within Rādjpūtānā and three in Central India, with its centre in the town of the same name (lat. 26° 10′ N., long 75° 50′ E.). The former Tonk State is now a District of Rādjāsthān in the Indian Union.

Tonk was founded by Amīr Khān (d. 1834 [*q.v.*]), a Pathan from Bunēr who rose, first in the service of the Rohillas [*q.v.*] and then in the army of Djaswant Singh Holkar (1798). He submitted to the British in 1817. During the Sepoy Mutiny, his son Wazīr Muḥammad Khān remained loyal and repulsed attacks on the Tonk fort. His son was deposed by the British in 1867, but Tonk was restored to the family three years later. Nawwābs continued to rule there until the state became part of the first Rādjāsthān Union in April 1948.

Bibliography: See that to AMĪR KHĀN, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiii, 407-18.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬOP (T.), the term used in Ottoman Turkish military terminology for cannon, with *ṭopdju* denoting a member of the corps of artillerymen and Ṭopkhāne being the name for the central arsenal in Istanbul. The Ṭopkhāne Gate there has given its name, in popular parlance, to the adjacent imperial palace; see ṬOPḲAPÎ SARĀYÎ. The word *tob/top* originally in Turkish denoted "ball", hence cannon-ball; it appears in almost all the Turkic languages and passed into the usage of Persian, the Caucasian and the Balkan languages, etc. See Doerfer, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, 596-60 no. 948; Clauson, *A dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 434. See for the use of artillery by the Ottomans, BĀRŪD. iv.

(ED.)

ṬOPAL ʿOTHMĀN PASHA, the name of two prominent Ottoman figures.

1. Grand Vizier (1663-1733).

Born in the Peloponnese of a family originally from Konya, ʿOthmān Pasha joined the *odjaḳ* of the *ḳozbekči* (body of officials performing various services on the sultan's behalf), then that of the *pandūl* (*pandūr*, a militia recruited in the Balkans among the free peasants and entrusted with duties of local security). According to von Hammer, he reportedly became *beylerbeyi* at 24 years of age and was sent to Egypt by Muṣṭafā II; taken prisoner in the open sea off the Egyptian coast by a Spanish corsair, he was wounded and taken to Malta. Through the good offices of Vincent Arnaud, commandant of the port, he was freed in exchange for a ransom, made his way to Damietta and then to Istanbul, where he was nicknamed *Ṭopal* ("the lame") on account of his injury. He took part in the Prut expedition in 1711, was subsequently honorary *ḳapîdjî bashî* [*q.v.*], and then appointed leader of the *martolos* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia. During the war for the reconquest of the Peloponnese (1714-15), he performed exploits which earned him promotion to *pasha* with two *tūghs* or "horse-tails [*q.v.*] and governor of the *sandjaḳ* of Tirḥāla. During the war aimed at the reconquest of

Hungary in 1716, he organised the victualling of the troops; he was subsequently entrusted with the task of suppressing revolts in the Peloponnese, was promoted *pa<u>sh</u>a* with three *tū<u>gh</u>s* and appointed *serʿasker* of the Peloponnese (1716-17), a province which he defended successfully against the Venetians. Governor of Bosnia in 1720, then of Rumelia in 1721, he retained this post until 1727, at which date he again became governor of Bosnia and commandant of the post of Ni<u>sh</u>, where he entertained Vincent Arnaud in lavish style.

Re-appointed governor of Rumelia in 1729 and of Bosnia in 1730, he was charged with the task of eliminating the partisans of the rebel Patrona <u>Kh</u>alīl [*q.v.*] who had taken refuge in Rumelia and, in particular, in Albania (May 1731). As governor of Rumelia once again, he was appointed Grand Vizier on 18 Rabīʿ I 1144/10 September 1731. He held this post for only six months, during which he engaged in the suppression of revolts, took measures aimed at stabilising the cost of living and ensuring the victualling of Istanbul; he also gave to Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a Bonneval [*q.v.*] the opportunity of reforming and developing the corps of the *<u>kh</u>umbara<u>dj</u>ī*s [*q.v.*]. Governor of Trebizond, then of Tiflis and finally *serʿasker* of Anatolia, he won a victory over Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh and the Persians who had invaded ʿIrāḳ (19 July 1733). He was then the recipient of honours awarded by the sultan Maḥmūd I, but while resisting a Persian attack in the north of ʿIrāḳ met his death near Kirkūk. ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a was buried in a *türbe* in the precincts of the Imām Ḳāsim mosque at Kirkūk. To him is owed the construction of a mosque at Tripolitsa in the Peloponnese.

His son Aḥmed Rātib Pa<u>sh</u>a married a daughter of Aḥmed III, ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>e Sulṭāne, and was the great-grandfather of the Young Turk writer and journalist Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*].

A consummate servant of the Ottoman state, Ṭopal ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a showed in all the various posts which he occupied great conscientiousness, professionalism and eminent qualities, in his administrative functions as well as in his military activities.

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2. Governor and statesman (1804-74).

Born in 1219/1804 in a village in the vicinity of Izmir, ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a was known initially hy the nickname of <u>Sh</u>erīf on account of his father's name, Ḥā<u>dj</u><u>dj</u>ī <u>Sh</u>erīf A<u>gh</u>a, then by that of *Ṭopal* following an accident which constrained him to walk with a limp, and it was under the name of Ṭopal ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a that he acquired a substantial reputation, especially when he held the post of *wālī* (governor) in Bosnia.

Joining the navy, he served with distinction and successively held the posts of *ḳapudan*, *patrona* and *riyāle* [*q.v.*]. At the time of the conflict between Maḥmūd II and the governor of Egypt Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ṭopal ʿO<u>th</u>mān Bey was serving in the Mediterranean under the command of Aḥmed Fewzī Pa<u>sh</u>a. In July 1839 the new sultan ʿAbd ül-Me<u>dj</u>īd ordered the Ottoman fleet to return to Istanbul, but Aḥmed Fewzī, perturbed by the promotion to senior posts of his political adversaries, concluded a personal agreement with Muḥammad ʿAlī and led the fleet to Alexandria, supported in this action by his officers, including ʿO<u>th</u>mān Bey (July 1839). Following the London Conference which resulted in reconciliation between Istanbul and Cairo, the Ottoman fleet returned to Turkey (December 1840). On returning to Istanbul at the beginning of 1841, ʿO<u>th</u>mān Bey was at first dismissed, but then pardoned and appointed deputy governor of Izmit, which contained one of the Ottoman navy's most important arsenals (1842) where he remained in office until 1849. He subsequently served in administrative posts at Karesi, at Biga and in 1855 in Cyprus. He acquired wide renown in the course of his defence of Belgrade, one of the few strategic points retained by Turkey after the recognition of the political autonomy of Serbia (1856-61).

In January 1861 he was appointed *wālī* of Bosnia and acquired the title of *pa<u>sh</u>a*. In the seven years that he spent as ruler of this province, he introduced numerous reforms and administrative, social and economic measures: reorganisation of the province, now divided into seven *ṣan<u>dj</u>aḳ*s, institution of a council composed of representatives of all faiths (1866), limitation of the influence of the great landowners, and improvement of the lot of the peasants and the labourers, whose trust he gained. He developed public education, in particular with the establishment of secondary schools (*rü<u>sh</u>diyye*) and a School of Law at Bosna Saray (Sarajevo), where he also founded a library and a printing-press, producing the first local newspapers in Turkish and in Serbian as well as academic books. He also worked hard to improve communications between Bosna Saray and the principal towns of the province, in particular the Bosna Saray-Mostar and Trebinje-Duhrovnik roads. Also owed to him are constructions in the capital, for example the palace known by the name of Cengić-villa.

He may have taken as his model Muḥammad ʿAlī, whose reforming activity he had observed in Egypt, as well as that of Midḥat Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*] in the province of the Danube, of which ʿO<u>th</u>mān Pa<u>sh</u>a was appointed *wālī* in January 1869. But he had made such an impact in Bosnia that the population demanded his return, and in fact the governorship of the province was restored to him without delay and he returned

to Bosna Saray on 9 March 1869 amid popular acclaim. But he had enemies within the central government, who spread the rumour that he was intent on declaring the independence of the province. He was dismissed on 27 May 1869, and he withdrew to his home on the Bosphorus, where he died on 25 July 1874, being buried in the cemetery located behind Ḳāsîm Pas̲h̲a, on the Golden Horn.

A major figure, the skilful developer of Bosnia, Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a exemplifies those reformers of the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* who were committed to the renewal of the Ottoman empire.

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(R. MANTRAN)

ṬOPD̲J̲U [see ṬOP].

ṬOPḲAPÎ SARĀYÎ, the name of the great palace complex in Istanbul.

After the conquest of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, Meḥemmed Fātiḥ [*q.v.*] II returned to his new *sarāy* at Edirne within three weeks. In 1454 orders were given for the building of a residential complex on the Third Hill. A high wall made clear that it was for his harem. This *sarāy* was completed, insofar as palaces are ever completed, between 1455 and 1458. Meḥemmed found it unfit to be a majestic centre of government, and in 1459 ordered the building of a new *sarāy* (*sarāy-î d̲j̲edīd-i ʿāmire*, or Yeñisarāy). Late in the 18th century, it became known as Ṭopḳapî Sarāyî after the Cannon Gate at Sarāyburnu, where the Golden Horn (K̲h̲alīd̲j̲) enters the Marmara Sea. The site had been that of the Acropolis and supplied useful spolia (see the map in ISTANBUL, at Vol. IV, 232). It belonged to Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), which was now the chief mosque of the city, and there were few inhabitants to be moved. The area was walled in and covered to an extent of 5.9 km^2. Builders were recruited from Syria and Persia as well as from the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. Italian engineers, who had completed the fortress at the Golden Gate, may also have contributed. The only architect whose name is recorded was Murād K̲h̲alīfe, who may have had overall authority.

The two courts planned were completed before 1468. The first was for the government and the second for the sultan, his immediate family and the school of the pages (*ič og̲h̲lans*), founded by Murād II at Edirne. The site was large enough to use for hunting, and trees were shipped from Izmit. The Byzantine walls were repaired, not to keep an enemy out but the animals in. These included deer and foxes, but lions and wolves and such were kept in two menageries. The walls created a new inner space, which was soon filled and became the First Court. The struggle to extend within limited space forms the architectural history of the Sarāy. There were still chapels and buildings round the Hippodrome which had to be taken over by tentmakers, tailors, for stables and for much else. The royal gate would have been that of the Second Court (*Bāb ül-Selām*) which became the Middle Gate (*Orta Ḳapî*) after the building of the Gate of Majesty (*Bāb-î Hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]). Hagia Irene (Aya Iren) became the armoury and subsidiary buildings included the pages' hospital, woodyards, bakeries, and eventually the mint which was rebuilt in 1727.

The *Bāb-î Hümāyūn* lost an upper pavilion in the 19th century, which now distorts its proportions. The surviving stone towers contain stairs and modest barrack rooms for 50 guards. It was the traditional gate of justice, and heads of criminals were hung on it. The Middle Gate was restored by Murād III in the late 16th century, but the twin towers were not altered. In the 18th century broad eaves were added all over the Sarāy, and were painted with rural scenes under flamboyant Ottoman rococo decoration.

Silence was enforced in the Second Court, which had colonnades on all four sides and only two buildings. The Tower of Justice (*ʿAdālet Kulesi*) was built like that of the camp as an observation point for the sultan. The Dīwān Hall (*Dīwān Odasî*, *Ḳubbe Altî* [see ḲUBBE WEZĪRI]) was first built against the wall of the Third Court, but proved too small and moved to its present position to be rebuilt by Süleymān I Ḳānūnī between 1515 and 1529. The three domed halls were for the muniments, the clerks of court and the Council of State itself. It was united with the tower so that the sultan could look down through a grille window unseen. The Dīwān has often been redecorated but remains fundamentally that built by Süleymān; however, after a major restoration in 1820 by Maḥmūd II, the present classical columns were added after 1850. When the Dīwān met, the household sat on benches in the colonnades in kaftans, which were in effect uniforms. Trees were walled round as protection against gazelles and peacocks, and on great occasions the columns were polished and rich brocades were hung. When the Dīwān rose, its members then feasted in the same hall, while the common folk washed and drank at the fountains, of which three survive, and were then served with a modest bowl of stew.

Parallel with the Second Court is that of the kitchens, which were two domed halls, but Bāyezīd II added six more [see MAṬBAK̲H̲. ii]. Cinders from their chimneys caused a fire in the harem in 1574; Sinān [*q.v.*] heightened them and added lead caps which were removed in the early 20th century. The court is long and narrow, stretching from the supply gate and waterworks past store-rooms, cellars and *mesd̲j̲ids* with barracks for the staff facing them. Originally, one cookhouse was set aside for the sultan and another for the Wālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*], and a line of servitors passed trays from hand-to-hand to wherever the meals were served. The kitchens are now the museum of porcelain, in which the Chinese ware is of exceptional importance.

On the right of the Dīwān Hall is the Carriage Gate (*ʿAraba Ḳapîsî*) to the Harem area and beyond that is the barrack of the Halberdiers (*zülüflü*), who were harem porters and cleaned several state rooms. The Barrack Hall is the last one surviving in its 16th-century Ottoman form. It was rebuilt by Dāwūd Ag̲h̲a in 1586 when that built for Süleymān became too small. Behind the barracks are coachhouses and stables of the sultan and the 17th-century mosque of Bes̲h̲īr Ag̲h̲a totally restored.

The Third Court is reached through the Gate of Felicity (*Bāb ul-Saʿādet*) which has been much restored and altered, particularly in the 18th century. Here the sultan received ministers and ambassadors in his

outer throne room or Hall of Petitions (*ʿArḍ Odasî*). Built for Meḥemmed II but rebuilt by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn for Süleymān by 1527, its wooden colonnade was replaced by marble. Cuerda seca panels of tiles each side of the entry and the fountain date from Süleymān's restoration. The hall was gutted in the fire of 1856. Meḥemmed II built two other royal pavilions in this court. The present Treasury Museum (Fātiḥ Köshkü) now occupies his apartments facing the sea with a series of fine rooms, one of which is domed, and a loggia with a fountain more robust in design than those that followed. The cellars of this kiosk formed the original Treasury Within as opposed to the Treasury Without built by Meḥemmed II next to the Dīwān Hall. With eight domes and formidably strong, this is now the Arms Museum. Opposite the Treasury Museum is Meḥemmed II's formal residence (*Khāṣṣ Odalîlar Ḳoghushî*) which is also strong. Its spacious domed inner court is clad with late Iznik ceramics in large panels of second quality, but the innermost room, once the bedchamber, has panels of unsurpassed design and colour. This now holds the mantle and the standard of the Prophet [see KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF] and the whole pavilion houses the treasures that Selīm I brought back from Cairo. The complete refurbishment was due to Murād III late in the 16th century.

Beyond it, the *Aghalar Djāmiʿi* is set at an angle so that the *miḥrāb* faces Mecca. It is now the all-important Museum library which incorporates the latticed bay for the harem and the sultan's chamber (*Khünkār maḥfile*). In front of this pavilion is the library built by Aḥmed III in 1719 which is reached by twin flights of stairs over an ornate, repainted drinking fountain. The slim portico is an introduction to French baroque influence that rapidly became a style of its own. The rest of the court was built to house the pages and the white eunuchs (*aḳ aghalar*) who taught them. Buildings gutted in the fire of 1856 include the Small (*Küčük*) and the Large (*Büyük*) Halls (*Oda*) either side of the Gate of Felicity. A great *ḥammām* was restored sumptuously in 1527 and even more richly by Selīm II in 1572, but was demolished and restructured as the Campaign Hall (*Seferli Ḳoghushî*) by Aḥmed I for senior pages who accompanied the sultan when with the army. It is now the Costume Department. Soon after the earthquake of 1509, the original building was monumentally buttressed before it slid down the escarpment. The domed disrobing chamber (*djāmakān*) is a twin to that of the Treasury Within and has survived. The porphyry colonnade of the Campaign Hall meets that of the Treasury Museum with capitals of disputed origin from a pre-Islamic monument of distinction.

Turning left one faces the Hall of the Commissary (*Kilerli Ḳoghushî*), now the directorate of the museum, and across a path is the hall of the treasury students (*Khazīne-yi Hümāyūn Khadameleri Ḳoghushî*), who were the most senior of all. It is now the Gallery of Miniatures. Originally, the halls were spacious and lined with daises shared between some six or more pages and used for both sleeping and study. There were also galleries and washing facilities which could include a small *ḥammām*. The eunuchs slept in the same dormitories, but by the 17th century the three senior halls were run by mature students. When they graduated, the elect served the sultan personally in the royal pavilion before being promoted to the highest offices of the state.

Behind the senior halls is the so-called Fourth Court. In 1852, ʿAbd ül-Medjīd built a large kiosk facing the sea which sits on the foundations of two smaller kiosks of Meḥemmed II. It is typical of the work of the Balyan family, who dominated royal building during most of the 19th century with the pomp and plaster of the École des Beaux Arts' most flamboyant style. The lower gardens await restoration, but the terraces of the hanging gardens are in good repair. The Pavilion Court (*Sofa Awlusu*) was a personal royal garden. Its kiosk has remarkably large windows for its period, all of clear glass. One divan looks out onto the terraced garden and the one opposite looks over the city and the sea. The kiosk was first built in the 17th century and was redecorated in particular by Aḥmed III during the so-called "Tulip period" (*Lāle dewri* [*q.v.*]). Past a giant fountain of the 19th century, steps ascend to the large terrace rebuilt by Süleymān and then by Ibrāhīm I in 1640. The original belvederes were built on Byzantine tower foundations, to be replaced by Süleymān and then by Murād IV. The only original one remaining is the tower of the physicians which was also that of the royal tutors and the soothsayer (*Bash Lāla Köshkü*). However, it has lost its wooden belvedere, with its echoes of Venice.

Murād IV built two unique kiosks to celebrate his victories. Their architect may have been Ḥasan Agha, although Ḳodja Ḳāsîm was court architect at the time. Both pavilions are cruciform in plan, but the first one to be built, the Rewān Köshk of 1634, is the smaller and has been redecorated. The Baghdād Köshkü of 1639 is the grander of the two because of its appointments—the inlay, the noble dome, the lofty head of the fireplace (*odjaḳ*) and the tiles, are of the finest quality, and its proportions give it the claim to be the finest Ottoman room. It is surrounded by a verandah with incomparable views, essential features of the ideal Ottoman kiosk. Ibrāhīm I was responsible for the Sundown Kiosk or meal-taking bower (*Ifṭāriyye Ḳaṣrî*) with the crests of its four corner columns curiously out of alignment with the shafts beneath. Ottoman architects were committed to structural truth. Ibrāhīm also rebuilt the Circumcision Kiosk (*Sünnet Odasî*) to serve as his personal *mesdjid*. The earlier masonry remains as the foundations and undercroft. The varied tiles that match each other on either side and over the door, form a museum of Ottoman ceramics, including the tall blue and white panels that appear to have been copied by those in the Baghdād Köshkü, with romantic *saz* leaves, an image of the Magic Wood, and gazelles and peacocks in the branches.

The pool and fountain with a throne projecting over the water was built for Süleymān I, while the lofty arcade behind is a projection of the pavilion housing the relics of the Prophet (*Khirḳa-yi Saʿādet Rewāḳî*). The wall behind carries the decoration used for the Prophet's Hall in Cairo. It is composed of ribs of marble cut in slithers from columns in the Mamlūk style. Originally, the capitals were gilded and the columns polished.

The sultan entered the harem through a door at the end of the terrace which opened on to the Golden Road. The Carriage Gate (*ʿAraba Ḳapîsî*) in the second court leads to the black eunuchs' mosque (*Ḳara Aghalar Djāmiʿi*) fitted with good woodwork and with one of several late panels depicting Mecca to be found in the Sarāy. The tiles throughout the harem mostly date from the rebuilding under Meḥemmed III after the fire of 1665. They are dull in colour, but designed with a flourish which is novel. The calligraphic tiles are coarse but are in the established tradition. The Court of the Black Eunuchs (*Ḳara Aghalar Tashlîghî*) has a handsome colonnade, behind which is the barracks with large cells each side of a narrow hall and a large fireplace. The ablutions are astonishingly

luxurious. The Princes' School, on the first floor next to them, is tiled but also bedecked with rococo work. The apartment of the Chief Black Eunuch (*Ḳîz Aghalar Dā'iresi*) has a large window from which he could check on everyone who entered or left the harem through the main entrance.

The harem is arranged round two courts. The Wālide court (*Wālide Tashlîghî*) is dominated by a block of apartments which were once assumed to be the lodgings of the four mothers of princes. The other rooms were for the princes who were over six or seven years old, to which in adulthood they would be confined (the *Ḳafes* or "Cage"), although only a few suffered this quasi-imprisonment. It is a warren of service rooms and staircases. The court once had colonnades on all four sides, but these were filled in and converted into rooms because of lack of space and also because of the increasing cost of carrying out extensions over the escarpment. The need for space grew because the sultans abandoned their own pavilions for the harem. The other court (*Djāriyeler Dā'iresi*) is long and narrow, with dormitory space sufficient to lodge 70 girls with difficulty. Kitchens, a *ḥammām* and other service rooms, together with three pretty kiosks, one domed, face the view over the hospital for the girls, mainly dating from the 17th century. The lodgings are claimed to be those of the first three consorts, but the earlier belief that they were for the three senior ladies of the establishment (*ustālar*) has some claim to validity.

The Wālide apartments (*Wālide Sulṭān Dā'iresi*) were rebuilt in 1665 under the supervision of Khadīdje, widow of Ibrāhīm I and mother of Meḥemmed III, and while some panels of older Iznik tiles were re-used, most are full of the panache of the period. The bedchamber and oratory are lit by skylights like a *ḥammām*: an example of the consequences of overcrowding. Above these original rooms, Selīm III built the late-18th and early-19th century apartments of his mother, Mihrishāh Wālide. Ottoman rococo is taken to its limits: in between the flamboyant plasterwork and mirrors are touchingly simple frescoes of pavilions above pools in formal gardens, but beyond, there are vistas of free woodlands and the sea.

The sultans from Aḥmed I onwards built themselves rooms next to the Wālide's apartments which have been vulgarly repainted, but ʿOthmān III built himself a large kiosk supported on piers over what had been the harem garden only just in time for his death in 1757. He added a broad terrace and formal garden. Inside, *trompe l'oeil* was introduced to Istanbul. From the Wālide's apartments, a passage lit by bottle glass leads to the two *ḥammāms* of the Wālide and the sultan. These were completed in 1585 by Dāwūd Agha and refurbished during the 18th century. Beyond these is the Throne Room Within (*Khünkār Ṣofasî*), which is the largest room in the harem. It is attributed to Sinān but is more likely to have been built by Dāwūd. It was used by the harem and by the sultans' male guests, but because the sexes never mixed it was not a true *mābeyn* [*q.v.*]. The gallery above the Ṣofa was added by ʿOthmān III, as was much of the present decoration. The tiles may have been Italian copies of Delftware. The dome and its pendentives have been completely restored, and the work is much more convincing than was the mutilated baked red paint of the 19th century. There are three fountains, and much 19th-century furniture and large vases. The painting on the doors is pretty 18th-century work. One of these leads into a small room which was built by Aḥmed III and which is famous for its panels of bowls of fruit that have given it the name of dining-room. The other door leads into the Hall of the Hearth (*Odjaklî Ṣofasî*) and then into that of the fountain (*Česhmeli Ṣofasî*). Both rooms are dismantled of their hangings and carpets. The hearth is particularly lofty, and the frame of the fountain (*česhme*) is notably so, since it only surmounts one faucet. It is the symbolism here and all over the Sarāy that matters.

Beyond these is the anteroom to the chamber of Murād III which, until the 19th century, divided harem and *selāmlîḳ* [*q.v.*]. The room was distorted in the 17th century when a pavilion was added for the heir to the sultanate. The wall on the corridor side was moved inwards and the tiling dishevelled, including part of a 16th-century Iznik tile arcade of great quality. Murād III's room has been damaged by an extension built by Aḥmed I, which blocked windows and their view and destroyed the throne. The wide recess with its fountain, the great hearth and the inlaid woodwork remain, as does the unique tilescape. The dome and pendentives have been sensitively restored in order to complete the noblest 16th-century room. The hall of the apartment of the heir (*Weli-ʿahd Dā'iresi*) has a unique dome, which had been covered by a false ceiling in the 19th century protecting the early 17th-century paintwork. It is witness to the quality of paintwork once found all over the Sarāy. The inner room has a fine fireplace and the skirting under the raised floor reveals fine tiles. The 20th-century windows are unfortunate. It is unclear when the pavilion was clad in blue and white tiles externally or when the eaves were extended, unless these were done at the same time.

The kiosk looks onto the city and the terrace of the chosen girls (*Iḳbāllar Tashlîghî*) above Murād III's garden with its large pool, and in the undercroft of his hall is a winter pool, rather than a *ḥammām*, served by an immense boiler. ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd I built the row of apartments over the Golden Road 1774-89. The apartments for the sultan at the far end enlarged an existing kiosk.

The Sarāy Within was surrounded by the Sarāy Without. There were barracks for the Janissary guards in the towers set 150 m apart along the walls. The Procession Kiosk (*Alay Köshkü*) was a royal box from which to watch the guild processions or from which to address crowds. It was built on top of a Byzantine tower and extensively rebuilt by Maḥmūd II. Dilapidated or ruined churches were turned into a menagerie and also into barracks for the soldier-gardeners (*bostāndjîlar* [see BOSTĀNDJÎ]), who were divided into nine companies, one of which tended the profitable market garden, first planted by Meḥemmed II. From the Stable Gate (*Akhîr Ḳapîsî*) there were the stables themselves, the aviary, the fish trap, the Pearl Kiosk (*Indjirli Köshkü*), of which the foundations survive and which must have been the grandest of summer pavilions, quays—now the highway—and the kiosks on and beyond Sarāyburnu. These are all gone, along with the summer *sarāy* and its gardens except for the rebuilt Basketmakers' Kiosk (*Serpetdjiler Köshkü*), elevated on a Byzantine tower and stretch of walls, and attributed to Ḳodja Ḳāsîm Agha, rebuilt as a press office in the 1980s. The intrusion of the railway in the 19th century destroyed a number of lesser buildings. The workshops round the Hippodrome fell gradually into disuse and were built on during the course of the 19th century.

The most important building of them all, the Tile or Glass Pavilion (*Činili* or *Ṣîrdja Sarāyî*), survives in spite of the fire of 1737 that destroyed the wooden

portico, which was then rebuilt in stone. The little palace is not Ottoman in spirit, but is a fine example of the pavilions of the Saldjūḳs in Persia. The glazed brickwork with its inscriptions was either made by potters from Tabrīz on the spot or possibly imported. A central dome lights the interior, along with fine windows, including the seven-sided bow in which the sultans sat in state. Beyond are the modest private rooms glazed with Bursa-style tiles but with a veritable peacock of a fountain installed by Murād III. The lateral recesses were glazed over when the kiosk became the Tile Museum, and this deadens the original play of light. Otherwise, it is astonishing how little damage has been done, although its sports ground has been built over by the Archaeological Museum.

The Sarāy was built as a symbol, but function subdued this aspect stage-by-stage for it to become, as it now is, a catalogue of styles and workmanship extending over 500 years.

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ṬOPKHĀNE [see BĀRŪD. vi; ṬOP].

TÖREGENE KHĀTŪN (Tūrākīnā in Muslim sources), Mongol princess and regent. She was the wife of the second Great Khān Ögedey (1229-41 [*q.v.*]), and mother of his eventual successor, Güyük (1246-8), acting as regent for the entire Mongol empire in the interregnum.

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, she was from the Merkit people, and had been married to one of its leaders before being given to Ögedey after the Merkits' defeat *ca.* 1204-5, but the *Yüan Shih* accords her Naiman origins. In accordance with Mongol tradition, she assumed the regency after Ögedey's death until a new Great Khān could be named at a *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*]. In spite of later efforts by pro-Toluid authors (particularly Rashīd al-Dīn) to besmirch her, Töregene appears to have been—in the words of one modern scholar—"an able and determined ruler". Her primary aim was to prevent the realisation of Ögedey's wish to be succeeded by his grandson Shiremün, the son of Köčü, and instead have her eldest son Güyük elected as Great Khān. Batu [*q.v.*], the Djočid ruler of the Golden Horde, was able to forestall her plan for four-and-a-half years.

Töregene hounded her deceased husband's senior officials. Činḳay and Maḥmūd Yalawač [*q.v.*], the chief minister of the Empire and the administrator of northern China respectively, fled to another son of Ögedey for safety. Maḥmūd's son Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*], Mongol governor in Central Asia, found it necessary to seek protection with Batu. During Töregene's regency, Baydju, the commander of Mongol forces in Persia, defeated the Saldjūḳ sultan Kay Khusraw II [*q.v.*] at Köse Dāgh [*q.v.*] in 1243, thereby reducing the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm to a Mongol dependency.

Finally, in 1246, in spite of Batu's foot-dragging, Töregene was finally able to convene a *ḳuriltay* with representatives of all branches of the Mongol royal house, and Güyük was acclaimed as ruler. It was at this time that she met the papal envoy John of Plano Carpini, whom she graciously received (C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol mission*, London 1955, 61, 65, 82). In spite of the contradictory information conveyed by Rashīd al-Dīn, Töregene seems to have died several months after Güyük's accession.

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ṬORGHUD, a Turkish tribe that was prominent in central Anatolia between the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries.

The origin of the Ṭorghud is obscure. The earliest documentary sources say they were Turks. Nevertheless, their first recorded appearance in Anatolia was in the late 7th/13th century when that region was occupied by the Mongols; thus they may be linked with the Mongol tribe of the same name. According to a legend, the mystic Dedigi Sulṭān of Khurāsān, a descendant of Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166 [*q.v.*]), sent his brothers Ṭorghud and Bāybūrd from Khurāsān to Anatolia in the early 7th/13th century. They and their nomadic kinsmen apparently first went to the steppe between Aḳ Shehir and Aḳ Sarāy. We know that by the early 8th/14th century, they were in the region of Aḳ Shehir and were known for their horses. Shikārī (10th/16th century) states in his popular chronicle that Ṭorghud and Bāybūrd were Oghuz or Türkmen who were allied with Nūra Ṣūfī (*ca.* 654-60/1256-61), whose son Ḳaramān founded the Ḳaramānid dynasty [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARÎ]. In this way, there began a very close and continuous relationship, often reinforced by marriages, between the Ṭorghud

and Ḳaramānids. Shikārī adds that the Ḳaramānid Meḥmed Beg (660-77/1261-78) gave half of the plain between Ḳonya and Anḳara to Ṭorghud Beg and half to Bāybūrd Beg. Consequently, these two areas eventually became known in the 10th/16th century as Ṭorghud Eli [*q.v.*] and Bāybūrd Eli. He also says that the Ṭorghud assisted the Ḳaramānid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg (753-83/1352-81) in successful campaigns against the Banū Eretna and the Germiyān.

In any case, the Ṭorghud tribe was a major element, perhaps the most powerful, in the Ḳaramānid state. It helped the Ḳaramānids fight against the Ottomans on several occasions, notably against Murād I (761-91/1360-89) and Murād II (824-48/1421-44, 850-5/1446-51). One of its most outstanding leaders, Pīr Ḥusayn Beg, had the title *malik al-umarāʾ muḳaddam al-ʿasākir* and may have been the *beglerbegi* of the Ḳaramānids. He constructed a number of buildings in and around Ḳonya. He built his own tomb in that city in 835/1432. When Meḥemmed II decided to put an end to the Ḳaramānid state once and for all, in a series of expeditions that ended in 880/1475, he specifically set out to break the power of the Ṭorghud. As a result, many took refuge with the Mamlūks. When Meḥemmed died, some of them joined the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Later, in 893-4/1487-8, the Ṭorghud assisted the Mamlūks against the Ottomans. As late as 906/1500, the Ṭorghud revolted against the Ottomans in the name of Ḳaramān. Afterwards, some joined the Ṣafawids. Altogether, the Ṭorghud were difficult to pacify. They maintained their political significance until the Djalālī uprisings [*q.v.* in Suppl.] between the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries, as a result of which they finally lost their power. By the 19th century, the Ṭorghud were limited to the area between the towns of Turgut and Cihanbeyli west of Tuz Gölü.

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ṬORGHUD, according to tradition, one of the military commanders of ʿOthmān I, founder of the Ottoman dynasty, *fl.* in the first third of the 14th century.

He was one of several military leaders in the company of ʿOthmān [*q.v.*], and subsequently his son Orkhān [*q.v.*], who had the title *alp* [*q.v.*]. There is strong evidence, however, that he was not an historical figure but the creation of folk etymology (C. Imber, *The legend of Osman Gazi*, in *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou, Rethymnon, Crete 1993, 71-2). He first appears at ʿOthmān's conquest of Yār-Ḥiṣār southeast of Nicaea (İznik). He then attacked Angelokoma (İnegöl) to the southwest. These events presumably occurred in 699/1299. Angelokoma fell when reinforcements arrived and its Christian ruler "Aya Nikola" (*sic*) fled. ʿOthmān gave Angelokoma to Ṭorghud Alp. Afterwards this region was called Ṭorghud Eli [*q.v.*], the land of Ṭorghud. ʿOthmān later ordered Orkhān to capture Adranos (Orhoneli), to the west. He sent Ṭorghud Alp and Köse Mīkhāl to conquer it. The fall of Adranos (1317?), combined with that of Yār-Ḥiṣār and Angelokoma, gave the Ottomans control of virtually all the land approaches to Bursa [*q.v.*] and facilitated its conquest in 726/1326.

Ṭorghud Alp was an intimate of the dervishes, especially Geyikli Bābā, who lived near Keshīsh daghî (lit. "Monk mountain", i.e. Mt. Olympos, Uludağ) between Angelokoma and Adranos. Indeed, he seems to have become a *pīr* under his direction. In addition, he introduced Orkhān to his dervish associates.

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ṬORGHUD ELI, the name of three districts of Anatolia in early Ottoman times.

1. In 699/1299-1300, ʿOthmān I b. Ertoghrul gave his commander Ṭorghud Alp [*q.v.*] the district of Inegöl just to the east of Bursa. The name Ṭorghud Eli appears in the early historians ʿĀshîk-pasha-zāde and Neshrī, but disappears by the 10th/16th century.

2. A place in the Tashlîk Silifke area on the southern coast of Anatolia in Ḳaramānid times.

3. A place in the steppe lands of Aḳ Shehir and Aḳ Sarāy in the hands of the Ṭorghud Bey family during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

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ṬORGHUD REʾĪS, Turkish corsair, naval commander and governor (b. early 16th century near Muğla, western Anatolia, d. 1565 in Malta; better known as Dragut in European literature).

The maritime career of this son of a peasant began when he joined the Levends, Turkish mariners operating off the Aegean coast [see LEWEND]. It was as commander of Levend ships that he participated in the battle of Prevesa (1538). His subsequent area of operation was the central and western Mediterranean, where in the wake of Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa's successes [see KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA], Turkish seamen and Janissaries played a crucial role in the confrontation with Christian powers, especially Spain and her dependencies. While greasing his ships on Corsica in 1540, he was captured by Andrea Doria's nephew Gianettino, but regained freedom three years later after Khayr al-Dīn, who was visiting with the Ottoman fleet French ports, had demanded his release and threatened to sack Genoa in case of non-compliance.

Like Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa a generation earlier, Ṭorghud then used Djerba [see DJARBA] as his base and Tunis as the place to sell the spoils of his raids on Christian shipping and coasts. This led to a see-saw sparring with the Ottomans' main rival, Spain, and her naval proxy, the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria. Ṭorghud's capture of Mahdiyya in 1544 proved of short duration, and he himself narrowly escaped another capture early in 1551 when, cornered by Doria on the eastern side of the Kantara causeway between Djerba and the mainland, he cut a channel and slipped through to the other side. He then returned to the Aegean waters and offered his services to the Ottoman government, which was planning new naval campaigns. He participated in an attack on the Knights Hospitallers of Malta and on Tripoli, led in the summer of 1551 by the *Ḳapudan Pasha* Sinān Pasha. Disagree-

ments between this commander, no seaman but a brother of the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], and Ṭorg̲h̲ud may have contributed to the failure before the main target of the campaign, Malta, but Tripoli was taken. After returning to the Ottoman capital, Ṭorg̲h̲ud was appointed *sand̲j̲aḳ beyi* of Karli-eli with Prevesa as its main harbour, while several captains of his suite also received official appointments as commanders of *mīrī* (imperial) galleys; one of these was the future *Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a* Ḳilid̲j̲ ʿAlī [see ʿULŪD̲J̲ ʿALĪ]. Ṭorg̲h̲ud was eventually given a post he had coveted since 1551, the *beylerbeyilik* of Tripoli (1555).

The final years of Ṭorg̲h̲ud's life were marked by two memorable events, the battle of Djerba (1560) and the siege of Malta (1565). Both were major enterprises conceived in Istanbul and led by the *Ḳapudan Pas̲h̲a* Piyāle Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*], but they had opposite results: at Djerba, the Turks triumphed over the Christian, chiefly Spanish forces; at Malta, they were thwarted by the determined defence of the Knights Hospitallers, and the failure was made worse by a mortal wound suffered by Ṭorg̲h̲ud. He was buried in a *türbe* by the mosque he had erected at Tripoli.

Like Kemāl Reʾīs, Selmān Reʾīs, and K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn Barbarossa before him, and ʿUlūd̲j̲ ʿAlī, Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a Mezzomorto and D̲j̲azāʾirli G̲h̲āzī Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a after him, Ṭorg̲h̲ud represents the special brand of Ottoman naval commanders who first proved their worth as privateers but then, recruited by the Ottoman government, led the imperial fleet to signal victories or made it recover its effectiveness. Ṭorg̲h̲ud's case, however, also illustrates a frequent dilemma of this class whose recruitment as a rule differed from that of the administrative and military élite (theoretically, the sultan's slaves, in fact, his choice retinue), and therefore often received less recognition and chance to assert itself than it may have deserved.

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TOROS DAĞLARI, the Modern Turkish designation of the Taurus Mountains, the southern and southeastern bordering-mountain chain system of the Anatolian plateau in Turkey. This is part of the young Tertiary folded mountain belt and rich in deposits of workable ores. Away from the basins and valleys, it is sparsely populated and extensively used by small livestock farming. Higher parts formerly used as summer resorts by Yürük nomadic tribes have recently been filled by small permanent forest farmer dwellings.

The southern flanks to the Mediterranean and the inshore parts are distinguished by a Mediterranean climate and vegetation (often maquis). In spite of uncontrolled woodcutting, clearing for cultivation and overutilisation as pastures, the Taurus mountains are often still covered with xerophytic forest residues of pine, juniper, oak and cedar.

The Western (Lycian) Taurus mountains start in the Mediterranean coast regions of western Anatolia with the Gölgeli Dağları, which are more than 2,000 m high. They form an assemblage of mountain ranges and massifs of Mesozoic Palaeogene limestones, flysch sediments and crystalline rock formations with important chrome ore deposits. This region, which includes parts of the Isaurian-Pisidian lake district, is rich in basins and poljes set into the longitudinal mountainous depressions. In the ranges of the Bey Dağları west of the Gulf of Antalya, with its new winter sport centre and national park, the Western Taurus mountains reach over 3,000 m.

In the hinterland north of this gulf, the wide-bowed bend of the Central Taurus, composed mostly of Palaeozoic limestones, begins. It stretches eastward to the "bulwark" of the High Bolkar Dağları and ends beyond the Cilician Aladağ (3,756 m, the Armenian Taurus) at the deep and striking depression of Kahramanmaraş. In its western parts, where the "Curve of Isparta" with parallel mountain ranges encloses further sections of the lake district, striking turns from southwest-northeast to northwest-southeast, and leads over to the Neogen limestone plateau of Taşeli. This slightly tilted and upfaulted table is full of caves, intensively karstified and canyon-shaped, and dissected by the Göksu river and its tributaries. The eastern section of the Central Taurus, the Cilician Taurus, is formed by the high wall of the Bolkar Dağları (3,524 m). Here in the hinterland of Tarsus, the chains are crossed by the Ecemiş depression, with the most famous ancient pass region of the Cilician gateway. Eastward, in the environs of the Ala Dağlar, one finds heights of more than 3,750 m. In former times the centre of the Kingdom of Little Armenia [see SĪS], these regions were settled by Armenians until their persecution and banishment in the early 20th century. They have recently been inhabited by Yürük and resettled Alevi Kurdish minorities.

From here two parallel mountain range systems, the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, turn northeastward, flanked by impressive intermontane basin lines. The outer southeastern ranges including the famous Nemrut Dağı of Commagene lead to the glacierised Cilo (Djilo) Dağı around Hakkâri which is the mountainous nucleus of Turkish Kurdistan and over 4,000 m high. The inner parts, following the Seyhan river system, are intertwined with the eastern Pontic chains of historic High Armenia and disappear under the cenotypal of the northeast Anatolian Ararat upland lava plateaus.

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TOSḲ [see ARNAWUTLUḲ. 4).

TOUBA [see ṬŪBĀ].

TOUGGOURT [see TUGGURT].

TOURKOPO(U)LOI or TURCOPLES, Christianised ex-Muslim mercenaries of Turkish origin in Byzantine and Oriental Latin armies in the Balkans, the Middle East, Cyprus and Rhodes from the late 11th century onwards, especially the late 12th, 13th and 14th centuries (on the term's etymology, see C. Amantos, in *Hellenika*, vi [1933], 325-6; H. Diament, *Can toponomastics explain the origins of the Crusader French lexemes Poulain and Turcople?*, in *Names. Jnal of the American Name Soc.*, xxv [1977], 183-204). They are sometimes erroneously associated by older Greek

scholars with the early Ottoman institution of the *dewshirme* [*q.v.*] and the Janissary corps [see YEÑI-ČERI]. Their ancestors had been "Persian" (i.e. Saldjūḳ and Turcoman) mercenaries of Byzantium (Pachymeres, ed. Bonn, ii, 523-4); Crusader chroniclers define the latter's offsprings as *Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre Christiana patre Turco procreantur* (Raymund of Aguilers, in *RHC, Occid.*, iii, 246), or as *Turcopoli gens impia et dicta Christiana nomine, non opere, qui et Turco patre et Graeca matre procreati* (Albert of Aix, in *ibid.*, iv, 380).

The earliest mention of the term appears in a Byzantine document referring to an Athonite monk Sergios Tourkōpoulos, probably an ex-Muslim (A.D. 1082); certainly the most celebrated Turcople in Byzantium (*ca.* 1078-*ca.* 1099/1103) was Tatīkios, who according to Anna Comnena (refs. in B. Skoulatos, *Personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade*, Louvain 1980, 287-92) distinguished himself in the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus' service against Normans, Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Pečenegs (Patzinaks), Ḳīpčaḳs (Cumans) and the knights of the First Crusade, though he finally abandoned the siege of Antioch [see ANṬAKYA] in 1098 and thus Byzantium missed a possible lucrative recapture (refs. in J. France, *The departure of Tatikios from the crusading army*, in *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xliv [1971], 137-47; A. Savvides, *Taticius the Turcople*, in *Jnal. Or. Afr. Stud.*, iii-iv [1991-2], 235-8); even after that, Alexius I continued using Turcoples against the Saldjūḳs, and also providing the Crusaders with more Turcople regiments (*Alexiad*, ed. Leib, iii, 12; Albert of Aix, 575 ff.).

A detailed picture of Turcoples in Byzantine service appears in George Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras; the latter reports (ed. Bonn, i, 229) that the Turcople descendants of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan Kaykāwūs II [*q.v.*] distinguished themselves in the service of the Palaeologi emperors Michael VIII (1259 or 1261-82) and Andronicus II (1282-1328) against the Catalan raiders and the semi-autonomous rulers of Thessaly [see TESALYA] between *ca.* 1268-*ca.* 1275 and as late as 1330-4. Turcoples had also participated on the Byzantine side in the Graeco-Latin war of 1263-4 in the Morea [see MORA]. In the late 13th century, Turcoples were installed in central and northwestern Greek Macedonia, in the area of the Vardar (Axiōs) river (see E. Zachariadou, in *Makedonika*, vi [1964-5], 62-74; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley, etc. 1971, 441-2), while in the early 14th century, several among them settled in the western Thracian Rhodōpe, following their participation in Catalan raids against Byzantium (1305-6), their abandonment of the marauders (1307-8) and their eventual partial departure to Serbia. In Trebizond, too, an A.M. 6841 (A.D. 1305-6) inscription mentions a Geōrgios Torkōpoulos (see A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, Washington 1985, i, 228 n. 354, correcting F. Uspensky's dating of 1203/4 or 1210/11).

Many Turcoples are also attested in the Christian Orient during the Crusading period (12th-13th centuries), either as fighting troops against Muslims (as in the case of the fifth Crusade of 1217-21, when those sent by Hugh I Lusignan of Cyprus occupied a conspicuous place in the Crusading army), or in the service of the military orders (Usāma Ibn Munḳidh, ed. Hitti, 79; other refs. in Savvides, 1993, 123-4, 126-30; Zachariadou, *Tourkopouloi*, in *Oxford dict. of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, 2100b). Jean Richard has stressed that, in the Orient, Turcoples were employed in imitation of the Byzantine Tourkōpo(u)loi (*La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age, 13ᵉ-15ᵉ s.*, Rome 1977, 7-8; idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Amsterdam 1979, 140; idem, in *Bibl.*).

Following the fourth Crusade of 1204, Turcoples arrived to strengthen the armies of the Latin Empire of "Romania" at Constantinople, and also participating in the latter's war against the Bulgarians (see Villehardouin, ed. Faral, ii, Paris repr. 1963, §§ 136, 438). On Cyprus [see ḲIBRIS], Turcoples appear in Latin service from the late 12th century onwards, following the end of Byzantine rule there, by Guy I Lusignan; he distributed fiefs among Turcople mounted mercenaries, who under their captain (*Grand Turcopolier*) assumed the island's protection. Henceforth, the term is closely associated with lightly-armed archers (as a police force) in the Latin sources (refs. in Sir George Hill, *Hist. of Cyprus*, repr. Cambridge 1972, ii, 40, 54; P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge 1991, 17, 122; Th. Papadopoullos, in *Hist. of Cyprus* [in Greek], iv/1, Nicosia 1995, 765, on their social status). From the 14th century onwards, they were drawn from local populations in the late Frankish and Venetian periods, 15th-16th centuries, when they feature in Greek vernacular sources like Leontios Machaeras and George Bustrōnios as Tourkopoūloi, Tourkopouliēredes, Tourkopoulīzai, etc. (refs. in Hill, *op. cit.*, ii, 773-4, with chart on eponymous cases, also in diplomatic connection with the Tekke, Ḥamīd and Ḳaramān amirates, as well as the Mamlūks of Egypt; other eponymous cases in Edbury, *op. cit.*, 169-70, 173, 175; Savvides, 1993, 135-6; *Prosopogr. Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. xii, Vienna 1994, nos. 29098, 29176-84).

Finally, on Rhodes Turcoples participated in the Hospitaller Knights' conquest of the island between 1306-10 [see RODOS, and A. Savvides, in *Byzantinos Domos*, ii [1988], 220, 227-9, with n. 142]; henceforth the *Turcop(o)lieri/Turcupellerii* (light cavalrymen) were extensively used by the Knights with the duty of patrolling the island's coasts and guarding its maritime populations (refs. in A. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291-1440*, London 1978, no. I, 278, 283; E. Kollias, *The city of Rhodes and the palace of the Grand Master*, Athens 1988, 33, 37; Z. Tsirpanles, *Rhodes and South Sporades ... 14th-16th centuries* [in Greek], Rhodes 1991, 276 nn. 8-9; idem, *Unpublished documents on Rhodes and the South Sporades, 1421-53* [in Greek], Rhodes 1995, 192, 629-30, 739-40, with Latin documents from the Malta archives).

Bibliography: Mostly given in the article; sources in G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ³Leiden 1983, 327-8; detailed analysis in J. Richard, *Les turcoples au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre: musulmans convertis ou chrétiens orientaux?*, in *REI*, liv (1986), 259-70, and A. Savvides, *Late Byzantine and western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies: the Turcoples/Tourkopouloi*, in R. Beaton and Ch. Roueché (eds.), *The making of Byzantine history. Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, Variorum, Aldershot 1993, 122-36; idem, *The Turks and Byzantium*, i, *Pre-Ottoman tribes in Asia and the Balkans* [in Greek], Athens 1996, 152-5 and 220-21 (bibl.).

(A. SAVVIDES)

TRANSJORDAN or **TRANSJORDANIA** [see AL-URDUNN].

TRANSYLVANIA [see ERDEL].

TRAVNIK, a town of central Bosnia, situated to the north-west of Sarajevo, in the narrow valley of the Lašva (a tributary of the river Bosna), located at an altitude of 504 m/1,653 feet between the mountains of Vlašić (1,943 m/6,373 feet) to the north, and of Vilenica (1,235 m/4,050 feet) to the south.

As is proved by numerous known archaeological sites, the neighbourhood of Travnik was occupied first by Neolithic and then by Illyrian populations. Many traces remain of the Roman period, but none at all from the first five centuries which followed the arrival of Slav populations in the Balkans (7th-12th centuries). Historical evidence reappears from the 13th century onwards: on the one hand, the remains of two churches and of five castle-fortresses, on the other, a number of mediaeval tombs and necropoles. One of these castle-fortresses, that of Travnik (dating from the early 15th century and renovated on numerous occasions since) is associated with the foundation of the town, the first mention of which dates from 1463-4, on the occasion of the visit to this place by sultan Meḥemmed II during his campaign against Bosnia. Subsequently, first a market was formed beneath the citadel, then an Ottoman *ḳaṣaba*, which became the seat of the *nāḥiye* of Lašva and (after 1528) of the *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of Bosna-Brod. The development of the town was, it seems, initially rather slow, then (from the second half of the 16th century) more rapid, since it is estimated that by the end of the 17th century its population had risen to 3,000-3,500 inhabitants. Ewliyā Čelebi visited Travnik in the summer of 1660 (see his *Seyāḥatnāme*, v, 442 ff., and especially the translation into Serbo-Croat (with important annotations) by H. Šabanović, *E.Č., Putopis, odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama*. Sarajevo 1967, 127-9). According to the renowned traveller, the town was at that time the *k͟hāṣṣ* of the *pas͟ha* of Bosnia, the seat of a *voyvode* and a *ḳāḍīlīḳ* with 150 *akčes*. He describes the fortress and the town, which according to him consisted of eleven *maḥalles*, with 2,000 solid houses (figures which H. Kreševljaković and D.M. Korkut, *Travnik u prošlosti 1464-1878*, Travnik 1961, 14, amend to seven *maḥalles* and 600-700 houses at the most), seventeen mosques, numerous elementary schools (*mekteb-i ṣibyān*), a *k͟hān*, a *ḥammām*, two *türbes*, and the *čars͟hī*. In K. Papić's scholarly monograph (*Travnik, grad i regija*, Travnik 1975, 102-12) which collates all the known documentation, can be found a detailed description of the development of the town and of its population during this early period (1463-1699), with prosperity naturally linked to the military situation of the Ottomans in this region.

In a totally unexpected manner, the time of Travnik's greatest success was set during the period of the empire's decline in South-Eastern Europe. This is readily explained by the fact that the seat of the Ottoman vizier was transferred in 1699 from Sarajevo to Travnik [see SARAJEVO], where it remained until 19 June 1850 (with two brief interludes, in 1827-8 and 1832-6 [or 1839]). The urban prosperity which resulted from this was accompanied by that of craftsmanship and of commerce, and was responsible for more than doubling the population figures of the town, which by the mid-19th century had risen to more than 7,000 persons (who are said to have included, according to the secretary of the French Consulate of Travnik, Amédée Chaumette des Fossés, a large majority of Muslims, about 1,000 Orthodox Christians, 500 Roman Catholics, 300 gypsies and 60 Jews), promoting Travnik from the status of *ḳaṣaba* (large village) to that of *s͟hehir* (town). In the early 19th century, and for a relatively short period, Travnik also became the seat of the very first European consulates in this part of the Ottoman empire, these being the French Consulate (from 1806 to 1814) and the Austrian Consulate (from 1808 to 1820), events described magisterially by Ivo Andrić (Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961) in his novel *Travnička hronika* (1st ed. Belgrade 1945; latest French tr., *La chronique de Travnik*, Paris 1996). (On this period in general, cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 112-40.) Naturally, it is from the 18th-19th centuries that the most important monuments of Ottoman architecture in the town date (several mosques and *k͟hāns*, two *bedestens*, three *ḥammāms*, two clock-towers, three *medreses*, numerous bridges, *türbes* and fountains, a *tekke*, etc.) the majority of which have been subsequently restored and renovated, some of them destroyed (see anon., *Kulturno-istorijski spomenici-vlasništvo IVZ [Travnik]*, in *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva u FNRJ*, Sarajevo, ii/4-6 [April-June 1951], 159-67, ii/7-9 [July-September 1951], 298-301; M. Mujezinović, *Turski natpisi u Travniku i njegovoj okolini*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Sarajevo, xiv-xv [1964-5 (1969)], 141-87, and xvi-xvii [1966-7 (1970)], 213-306; *Blago na putevima Jugoslavije*, Belgrade 1983, 327-9). Also available are several descriptions of the town made by western travellers from the early 19th century onward, such as that of F.C.H.L. Pouqueville in 1806, that of A. Chaumette des Fossés (*Voyage en Bosnie dans les années 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1816) and, most thorough of all, that of Ami Boué, from 1836-38 (*Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vienna 1854, ii, 228-30), who was astonished at the dilapidated state of the Ottoman vizier's residence and who supplies numerous interesting details regarding the condition of the town's inhabitants, particularly Muslims and Catholics.

The definitive transfer, in 1850, of the vizier's seat to Sarajevo, marked the beginning of Travnik's decline, which continued throughout the last years of Ottoman power (1850-78) (cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 140-7). The population of the town diminished perceptibly, to such an extent, that according to the first Austro-Hungarian census, that of 1879, it numbered no more than 5,887 inhabitants (comprising 3,482 Muslims, 1,455 Catholic Christians, 576 Orthodox Christians and 374 Jews; cf. *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und Hercegovina. Aemtliche Ausgabe*, Sarajevo 1880, 61). This period was also marked by the construction of a Catholic church and an Orthodox church, as well as by the opening (in addition to a *rüs͟hdiyye* intended for pupils of all religious persuasions, but with instruction given in Turkish), of a Catholic primary school and an Orthodox primary school, and most of all by the construction of a large Franciscan monastery (with a church and a secondary school) at Guča Gora (in the immediate vicinity of Travnik), a monastery which, with other establishments of the same kind, was subsequently to play a very significant role in the religious, cultural and political life of the Catholic population of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

During the forty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918), the Ottoman town experienced many transformations, particularly after the great fire of 1903, in the course of which the entire historic centre of the city, where all the building (shops and residential properties) were made of wood, disappeared for ever. Then the first modern constructions appeared. The following table, constructed according to the four official censuses carried out by the authorities at the time (cf. Papić, *op. cit.*, 148-86, and esp. 151), shows the demographic changes:

Year	*Total pop.*	*Mus.*	*Cath.*	*Orth.*	*Jews*	*Others*
1879	5,887	3,482	1,455	576	374	-
1885	5,933	3,042	1,889	559	425	18
1895	6,261	2,983	2,179	651	426	22
1910	6,647	2,750	2,732	674	472	19

The principal Muslim dignitaries of Travnik (*begs* and *ʿulemāʾ*), as well as those of other places in

Bosnia-Hercegovina, took an active part in the political struggles which accompanied the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation (see e.g. on this subject, R.J. Donia, *Islam under the Double Eagle. The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina 1878-1914*, Boulder, Colo. 1981, 68-89 and *passim*). It may be added that the local scene was confused in the extreme as a result of the power-plays of the other leading elements of the population: the Catholic element (which was ultimately to declare itself Croat) and the Orthodox (which on account of its belonging to a national church could do nothing other than feel and proclaim its Serbian loyalties). It may be said, finally, as regards the Muslim population of Travnik in this period, that it had at its disposal, in the cultural sphere, eight *mektebs*, one *rüs̲h̲diyye* and three *medreses*, the oldest of which, that of Elči Hadži Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a (see A. Bejtić, *Elči Ibrahim pašin vakuf u Travniku*, in *El-Hidaje*, nos. 7-12, Sarajevo 1942), was replaced in 1894-5 by a new building, constructed in the "Moorish" style, the renowned "Fejzija" of Travnik, where among others, several members of the illustrious Korkut family were teachers (cf. A. Bejtić, *Derviš M. Korkut kao kulturni i javni radnik*, Sarajevo 1974).

There is little to say on the history of the town of Travnik in the 20th century, other than that the population has grown significantly, from 6,334 inhabitants in 1921 to more than 14,000 in 1975. But on account of its past, the old city of Travnik remains, if only on the cultural plane, the principal urban centre of the valley of the Lašva. It may be said in conclusion that at the time of writing (January 1997), the precise consequences for the town of Travnik of the civil war of 1992-5 remain unclear.

Bibliography: In addition to the references cited in the text, see M. Mandić, *Vezirski grad Travnik nekada i sada*, Zagreb 1931; M. Jokanović-K. Papić, *Travnik*, in *Encyclopedija Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1971, viii, 359-60; *Travnik u vrijeme vezira (1699-1851)*, Travnik 1973. (A. Popovic)

TRIBENĪ (lat. 22° 59' N., long. 88° 26' E.), in Sanskrit *Tri-venī* or "Three braids" referring to the convergence of the Bhagirathi, Jamuna and Saraswati rivers, a place in the district of Hooghly, West Bengal, India, an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage and Sanskrit learning, mentioned in classical Greek (e.g. Pliny's *Natural history*), Sanskrit (e.g. Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*), Bengali sources (e.g. *Cvandimangala*), and early European travel accounts.

Conquered by Ẓafar K̲h̲ān G̲h̲āzī towards the end of the 7th/13th century, Tribenī (also known by the Muslims as Fīrūzābād after the Bengal Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, r. 1301-22) and its neighbourhood (e.g. Sātgāon and Pāndu'ā [*q.vv.*]) prospered under Muslim rule, as evidenced by the impressive architecture of the period which was influenced by Islamic and local traditions. Arabic inscriptions from the Ẓafar K̲h̲ān *masd̲j̲id* and *madrasa* (earliest one dated 698/1298; see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *Arabic and Persian texts of the Islamic inscriptions of Bengal*, Watertown, Mass. 1992, 27-30) suggest that, in addition to holding an important commercial and political position in south-west Bengal, the area was a notable Islamic educational and cultural centre. With the emergence in the 16th century of the new port city of Hooghly after the advent of European traders, and later of Calcutta further south, Tribenī and its surrounding towns lost their importance and urban character and declined to the status of villages in the rural landscape of Bengal.

Bibliography: Bipradās, *Manasā Mangala* (16th-century Bengali ms. [Ga 3530] in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta); *Bhakti ratnākara*, ed. Rama Nārāyana Vidyāratna, Berhampore 1887, 538-9.

(Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq)

TRUCIAL COAST [see al-imārāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.; ʿumān].

TSAK̲H̲UR, a Lezgian people of eastern Caucasia, Sunnī Muslims and numbering about 25,000. Their self-designation is Yik̲h̲bi, but others call them after the Ts'äk̲h̲ village. That name dates back to the 7th century, when the Tsak̲h̲ur probably formed part of Arrān [*q.v.*] (Caucasian Albania). They accepted Islam in the 10th-11th centuries. Their societies united into a sultanate in the 15th century. This *Elisuyskoe sultanstvo*, as it was called in the 18th century, ended in the next century with its incorporation into Tsarist Russia.

The Tsak̲h̲ur, whose main occupation has been transhumant sheep pastoralism, have traditionally lived in the isolated upper Samur valley in south-west Dāg̲h̲istān and on the other side of the watershed of the Great Caucasus, in present-day Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. At present, about two-thirds of the Tsak̲h̲ur live in the latter region, with most of the remaining third in Dāg̲h̲istān, i.e. in Russia.

Life used to be organised in patrilinear families that were often bilocational, living partly in the mountains, partly on the southern slopes in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, with the herds moving with the seasons. Clan-ties among the endogamous Tsak̲h̲ur are strong. Their calendar is marked by a large number of Islamic and older festivities.

The Tsak̲h̲ur language belongs to the Lezgian subgroup of the Daghestan branch of the East Caucasian linguistic phylum. There are Tsak̲h̲ur inscriptions that date back to the 13th century. General literacy came with Soviet times; in the mid-1930s Tsak̲h̲ur was used at school, soon to be replaced by Azeri, and after 1952 by Azeri and Russian respectively. Since the early 1990s attempts have been made at revitalising traditional culture and at reintroducing Tsak̲h̲ur as a written language. Language retention is high, though Tsak̲h̲ur town-dwellers are more fluent in Azeri than in Tsak̲h̲ur.

Bibliography: S.P. Tolstov (ed.), *Narodî Kavkaza* ("The peoples of the Caucasus"), i, Moscow 1960; G.K̲h̲. Ibragimov, *Tsak̲h̲urskiy yazîk* ("The Tsak̲h̲ur language"), Moscow 1990; V.A. Tis̲h̲kov (ed.), *Narodî Rossii* ("The peoples of Russia"), Moscow 1994.

(H.J.A.J. Smeets)

TU WEN-HSIU, Chinese Muslim military leader and head of the Panthay [*q.v.*] sultanate (1855-73) in western Yunnan, South-west China, d. 1873. Tu Wen-hsiu was born into a Yang family of Muslim father and Han mother in the Yung-ch'ang area in western Yunnan on 18 December 1826 (the 6th year of the reign of the Emperor T'ao-k'uang). He was originally called Yang Hsiu, with the Muslim name of Sulaymān. At the age of 13, when he passed the local public examination on the Confucian Classics with an excellent grade, the Han examination official, displaying discrimination against Muslims, ordered him to adopt his Han mother's family name, and renamed him as Wen-hsiu, meaning "of literary accomplishments and fine manners". However, he prefered to be called Sulaymān Yang amongst his fellow-Muslims. He then entered the local Ḳur'ānic school, and was educated under an *ʿālim* from the Ching-yang area in Shensi province [*q.v.*] called Man An-kuo who was probably a Naḳs̲h̲bandī-D̲j̲ahrī Ṣūfī *murs̲h̲id*, studying for 6 years and qualifying as an *Ahund* in 1843. Later, he went to Kung-ming, the capital of Yunnan province, for further studies for a

short period, under the well-known great Muslim scholar Ma Fu-ch'u, who was the then spiritual leader of Muslim rebellion in eastern Yunnan.

In 1856, after his parents and relatives were all killed by Han militia in a Han-Muslim clash, Tu openly joined the Muslim rebellion in the T'a-li region, being elected *de facto* leader of the T'a-li rebels by virtue of his literacy and justice (but some Muslim legends attributed it to his *karāma* [*q.v.*]). Tu then assumed the title of *Ḳāʾid d̲j̲amīʿ al-Muslimīn* ("The leader of all [Yunnanese] Muslims") or *Chung-t'ung P'ing-ma Ta-yüen-shuai* ("Generalissimo of all armed forces and cavalry"); but he was known to the Westerners as "Sultan Sulaymān". After Tu took complete control of the rebel group and set up its headquarters in T'a-li, the sultanate then took shape. Within a few years, the whole of western Yunnan was brought under T'a-li authority.

Most of Tu's writings have not survived except for some poems, couplets and a few essays on Confucian ethics. However, according to some recently-published manuscripts of court documents of the sultanate, part of his religio-political ideology becomes comprehensible. In principle, Tu intended to set up an Islamic government; thus the *S̲h̲arīʿa* and Islamic education systems were imposed, but applied to Muslims only. Because half of his subjects were Han and other aboriginal minorities, Tu had to adopt the Ming dynasty's system for non-Muslims in order not to cause grievances. By showing a positive image of Islam to his non-Muslim subjects, he hoped indirectly to encourage conversions to Islam. The documents also indicate that he hoped eventually to assimilate Muslims and non-Muslims into a syncretised culture. However, Tu died before his ideal materialised. The sultanate was subdued in 1873; Tu Wen-hsiu submitted to the Manchus, but committed suicide in order to secure lives of his followers from massacre. It is said that one of his daughters escaped from the Manchu massacres to Burma after the fall of the sultanate, with her offspring surviving to the present time.

Bibliography: Chang Shih-ch'ing *et alii* (eds.), *Tu Wen-hsiu Shuai-fu Mi-lu* ("Secret court documents of Generalissimo Tu Wen-hsiu"), i, Ch'eng-t'u, Such'uang Jenmin Publisher 1995; and see the *Bibl.* to PANTHAY. (CHANG-KUAN LIN)

TUAREG [see TAWĀRIK].

ṬŪBĀ, conventionally TOUBA, a simple hamlet of the Baol in Senegal which has become the sacred city and capital of the Murīdiyya [*q.v.*] dervish order. It lies 190 km/120 miles to the east of Dakar [*q.v.*] and is in process of becoming the second city of Senegal. It should have 200,000 inhabitants by the end of the 20th century, and every year it receives two millions of the faithful from all over the country for an annual pilgrimage (the Great Magal). Ṭūbā is a sacred enclosure, and has been for a long time an autonomous zone outside the authority of the state's agents and controlled solely by a "*k̲h̲alīfa*-general", his helpers and a militia of the order, the Bāy Fall.

Ṭūbā derives its importance from the initiatory mystical vision of the founder of the Murīdiyya, Amadu Bamba, probably in the late 1880s. Various etymologies have been current for the name; it most likely stems from a reference to *ṭūbā* "blessing" rather than to *tawba* "repentance".

In the last years of his life, between 1924 and 1927, Amadu Bamba conceived the project of a great mosque there and chose it as the site of his own tomb. After some hesitation, the French colonial authorities in 1926 agreed to this, but the misappropriation of the original funds gathered for this held back construction. Work began again under the direction of the founder's son and successor, Mamadu Mustafâ Mbacke, although progress was very slow. The foundations were not completed till 1932, and the building work, halted in 1939, was resumed in 1947 until its inauguration in 1963. The monument is made up of a giant minaret 96 m/315 feet high, four other minarets, fourteen domes and two ablutions chambers. The building is 100 m/330 feet long and 80 m/262 feet wide. The site's importance is underlined by the presence there of Amadu Bamba's and Mamadu Mustafâ's tombs. A library of 160,000 volumes illustrates the intellectual dimension which the order wishes to give to the shrine.

It was in 1928, at the first anniversary of his father's death, that Mamadu Mustafâ Mbacke organised a meeting of all the Murīds at Ṭūbā, this being the first Magal (a Wolof term meaning "festival, anniversary"). It became an annual event, and from 1945 onwards, the pilgrimage to the founder's tomb became a growing institution. After the death of the first *K̲h̲alīfa* in 1945, his brother and successor Falilu Mbacke in 1946 postponed the date of the Great Magal by a month, to 18 Ṣafar, henceforth commemorating the exile of Amadu Bamba to Gabon. A Lesser Magal nevertheless remains for the anniversary of the founder's death. The Great Magal lasts for four days and is the occasion for a gathering of devotees from all parts of the country and beyond. It also marks a firm point in time in relations between the Senegalese state and the order; a numerous official delegation marks on these occasions the state's recognition of the existence of the Murīds.

The quasi-extraterritoriality which Ṭūbā enjoys within the Republic of Senegal has made this religious centre also one for trade, a free trade zone, where products brought in from neighbouring Gambia escape state taxes. Under a very modern apparent exterior, one thus finds an ancient form of Senegalese, indeed, West African, Islamic life: the constituting of "maraboutic villages", enclaves which bring together the most keen devotees and which, through the force of the charisma of their directors, are able to escape from the exactions, pressures and constraints of the warrior and temporal authorities.

Bibliography: D.B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal*, Oxford 1971; C. Coulon, *Touba, lieu saint de la confrérie mouride*, in *Lieux de l'Islam. Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, Paris 1996.

(J.L. TRIAUD)

TUBBAʿ (pl. Tabābiʿa), a term used by Muslim writers as a dynastic title (comparable with Firʿawn/Farāʿina for the Pharaohs, Kisrā/Akāsira for the Sāsānids, etc.) for those Ḥimyarite rulers who, between the late 3rd century and the early 6th century A.D., controlled the whole of Southwest Arabia. For two or three centuries before that, Ḥimyarites centred on Ẓafār and Sabaeans centred on Mārib had struggled for supremacy, often both simultaneously claiming the title "king (*mlk*) of Saba and the Raydan" [see ḤIMYAR; SABAʾ]. But shortly before A.D. 300 S̲h̲ammar Yurʿis̲h̲, "the first Tubbaʿ", eliminated both the Sabaean dynasty and the independent kingship of Ḥaḍramawt, and marked this by assuming the title "king of Saba and the Raydan and of Ḥaḍramawt and *Ymnt*" (the last area not securely identifiable, but perhaps the coastal regions as distinct from the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt). Towards the end of the 4th century, the most famous of all the Tabābiʿa, Abūkarib Asʿad, pushed his military expeditions far into central Arabia, and expanded S̲h̲ammar's title-formula by adding "and of their Arabs (bedouin) in *Ṭwd* ("Highland", synony-

mous with Nad̲j̲d [*q.v.*]) and Tihāma" [*q.v.*]; this expanded title was passed on to his successors. In later times, a legendary epic clustered round the name of this king, attributing to him fantastic exploits similar to, and perhaps inspired by, those of the Alexander romance [see ISKANDAR-NĀMA]. It is not clear how the Muslim writers came to envisage Tubbaʿ as a title; for though *Tbʿkrb* occurs as the individual name of a king of an earlier dynasty, the Tabābiʿa themselves used only the style *mlk* as title. The last to employ the long title mentioned above was Abraha [*q.v.*], but he was not a native South Arabian at all; his predecessor Yūsuf As'ar [see D̲H̲Ū NUWĀS] was possibly a member of the Ḥaḍramite clan Yazan [*q.v.*], and it is doubtful whether he was regarded as a Tubbaʿ. If not, then the last of the dynasty would have been Maʿdikarib Yaʿfir, epigraphically attested as reigning in the summer of the Ḥimyarite year 631 (either A.D. 516 or 521). Though almost all the Tabābiʿa mentioned by the Muslim scholars, particularly al-Hamdānī [*q.v.*], can be validated by contemporary epigraphic evidence, the latter contains lacunae, and Arabic traditions are sometimes mutually contradictory; hence it has not been possible to compile a fully definitive list of the Tabābiʿa.

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(A.F.L. BEESTON)

TUBBAT, TIBBAT, TIBAT, the most frequent vocalisations in the medieval Islamic sources for the consonant ductus *T.b.t* denoting the Inner Asian land of Tibet (with *Tubbat*, e.g. in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 10, also preferred by Minorsky in his *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 92-3, and his edition and tr. of Marwazī, see below).

The origin of the name has recently been examined by L. Bazin and J. Hamilton in a very detailed and erudite study, *L'origine du nom Tibet*, in *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, xxvi [1991], 244-62, repr. in Bazin, *Les Turcs, des mots, des hommes*, Paris 1994. They believe that the Perso-Arabic, hence Western forms for the name can be traced back to the oldest attestation of the Chinese name for the land, *T'ou-fan*, for **Töpän* (beginning of the 7th century A.D.), to the Ork̲h̲on Turkish form *Tüpüt* (mid-8th century) and to Sogdian and Middle Iranian forms of the 9th century representing **Töpät*, all of which go back to Old Turkish *töpä* or *töpü* "height", with an early Turco-Mongol plural suffix *-t*, hence "the heights, highlands", the equivalent of the modern "Roof of the World". The geminated *-tt-* of the Arabic form would be an attempt to render the *p* by a language which did not possess this sound; the alternation *u/i* for the first syllable would be an attempt to render the *ö* of **Töpät*; and the final vowel would probably be pronounced *ä* or *e* in Persian, as in Marco Polo's *Tebet*. The Chinese and Turks could have received the toponym from the apparently Altaic T'ou-yu-houen people, who lived in the Koko Nor-Tsaidam region, i.e. northern Tibet, until their defeat and expulsion northwards by the Tibetans in 633.

1. The history and geography of Tibet in Islamic sources of the pre-modern period.

The first information on Tibet in mediaeval Arabic geographical and historical sources must have come through Central Asia via the Turks, at the time in their Mongolian homeland near-neighbours of Tibet on its north, so that the land is mentioned in the Bilge Ḳag̲h̲an inscription of the Ork̲h̲on [*q.v.*] as Tüpüt. Given its remoteness from the Islamic heartlands, it is not surprising that there were many fanciful and legendary touches in Islamic knowledge of Tibet. The fancied resemblance of *T.b.t* to Tubbaʿ [*q.v.*] gave rise to tales of a Yemeni origin of the kings of Tibet and of a pre-Islamic colony of Ḥimyarite Arabs there (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 685-6; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1948, 263). A story first found in Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 170, and repeated in many later sources, stresses the great happiness of the people of Tibet and the fact that any stranger going there becomes immediately full of laughter and joy.

At the time of the Arab conquests in Central Asia (1st-2nd/later 7th-8th centuries), the kingdom of Tibet was often at war with China, in the later 7th century seizing the so-called "Four garrisons" in the Tarim basin from China, and the Chinese annals often mention the Tibetans and the Arabs as being allies against the Chinese empire, presumably in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲aria and what was later Sin-kiang [*q.v.*] (see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 291; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, [4]Paris 1951, 150-1, 155, 164, Eng. tr. *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 103, 107, 114-15). The early Arabic historians mention the appearance of the Tibetans at times in Transoxania during the period of the Arab conquests. The rebel Mūsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. K̲h̲āzim was attacked during his rule at Tirmid̲h̲ in ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate by the Hayāṭila [*q.v.*] or Hephthalites, the Turks and the Tibetans, according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1153 (year 85/704). In al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, ii, 362, and idem, *Buldān*, 301, tr. Wiet 124, the governor of K̲h̲urāsān D̲j̲arrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh received, in the reign of ʿUmar II (99-101/717-20), an embassy from Tibet requesting the despatch of missionaries to teach Islam there, and in idem, *Ta'rīk̲h̲*, ii, 479, the king of Tibet is mentioned among those rulers submitting to al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). It is further alleged, *op. cit.*, ii, 550, that the king of Tibet adopted Islam in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) and sent to K̲h̲urāsān as a token of his conversion a golden idol set on a throne; but in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 815, "al-K̲h̲āḳān, king of Tibet", figures as one of al-Ma'mūn's enemies with whom he had to come to terms before he could attack al-Amīn. For all these stories, see D.M. Dunlop, *Arab relations with Tibet in the eighth and early ninth centuries A.D.*, in *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, v [1973], 301-18.

It seems clear from these various mentions that the Arabs of that time generally understood by "Tibet" the region to the south of the Karakorum Mountains lying between Gilgit [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ladāk̲h̲ [*q.v.*] on the Indus headwaters, sc. Baltistān [*q.v.*], often called *Tubbat-i k̲h̲urd* "Little Tibet" and Bolor, the *Pulu* of such Chinese sources as Hiuen Tsang (Marco Polo traversed Bolor; see *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, [3]London 1903, i, 172, 178-9 and map). There were difficult but possible routes to it southwards from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and K̲h̲otan [*q.vv.*] (including that of the modern Karakorum Highway) and eastwards from Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān via Wak̲h̲ān [*q.vv.*] and across the Pamirs, and these are mentioned by the Islamic geographers. There is an account of the route from Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 92-3, comm. 255-6, also in Gardīzī, 264-5, al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āt̲h̲ār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 271, and Marwazī, ed. and tr. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, § 42, tr. 27-8, comm. 89-90, all going back to a common source, possibly the Sāmānid vizier al-D̲j̲ayhānī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. A "gate of the two Tibets", *bāb al-Tubbatayn* (presum-

ably of Little Tibet and Tibet proper), lay between Badakhshān and the upper Oxus or Pandj river, with a guard post where the Tibetans levied an entry due of 2.5% on goods, and the danger of mountain sickness when crossing the high passes is mentioned (whence, says al-Bīrūnī, the Tibetans call it "the mountain which poisons", *djabal al-samm*). At a village called Samarkandāk (probably with the sense "little Samarkand") at the farthest limit of Transoxania lived Indians, Tibetans, Wakhānīs and Muslims (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 121, comm. 309; it lay, in Minorsky's surmise, in the modern Sarḥadd district of Wakhān [*q.v.*], over which traffic goes to Gilgit and neighbouring areas).

These routes were important for the import into the Islamic world of the highly-prized, best-quality musk of Tibet [see MISK], where the musk-ox was raised, and this musk is mentioned in all the Muslim accounts of Tibet (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 352-6 = §§ 390-4; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, 225, tr. Bosworth, 142; Marwazī, 28-9, comm. 91-2). The other famous product of Tibet was gold nuggets, concerning which there is retailed the legendary detail that they were guarded by ants (a story found also in Herodotus and the *Mahābhārata*); W. Tomaschek conjected that the Issedones of the Eurasian steppe in pre-Christian times had got their famous gold for export from the Pamirs region and northern Tibet (*Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den Skythischen Norden*, in *SBWAW*, cxvi [1888], 752-3; cf. *PW*, ix/2, cols. 2235-46, art. *Issedoi* (Herrmann)).

But after the initial period of the sporadic Arab-Tibetan contacts in Transoxania and its eastern fringes the Muslims acquired some knowledge of Tibet proper. They correctly placed it between China, India and the land of the Turks, and knew that it had its own king and language. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 93, comm. 258, states that Lhasa (transcribed remarkably faithfully as *Lhāsā*) had numerous idol temples plus a mosque serving the few Muslims there; this is the first mention of the Tibetan capital in Islamic sources. Other names mentioned seem identifiable with the Koko Nor and Tsaidam regions of northern Tibet, whilst the place Zāb on a huge river which marks the eastern frontier of Tibet suggests a dim awareness of Tibet's borders with Szechwan and the upper Yangtse river basin.

The actual name Tibet (in such forms as William of Rubruck's and Marco Polo's *Tebet*) probably reached Christian Europe independently of the Muslims, brought by the European travellers across Eurasia to Mongolia in the 13th century, although the late 12th-century traveller Benjamin of Tudela (who himself never went further east than Baghdād) mentions it as *Tubbot* (tr. M.N. Adler, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, 59).

Rashīd al-Dīn's [*q.v.*] world-history, the *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, contains some references to Tibet. Tibet did not start to become Buddhist until the 7th century, but from the Mongol period onwards it was an important centre for the diffusion of that faith, and Rashīd al-Dīn expressly states that the Buddhist monks of Tibet (*bakhshīs*) enjoyed the greatest prestige (cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 24-5).

Once the Muslims had invaded northern India and had penetrated across the Gangetic plain to Bengal and Assam, i.e. by the late 6th/12th century, there was the possibility of raids into Tibet proper, uninviting though the land must generally have seemed. The commander of the Ghūrids Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaldjī (d. 602/1205-6 [*q.v.*]) from his base in newly-conquered Bengal, mounted a campaign against Bhutan and Tibet from Assam, but failed to make headway and had to return to Bengal (see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 560 ff.). Once Islam was established in Kashmīr [*q.v.*] (i.e. from the mid-8th/14th century), raids were made into Baltistān or Little Tibet. Towards the end of the 9th/15th century Tibet was invaded by Muslim rulers under pretext of a holy war, Little Tibet in particular. At this time, all the lands of Bolor and Tibet between Badakhshān and Kashmīr were subjected by Mīr Walī, general of the ruler of Kāshghar of the house of Dūghlāt, Abū Bakr (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Mīrzā Dūghlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, 320, 403). When Abū Bakr was overthrown by Saʿīd Khān (in 920/1514) the fortresses built in Tibet (in Ladakh) were abandoned by their garrisons and with their treasures seized by the Tibetans. Under Saʿīd Khān (920-39/1514-33), Tibet, Ladakh and the adjoining territories were invaded, first in 923/1517 by Mīr Mazīd and in 938/1532 by the Khān himself, accompanied by the historian Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*] (*op. cit.*, 417 ff.). In 939/1533 Ḥaydar Mīrzā tried to reach Lhasa, which he calls Ursang, where the largest temples were, but was forced to turn back at Askābrak (454), only a week's journey from Lhasa. Ursang is probably the Gursāng of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, where there were large temples of idols (tr. 94, comm. 262-3). That Gursāng is also mentioned separately from Lhasa is no evidence against this identification: the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is almost entirely compiled from written sources so that the same name often occurs twice in different forms, apparently from different sources. Later, as governor of Kashmīr (after 947/1540) Ḥaydar Mīrzā in 955/1548 undertook a campaign against Ladakh and Baltistān.

All this seems to show that Baltistān in the 10th/16th century was included in Tibet (according to the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, 436 it lay "between Tibet and Bolor") and was not yet a Muslim country. The idea adopted by Cunningham and later writers, including A. Francke (*A history of Western Tibet*, 90), that Baltistān was converted between 1380 and 1400 by the ruler of Kashmīr, Sikandar b. Hindal But-shikan (792-816/1390-1413 [*q.v.*]), must be rejected.

By the second half of the 10th/16th century, Islam was already a political force in Little Tibet. The ruler of Kapulu, ʿAlī Mīr Shīr Khān, succeeded in uniting all Baltistān under his rule; the land was cleared of idols and other remains of Buddhism. He later succeeded in conquering Ladakh also, but only temporarily. He was also the founder of Skārdū, capital of Baltistān; in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (405), Askārdū is only mentioned as the name of a pass on the road from Kashmīr which now no longer exists. Baltistān remained the only Muslim land inhabited by Tibetans, and since 1841 has been under the suzerainty of Kashmīr. There are said to be historical works in the language of the Baltīs. They also use a script of their own supposed to date from the time of their conversion to Islam; the characters, probably of Tibetan origin although influenced by Arabic, are written from left to right (Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, iii, 32-3; Francke, *op. cit.*, 89-90). The Baltīs from the first professed Shīʿism; but we learn from the *Baḥr al-asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (text in *ZVOIRAO*, xv, 235) that in the early years of the 11th/17th century the Sunna gained the upper hand, probably for a short time only. The king (his name is not recorded) who was converted to the Sunnī faith had his father and

brothers slain as heretics. Sunnī scholars were sent for from Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar. Thirty years later, in 1044/1634-5, news of these events was brought to Balk̲h̲ by a certain Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, who was related to the ruling house.

In *ca.* 1682, when Central Tibet was under the rule of the Kalmucks [*q.v.*], the celebrated K̲h̲od̲j̲a Apaḳ (his tomb is still revered in Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar), who had quarrelled with his K̲h̲ān Ismāʿīl (1081-93/1670-82), went to Lhasa, which he calls "town of D̲j̲ō" (*D̲j̲ū s̲h̲ahrī*) after a great statue of the Buddha. At his request, the Dalay Lama (in a Turkish manuscript we have the plural form: *Dalaylamalar*) gave him a letter of safe conduct to the K̲h̲ān of the Kalmucks, Galdan Bos̲h̲oktu. At the head of an army, which included the K̲h̲od̲j̲a, the K̲h̲ān invaded Kās̲h̲g̲h̲aria. Ismāʿīl K̲h̲ān was carried off a prisoner, and the rule given to the K̲h̲od̲j̲a (M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, i, 210, 212, 321, 326; *ZVOIRAO*, xv, 250).

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(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

2. Recent and contemporary history and ethnology.

Tibet (which the Muslims living there call *Tibbat* when they express themselves in Persian or Urdu) is a cultural region on the borders of India and China (between lats. 27° to 38° N., longs. 74° to 103° E.) The people speak Tibetan languages (of the Tibeto-Burmese group) and are steeped in Lamaist Buddhism. At the present time, this region is politically divided. It comprises, on the one hand, Tibet proper, now the Autonomous Province of Tibet in the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, it stretches out in two directions. It stretches extensively on the east and northeast towards the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Gansu, Qinqhai and Yunnan, which give a home to 2 million Tibetans, i.e. as many as are in the Autonomous Province. In the other direction, it stretches up to the political area controlled successively by the Mug̲h̲als and then by British India, but now divided. Several hundred thousands of Tibetans live there. In the west, across the Karakorum chain, Tibetans are to be found in northern Kas̲h̲mīr [*q.v.*], divided amongst a Pakistani-controlled zone which is totally Islamised [see baltistān; hunza; and gilgit, in Suppl.] and an Indian-controlled zone, about 48% Muslim [see ladāk̲h̲]. In the south, across the Himalayas, the region of Tibetan culture, remaining totally Buddhist, extends into the north of Nepal [*q.v.*], Bhutan and the upper valleys of India (incl. Sikkim) situated on each side of these countries.

Tibet proper was progressively unified with the help of the Mongols of the 15th-17th centuries under the authority of a head with both spiritual and temporal powers, the Dalai Lama. After 1720, it passed effectively under Chinese control. After the Younghusband military expedition of 1904, the British imposed a Resident in Lhasa who functioned there till 1949. In practice, Tibet was independent between the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911 and the Red Army's seizure of power in 1949. The Communist régime spread its effective control over the autonomous province of Tibet in 1959, involving the flight of the Dalai Lama, his government and a part of the country's élite, to India. In order to consolidate their control, the Chinese encouraged the planting of Chinese colonies in Tibet on a massive scale. Religious persecution was frequent, especially during the Cultural Revolution, which affected, amongst others, the Muslims.

Modern Tibetan society, within Tibet proper and on its margins alike, is very largely Buddhist. It is traditionally organised around clans, of which some are nomadic and some sedentary. It is hierarchical in structure. The noble clans making up the aristocracy dominate the peasants and nomads who form the commonalty. Artisans and those providing services, such as smiths, potters, butchers, fishermen, musicians, beggars, etc., make up classes regarded as inferior, forming something like castes. A remarkable feature is polyandry, which forms part of a social system of the type called "that of houses", the "house" being the basic unit whose property is indivisible; the brothers have to set up a single household round a single spouse in order to enjoy this property. This lay society was capped by a religious class, a sort of church made up of monks recruited through vocation and spread amongst several orders; they made up about one-fifth of the population.

Up against this Buddhist majority, there exists a very small minority of "Tibetan Muslims". This manner of referring to them covers several diverse populations: in Tibet proper, they are often made up of groups with outside origins. In the west, in Baltistān and Ladāk̲h̲, are to be found peoples of Tibetan origin and culture converted to Islam; in the northeast, within Chinese territory, one comes across both Tibetans converted to Islam and Muslims of Chinese culture. Below, we shall treat of the Muslims of Tibet proper, who may be divided into three groups: the Kas̲h̲mīrīs, the Chinese, and the G̲h̲arīb, the class regarded as inferior (for the other Muslims, see the *Bibl.*).

The Kas̲h̲mīrīs are the oldest-attested group and the best known. In Tibetan they are called *Kha-če* (< Pers. *k̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a*, in the sense of trader, and perhaps also, Ṣūfī), and by extension, this denotes all Muslims. The Kas̲h̲mīrīs trace their arrival in the land to the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama (1642-82), the organiser of modern Tibet. According to an oral tradition gathered at the end of the 19th century, a certain K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, after a competition in magic with the Dalai Lama, obtained permission for Muslims to settle in Tibet; this tradition recalls the hagiographic accounts of the famous K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Afaḳ, or K̲h̲od̲j̲a Apaḳ (see above, 1.), of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar, which also mention a magical contest with the Dalai Lama. The first Christian Roman Catholic missionaries who ventured into Tibet attest the presence of Muslim merchants in Lhasa and the main towns of central and western Tibet from the first half of the 17th century onwards, and these merchants were in competition with other Indian, Nepali and Armenian traders. Sometimes they came directly from Kas̲h̲mīr via Ladāk̲h̲, but more often they were part of a network of merchants who traded between India and China. Setting out from Benares and Patna in India, they had set up colonies in Kathmandu [see nepal] and, within Tibet, at Kuti, Gyantse, Shigatse and Lhasa, and as far as Sining in China. Their presence is also attested at Gartok in western Tibet. They traded in both large and small objects, such as the making of clothes and of personal adornments, and they also acted as bankers for the monasteries. Within them, there were three status levels: a majority of *zāʾīda* "those born" in Tibet to old-established families, held the highest place; then came a rich and influential minority, the *Lada-kha-če*, who had come from Ladāk̲h̲, who had the highly-lucrative monopoly of leading the *lop-čhak*, the caravan which every three years brought tribute from the Māhārād̲j̲a of Kas̲h̲mīr to the Dalai Lama; and thirdly, the *Siring-pa*, who came from other regions of India and were relegated to the lowest rank. The Kas̲h̲mīrīs enjoyed a wide degree of autonomy for running their

mosques and cemeteries, and also regarding justice, having for this a community chief called *'go-pa* or *dpon-po*, recognised as such by the Dalai Lama's government and supervised by the finance department (*rčis-khaṅ las khuṅ*). When the Chinese regained control of China in 1959, these Kas͟hmīrīs numbered at most a few thousands. Most of them then fled to India, where they claimed Indian nationality in vain, and, as stateless persons, they were dumped in a refugee camp at Srinagar in Kas͟hmīr where there is still a considerable number at the present time. The best-educated and most fortunate have found jobs in India, Pakistan and even Saudi Arabia; a few hundreds remained in (or in some cases, went back to) Tibet, where they continue to maintain their places of worship.

The second group is that of the Chinese Muslims, called *Ho-pa-ling Kha-če*, from the name of the quarter in Lhasa where they live, or rather, *Gya* (?) *Kha-če*, or finally, *Hui*, the general term in China for Muslims of Chinese language [see AL-ṢĪN]; they claim to have arrived at the beginning of the 18th century. Their presence is attested at Lhasa, at Shigatse and along the roads of the northeast leading to China. They traditionally kept eating-houses and were butchers; they also had land where they grew vegetables and reared animals for butchering. They likewise had religious and legal autonomy under a head, the *Ho-pa-ling dponpo*, who was responsible to the department of agriculture (*so-nam las khuṅ*). Since they were considered to be Chinese citizens, they remained in their homes in 1959. Their number at that time is unknown. All that is known is that, since the 1980s, there has been a new influx of Chinese Muslims into Tibet. In fact, the Muslims of western China, profiting by the liberalisation of the economy, have invested in the Tibetan economy; today, according to the lowest estimate, there are 5,000 Chinese Muslims in the single town of Lhasa alone (some authorities give figures of 20,000 to 30,000). These new traders get along with difficulty with the old-established Chinese Muslims; they also have tense relations with the Buddhist population, who consider them as exploiters.

There remains a third, very intriguing small group, considered socially inferior, the G͟harīb, here in the sense of "poor". They were more numerous in the 19th century, but in 1959 there were only a dozen families. It seems that these were the group corresponding to the *ragyapa* amongst the Buddhists, persons degraded socially for their crimes, and their descendants. They begged, and they acted as police and took charge of the guard and the punishment of condemned persons for the head of the Kas͟hmīrīs. They also had their own head, who was officially recognised as a kind of chief of police over all the Muslims; they received an annual subvention from the Tibetan government.

Adapted to Tibetan life, often married to converted Tibetan wives, speaking Tibetan as their maternal language, these Muslims had adopted Tibetan customs; but faithful to the law of Islam, they rejected polyandry. Under the Dalai Lama's government, the Muslim communities enjoyed their own religious and legal autonomy, and they were officially represented in the Dalai Lama's palace at the time of the celebration of the New Year. In general, these Muslims were largely tolerated by the Buddhist majority, who nevertheless used to consider them to be of inferior and impure status because of their practice of a non-Buddhist religion and because some of them followed the trade of butcher, which belonged to castes considered inferior. After 1959, these Muslim communities have had various fortunes; that of the Kas͟hmīrīs has been reduced; that of the Chinese Muslims continues to grow; what has happened to the G͟harīb is unknown.

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(M. GABORIEAU)

ṬUBNA, conventionally Tobna, the Roman Thubunae, a historic town of the central Mag͟hrib, now in northeastern Algeria, situated 4 km/2.4 miles south of modern Barika (between Barika and Bit͟ham). Being at the extreme eastern end of the S͟hoṭṭ Ḥodna and the Belezma mountains, it commanded all the eastern part of the Ḥodna basin, just as Zabi/Msīla commanded the western part. The waters of the Bit͟ham permitted irrigation there.

These advantages were of significance at two epochs, the Roman and the Arab ones. The Romans built the town of Thubunae, which became a *municipium* under Septimius Severus and with its citadel, it was able to protect the countryside from nomads. According to the itineraries, Ṭubna was a day's march from Makkara and from Ngāwus, two days' march from al-G͟hadīr, Msīla and Biskra, and five days from Bāg͟hā. In A.D. 427 the Count Boniface stayed there, during which time he had a meeting with St. Augustine. The Byzantines made it the chef-lieu of a district and built a vast fortress there. Nevertheless, the Arabs conquered it, probably at the beginning of the 8th century. For the next two centuries, under various Arab powers, Ṭubna had a great strategic importance. It had a garrison (*d̲jund*) and new walls, and was the strongest *point d'appui* for the central power when suppressing revolts of the Berber K͟hārid̲jites or repelling the S͟hīʿī Kutāma. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ag͟hlab, governor of Ṭubna, set out from here to conquer the province of Ifrīḳiya and to found the Ag͟hlabid line of governors. Later, it belonged to the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrids and then the Ḥammādids.

During all this time, Ṭubna was a prosperous and populous place. Al-Bakrī calls it the greatest town of the Mag͟hrib between Ḳayrawān and Sid̲jilmāsa, and says that it was surrounded by a brick wall, with monumental gateways, and flanked to the south by a stone-built fortress crowned by vaulted chambers, with cisterns and accommodation for officials. Inside the town was a street lined with shops and markets. Outside the wall extended the suburbs, a cemetery, and irrigated gardens and fields. The fertile lands had many cotton plants. However, with the westwards movement brought about by the Umayyad power in Cordova, it was preferred to exercise local power from a stronghold created further to the west, Msīla [see MASĪLA], to which Ṭubna was attached. The town thus lost some of its splendour, but retained its military role.

In the mid-11th century, the arrival of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*] dealt a decisive blow to its prosperity. According to Ibn K͟haldūn, "after having reduced the towns of Ṭubna and Masīla to ruins, and having expelled their populations, they fell on the caravanserais, farms and towns, razed them to the ground and made the area a vast desert". Ṭubna was never able to recover completely after this. Its importance declined whilst Biskra benefited, and it soon disappeared completely. Today, the site of Ṭubna stretches out as a vast open space, with extensive ruins, traces of a wall 950 m by 930 m, and remains of the Byzantine fortress. Thus a whole slice of the history of the Mag͟hrib lies within this site, one hardly as yet explored.

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TUBU, written in Arabic script as Tūbū, a people of the eastern Sahara.

They are distributed over an immense territory lying between the Libyan Desert, on the fringes of Egypt and Libya, in the east; the Ahaggar massif [*q.v.*] of southern Algeria in the west; the Fezzan [see FAZZĀN] region of southern Libya in the north; and the northern half of Chad [see ČAD, in Suppl.] and the adjacent fringes of Sudan in the east. In Fezzan, they constitute the greater part of the district of Gatrūn, and a few are still found in the Kufra oasis [*q.v.*]. The plateau of Djado [see D̲JĀDŪ], connecting the Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer [see TASSILI] with Tibesti, the massifs of Tibesti and Borkou [*q.vv.*] and the plateau of Ennedi, form a mountainous heartland for the Tubu, but they spread far southwards across the desert through strings of oases like those of Kawar [see KAWĀR and BILMA], through Bodele to Kanem [*q.v.*], hence along the course of the wadi of the Baḥr al-G͟hazāl almost to Lake Chad, and eastwards to Wādāy [*q.v.*].

The name Tubu or Tibbu was given by Europeans to all these peoples, but the various groups call themselves by particular names. Tubu is applied more particularly to the natives of Tibesti; in the Kanuri [*q.v.*] language, it means the people of Tū or Tibesti; the latter call themselves Tēda; in the same way are distinguished the Amma Borkuā (Borkū), the Kreda, Norea, Cheurafade in Wādāy and the Koeherda in the Baḥr al-G͟hazāl. From the linguistic point of view, two groups may be recognised, speaking dialects very different in vocabulary: the Tēda of Tibesti, and the Dazā settled in the southern districts. The Arabs give the latter the name of Gouran.

1. Social and religious organisation.

The Tubu are very distinct from the black Sudanese on the one hand, and the Arabs and Berbers on the other. They are as a rule of small stature, with a lean and slim body, dark skin, straight nose, sometimes aquiline, thin lips, and smooth hair. These physical characteristics are particularly strongly defined in the Tēda, who have remained isolated in their mountains. They are found scattered through the Dazā who are more or less mixed with negro blood. The poverty of their country dooms them to a wretched existence. Some are nomads, others sedentary. The main supplies come from the cultivation of the palm-tree and cereals in the *ennedi* or valleys with water, the rearing of goats in Tibesti and of cattle in the Chad region.

The Tēda also used to make some money by hiring out their camels: they acted as guides to caravans but were particularly given to brigandage whenever an occasion arose. This mode of life developed in them an extraordinary power of resistance to fatigue and privations, but also made them treacherous and cruel robbers, as European travellers from Nachtigal, who was the first to study them, onwards, are all agreed. The settled Tubu are found in groups, not as a rule large. They either dwell in little stone houses, covered with palm-branches, or in huts of wattle with roofs of thatch, or even in caves roughly furnished. The gardens adjoining the huts were cultivated by slaves, while the Tubu themselves fought and herded the flocks.

The Tubu are divided into two classes: the nobles or *maina* and the common people. Among the Tēda, the tribes are divided into suzerain and servile tribes. The former are three in number, the T͟homāg͟hera, the Gūnda, who have almost all emigrated to Fezzan, and the Tuzaba. The Sultan of Tibesti, the Derde or Dardai, who rules the country with the help of a council of nobles, is necessarily elected among the T͟homāg͟hara. Among the Tubu, on the other hand, as among the Sudanese peoples, the *Ḥaddād* (smiths and fishers and hunters) form a distinct caste, regarded as inferior and despised by all.

The Tubu are Muslim, but up to the 19th century their Islam seems to have been very nominal. It was from the efforts of the revivalist movement of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] that the Tubu received a much stronger awareness of their religion, so that Tubu elders often refer to their pre-Sanūsī period as their *d̲j̲āhiliyya*. Sanūsī influence remained strong until the mid-20th century, and in the early part of this century provided the religious impetus for Tubu resistance to French and Italian colonial penetration of the eastern Sahara. Nevertheless, at least until recent decades, Tubu have been lax in observing some of the precepts of Islam; fermented liquors were drunk, and the *diya* [*q.v.*] or blood-money was not accepted in compensation for homicide.

2. History.

We have only incomplete and fragmentary notes on the history of the Tubu. The Arab authors up to al-Maḳrīzī make no mention of them. Relying on a passage by this author reproduced by Leo Africanus, they were for long regarded as Berbers and they have been identified with the Bardoa, mentioned by both these geographers. Barth tried to reconcile this view with the fact ascertained by him of the affinity of the Tubu and Kanuri languages. On the other hand, it is now agreed that the Tubu originally lived in the Sūdān and were then driven into the Sahara. In any case, they seem to have played a fairly important role in the history of Kanem. Some of their clans took part with the Kanembon in the foundation of this kingdom. Down to the end of the 12th century the sultans of Kanem kept up the custom of marrying wives from the Tubu. A certain number of Tubu had settled in Kanem, which the tribes who had remained in Tibesti came to attack in the 13th century. Sultan Dūname II (618-57/1221-59) was forced into a seven years' war with them, out of which he emerged victorious but with the resources of his kingdom exhausted. In the 14th century the Tubu were the allies of the Būlaba and helped the latter to conquer Kanem. Settled in the lands around Lake Chad, they shared the fortunes of their neighbours [see BORNŪ; KANEM].

As for the Tubu of Tibesti, nothing precise is known about them till the 17th and 18th centuries, when they were raiding Fezzan and southwards to Bornū [*q.v.*]. The Tubu in Kufra were largely displaced *ca.* 1730 by invading Zāwiya and Ḥassūna Arabs from Tripolitania. In 1842 the Tubu in Tibesti had to defend themselves against the Arab Awlād Sulaymān, who had been expelled from Fezzan by the Ottomans and who now migrated to the region north of Kanem. The expansion of the Sanūsiyya southwards along the Benghazi-Kufra-Wādāy trade route took them through the heartlands of the Tubu, and a centre of the order was established 1899-1902 at Kūrū/Gourou in Borkou. The Sanūsiyya were the religious driving-power behind Tubu resistance to the French in Chad, who did not finally establish their control over the Tubu till 1920. For most of French rule (sc. until 1960), the Tubu of the far north of Chad remained under military rule. The Derde of the Tubu and other traditional rulers like the sultan of Wādāy co-operated with the colonial power and retained, or even increased, their political and religious authority. But the proclamation of the Republic of Chad in 1960 upset the balance of power within the country, one previously regulated by the French. It now tipped slightly in favour of the Bantu peoples of the south, whilst more radically-minded Muslims educated outside the country have been less sympathetic to the maintenance of traditional rulers' powers. For the ensuing conflicts and instability affecting the northern part of Chad, see ČAD, in Suppl.

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(G. YVER-[ED.])

3. Language.

Tubu is the name proposed by Nachtigal and introduced by J. Lukas for the language called usually in the French tradition (and also by J. Greenberg) Téda. It is spoken in the Republic of Chad and in adjacent parts of Nigeria and the Niger Republic (in Niger, also in the Kawar oasis, Chigaa group, and in the north, Brawia group) and in Libya. There is no general name for either the people or the language, which is divided into two main groups of dialects, those of the south and those of the north. In the related Kanuri language, the name Tu-bu ("people of Tibesti, since *-bu* is the pl. of the agent noun) designates only tribes speaking the southern dialect. The name Dazza (*dazza-ga* "the Dazza language") used for the southern dialects (e.g. by Le Coeur) is incorrect, insofar as it is used in the south to designate only a part of

the southern tribes, such as the Kaširda, Dugorda, Medeliya, Kumasálliya, etc.; cf. Lukas, 1953, p. XV. The name Tuda (vars. Téda, Toda) which also means "people of the Tu or Tibesti", in which the Tubu suffix *-da* is used to make an ethonym (cf. Lukas, *op. cit.*, 41), is only used for the northern group of dialects. The Arabs call certain Tubu tribes Gorʾān (in French usage, one sometimes finds "Goranes") and use the name "Amma (people of) Borkwa" for the Tubu living in Borku. In the 1930s it was estimated that there were *ca.* 200,000 Tubu speakers. Amongst the southern dialects one meets e.g. the dialect of Kašir-da of the Dazza group and that of Karada/Karra (Kre-da).

Certain religious and historical texts were written down in Arabic script. As everywhere, there exists a literature orally transmitted.

Tubu—or, more correctly, Tubu-Tuda—is amongst those African languages which have not yet been properly studied. Heinrich Barth gathered the first lexical and grammatical material in 1862, followed soon afterwards by Gustav Nachtigal, whose manuscript material was used by Johannes Lukas (1953). Gerhard Rohlfs gathered a certain number of words of the northern dialect; Henri Carbou published a dictionary and a certain number of phrases (1912); and P. Jourdan gave the first concise grammatical analysis of the language plus some texts (1935). The basic grammar is that of Lukas (1953), who studied the languages in the field in 1932-4 in the Bornu province of Nigeria with informants speaking the southern dialects; he also published a small collection of texts (1953-5). In 1950 Ch. Le Coeur published his *Dictionnaire* and in 1956 Ch. and M. Le Coeur produced their *Grammaire et textes Teda-Daza* on the northern dialects, a basic work.

Tone has a distinctive function in Tubu: *ámmà* "man" vs. *ámmá* "mankind", *búr* "to construct", *bùr* "to jump"; according to Le Coeur, the tonal system is simplified in the northern dialects.

Noun pls. are most often formed with *-a*, e.g. *bi* "land", pl. *bía*. Of cases, there are nom. in *-yi*, *-ye*, acc. in *-ga*, *-nga*, gen. in *-u*, *-ū*, *-o*, and dative in *-do*, *-du*, *-ru*; the case endings are originally postpositions.

The pronouns are:

S. 1. tobre, tare, tane, taní
2. nubre, nore, inta, enda, əndа, ənta
3. mure, mere, sígən, šigəni

Pl. 1. tobra, tara, tentá, tantái
2. nubra, nara, nentá, nentái
3. mura, mara, səgənta

The numerals in the Kaširda dialect are 1. *turòn*, 2. *ču*, 3. *akkuzú*, *aguzú*, 4. *tuzzṓ* (< 1+3), 5. *fṓú*, 6. *dessí*, 7. *túdusū* (< 4+3), 8. *wússū* (< 5+3), 9. *yisí* (cf. 6.), 10, *múrdem*, *múra*.

There are three conjugations: (a) with prefixes: 1. sing./pl. *ti*, 2. sing./pl. *ni*, 3. ø; (b) with suffixes and prefixes: 1. sing./pl. *-ər*, 2. sing./pl. *em*, 3. sing./pl. *ye-*; and (c) a periphrastic conjugation with an auxiliary verb *n* "to speak, think, be", belonging to the second conjugation treated as a suffix. The aorist has no affix: sing. 1. *ti-re* "I arrive", 2. *ni-re*, 3. *lli*, pl. 1. *ti-r-o*. 2. *ni-r-o*, 3. *ll-o*, *lli-du*. The perfect has the desinence *-de* (northern dialects) and *-d* (southern dialects): *la-n-ər-de* "I have seen", 2. *la-n-əm-me*, 3. *la-ye-n-ne*, etc. The progressive has *-i*, *-e* in the north and *-gi* in the south: 1. sing. *la-n-r-ę*, 2. *la-n-i*, 3. *la-yi-n-i*, etc.

Negative forms of the verb are *-o* in the north and *-ni*, *-ne* in the south, e.g. *la-n-ro* "I have not seen".

The prefix *t-/d-* forms passive and pronominal derived verbs, and *su-* forms causative verbs.

The normal word order for syntactic groups is SOV. Already in 1853 Barth discovered not only the close relationship of Tuda and Tubu but also a relationship between Tubu-Tuda and Kanuri. Reinisch, who later became a specially eminent scholar in the field of Cushitic languages, published in 1873 a study attempting to prove the monogenesis of the languages of the world, beginning from, amongst others, Tubu-Tuda. The thesis is unsustainable, but many scholars up to the present have investigated as a hypothesis genetic links between the Saharan languages and the Hamito-Semitic ones (e.g. Petrácek). In comparison with Kanuri, Tubu-Tuda retains certain archaisms, including the third conjugation with pronominal prefixes which links up with Béri/Zaghawa, e.g. Tuda 1. pl. *ti-n*, 2. pl. *-ni* and Zaghawa 1. pl. *te-*, 2. pl. *le* < **ne*, but it also shows some innovations, *inter alia*, in regard to the consonants. Together with Béri (Zaghawa), Berti and Beli (Bideyat), Tubu-Tuda and Kanuri form the language family earlier called "eastern Saharan languages" (Lukas 1939, i, 1951-2), later changed to "central Saharan" (Greenberg 1954). In regard to contacts with Arabic and Berber, borrowings from these are relatively few.

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(A. Zaborski)

TUDJĪB, Banū, an Arab family, several members of which achieved distinction in Muslim Spain both under the Umayyads and in the period of the *Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif* [*q.v.*], when two *taifas* led by them emerged, the Banū Hāshim of Saragossa and the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria.

Ibn Ḥazm in his *Djamhara* classifies the tribe of Tudjīb as part of Ḳaḥṭān or Yemen, established since the Arab conquest in the regions of Saragossa, Calatayud and Daroca, i.e. in the north-east of the peninsula, the Ebro valley, the "Upper Frontier" (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā* [see THUGHŪR. 2.]. The *nisba* al-Tudjībī survived the reconquista amongst the Mudéjares; thus in Arabic legal documents of the 12th century from Huesca or its district (Huesca had been reconquered in 491/1096 [see WASHḲA]), a good number of the Muslim witnesses have this *nisba.*

It seems that this northeastern region, with its capital at Saragossa, was largely settled by Arabs accounted Yemeni in genealogy, from the time when the leader of the opposition against the Syrian Ḳaysī Baldj [*q.v.*] in 124/742 was a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlḳama of Lakhm. It was a region held only with difficulty by the *amīrs* in Cordova, one frequently in rebellion, with the Yemeni chiefs at times intriguing with the Franks, as when Charlemagne was tempted to send an expedition against Saragossa in 778. From this same century members of the Banū Tudjīb are mentioned. According to Ibn Ḥazm, the Tudjībids who assumed power in the Upper March from the 4th/10th century onwards issued from a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muhādjir, whose brother had entered Spain with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 93/712; and before this century, another branch of Tudjībids, the Banū Salama, had for a while held local power at Huesca, until a rising provoked by their cruelties had in 182/798 put an end to their rule.

The Arab preponderance in the March came largely to an end at the close of the 8th century, when *muwallad* families like the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*], originally from the eastern part of the March, around Arnedo and Tudela, rose to prominence, Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Ḳasī being recognised as governor of Saragossa in 237/852. The *amīrs* in Cordova never ceased to intervene in the region, supporting faithful governors, trying to reassume control of various towns or to attack the Christians, but the history of the region during the 3rd/9th century is one of confusion, local revolts, changes of governors, etc., probably with important lines of the Arabs continuing even though *muwallads* held the centre stage there. It may possibly be that the central government wished to rely more on pure Arab support against the *muwallad* strength, for in the 870s the *amīr* Muḥammad attached the Banū Tudjīb to his service (*iṣṭanaʿa*), confirming their chief, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, over his own *ḳawm*, restoring to him several places in the March, notably Daroca and Calatayud, and entrusting to them the task of fighting for the central power against a payment of 100 dīnārs for each campaign. This alliance seems to have achieved the eclipse of the Banū Ḳasī, for after 276/889-90 the Tudjībids held the governorship of Saragossa, until 312/924 under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's son Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad, called al-Aʿwar or al-Anḳar.

The family's power was now solidly enough established for it to survive the centralising policies of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who launched expeditions of 323/935 and 325/937 with the aim of asserting direct central power over Saragossa and reducing the Tudjībids to obedience, especially as their head had recently allied with the Christian monarch of Leon, Ramiro II. The two Tudjībids ruling in Daroca and Calatayud were executed, but some fifty other members of the family were amnestied; Muḥammad b. Hāshim in Saragossa submitted and was allowed to retain his governorship on the favourable conditions that he broke off relations with the Christians, remained faithful to the caliph and paid tribute. A *ḳāḍī* of the town, Maʿn b. Muḥammad, who was a Tudjībid, is mentioned, and may have been a distant connection of the Banū Ṣumādiḥ branch, important in the 5th/11th century and amongst whom the unusual name Maʿn was common.

Shortly afterwards, Muḥammad b. Hāshim was captured temporarily by the forces of Leon at their victory of Simancas in 327/939, and after this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ceased to intervene personally in the March, leaving it to the great aristocratic military families there and conceding a considerable degree of autonomy to them. Amongst these families were the two branches of the Tudjībids at Saragossa and Daroca, Muḥammad b. Hāshim having received, before his death in 338/950, the titles of *wazīr* and *ḳāʾid* of the Upper March. Under al-Ḥakam II, the Tudjībids appear frequently in the pages of the extant part of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muḳtabis*, especially detailed on life at the court and in the central government for the years 360-5/971-5; it seems that the caliph, not wholly sure of their fidelity, tried to divert them into posts at court or into participation in the expeditions to the Maghrib.

It is difficult to follow the fortunes of the Tudjībids in the time of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir. In the latter's struggle of 369/980 with Ghālib, governor in Medinaceli, Tudjībids were found on both sides. One member of the family, Maʿn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, called *fāris al-ʿArab* "champion of the Arabs", was especially close to al-Manṣūr, who nevertheless eventually had him executed. The by now very numerous Tudjībids apparently kept their control of the March, although details of who filled which governorship there are lacking. They even extended their power, so that in 396/1006, a Tudjībid, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣumādiḥ, of a branch different from the main one, had managed to supplant at Huesca the *muwallad* Banū Shabrīṭ, who had held it for most of the 4th/10th century.

The same obscurity surrounds the circumstances of the beginnings of the Tudjībid *taifa* at Saragossa during the final crisis of the Umayyad caliphate, except that it was the branch which went back to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of Daroca, executed by the caliph in 325/937, which now came to power in the Ebro valley. This last had been one of al-Manṣūr's generals latterly and had been much involved in the intrigues and fighting of the various claimants and pretenders in the last days of the caliphate, possibly receiving from the first Ḥammūdid caliph ʿAlī al-Nāṣir (405-8/1015-18) the titles and honorifics of *al-Ḥādjib*, *al-Manṣūr* and *Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn*. He established a strong power on the March, expelling from Huesca Muḥammad b. Ṣumādiḥ, who retired to Valencia and whose son Maʿn founded a little later a *taifa* at Almeria [see ṢUMĀDIḤ, BANŪ, in Suppl.]. He surrounded himself with famous secretaries and nominated governors for secondary towns (including Sulaymān b. Hūd, future founder of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa [see HŪDIDS], now found first at Tudela and then at Lerida). He felt the pressure of Sancho the Great of Navarre, and it was probably this which led to an alliance with the Counts of Barcelona and with Castile, sealed by a matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties, apparently celebrated at Saragossa under the presidency of the Tudjībid *amīr.*

Al-Mundhir I's son Yaḥyā succeeded him briefly 414-20/1023-9, also with the title of *Ḥādjib* and the honorific of al-Muẓaffar, on the ʿĀmirid model, and was the first *taifa* ruler (apart from the Ḥammūdids) to mint his own coins, with his simple *ism* and title of *Ḥādjib*, and recognising as suzerains such figures

as the Ḥammūdid al-Ḳāsim al-Ma'mūn and the Umayyad caliph Hishām III al-Muʿtadd, established in Cordova in 420/1029. Yaḥyā's son and successor al-Mundhir II (420-30/1029-39) also minted dīnārs and fractional dīnārs, with his *laḳab* "of delegation", Muʿizz al-Dawla, and acknowledging Hishām III, to whom he gave protection at Lerida after his expulsion from Cordova in 422/1031 till his death there in 428/1036 and who served as a legitimising authority for his rule. Hishām's disappearance meant that a dirham of 430/1038-9 has al-Mundhir's own name plus a *laḳab* of caliphal resonance, al-Manṣūr.

These changes certainly had a political significance. In that same year, al-Mundhir II was assassinated by another Tudjībid, a military commander called ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam, on the pretext that al-Mundhir had refused to recognise the "false caliph" Hishām II who had been proclaimed at Seville by the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] in 427/1035 and who had been theoretically recognised by various other heads of *taifas*. This ʿAbd Allāh belonged to the branch of the governors of Saragossa in the 4th/10th century, Muḥammad al-Anḳar, etc., with a common ancestor of the two lines in the later 3rd/9th century. Leaving aside the question of the recognition of the "false" Umayyad caliph of Seville, the incident seems to point to internal rivalries within the Tudjībid family, at the side of their tribal cohesion; the *Bayān al-mughrib* states that other Tudjībids had reproached al-Mundhir II for being the son of a Berber mother, from the lineage of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids of Toledo, leading one to think that the Tudjībids remained generally endogamous and considered Yaḥyā's marriage as a misalliance.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam, in line with his apparent "political programme", minted money (dirham of 430/1039) in the name of the Umayyad caliphal claimant Hishām al-Mu'ayyad, with his own name appearing merely as *al-Ḥādjib* ʿAbd Allāh. But the murder of his predecessor seems to have provoked a reaction and even a rising against him in Saragossa. The *amīr* of Toledo, Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, maternal uncle of the dead man, and Sulaymān b. Hūd, a commander, also of Yemeni lineage and one who appears to have been the most influential person in the amīrate, marched on Saragossa, and after a twenty-eight days' reign, the last Tudjībid had to flee for refuge in the fortress of Rueda de Jalón, and at an uncertain date, probably in Muḥarram 431/October 1039, the second *taifa* dynasty at Saragossa began, that of the Banū Hūd.

The subsequent fate of ʿAbd Allāh is unknown, although the Banū Ṣumādiḥ subsisted in Almeria, and it may be that certain members of the family from Saragossa reached the Almeria court. According to the *Bayān*, when the first ruler there, Maʿn b. Ṣumādiḥ, died in 443/1052, "his cousins the Tudjībids" replaced him by his son Muḥammad. We have no information on the Tudjībid family members in the Ebro basin, although as we have seem, the *nisba* survived there widely. Also, at least one other family of prominence, the Banū Abī Dirham, *ḳāḍīs* at Huesca for almost the whole of the 5th/11th century, claimed membership of the Banū Tudjīb.

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al-TUDJĪBĪ, ʿAlam al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Balansī al-Sabtī (b. at Ceuta *ca.* 670/1271, d. *ca.* 730/1329), North African scholar and author of a *Barnāmadj*.

He studied in Ceuta with Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ, al-Ḳabtūrī, Ibn al-Muraḥḥal and Ibn al-Shāṭ. He travelled to the East and to al-Andalus, studying with famous masters, especially in the field of *Ḥadīth*. He wrote several works, including a *taḳyīd* on the *Muʿdjam mashāʾikhihi fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī al-Tūnī (d. 705/1306) and another work called *al-Targhīb fī 'l-djihād* dedicated to the Marīnid sultan Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān; but the works which made his reputation were a *riḥla* called *Mustafād al-riḥla wa 'l-ightirāb* (publ. by ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr, Libya-Tunis 1395/1975), of which only the second part is extant, and a *Barnāmadj* or *Mashyakha* (publ. by idem, Libya-Tunis 1981), studied by A. Ramos.

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A. Ramos, including in *Arabica*, xxiv (1977), 291-8, in *Awrāq*, iii (1980), 32-43, and in *Al-Qanṭara*, vii (1986), 107-34. (MARIBEL FIERRO)

TUDMĪR, a *kūra* or province in the southeast of al-Andalus in the Umayyad period. The name is derived from that of Theodemir (or Theudimer), the last Visigoth governor, who delivered the province into the hands of the invading Muslim troops.

The province of Tudmīr has been identified with Aurariola, which is mentioned in the anonymous author of Ravenna (7th century), one of the eight provinces which make up the *Spanorum patria*. The capital of the province appears to have been Orihuela [see URYŪLA], where Theodemir lived in earlier times. However, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, it passed to Murcia which was itself founded in 210/825 (R. Pockington, *Precisiones acerca de la fecha de la fundación de Murcia*, in *Hom. Prof. Torres Fontes*, Murcia 1987, 1327-32). With the fall of the Umayyad state the region lost the "official" name of Tudmīr and adopted the name of Murcia, its principal town. Nevertheless, the name Tudmīr seems to have been used occasionally to refer to the region as a geographical entity.

In this regard, much light can be found from evidence produced from biographical dictionaries. In the Umayyad period there was a preference for the name of the province rather than that of the town to indicate a place of origin for the individuals cited; see e.g. the *Akhbār al-fuḳahā'* of Ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 361/971), where we find Tudmīr three times, but never Murcia; or again the *Ta'rīkh* of Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012), where Tudmīr appears twenty times and Murcia twice; in the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) the name Tudmīr had almost completely disappeared (only seven people are reported to have come from Tudmīr), though by contrast Murcia is mentioned more than 110 times, this name being used not only to designate the town but also the region or the district.

Very little is known for certain about the character of Theodemir. Attempts have been made to identify him with a certain Theodemir who is mentioned in the Acts of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo, but it is impossible to know whether that is the same person. Elsewhere, in a passage in the *Crónica mozárabe del 754*, he is reputed to have put to flight a Byzantine expedition during the joint reign of Egica and Witiza (700-2). However, this particular passage, which also contains an allusion to the treaty with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and other interesting information, appears to be an interpolation, and this throws its reliability into question. Finally, an Arab source like Ibn Ḥabīb (ed. J. Aguadé, 137) presents him as the lieutenant of the last Visigothic king, Roderic, mentioning him in connection with the Muslim landing in Spain.

The only fact which is historically reliable is that Theodemir at the time of the Muslim conquest was the governor of a region to which he was to give his name, and that he surrendered to the invading troops by concluding a treaty with them. This pact, concerning whose terms see the bibliography below, has been preserved in four different versions in Arab sources, as well as in translation in a Spanish source. They all agree on the fact that the Pact of Tudmīr was concluded in the month of Radjab 94/April 713, between Theodemir and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*].

Since the historicity of this text is generally acknowledged, no-one seems to have noticed that the Arab chroniclers provided another account of the event which in no way confirms the authenticity of the Pact of Tudmīr. In fact, there are in existence two different versions of this affair. The first probably originated in the work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī (d. 344/955) and is reproduced in numerous Arab chronicles such as *Bayān* of Ibn ʿIdhārī, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Nafḥ* of al-Maḳḳarī, the *Akhbār madjmūʿa* or the fragment attributed to Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ; it is even in Christian sources like the *De rebus Hispanie* of Jiménez de Rada and the *Crónica de 1344* (which recapitulates passages of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*). This version is the most detailed and consistently indicates that the conquest of Tudmīr was led by a contingent of the army which had disembarked with Ṭāriḳ [*q.v.*] in 92/711, and that after having dislodged Theodemir in the open country they surrounded him in Orihuela, where he ended up surrendering on reputedly favourable terms. The second version, attributed to Muʿāwiya b. Hishām al-Shabānisī (4th/10th century) and transmitted by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076 [*q.v.*]), identifies the conqueror of Tudmīr as a son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr by the name of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, and not ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Ibn ʿAskar, in J. Vallvé, *Une fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus*, in *And.*, xxxi [1966], 244-5; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, i, 100; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 275).

Within an historical narrative the Pact of Tudmīr is only mentioned twice. It occurs in the *Tarṣīʿ* of al-ʿUdhrī (4, tr. E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmīr según al-ʿUdrī (s. iv)*, in *CHI*, iii [1972], 53-60), and in the *Crónica de 1344* (153-4). In both these instances it seems clear that the text of the Pact has been interpolated *a posteriori* in favour of the use of a pre-existing narrative, which not only did not contain this passage but which also set out the facts in a form which is incompatible with the established facts of the Pact: in the *Tarṣīʿ*, and also in the *Crónica*, it is a question of the narrative of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, clumsily modified with the deceptive intention of making it accommodate the terms of the Pact. The difference between al-ʿUdhrī and the *Crónica de 1344* lies in the place chosen for the interpolation. Whereas the geographer of Almeria kept the chapter given over to the conquest of Tudmīr by the forces of Ṭāriḳ, the translators of the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, from which the *Crónica de 1344* was incontestably taken, preferred the passage where ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz appeared for the first time, when he was sent by his father from Mérida to reconquer Seville. However, as already observed, the modifications made were not very successful in that al-ʿUdhrī, the only one to reproduce the paragraph about the conquest of Tudmīr, forgot to suppress the sentence of al-Rāzī. In this he indicated that after the capture of Orihuela, the Muslims had written to Ṭāriḳ to give him an account of the victory without realising that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz would logically have had to write to his father, who at that time was in Andalusia, where he was thought to have concluded the Pact. The *Crónica de 1344*, on the other hand, adopted the entire narration of al-Rāzī on the conquest of the Iberian peninsula by the Muslims, without realising that the region of Tudmīr, thanks to the interpolation, appeared to have been conquered twice, the first time by the forces of Ṭāriḳ and the second time by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā, who suddenly reappears on the scene having been sent by his father to Seville, fighting against the people of Orihuela. Whether or not it is authentic it is clear that the Pact of Tudmīr is a document which does not completely tally with what the Andalusian chroniclers relate about the Muslim conquest.

As for Theodemir, we see him subsequently marrying off his daughter to a client of the Umayyads,

ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Khaṭṭāb, who came to Andalusia with the troops of Baldj in 123/741. He in turn, after living for a time in Cordova, moved to Tudmīr, where he married the previously-mentioned daughter of Theodemir. His descendants, the Banū Khaṭṭāb, formed one of the richest and most important families of the region, but it is not certain that the eponym Khaṭṭāb b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār was the outcome of the marriage of his father with the daughter of Theodemir (L. Molina, *Los Banū Jaṭṭāb y los Banū Abī Ŷamra (siglos ii-viii/viii-xiv)*, in *EOBA*, v [1992], 289-307). For the general history of the region, see MURSIYA.

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(L. MOLINA)

ṬŪFĀN [see NŪḤ].

TUFANG [see BĀRŪD. v.].

ṬUFAYL B. ʿAWF, or b. Kaʿb, b. Khalaf, Abū Ḳurrān, al-Ghanawī (Ghanī being a clan of Ḳays ʿAylān), also designated al-Muḥabbir and Ṭufayl al-Khayl on account of the prominence which he accorded the horse in his descriptive verses, pre-Islamic poet, apparently of a middle Djāhilī floruit, and of an age with Aws b. Ḥadjar. He often vies with this latter for originary status of the "inter-tribal chain of *ruwāt*" (for which designation, see J.E. Montgomery, *The deserted encampment in ancient Arabic poetry: a nexus of topical comparisons*, in *JSS*, xl [1995], 283-316), which stretched in an unbroken line of succession to at least Kuthayyir ʿAzza, if not al-Farazdaḳ [*q.vv.*]. According to Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 210, on the authority of Abu 'l-Faradj in the *Aghānī*, his death is to be dated to after *ca.* A.D. 608, as indicated by a threnody for Huraym b. Sinān. Krenkow (*Tufail al-Ganawī*, in *JRAS*, [1907], 816-20) established a connection between a *bā'iyya* by the *mukhadram* [*q.v.*] Zayd al-Khayl (chieftain of a clan of Ṭayyi' [*q.v.*]), in celebration of a victorious raid inflicted upon the ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], whose confederates the Ghanī were, and the splendid *bā'iyya* of 77 verses which Ṭufayl dedicated to a punitive raid on the Ṭayyi'. This flyting is the first *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] in al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar's anthology *Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārayn* (ed. Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa, Damascus 1974) [see MUKHTĀRĀT. i]. It is this version of the poem (it contains three more verses than the version recorded in Ṭufayl's *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Aḥmad, Beirut 1968) which Krenkow (*op. cit.*) mistakenly identified as "a poem from the Aṣmaʿiyyāt in the recension and with the comments of Ibn al-Sikkīt", a mistake which persists in his incomplete edition and translation of the *dīwān* (*The poems of Ṭufail ibn ʿAuf al-Ghanawī and aṭ-Ṭirrimāḥ ibn Ḥakīm aṭ-Ṭā'yī*, London 1927).

Ṭufayl's surviving works are occasional, predominantly celebrating the bellicose achievements of his tribe, especially those inflicted on the Ṭayyi'. Their occasional nature attests to the perseverance, in his poems and those of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī [*q.v.*], of a tradition in contradistinction to the camel cult which dominates much of late Djāhilī verse, a tradition persisting in the celebration of the horse as aristocratic and cultural emblem.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.E. MONTGOMERY)

ṬUFAYLĪ (A.), in mediaeval Arabic literature an uninvited guest and/or a social parasite, whose behaviour constitutes *taṭfīl*.

The *ṭufaylī* was one of the most popular character types in the Arabic *adab* genre. This genre, designed to be at once informative and entertaining, possessed a distinctive discourse in which verse and prose co-existed with materials ranging from the legal to the philosophical, but where the anecdote reigned supreme. *Adab* works extended from the monographic (dealing with one subject or character type) to the encyclopaedic (with various subjects and characters), through the intermediate (with one character trait displayed in a variety of social types).

The *ṭufaylī* appears in all these *adab* texts, taking his place alongside other character types, such as misers and wise fools. In the encyclopaedic and intermediate *adab* collections, which tend to be organised in a descending hierarchical social order, these types appear at the end of the works with other marginal persons like women.

The monographic books, dedicated as they are to one character type, in this case the *ṭufaylī*, are more comprehensive in their vision. The classic text, that of the polymath al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071 [*q.v.*]), treats the reader to a variety of materials describing the *ṭufaylī*. This view is confirmed by the encyclopaedic volumes as well as by *al-Ḳawl al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-taṭfīl* of al-Aḳfahsī (d. 808/1405).

Taṭfīl in the mediaeval Arab-Islamic imagination was broadly-based. In the anecdotal literature, it could cover a variety of actions, with the *ṭufaylī* being someone who abused a situation of hospitality. The actions could range from coming uninvited to social functions, to consuming more than one's share of food or drink, or even to overstaying one's welcome. This more social component of the act combines with a psychological element manifested in the *ṭufaylī*'s obsessive attachment to food.

The anecdotal data is enriched by lexicographical information. In addition to the derivation of the word (either a *nisba* referring to Ṭufayl, a man of Kūfa who attended receptions without an invitation, or as a noun derived from the verbal root *ṭ-f-l*), the lexicographical materials make a distinction between someone who comes in uninvited while people are eating (*wārish*) and one who comes in uninvited while people are drinking (*wāghil*). Other terms define the act of taking out food or treat of greediness or overeating. These terms appear to be restricted to the

lexicographical domain, while the generic term of *ṭufaylī* covers all these acts in the anecdotal literature. Like many other *adab* categories, *taṭfīl* features a prototypical character who embodies the values inherent in the category: Bunān. Bunān serves not only as a hero of anecdotes but as an eloquent spokesman, justifying *taṭfīl* and giving advice to the potential *ṭufaylī*.

But an uninvited guest could find comfort in the fact that the Prophet Muḥammad himself brought uninvited guests along with him to functions to which he had been invited. *Ḥadīth*s mentioning this endow *taṭfīl* with a morally ambiguous flavour, itself tied to the high value of hospitality in Arab culture. This moral ambiguity permits the *ṭufaylī* to be a ludic character who can play with, among others, legal and theological materials. The wit inherent in such games brings the *ṭufaylī* close to many of his textual neighbours in classical Arabic literature.

Bibliography: Aḳfahsī, *al-Ḳawl al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-taṭfīl*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿĀshūr, Cairo 1989?; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-ṭufayliyyīn wa-akhbāruhum wa-nawādir kalāmihim wa-ashʿāruhum*, ed. Kāẓim al-Muẓaffar, Nadjaf 1966; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Structure and organization in a monographic Adab work: al-Taṭfīl of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, in *JNES*, xl (1981), 227-45; eadem, Maqâmât *and* Adab: "*Al-Maqâma al-Maḍīriyya*" *of al-Hamadhânî*, in *JAOS*, cv (1985), 247-58. (Fedwa Malti-Douglas)

AL-ṬUFAYLĪ, Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān, called Ibn Darrādj, a client of the Yemeni tribe of Kinda, a fantastic character, something of a poet, who lived in the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (early 3rd/9th century).

He was one of various people with this nickname of al-Ṭufayl(ī) "parasite, intruder at a feast", the first said to have been a Kūfan called Ṭufayl al-ʿArāʾis (or al-Aʿrās), from the Banū ʿAbd Allāh of Ghaṭafān, who lived in Umayyad times [see ṬUFAYLĪ]. Like others of this class, Ibn Darrādj was a shameless intruder at feasts to which he had not been invited; and as an *adīb* and poet of some talent, he was numbered amongst the wittiest of the parasites. In the notice on him in the *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub, xvi, 251-3), Ahu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī gives several amusing anecdotes about this amusing character, even buffoon. Concerning how he would act if he were forbidden to enter a house where a feast was taking place, he replied, "I would kick up such a noise with my lamentations that the master of the house would see this as an evil augury and, in the end, let me in". He related that, one day, in the company of his son, he met a funeral cortège in which was a woman, weeping in these terms, "They are taking him to a place where he will have neither bed, nor carpet, nor hospitality, nor bed covering, nor bread and wine". His son said to him, "Father, they must be leading this cortège to our own house!".

Ibn Darrādj was clearly proud of his role as a *ṭufaylī*, since two verses lauding *taṭfīl* (the status of parasite) are attributed to him:

"O joy of being a parasite, may you last for ever, become rooted within me and never leave me,

For it is you which fulfils my wishes and consoles me in my cares".

Bibliography: See also *LʿA*, s.v. *ṭ-f-l*; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1348/1949, iii, 221; Fouad Boustany, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 57. (A. Ben Abdesselem)

TUFFĀḤ (A.) is the apple, *Pyrus malus, Rosaceae.* It descends from the asiatic Pyrus species and has spread in numerous varieties and cultivated forms, which have their centre of frequency in the Caucasus and in Turkestan. Most authors name the Syrian apples as the best ones, e.g. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, ed. de Jong, 95: "To Syria's particularities belong the apples. They are proverbial because of their beauty and scent. Every year 3,000 crates of these apples are delivered to the caliphs. It is said that those of ʿIrāḳ have a stronger scent than those of Syria"; and *ibid.*, 132: "The widely-travelled Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī declares in a disputation that he could not wish for himself anything better than Syrian apples. The caliph al-Maʾmūn is said to have declared: 'The apple combines gleaming yellow, golden red and silvery white. The senses enjoy it: the eye because of its beauty, the olfactory organ because of its scent (*ʿarf*), the sense of taste because of its goût'" (al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, i, 250, ll. 11-13). Numerous poetic verses on the apple are given by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 162-7.

The next-best varieties, according to the geographers, were *al-tuffāḥ al-iṣfahānī, al-ḳūfānī* (from Bayt Ḳūfā near Damascus, and thus a variety of the Syrian apple), then *al-malaṭī, al-miskī, al-dāmānī* (from Dāmān in Mesopotamia). For these names, see de Goeje's glossary in *BGA*, iv, 197. The last-mentioned variety is also praised hy Yāḳūt: it is said to be proverbial because of its redness. For the excellent culture of apples in Persia, see Schwarz, *Iran*, 879-80, where a long list of places of origin is given. Because of their long storage life, these apples could be transported over long distances. The fact that they were given as valuable presents in Baghdād is also an indication of their great value. It is said that, at Iṣṭakhr, apples were grown whose one half had a sweet taste, the other a sour one.

In Egypt, on the other hand, the indigenous apples were said to be small and bad, and to have been but little cultivated (ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Ifāda*, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1810, 36, 117). In former days, it must have been as it is now: the Egyptian apples ripen early and quickly and therefore are not tasty (M. Schnehel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, 314). It seems, however, that the cultivation of apples in Egypt was quite important in the early Islamic period, e.g. in the monastery of St. Antony, see Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, tr. Evetts, Oxford 1895, 160; for references from Arabic papyri, see A. Grohmann, in *ArO*, xiv, 213. In the *funduḳ Dār al-Tuffāḥ* of the fruit market in Cairo, the imported apples were stored, auctioned and resold (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, ii, 89, 102-3). The list in Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 118, shows that the word *tuffāḥ* can also indicate quite different plants.

In pharmacology, it was mainly the skin that was used. The carrier of the scent of ripe apples is the ethereal oil in the skins. The leaves, blossoms and twigs are astringent, the unripe fruit more so than the ripe ones. The juice squeezed from the leaves is useful against poisons, while the blossoms strengthen the brains "in a miraculous way". Sābūr b. Sahl, *al-Aḳrābādhīn al-ṣaghīr*, ed. O. Kahl, Leiden 1994, describes some preparations: fruit purée of apples (*djawārish al-tuffāḥ*), no. 255, apple juice (*sharab al-tuffāḥ*), no. 318, and apple sauce (*rubb al-tuffāḥ*), no. 327.

Bibliography: Isḥāḳ b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī, *K. al-Aghdhiya*, Frankfurt 1986, ii, 186-90 (almost wholly citations from Galen); Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt 1992, iv, 163-4; Idrīsī, *al-Djāmiʿ li-ṣifāt ashtāt al-nabāt*, Frankfurt 1995, ii/2, 476-7; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 86, 87, with many examples.

(A. Dietrich)

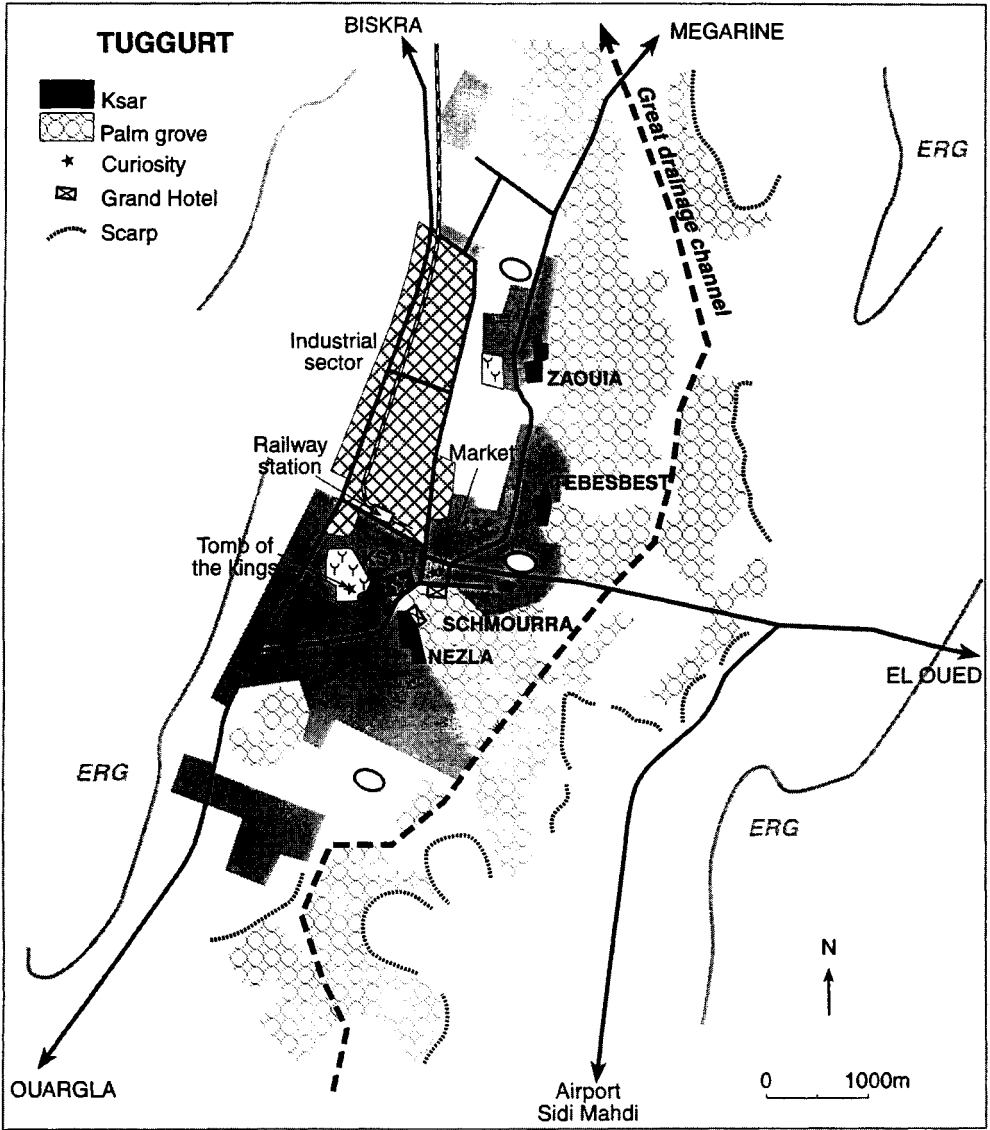
AL-ṬŪFĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN ABU 'L-RABĪʿ SULAYMĀN B. ʿABD AL-ḲAWĪ B. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ṣarṣarī al-Baghdādī (b. 675/1276-77 [?], d. Radjab 716/Sept.-Oct. 1316), Ḥanbalī legal scholar, especially in *uṣūl*, known in modern times particularly for his *maṣlaḥa* (public interest) theory. The vocalisation "al-Ṭawfī", used in Brockelmann and a number of other Western sources, is incorrect (see Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 249).

He was born in an otherwise unattested town Ṭūfā, near Ṣarṣar, which in turn is not far from Baghdād. He had his first education in grammar and Ḥanbalī *fiḳh* in his home town and in Ṣarṣar. In 691/1282-3 he moved to Baghdād, where he continued his study of grammar and *fiḳh* and also attended courses in *ḥadīth* and other fields, including logic. After an interlude in Damascus, where he arrived in 704/1304-5 and studied with *inter alios* Ibn Taymiyya and the *ḥadīth* scholar al-Mizzī [*q.vv.*], he moved on to Cairo in 705/1305-6 (Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, ii, 367; the date 707/1307-8, given by Ibn Maktūm *apud* Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Muntakhab*, 59, is incorrect), where he studied *ḥadīth* with ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Khalaf (d. 705/1306 [see AL-DIMYĀṬĪ]), law with the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī (d. 711/1312), and grammar with Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344 [*q.v.*]). Al-Ḥārithī appointed him as *muʿīd* in the al-Manṣūriyya and al-Nāṣiriyya *madrasas*. In Radjab 711/Nov.-Dec. 1311 he found himself in jail, as we know from some of the colophons of the ms. Berlin, Landberg 752, a collection of short treatises by al-Ṭūfī. From the biographical sources we know that he had been accused of Shīʿī leanings (*rafḍ*, including *sabb al-ṣaḥāba*) and that he had a fall-out with Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥārithī, although which of these two events came first is unclear in the sources. At any rate, his case was referred to the authorities and he was subjected to a series of correctional punishments, including a few days in jail. It is almost certain that these two jailings are one and the same, especially since one of the pieces he wrote in the Sidjn Raḥbat Bāb al-ʿĪd was an *ʿaḳīda*—a common procedure for persons who wanted to demonstrate their "orthodoxy". He was also banned from Cairo to Damascus, where, however, due to a invective he had written against the Damascenes, he could not go. So he went instead to Damietta and then to the town of Ḳūṣ in Upper Egypt, a strongly Christian town in his time. There he read, as al-Adfuwī tells us (*apud* Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, ii, 250), most of the books available in the local libraries, and there he also wrote a number of his own books. At the end of 714/March 1315 he went on his pilgrimage, stayed in Mecca and Medina for the year and repeated the *ḥadjdj*. In Medina he sought the acquaintance of al-Sakākīnī, the foremost Imāmī scholar there (as reported by the historian of Medina, al-Maṭarī (d. 741/1340), *apud* Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, ii, 370). From there he travelled to the Holy Land where he died in the city of Hebron.

From among the more than fifty known works of al-Ṭūfī, nineteen have been preserved, and of these nine have been printed. The bulk of his literary output is in the field of *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, but as a polymath he wrote in many other fields, as well. His published works include: (1) *al-Bulbul fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (Riyāḍ 1383 [1983] and reprints), a summary (*mukhtaṣar*) of *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-djunnat al-munāẓir* of Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (d. 620/1223 [*q.v.*]); (2) *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, 3 vols., Beirut 1407/1987), his commentary on his own summary; (3) *K. al-Taʿyīn fī sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn* (ed. A.Ḥ.M. ʿUthmān, Beirut 1998), an excerpt of which has been published earlier several times (most recently as *Risālat al-Imām al-Ṭūfī fī taḳdīm al-maṣlaḥa fī 'l-muʿāmalāt ʿalā 'l-naṣṣ* [annot. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī al-Dimashḳī, ed. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, Cairo 1966]), because in it al-Ṭūfī uses the tradition *lā ḍarar^a wa-lā ḍirār^a* as a legal maxim from which he constructs a bold theory of utility (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) which, he says, can supersede textual proofs; (4) *ʿAlam al-djadhal fī ʿilm al-djadal* (ed. W. Heinrichs, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1408/1987), a treatise on the art of disputation, in which the largest chapter is devoted to a technical treatment of all disputations contained in the Ḳurʾān; (5) *al-Iksīr fī ʿilm al-tafsīr* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Ḥusayn, Cairo 1977), on the various disciplines, mainly linguistic, that contribute to a correct interpretation of the Ḳurʾān; (6) *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-Naṣrāniyya* (ed. Aḥmad Ḥidjāzī al-Saḳḳā, as *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī ʿilm muḳāranat al-adyān*, Cairo 1983), a refutation of a Christian attack on the Ḳurʾān; (7) *Mawāʾid al-ḥays fī fawāʾid Imriʾ al-Ḳays* (ed. Muṣṭafā ʿUlayyān, ʿAmmān 1414/1994), an original literary critique of the poetry of Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]; (8) *al-Ṣaʿḳa al-ghaḍabiyya fī 'l-radd ʿalā munkiri 'l-ʿarabiyya* (ed. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Fāḍil, Riyadh 1997); (9) *Tafsīr Suwar Ḳāf, al-Ḳiyāma, al-Nabaʾ, al-Inshiḳāḳ, al-Ṭāriḳ* (ed. ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb, Riyadh 1992).

The strangest feature of al-Ṭūfī's life was that he, a Ḥanbalī jurist, was accused of Shīʿī leanings. One possible explanation would be that he really was a Shīʿī and practiced Ḥanbalī jurisprudence out of *taḳiyya*. This is not very likely, for three reasons: (a) Shīʿī scholars who practiced Sunnī law usually opted for the Shāfiʿī school; (b) he is not mentioned in the Shīʿī biographical literature before al-Kh^wānsārī (d. 1313/1895) (*Rawḍāt*, iv, 89-90), who takes his information from al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, i, 599-600) and expresses doubts about al-Ṭūfī's Shīʿism; and (c) some of the pieces of evidence adduced to prove his *tashayyuʿ* are clearly misattributed to al-Ṭūfī (cf. Heinrichs, *Ǧadal*). It seems to be closer to the truth if we see al-Ṭūfī as someone who is pained by the rifts in the Muslim community and tries to "rethink" Islamic history in order to rectify, at least mentally, the mistakes that were made in the past. He is, after all, part of the Ḥanbalī renaissance that flourished as a religious and intellectual rallying-cry within, and against, the general climate of anxiety following the Mongol catastrophe. In his endeavour to do justice to other points of view he may have appeared too lenient to the more narrow-minded. His tendency to look for common ground is evident also from the fact that, in contradistinction to his teacher Ibn Taymiyya, he wrote a defence of logic and *kalām*, *Dafʿ al-malām ʿan ahl al-manṭiḳ wa 'l-kalām* (not extant, quoted in *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya* [see below], ms. Cairo, Dār, 687 *tafsīr*, fol. 195b). His "Christian" work is also of note in this respect. He is one of the few Muslim scholars who actually read in both the Old and New Testaments and, before he embarked on the above-mentioned refutation of a Christian polemic, he wrote critical annotations on the four Gospels, *al-Taʿālīḳ ʿalā 'l-anādjīl al-arbaʿa* (mss. Istanbul, Köprülü 795, 2, and Şehit Ali 2315, 4) which also contain an appendix with notes on Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, and the twelve minor prophets. Although he is obviously intent on proving the incorrectness and internal contradictoriness of the Christian religion, he does suggest in another place the strange idea that Jesus might have been an angel rather than a prophet and that it was for this reason that his followers took him for a god (*ʿAlam al-djadjal*, 154).

One of his methods to insure the legitimacy of cer-

tain intellectual pursuits is to anchor them in the Ḳur'ān. He does so in his work on disputation (see above) and also in his last great work, *al-Ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā 'l-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya* (mss. Istanbul, Damad Molla 30, 2; Rağıp Paşa 23; Cairo, Dār 351 *tafsīr Taymūr*; Dār 687 *tafsīr*; Aleppo, Aḥmadiyya 758; Escurial 1372), where he passes the whole Ḳur'ān in review to identify passages of relevance for both *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-dīn*.

As a legal scholar, he insists on his own *idjtihād* and shows considerable originality (for the *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, cf. W. Hallaq, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, 194). He is best known for his audacious understanding of *maṣlaḥa* (utility, public interest), which made him famous among the early modernists. Rashīd Riḍā published the relevant text (see above) in his journal *al-Manār*, ix (1324/1906), 745-70, and it has been reprinted several times since (cf. Muṣṭafā Zayd, *Maṣlaḥa*, and M.H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, 81-3, 97-102).

One source describes al-Ṭūfī as wearing Ṣūfī garb (*fī ziyy ahl al-faḳr*, Ibn Maktūm *apud* Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl* ii, 369), and in one place he mentions *fuḳahā' aṣḥābinā al-Djīlāniyyīn* (*'Alam al-djadhal*, 53), so that it would seem possible to identify him as a Ḳādirī.

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2. Biographical sources. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, vol. containing the letter *sīn*, ms. Istanbul, Nuru Osmaniye 2720/3, fol. 165 a-b [not in the printed ed.]; idem, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, facs. ed. F. Sezgin, 4 vols., Frankfurt 1990, i, 400-1; Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī, 2 vols., Cairo 1372/1952-53, ii, 366-70; Taḳī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Baghdād al-musammā Muntakhab al-Mukhtār* [sc. of Ibn Rāfi'], ed. 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, Baghdād 1357/1938; Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ed. Muḥ. Sayyid Djādd al-Ḥaḳḳ, 5 vols., Cairo 1385/1966-67, ii, 249-52; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt*, ed. Muḥ. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols., Cairo 1384/1964-65, i, 599-600; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. Asad Allāh Ismā'īliyān, Tehran n.d., iv, 89-90.

3. Studies. Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fi 'l-tashrī' al-islāmī wa-Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1384/1964; M.H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966; W. Heinrichs, *Ǧadal bei aṭ-Ṭūfī. Eine Interpretation seiner Beispielsammlung*, in *ZDMG*, Supplement III, 1, Wiesbaden 1977, 463-73, W.B. Hallaq, *Uṣūl al-fiqh: beyond tradition*, in *Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, iii (1992), 172-202; idem, *A history of Islamic legal theories*, Cambridge 1997, 128-9, 150-3.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TUGGURT, conventionally Touggourt, a town in the Algerian Sahara situated 160 km/100 miles to the north-east of Ouargla (Wargla), 100 km/62 miles south-west of El-Oued and 208 km/128 miles south of Biskra (lat. 33° 08' N., long. 6° 04' E.).

1. History. According to Ibn Khaldūn, a splinter of the Berber tribe of the Rīgha gained control of all the region between Biskra and Ouargla, where it became mingled with other Zanāta Berber elements. There were also Jews in the region. The town was for long dependent on the princes ruling the Maghrib or on the governors of Biskra, but, from the 14th to the 18th centuries, it was the capital of a vast region ruled by the Banū Djellāb. A Moroccan prince, Sulaymān b. Djellāb, related to the Marīnid family, halted at Tuggurt on his return from the Pilgrimage to Mecca, founded a mosque there and, with the aid of the local nomads, became recognised there as sovereign ruler. The line of the Banū Djellāb, whose tombs can still be seen in the "royal cemetery" of the town, ruled for four centuries, amongst various vicissitudes, partly due to dissensions amongst the local great families and partly from outside intervention by the Turks. In the 16th century, the Beylerbeyi Ṣalāḥ Re'īs plundered the town and exacted an annual tribute of 15 slaves. In the 18th century, the Banū Djellāb recognised the suzerainty of the Beys of Constantine, but without paying any tribute to them. Hence the Beys tried at various times to replace them by their own nominees, the Banū Gana of Biskra. Tuggurt was twice besieged, by Ṣalāḥ Bey in 1788 and by Aḥmad Mamlūk in 1821, but in vain. At the time of French colonial advance, Sulaymān b. Djellāb allied with the Sharīf of Ouargla against the new enemy. A French column occupied Tuggurt in 1854 and installed a garrison there. In 1871, the garrison was massacred at the time of a revolt, although this last was rapidly suppressed. Tuggurt is now, in independent Algeria, part of the Territories of the South.

2. Economic role. Tuggurt is the local capital of the Oued Rīgh, a vast trough of the Lower Sahara which benefits from artesian wells for irrigation and a great dryness of atmosphere favourable of high-quality dates, the Deglet Nour variety. Thus, with some 50 large villages and two million palm trees, the Oued Rīgh is the leading date-producing region of the Sahara.

The town also profits from its position on the Constantine-Biskra-Tuggurt-Ouargla axis, which has always been an important route; in mediaeval times, it was the departure point for the trans-Saharan caravan route connecting Ouargla with Agadès and Gao. In the French colonial period, the railway was constructed as far as Tuggurt, originally for the date trade (with a train leaving each night, in the season, laden with dates for the north); its role has become diversified today. But Tuggurt has always benefited from its position as the trans-shipment point from the railway or road and its role as distribution point for the products of the north over a large expanse of the Sahara. In 1960, the town was more important than Ouargla.

The coming of independence for Algeria damaged this regional role, but the town has been able to adapt. Whilst Ouargla has received a strong impulse from state direction, Tuggurt lives off its own private enterprise and dynamism: wholesale and service industries, an important date market, and diverse industrial undertakings. It now has 85,000 inhabitants.

3. The town. On the east, there are the palm groves and the rim of the plateau, and on the west, sand dune massifs. The heart of the town is made up of the *ḳṣar*, Mestāwa, dominated by the great mosque from the 18th century. Built of earth, plaster and palm trunks, the town has the peculiarity of a concentric, radiating pattern, with streets covered for hundreds of metres, very pleasant in the hot season. Originally circular, half of its area was razed by the French army at the end of the 19th century; the remaining half has been at the present time damaged by rains (1990) and mutilated by decisions of the public authorities.

The population is white, but there are nuclei of villagers who are black cultivators, the *Ḥashāshna*. The most important of these nuclei, Nezla, is on the site of the first town of Tuggurt, i.e. that existing before the 16th century.

The whole tends now to be drawn together by new quarters, which are progressively filling up the

space between the palm groves and the *route nationale* (large groupings and industrial zone). The palm groves, which encompass the town on the east, have been regenerated by the Great Canal (150 km/95 miles) intended to drain the whole of the Oued Rīgh.

Bibliography: Ch. Ferraud, *Les Ben Djellâb, sultans de Touggourt*, in *Rev. Afr.*, Algiers (1879); idem, *Le Sahara constantinois*, Algiers 1877; B. Verlet, *Touggourt et Ouargla, deux fonctions urbaines*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers (1960); Cl. Nesson, *Structure agraire et évolution sociale dans les oasis de l'Oued Righ*, in *ibid.*, (1966), 85-127; J.-J. Perennes, *Structures agraires et décolonisation, les oasis de l'Oued R'hir (Algérie)*, Algiers-Paris 1979; A. Amiche, *L'espace urbain de Touggourt (Oued Righ), étude d'aménagement*, diss. Univ. of Provence 1994, unpubl. (M. Côte)

TUGH (T.), amongst the early Turks an emblem of royal authority, a standard or a drum (the former being used as a battle-flag and a rallying-point on the battle-field), known from the time of the Türgesh or Western Turks in Transoxania (see below) and of the Uyghurs.

1. In older Turkish usage.

The traditional old Turkish standard was a horse's tail or a bunch of horse hair on a pole, or, in the regions of Inner Asia adjacent to Tibet, the tail of a yak (*kutās*). A great ruler would be described as having nine *tughs*, the maximum (*tokuz tughlugh khan*). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 127, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 213, defines *tūgh* as (1) a drum beaten in the ruler's presence, i.e. as what would in later Islamic times be described as the *nawba* [see NAKKĀRA-KHĀNA and ṬABL-KHĀNA] (such great drums, *körgä*, were later used by the Mongols as rallying-points in battle, see Doerfer, i, 473-5 no. 339); and (2) an *'alam*, with the ruler's nine standards made of brocade or orange silk. This last definition must reflect Chinese influence. In fact, Clauson takes *tugh* to be a loan word from Chinese *tu* "banner". Middle Chinese *dok*, and the borrowing must have taken place early. The historian al-Ṭabarī speaks of the *ṭūkāt al-turk*, those of the Khāḳān of the Turks which Arab scouts saw (*'āyana*) when the commander Asad b. 'Abd Allāh was campaigning in Khuttal in the upper Oxus region [see KHUTTALĀN] in 119/737 (ii, 1598, cf. also 1611, 1616). Whether the meaning here is flags or horse tails' emblems does not emerge from the context with certainty, but al-Ṭabarī's source might have been expected to have used the familiar term *a'lām* if ordinary flags had been intended.

The word passed from the various Turkish languages into Mongolian as *tukh/tuk* in the sense of "battle-flag" and even as far as Tibetan (as *thug*) and Tungusic languages. Regarding Mongol usage, Marco Polo states that a corps of 100,000 of the Great Khān's troops is called a *tuc*, just as one of 10,000 is called a *toman* [see TŪMĀN. 1.] (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ²London 1903, i, 261, cf. 263-4). Finally, one may mention that Turkish soldiers brought the term into the history of the Indian Subcontinent in that the commander Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ (*tughluk* "the man with the *tugh*") was in the early 8th/14th century the founder of the Tughluḳid line [*q.v.*] of Dihlī Sultans (see A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien*, in *Aus Indiens Kultur. Festgabe R. von Garbe*, Erlangen 1927, 2).

Bibliography: See on the early usage of *tughs* and on the linguistic aspects, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, 618-22 no. 969; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 464. See also *İA* art. *Tuğ* (Bahaeddin Ügel) (mainly concerned with early usages, and does not cover the Ottomans).

2. In Ottoman usage.

Under the early Ottomans, the *tugh* continued to be an emblem of royalty and viceroyalty, with the sultans themselves campaigning under their banners (sometimes having on them a crescent moon emblem, amongst several others, see HILĀL. ii, at Vol. III, 383b-384a and Figs. 17-19) and as many as seven or nine *tughs*, horse tails suspended from a pole surmounted by a golden ball. Those to whom royal authority had been delegated had a lesser number of *tughs*. *Sandjak beyis* and *mīr-liwās* had one *tugh*; *beylerbeyis*, two; viziers, both the *kubbe wezīrs* [*q.v.*] of the Imperial *Dīwān* and provincial ones, three; and the Grand Vizier, five.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EI*[1] art. s.v. (Cl. Huart); also Pakalın, iii, 522-5; Gibb and Bowen, i, 139-40. (C.E. Bosworth)

TUGHLUḲ TEMÜR (d. 764/1363), Čaghatayid [*q.v.*] *khān* in Central Asia. The fullest source of information, though largely concerned with his conversion to Islam, is the 10th/16th-century *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, who reproduces a Mongol tradition that his ancestor, the *amīr* Puladči, had brought Tughluḳ Temür from the Ḳalmaḳ country and enthroned him as *khān* of Čaghatay's *ulus* at the age of eighteen (*ca.* 752/1351). But whereas Ḥaydar names as his father the *khān* Esen Buḳa (d. *ca.* 718/1318), which is chronologically impossible, a 9th/15th-century genealogical work, the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, makes Tughluḳ Temür the son of Esen Buḳa's younger brother Emil Khʷādja (Ḳoča). Tughluḳ Temür ruled over the eastern tracts of Čaghatay's *ulus*, the region still dominated by nomads and barely touched by Islam, and known as Jata or Mogholistān [*q.v.*] to distinguish it from Mā warā' al-nahr [*q.v.*], which was governed by other Čaghatayid *khāns*; the division of the *ulus* into two rival khānates dated from not long before Tughluḳ Temür's own accession. Tughluḳ Temür's conversion may not have been as complete as Ḥaydar suggests: he is known to have sent to Tibet for a Buddhist teacher at some time after 1360 (*The Blue Annals*, tr. G.N. Roerich, Calcutta 1949-53, ii, 504).

Tughluḳ Temür twice invaded Mā warā' al-nahr, in Rabī' II 761/March 1360 and in Djumādā I 762/March 1361: on both occasions he received the submission of local *amīrs*, including the future conqueror Tīmūr (Temür), whom he appointed as governor of Kish (Shahr-i Sabz). On the second expedition, Tughluḳ Temür advanced as far as Ḳunduz and the Hindū Kush before retiring again to Mogholistān. His harsh conduct, and that of his commanders, in Mā warā' al-nahr had in any case alienated Tīmūr among others. Tīmūrid chroniclers differ as to the date of Tughluḳ Temür's death, Yazdī (ed. Ilahdad, 87; ed. Urunbaev, fol. 107b) implying 765/1364, while Naṭanzī (125) confirms the year 764 supplied by Ḥaydar. He was buried in Almaligh [*q.v.*]. His son Ilyās Khʷādja, whom he had left as his deputy in Mā warā' al-nahr, was recalled to succeed him, but was himself murdered, together with most of his brothers, by the Dughlāt *amīr* Ḳamar al-Dīn. The later *khāns* of Mogholistān claimed descent from Khiḍr Khʷādja, allegedly an infant son of Tughluḳ Temür who had escaped the massacre.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E.D. Ross, with commentary and notes by N. Elias, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1898, tr. 5-15, 23, 38-9; Niẓām-i Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1956, i, 15-16, 18-19; Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed.

M.M. Ilahdad, Calcutta 1885-7, i, 43-9, 57-60, 87, and facs. ed. A. Urunbaev, Tashkent 1972, fols. 81b, 95b-97a, 99b-100a, 107b; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 114, 117-19, 123-5; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, ed. Th. Menzel, Berlin 1935, repr. Hildesheim 1962, 208-9; idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1956-62, i, 137-9. (P. Jackson)

TUGHLUĶIDS, the longest-lived dynasty to rule over the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*], from 720/1320 to 815/1412.

1. History.

The founder of the dynasty, Ghāzī Malik Tughluķ, was probably an immigrant belonging to the Turco-Mongol group of the Ķara'unas, who nomadised in the borderlands between India and Central Asia (see R.C. Jauhri, *Ghiyāthu 'd-dīn Tughluq—his original name and descent*, in H. Krueger (ed.), *Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf commemoration volume*, Wiesbaden 1966, 62-6), and under the last two Khaldjī [*q.v.*] sultans had fought regularly against the Mongols as *muķṭaʿ* of Dīwpālpūr in the Pandjāb. When the Indian Nāṣir al-Dīn Khusraw Shāh murdered Ķuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaldjī and usurped the throne (720/1320), Ghāzī Malik, encouraged by his son Muḥammad, who held the rank of *amīr-i ākhūr* at court, rebelled against him. The usurper was overthrown and Ghāzī Malik became sultan as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluķ (720-5/1320-5 [*q.v.*]). During his reign Muḥammad, now as heir-apparent styled Ulugh Khān, headed two campaigns to subdue Tilang or Telingāna [*q.v.*] (*ca.* 721-3/1321-2); Maʿbar [*q.v.*] was reduced to submission at around the same time; and the sultan himself brought Bengal back under the authority of Dihlī (724/1324). On his sudden death in an accident outside Dihlī following his return from Bengal, Ghiyāth al-Dīn was succeeded by Muḥammad b. Tughluķ (724-52/1324-51 [*q.v.*]), under whom the Sultanate reached its peak.

Muḥammad's reign began with a successful campaign against the Mongols of the Peshawar region and with the suppression of revolts in Multān, the Deccan and Bengal. The contemporary chronicler Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī [*q.v.*] alleges that the government exerted a closer control over a greater number of provinces than at any previous time in the Sultanate's history (*Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 468). In *ca.* 729/1328-9 the Sultanate successfully weathered the last major invasion from the Čaghatay khānate [*q.v.*] in Central Asia prior to that of Temür or Tīmūr [*q.v.*], led by the khān Tarmashirin (P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq*, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 118-57). Muḥammad's generosity towards foreign immigrants, which became a byword, was partly designed to secure immunity from further Mongol attacks by means of the enormous wealth and patronage at his disposal; he may also have aimed to broaden the base of support enjoyed by a dynasty that had come to power mainly with the aid of elements from the Pandjāb.

Muḥammad is perhaps the most enigmatic and certainly the most controversial of the Dihlī sovereigns. In his personal devotions and his view that "religion and the state are twins", which led him to press Ṣūfīs into the state service and produced strained relations with many of the *ʿulamā'*, he may have been influenced by the ideology of Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], one of whose disciples visited his court: his philosophy was misunderstood by contemporary authors like Baranī and ʿIṣāmī, on whom we depend for accounts of the reign (K.A. Nizami, *The impact of Ibn Taimiyya on South Asia*, in *Journal of Islamic Studies*, i [1990], 125-34). But Muḥammad certainly overreached himself. His plan to establish a second capital at Dēōgīr (renamed Dawlatābād) in the Deccan in 727/1327, in order to accelerate Muslim colonisation of that territory, was effectively abandoned by 735/1334. Another ambition, to reduce the Mongols of present-day Afghānistān and Transoxiana (the so-called "Khurāsān project"), was aborted within two years. The sultan is much criticised in the sources, as also by modern scholars, for this and other disastrous projects, such as the enhancement of the revenue demand in the Doāb region, east of the Djamnā [*q.v.*] (Jumna), which provoked a widespread insurrection by the cultivators, and the introduction in 730/1329 of a low-denomination bronze coinage, which had to be recalled after two years. It is possible, nevertheless, that all these measures formed part of a coherent policy, and that their failure was due to circumstances beyond the sultan's control.

The revolt of the Doāb cultivators (*ca.* 732/1331-2), which subsided within two years or so, was followed by risings elsewhere and by the secession of the more distant provinces of Maʿbar (734/1333-4), Bengal (*ca.* 735/1334-5) and Kampīla and Tilang (*ca.* 736/1335); and the outbreak of plague and a seven-year famine prevented Muḥammad from recovering these territories. Although the sultan seems to have enjoyed a respite from *ca.* 741/1340, and successfully sought a diploma of investiture from the ʿAbbāsid caliph at Cairo in 744/1343, revolts by the military officer class in the Deccan and Gudjarāt from 745/1344 onwards absorbed his energies during the last few years of his reign. The Deccan broke away under the Bahmanid [*q.v.*] dynasty, and although Muḥammad personally reduced Gudjarāt, the rebel leader, a Turkish slave officer named Tughay, took refuge with the Sumerā rulers of Thaṭṭā [*q.vv.*] in lower Sind. He was finally eliminated only after the sultan's own death on the Indus in 752/1351 while preparing for an attack on the Sumerās.

Muḥammad's troops enthroned his cousin Fīrūz Shāh b. Radjab, who had served him loyally as viceroy and chamberlain (*nā'ib bārbeg*), and despite opposition from the late sultan's *wazīr* Khwādja Djahān Aḥmad b. Ayāz, who proclaimed a reputed son of Muḥammad in Dihlī (Sir Wolseley Haig, *Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi*, in *JRAS* [1922], 365-72), the new sovereign was able to enter the capital in triumph. The era of Fīrūz Shāh (752-90/1351-88 [*q.v.*]) is often taken to have been one of recovery and consolidation, though in all likelihood the comparison with the chaos of Muḥammad's reign or with the disasters that followed Fīrūz Shāh's death has distorted the perspective of our sources. The reign admittedly witnessed only one revolt, that of Shams al-Dīn Dāmghānī in Gudjarāt (782/1380-1), and was relatively free of Mongol attacks. Fīrūz Shāh received a series of diplomas from successive ʿAbbāsid caliphs, recognising his authority over the entire subcontinent and islands as far afield as Java. Nevertheless, the sultan was obliged to acquiesce in the loss of the Deccan and the far south, and his few military exploits were undistinguished. Campaigns against Bengal, in 754/1353 and 760/1359, and against Djādjnagar (Orissa) in 761/1360 achieved little, and his only successes were the reduction of the *rādjā* of Nagarkōt (Kāngṛā) to tributary status and the submission of Thaṭṭā in *ca.* 767/1365, which thus avenged Muḥammad's humiliation. The burden of Fīrūz Shāh's domestic policy was to increase donations to Ṣūfī *shaykh*s and other charitable causes and to conciliate the nobility, thus

Genealogical Table of the Dynasty

- ? Tughluḳ
  - I. GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ SHĀH I
    - II. MUḤAMMAD SHĀH
      - ⋮
        - III. GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH
    - Ẓafar Khān
    - Maḥmūd Khān
    - Nuṣrat Khān
    - Mubārak Khān
    - Mas'ūd Khān
  - Radjab
    - IV. FĪRŪZ SHĀH
      - Fīrūz Khān
        - Fatḥ Khān[1]
          - V. GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN TUGHLUḲ SHĀH II
          - IXa. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN NUṢRAT SHĀH
      - Ẓafar Khān
        - VI. ABŪ BAKR SHĀH
      - VII. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD SHĀH
        - VIII. 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH
        - IX. NĀṢIR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH
          - Ḳādir Khān
      - Shādī Khān
    - Ḳuṭb al-Dīn
    - Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm

N.B. That Fatḥ Khān, who usually appears in the secondary literature as a son of Fīrūz Shāh, was in fact the offspring of the sultan's eldest son Fīrūz Khān is clear from Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī*, fol. 416b (tr. Zaki, 20), and from Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 527 (text corrupt: the phrase that follows, *a'nī sulṭān muḥammad*, belong to Muḥammad Khān, i.e. the later sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, whose name has dropped out); cf. also 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 65, where Fatḥ Khān is said to have been born in Fīrūz Khān's house. It has helped to confuse matters that Fatḥ Khān was in fact virtually a year older than his uncle Muḥammad, for whose birth (in 753/1352) see Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 123.

forestalling revolts of the kind that had characterised Muḥammad's era; but the effect of the sultan's concessions was to relax the central government's control over revenue and the provincial administration. It may be that the military and fiscal capacity of the Sultanate, already diminished since the early years of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ, was gravely impaired.

In Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's last years, real power was in the hands of the *wazīr* K̲h̲ān D̲j̲ahān, who was hostile to his only surviving son Muḥammad and ousted the prince from the succession in favour of the old sultan's great-grandson Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh II (790-1/1388-9). Over the next few years the situation was dominated by Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's large slave establishment, with whose aid both Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh and his cousin and successor, Abū Bakr S̲h̲āh (791-2/1389-90), strenuously resisted Muḥammad's attempts to occupy the Dihlī complex. He was able to do so only when a sufficiently large number of the slaves deserted to him. Once in power, however, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad S̲h̲āh (792-6/1390-4) acted swiftly to destroy this powerful corps. His reign was largely taken up with struggles against Hindu chiefs in Alwar and the Doāb, and in the west the Khōkhar chief sacked Lahore just prior to Muḥammad's death. Muḥammad's elder son, 'Alā' al-Dīn Sikandar S̲h̲āh, died after a reign of little more than a month (796/1394) and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II (796-815/1394-1412 [*q.v.*]).

Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, who came eventually under the tutelage of Mallū Iḳbāl K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], presided over the final stage in the disintegration of the Sultanate. From 797/1395 an ousted court faction, headed by Tatar K̲h̲ān, son of the governor of Gud̲j̲arāt Ẓafar K̲h̲ān, maintained at Fīrūzābād a rival Tug̲h̲luḳid sultan, Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh. Both candidates were swept aside during the invasion of northern India by Tīmūr, who in 801/1398 sacked Dihlī. In the provinces power had by now passed to men to whom, as his principal lieutenants, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh had delegated considerable authority. Thus K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a D̲j̲ahān Sarwar, the effective creator of the S̲h̲arḳī dynasty at D̲j̲awnpūr [*q.vv.*], was to all intents autonomous in the entire region east of the D̲j̲amnā as far as Biḥār; Ẓafar K̲h̲ān founded his own dynasty in Gud̲j̲arāt; and K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān had secured Tīmūr's recognition as his deputy at Multān. After Tīmūr's withdrawal, Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh briefly reoccupied Fīrūzābād, but soon died. Mallū Iḳbāl K̲h̲ān thereupon re-established himself at Dihlī, but Maḥmūd S̲h̲āh, whom he invited to join him there in 801/1404, shortly deserted him and took refuge at Ḳannawd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], which he had wrested from the S̲h̲arḳīs. After Mallū's overthrow by K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān near Ad̲j̲ūdhan in 808/1405, Maḥmūd returned to Dihlī, where he reigned until his death in 815/1412 over an empire that consisted of little more than the eastern Pand̲j̲āb and parts of the Doāb. His son Ḳādir K̲h̲ān seems to have perished in conflict with the S̲h̲arḳīs around this time, and Maḥmūd was briefly succeeded by one of his *amīr*s, Dawlat K̲h̲ān, who in the following year was vanquished by K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, founder of the Sayyid [*q.v.*] dynasty.

The Tug̲h̲luḳid era was one of high cultural achievement. The poets Badr-i Čāčī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Muṭahhar of Kara flourished in the eras of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ and of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh respectively, and the latter reign was notable for a crop of juridical works (Zafar ul-Islam, *Works of legal nature of Firuz Shah's reign*, in Devahuti (ed.), *Bias in Indian historiography*, Delhi 1980, 329-37). The sultans were enthusiastic builders (see below, 2. Architecture), especially Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, who was responsible for many new towns and fortresses which are listed by 'Afīf (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, 329-33) and who also constructed a number of canals.

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2. Architecture.

The three major Tug̲h̲luḳid rulers were enthusiastic patrons of architecture and concentrated their building activity in Dihlī. The major architectural undertaking of sultan G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn Tug̲h̲luḳ S̲h̲āh was the massive citadel of Tug̲h̲luḳābād, 7 km/4 miles to the east of the late 12th-early 14th century D̲j̲āmi' mosque in old Dihlī. The earliest extant Sultanate town, it has stone walls 9 to 15 m high, enclosing an area of about 162 ha;,water was provided through elaborate dams, sluice gates, and cisterns that created an artificial lake in which the sultan built a fortified necropolis to house his own tomb (Pl. XX, fig. 1) (see N. and M. Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad, the earliest surviving town of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *BSOAS*, lvii [1994], 516-50). Further to the north and closer to the D̲j̲amnā River, the powerful Čis̲h̲tī leader, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', oversaw the construction of his great *dargāh*, the best preserved of a number of such Ṣūfī centres built in the Dihlī area during the Tug̲h̲luḳid period (see Z. Hasan, *Guide to Nizamuddin*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 10, Calcutta 1922; M. Ara, *Dargāhs in medieval India*, Tokyo 1977 [in Japanese]).

Sultan Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ [*q.v.*] had a well-developed aesthetic sense and sustained a broader range of building activity. In the Deccan he established a second capital at Dawlatābād. In south Dihlī he built the imposing Sātpulāh (Pl. XX, fig. 2), a fortified dam and sluice gate that was part of 8 km/5 miles of walls linking the older centres of Sirī and Lāl Kōt with the sultan's new residence of D̲j̲ahānpanāh (see A. Welch, *Hydraulic architecture in medieval India: the Tughluqs*, in *Environmental Design. Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, Rome, ii [1985], 74-81). This royal quarter contained a splendid D̲j̲āmiʿ mosque (the Begampur Mosque), attributed to the royal architect Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-D̲j̲ayus̲h̲, who used a classic Persian four-*īwān* plan with domed arcades and four domed chambers around a large inner court (Pl. XXI, fig. 3). The main entrance on the east side, approached by an imposing flight of stairs, regally dominates the street below. Forty-two miles to the north are the ruins of the Dār Sarā palace (Bid̲j̲ay Mandel), described at length by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who especially praises the palace's Dīwān-i ʿĀmm (*Hazār Ustūn* or "Thousand Pillars").

The contemporary chronicler S̲h̲ams al-Dīn ʿAfīf marvels at Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's passion for architecture and credits him with hundreds of cities, forts, palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, gardens, cisterns, and dams. In his own memoirs (*Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*) the sultan (752-90/1351-88) refers to the vast sums spent on building projects and to his conscientious restoration of his predecessors' buildings. His patronage was supported by an effective bureaucracy, and his buildings display ingenuity, daring experimentation, and open-minded eclecticism, whether in incorporating pre-Islamic Indian architectural styles or trying out new architectural types. Royal irrigation canals made possible the rapid expansion of cities like Ḥiṣār in the Pand̲j̲āb, where the sultan built some of his most imaginative garden architecture (for the Tug̲h̲luḳid monuments of Ḥiṣār, see M. and N. Shokoohy, *Hisar-i Firuza. Sultanate and early Mughal architecture in the District of Hisar, India*, London 1988; for a study of Sultanate gardens, see A. Welch, *Gardens that Babur did not like*, in J.L. Wescoat and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Mughal gardens. Sources, places, representations, and prospects*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. 1996, 59-93). He had a passion for hunting and built a number of *mahalls* (small hunting lodges) on the outskirts of Dihlī (Pl. XXI, fig. 4). On the banks of the D̲j̲amnā river 11 km/7 miles to the north of D̲j̲ahānpanāh he also established a new, elaborately fortified royal residence named Fīrūzābād (see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Dihlī*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 52, Delhi 1937). Among other structures the citadel contained three gardens, a palace, an audience hall, and a circular step well. In the courtyard of its *d̲j̲āmiʿ* mosque was a domed pavilion inscribed with the text of the sultan's *futūḥāt*, one of the few instances of monumental epigraphy under Tug̲h̲luḳid patronage. On the mosque's north side was the remarkable Mīnār-i Zarrīn (Pl. XXII, fig. 5), a three-tiered, stepped pyramid rising more than 14 m and supporting a massive Aśokan pillar, an impressive reminder of India's pre-Islamic past transformed into a *mīnār* that dominated the surrounding area (see A. Welch, *Architectural patronage and the past: the Tughluq Sultans of Dihlī*, in *Muqarnas*, x [1993], 311-22). Fīrūz S̲h̲āh also incorporated "Aśokan" pillars into a palace in west Dihlī and a mosque in Ḥiṣār (Pl. XXII, fig. 6).

Mosque types are many and evince a spirit of experimentation: the *ca.* 1352 Fīrūzābād mosque had four arcades three bays deep around a central courtyard; the *ca.* 1351-4 K̲h̲irkī mosque (Pl. XXIII, fig. 7) is a cross-axial mosque with four small courtyards letting light into the multi-domed interior; its impressive east gate at the top of a long flight of steps is flanked by *mīnārs* whose wedge-shaped flanges make explicit reference to the great Ḳuṭb Mīnār built in the late 12th and early 13th centuries by the first two sultans of Dihlī, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak and Iltutmis̲h̲ (Pl. XXIII, fig. 8). A number of other mosques consist essentially of open courtyards with modest prayer halls (see Welch and H. Crane, *The Tughluqs: master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, in *Muqarnas*, i [1983], 123-66). Situated outside the walls of Fīrūzābād, the *dargāh* of Ḳadam S̲h̲arīf consisted of three arcades around an open pavilion that sheltered the tomb of the sultan's son Fatḥ K̲h̲ān and the relic of the Holy Footprint (see Welch, *The shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi*, in *Muqarnas*, xiv [1997]).

Built along the south and east sides of a large reservoir (*ḥawḍ*), the *madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh* (now known as the Ḥawḍ K̲h̲āṣṣ) contained teaching halls, residences, a mosque, and gardens (Pl. XXIV, fig. 9) and was famed for the quality of its faculty and students. At the juncture of the two sides was the founder's tomb, a square, domed structure, whose *miḥrāb* provided passage between the *madrasa*'s two sides (Pl. XXIV, fig. 10). A broad flight of stairs led from the tomb down to the reservoir's water, while at the north end of the east side the *madrasa*'s mosque had an open *miḥrāb* from which stairs descended to the water below (see Welch, *A medieval center of learning in India: the Hauz Khas Madrasa in Dihlī*, in *Muqarnas*, xiii [1996], 165-90). This close association of water and architecture is also found in many of the great step wells built in and around Dihlī that used forms and technology predating Islam in India.

There is no extant evidence of building activity during the remaining decade of Tug̲h̲luḳid rule after the death of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh, but the Tug̲h̲luḳid architectural achievement earned Tīmūr's admiration when he conquered Dihlī in 801/1398, and it looks forward in significant ways to the structures and patronage of the Mug̲h̲al emperors [see MUG̲H̲ALS. 7.].

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Among primary sources, the most valuable for any study of Tug̲h̲luḳid architecture are Baranī's *Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, ʿAfīf's *Tārīk̲h̲-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, the anonymous *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-S̲h̲āhī*, and Fīrūz S̲h̲āh's own *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz S̲h̲āh*. The great Urdu scholar Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān wrote his *Āt̲h̲ār al-sanādīd* in 1847, and it is still an essential source (Eng. abridgement by R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi*, New Delhi 1979). Zafar Hasan, *List of Hindu and Mohammadan architecture of Dihlī Province*, Delhi 1916-19, is a basic catalogue of monuments, including many that no longer exist. M.A. Husain, *A record of all the Qur'anic and non-historical epigraphs on the protected monuments in the Delhi Province*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 47, Calcutta 1936, is a basic source for any study of Sultanate architectural epigraphy. J. Burton-Page's arts. DIHLĪ and HIND. vii. Architecture, provide an overview of Sultanate architecture, as does R. Nath, *A history of Sultanate architecture*, New Delhi 1978. T. Yamamoto, M. Ara and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi. Architectural remains of the Sultanate period* (in Japanese), 3 vols., Tokyo 1968-70, offers stunning photographs and ground plans as well as meticulous historical and geographical analysis of every significant Sultanate structure in Delhi. These and other primary and secondary

sources are discussed in Welch and Crane, *The Tughluqs: master builders of the Delhi Sultanate*, see above.

(A. Welch)

TUGHRA (T.), in mediaeval Arabic and Ottoman Turkish orthography, *ṭughrā*, a calligraphic emblem of Turkish rulers, from the time of the chiefs of the Oghuz to the Saldjūḳs and succeeding rulers in Persia, the Mamlūks and the Ottoman sultans. Under the latter, in particular, it became a highly stylised and artistic representation of the name and titles of the ruler or of princes from the royal family. Indeed, in Ottoman practice it became in effect the emblem of the state, being placed as a heading on official documents such as *fermāns* [see FARMĀN. ii] but also on legal documents like property deeds, *wakfiyyes*, inscriptions on official buildings, coin legends, identification documents like passports, postage stamps [see POSTA, at Vol. VIII, 327b], goldsmiths' marks, etc. It corresponds more to Pers. *nishān* "the ruler's sign manual" than to *tawḳīʿ* [*q.v.*], which corresponds more to Tkish. *tamgha* [*q.v.*], this last derived from Turkish totemistic symbolism.

1. Origin of the term.

The oldest mention of the word is in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, fol. 232, tr. Atalay, i, 462, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 346: "the *tughragh* is the seal (*ṭābiʿ*) and signature (*tawḳīʿ*) of the king; Oghuz dialect (*ghuzziyya*) and not known to the [Western] Turks; I do not know its origin". From this, there emerges that *tughragh* (with final *gh*) is the old, eastern Oghuz form from which came *tughra* in the Western Oghuz language of the Saldjūḳs. Thence it was borrowed into Persian and re-borrowed into Ottoman and Čaghatay Turkish as a loan word. In Saldjūḳ usage, the initial unvoiced dental acquired the orthography *ṭ* under the influence of the word's back vowel harmony. In the Arabic used by chroniclers and secretaries during Mamlūk times, it acquired the Arabic sound plural *ṭughrāwāt*, on analogy with *aghāwāt*, *bāshāwāt*, etc., and there evolved the form II verb *ṭaghghara* "to affix the *ṭughrā* on a document". From Ottoman, the word spread into Serbian and Bulgarian as *tugra* and into Romanian as *tura*. Its etymology remains as mysterious today as it was in al-Kāshgharī's time. Various fanciful suggestions of the sources were reviewed by Deny in his *EI*[1] art.; Doerfer surmised that it might have been borrowed from some pre-Turkish culture. See idem, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 342-6 no. 1344; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 471.

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2. History.

(a) In the central Islamic lands before the Ottomans.

The rulers of the first two great Turkish empires of the Middle East and the eastern Iranian lands, the Saldjūḳs and the Khwārazm Shāhs (virtually nothing is known of Ḳarakhānid chancery practice) seem to have used the terms *ṭughrā* and *tawḳīʿ* more or less interchangeably for the sultan's emblem or monogram. The sources for Saldjūḳ history tend to use the word *tawḳīʿ* for the emblem of Ṭoghrïl Beg and subsequent sultans (sc. the Ḳïnïḳ tribal emblem of the bow and arrow used by the first Saldjūḳ tribal chiefs—Temür Yaligh being allegedly the cognomen of the eponymous ancestor, Saldjūḳ's father Duḳāḳ—and known from Saldjūḳ coins if not from actual documents, and the club or mace, *čumāk*, mentioned by Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 98, as also being Ṭoghrïl Beg's emblem). The Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] had as part of his *ṭughrā*, according to al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu*, ed. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Ḥamdī, Cairo 1953, 324, and Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 349, the motto *ẓill Allāh fi 'l-arḍ* "the shadow of God on earth", and it is recorded that official documents and investiture patents from his chancery bore his *ṭughrā* (*ibid.*, i, 154, 329); but his son and successor Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] refused, in his reduced state, to use such a grandiloquent formula (al-Nasawī, *loc. cit.*). In the surviving collections of *inshāʾ* from the Saldjūḳ and Khwārazm Shāhī periods, the term *ṭughrā* does not appear on the documents themselves, but there are mentioned in them the *dīwān-i ṭughrā* and the official charged with drawing it, the *ṭughrāʾī* (first known in the person of Ṭoghrïl's *ṭughrāʾī*, the Turkish *amīr* Khumārtigin, but most notably this was the professional title by which the famous Saldjūḳ official, poet and stylist Muʾayyid al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. probably in 515/1121 [see AL-ṬUGHRĀʾĪ]), who filled this office in the reign of Malik Shāh, was always known, even though he went on to become a vizier; cf. S.M. Stern, in his very thorough study of the signature in documents, 123-65, at 149 n. 1). It does seem reasonable to assume, with S.M. Stern, that, as Saldjūḳ and Khwārazm Shāhī chancery practice was elaborated, the *ṭughrā* of these rulers reduced the tribal mark element to stylised lines, dropped the pious mottos of each ruler (as detailed by Rāwandī) and incorporated the ruler's titles in a stylised pattern with elongated shafts of letters, foreshadowing later developments which were to culminate in Ottoman practice. See on the general topic of the *ṭughrā* during this period, Cl. Cahen, *La ṭugrā seljukide*, in *JA*, ccxxxiv (1943-5), 167-72; Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees. Original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, 143-52; H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 35-6.

It seems very probable that such dynasties which arose out of the decaying great Saldjūḳ empire as the Zangid Atabegs and then the Ayyūbids took over the use of the *ṭughrā* from the Saldjūḳ chancery. The Ayyūbid sultans had, like their Fāṭimid predecessors in Egypt and southern Syria, pious royal mottos as part of their *ʿalāma* [*q.v.*], and presumably a signature with the names and titles of the monarch. In the absence of actual documents with representations of the *ṭughrā* in them, Stern surmised that the graphic form was in the style of the *ṭughrā*, with elongated shafts to the letters and possibly also some vertical lines to set them off (*Fāṭimid decrees*, 154-5; cf. also his *Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai*, in idem (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 15-17). Further snippets of relevant information come from mentions of the *ṭughrā* in the manual on secretaryship of Ibn Shīth al-Ḳurashī (d. 625/1228; see on him W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 34-6), the *Maʿālim al-kitāba*, Beirut 1913, 43, and in the brief annals of Ibn Abi 'l-Dam (d. 642/1244 [*q.v.*]), in which he gives a model diploma of al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt for his own patron al-Malik al-Muẓaffar of Ḥamāt which, he says, ended with a *ṭughrā* (cited by Cahen, *La correspondence de Ḍiyā ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr. Liste de lettres et textes de diplômes*, in *BSOAS*, xiv [1952], 42-3).

It should be noted that, around this time, we begin to find the word *ṭughrā* confused in Arabic literary and popular usage with the similar Arabic word *ṭurra*, literally "border of a piece of cloth", "upper border of a document", obviously arising from the part of the document where the *ṭughrā* was normally affixed; already Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 190, defines the *ṭughrā* as "the *ṭurra* which is written with a
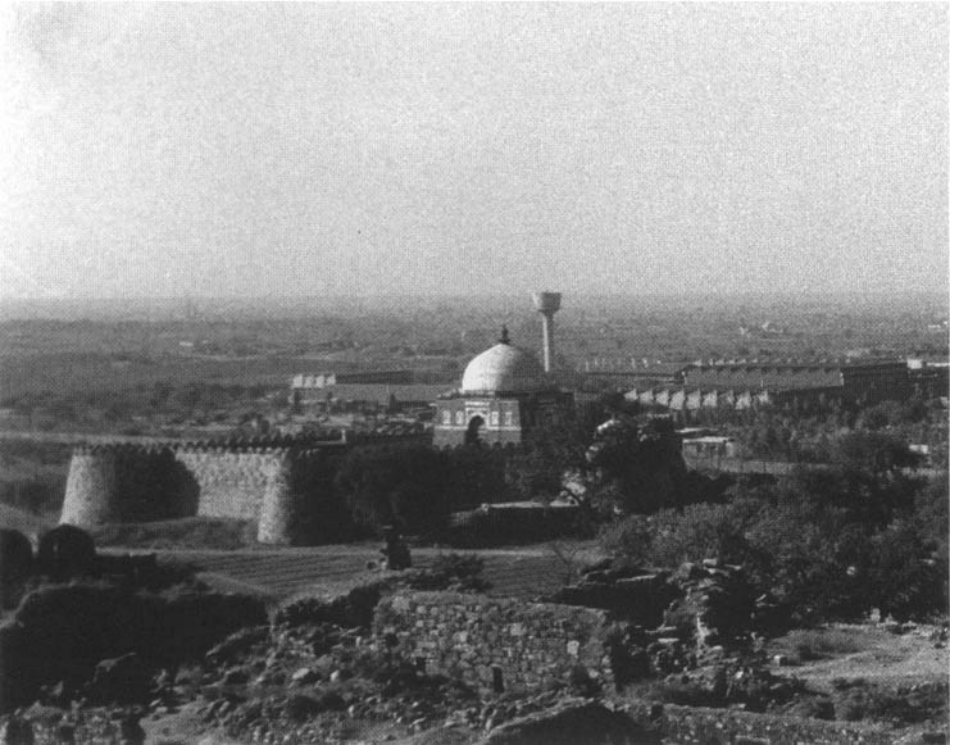
Fig. 1. Tu<u>gh</u>luḳābād, walled tomb of <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn, *ca.* 1325.

Fig. 2. Sātpulāh, fortified dam and sluice, *ca.* 1340.

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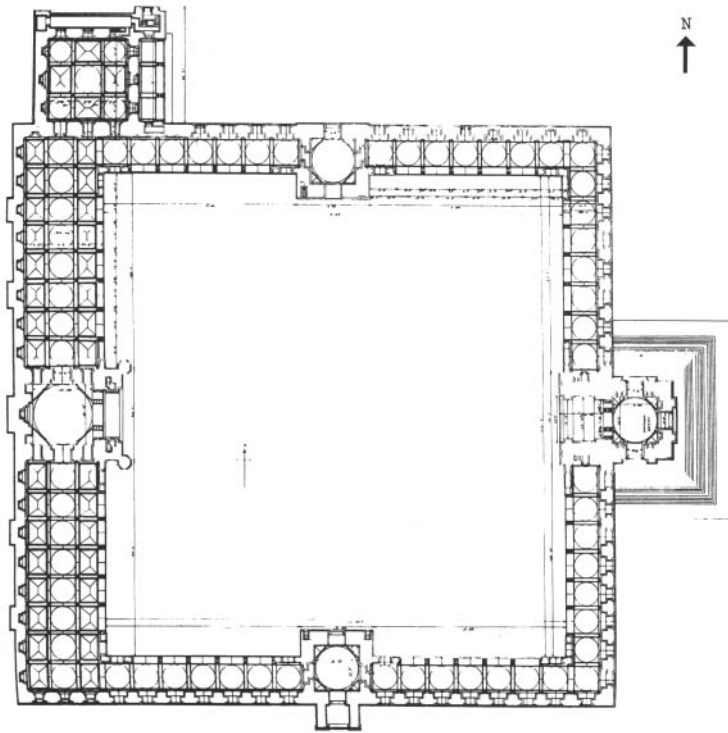
Fig. 3. Mosque of Djahānpanāh, *ca.* 1343: ground plan.

Fig. 4. Malča Maḥall, *ca.* 1360, west side.

Fig. 5. Mīnār-i Zarrīn of mosque of Fīrūzābād, *ca.* 1354.
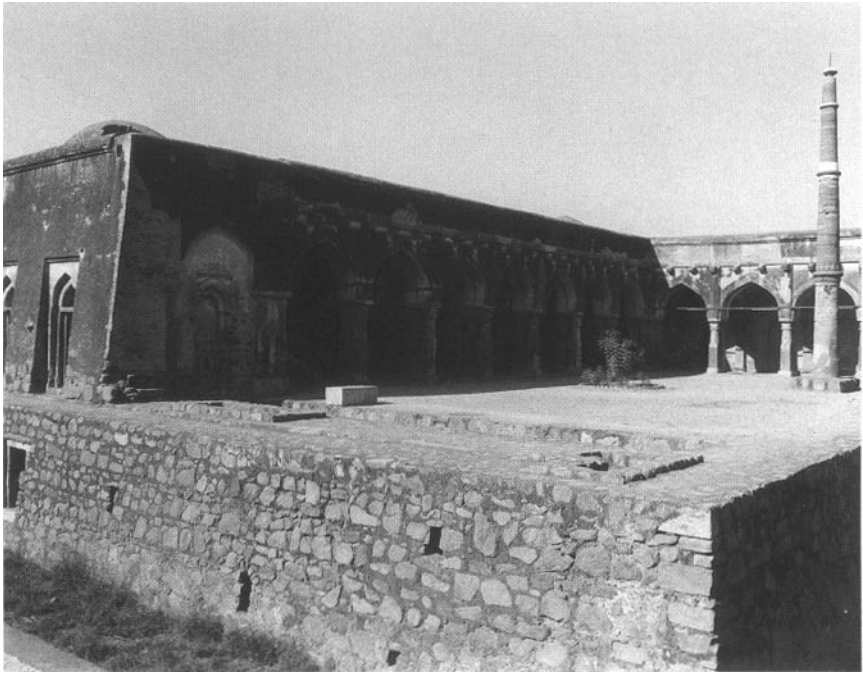
Fig. 6. Mosque of Fīrūz S̲h̲āh in Ḥiṣār: courtyard and *mīnār*.
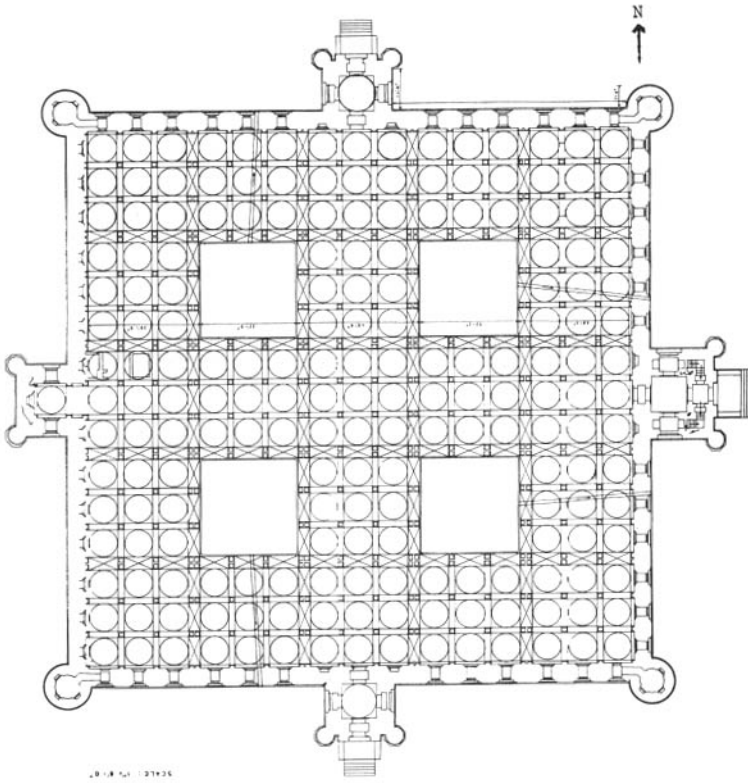
Fig. 7. Khirkī mosque, *ca.* 1352, ground plan.

Fig. 8. Khirkī mosque, east entrance.
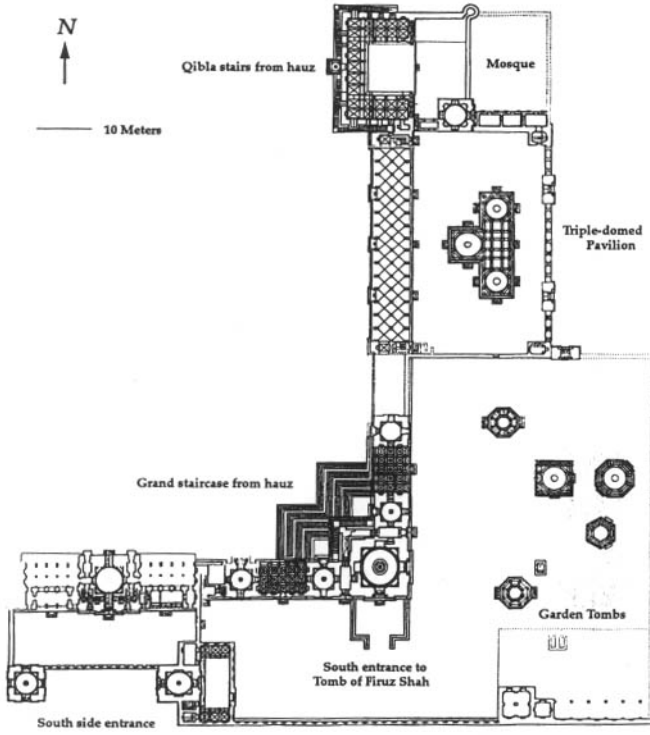
Fig. 9. Madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (Ḥawḍ Ḵh̲āṣṣ *madrasa*), 1352-88: ground plan.

Fig. 10. Madrasa-yi Fīrūz S̲h̲āh (Ḥawḍ Ḵh̲āṣṣ *madrasa*): view toward southeast. (Photo: Jennifer Lort)

thick pen at the top of documents above the *basmala*", and *ṭurra* became the commonly-used form in later Egyptian popular parlance.

From the Ayyūbids, the use of the *ṭughrā* passed to their supplanters, the Mamlūks. A full description of Mamlūk practice here is given by al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, xiii, 162-6, cf. Björkman, *op. cit.*, 44, 168, illustrated by two drawings of the *ṭug̲h̲rās* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn and his grandson al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf S̲h̲aʿbān b. Ḥusayn [*q.vv.*]. According to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, the *ṭug̲h̲rā* was not used after S̲h̲aʿbān's reign (764-78/1363-77), confirmed by al-Maḳrīzī's (d. 845/1442) information in his *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* that it was no longer used in his time. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī gives considerable detail on the usage and the exact format of the *ṭug̲h̲rā* used on *mans̲h̲ūrs* or investiture patents for high military commanders. When the *ṭug̲h̲rā* was complex, containing many strokes, a fine (*d̲j̲alīl t̲h̲ult̲h̲*) pen had to be used; when there were fewer strokes, the larger type of script called *muk̲h̲taṣar al-ṭūmār* was used. A specially-appointed person in the *dīwān al-ins̲h̲āʾ* prepared the *ṭug̲h̲rās*, and the secretaries then inserted them in spaces left blank for them in the *ṭurra* or upper part of the document above the *basmala*. The *ṭug̲h̲rā* was composed of the sultan's honorifics, or his name and his honorifics, written on one line, with highly-prolonged upright strokes (*muntaṣibāt*) to letters like *ṭāʾ*, *ẓāʾ*, *kāf*, *lām*, etc. In al-Nāṣir's *ṭug̲h̲rā*, the 35 upright strokes are alternately single and in groups of two strokes, necessitating some re-arrangement for artistic purposes of certain letters in the words, and below the line of titles is the prayer *k̲h̲allada Allāh sulṭānahu* "may God prolong his dominion!" (see Pl. XXV, fig. 1). In that of S̲h̲aʿbān, the 45 upright strokes are in groups of two, again with the prayer for long life beneath the line of the sultan's titles, but also with his name S̲h̲aʿbān b. Ḥusayn in large script (*ḳalam al-ṭūmār*) written across the central verticals (see Pl. XXV, fig. 2).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

(b) In the usage of the Ottomans.

The Ottoman *tug̲h̲ra*, though derived in all probability from the Sald̲j̲ūḳ model, differed markedly, at least in appearance, from the Mamlūk one.

One of the oldest Ottoman *tug̲h̲ras* known is that on the coins of the prince Süleymān Čelebi [*q.v.*], ruler in Rūmili 806-13/1403-13. This already contains the principal features of the emblem as it later developed.

1. The verticals to the number of three, which are taken from the *alifs* in the name of the prince and his father. The words *Amīr Süleymān* are surmounted by *(i)bn*, in turn surmounted by Bāyezīd. In a *tug̲h̲ra* of Meḥemmed (I) (i)bn Bāyezīd (cf. K̲h̲alīl Edhem, *Müze-i humāyūn meskūkāt-i ʿot̲h̲māniyye*, Istanbul 1334, i, 31), there are four verticals, but this number is exceptional and is only found, for the sultans, at a comparatively remote period.

2. The oval or elliptical curves, not closed, to the number of two, which meet in the lower part of the name of the prince and which turning first to the left, ascend, then turn to the right to cut the verticals in their upper parts and then disappear on the right. Exceptionally, we find one or three curves. The number two at quite an early period became sacred for the sultan's figure.

These curves seem originally to have been prolongations of the letters *nūn*, which occur in the word *(i)bn* and in the name of the prince or of his father or in the *tug̲h̲ra* of prince Süleymān, in that of Murād I, in that of Meḥemmed I, where the second *nūn* is supplied by the word *sulṭān* (cf. K̲h̲alīl Edhem, *loc. cit.*) or in the later *tug̲h̲ra* in which, according to Fekete, the *nūns* of the word *ibn* and *k̲h̲ān* have been prolonged. It is true that they are found very early, even when the names do not supply a second *nūn*; cf. the *tug̲h̲ras*, incomplete it is true, given by K̲h̲alīl Edhem, 44, 48, 55, 65, 67, 68.

At first, the names and the patronymic were placed in the escutcheon, circumscribed by the curves, but in the later development of the *tug̲h̲ra* this space was left partly vacant. At first only the name of the sultan was left there; the name of his father and later the two names were placed quite at the bottom of the verticals, where they formed a crowded group of intersecting lines, forming a more or less geometrical figure called *sere* which means "the little palm, space between the finger and the thumb" (properly "spreading out" = gerundive of the verb *ser-mek*; cf. the saying *ser-e serp-e, sele serpe*; the word is found with the same meanings in Kirg̲h̲iz, cf. W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iv, 458).

Between the *sere* and the escutcheon is inserted the word *al-muẓaffar* "victorious" with the addition of *dāʾim*[an] "always", which is placed in the form of a very conventional seal in the centre of the escutcheon. The final *alif* of the word *dāʾimā* (*dāʾim*[an]) is lengthened and, turning sharply round to the left, cuts through the curves. These words appeared for the first time according to I. G̲h̲ālib Edhem (*Catalogue*, p. *zāy* and 206 n.) on the coins of Ibrāhīm II, whose reigu began in 1049/1640.

The two extremities to the right of the curves are given an elongated and more elegant form. They have become one more characteristic feature of the modern *tug̲h̲ra*, of which they form the arms (*tug̲h̲ra ḳollarî*). From the tops of the three verticals descend three broken lines like floating flames. As to the word K̲h̲ān, after having figured at the end of the name of the sovereign's father, it was added to that of the sovereign from the time of Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54).

In the field to the right of the *tug̲h̲ra* was frequently placed a flower. In the same place the sultans later put their title of *g̲h̲āzī* when they had the right to it (Maḥmūd II put his poetic nom de plume *ʿAdlī* there, cf. Pl. XXVI, fig. 8). For the other modifications in detail undergone by the *tug̲h̲ra*, cf. L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik*, Budapest 1926, p. xliv, n. 1.

The form of *tug̲h̲ra* which we have just described was often imitated by private individuals, who used to substitute for the name of the sultan religious formulae in order to make *lawḥas* or calligraphic plaques to hang up in mosques, libraries, cafés or private houses. In Egypt, we even find tradesmen's signs of this kind, but they are now disappearing and it was quite recently allowable to commission a *k̲h̲aṭṭāṭ* or a maker of faience to make a *tug̲h̲ra* in one's own name (cf. Pl. XXVII, figs. 12, 13).

The official use of the *tug̲h̲ra* ceased in Turkey with the dethronement of the last sultan Meḥemmed VI [*q.v.*].

If we now compare the Ottoman *tug̲h̲ra* with the Mamlūk one in order to ascertain the graphic element which is common to both, we find that this element reduces itself to the uprights of the vertical letters. We are thus led to conclude quite naturally that the essential feature of the *tug̲h̲ra* is a certain number—not fixed—of upright strokes.

Although supplied later by the method of writing the words, the decorative motif represented by the

verticals must be older than the use of the Arabic script among the Turks.

The symbol of the tughra. If we suppose the *tughra* is not simply a conventional mode of writing, what symbol does it represent?

We have already mentioned that some see in it the figure of a bird. Others have gone so far as to see in it a horseman galloping at full speed (Tychsen), but the most popular theory is that which owes its fame to von Hammer (*Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman*, i, 231). According to him, the *tughra* was the imitation of the mark left by the hand of sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89), who, not being able to write, dipped his hand in ink (!) and stamped it instead of a signature on the treaty concluded with the Ragusans. This explanation, which seems to overlook the fact that the sultan in question had a chancellery, is taken by von Hammer from Engel (*Gesch. des Freystaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, 141), who does not give any authority. It is not known in the east and is clearly a legend, which originated no doubt in Ragusa itself. It nevertheless had a great vogue; Barbier de Meynard accepted it (*Rec. des hist. des Croisades*, iv, 138 n.), and it was defended quite recently by arguments taken from the antiquity of the use of finger prints.

Looking at the primitive form of the *tughra* (see above), all the hypotheses which we have just given fall apart at once. It is interesting to note that Fekete came to the same negative result, starting from the design of the Ottoman *tughra*, which is, however, more complicated. Later interpretations being based on more elaborate forms of the *tughra* are of little importance.

This is why the fact that the *tughra* or the *penče*, which is the imitation of it [see PENČE], is sometimes given the form of a bird in Turkish decorative art (a specimen of the year 1181/1767-8 is given in Pl. XXVII, fig. 14). Similarly, the fact that *penče* means "claw" and *sere* "palm" is not an argument in favour of von Hammer's theory, who, however, did not think of quoting it (the French word "griffe" is used also with the meaning of "stamp for a signature").

In thus simplifying the problem, one is led to ask if the hooks of which we have spoken have not some symbolical significance. One question arises which is put forward with all reserve: do not these verticals represent the *tugh* [*q.v.*], a word which we know was applied by the Turks to the horse or yak tails floating on the end of a pole, or earlier to flags in general? The main argument that can be produced against the suggestion is the rarity of the denominative verbal suffix *-ra*, from which we should have to derive *-ra-gh* (in *tughragh*) by a formation parallel to the well-known suffixes *-la* (*-la-gh*). See on this suffix Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, and more especially, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii [1923], 174.

As to the argument that one might be tempted to draw from the flames floating at the top of the *tughra* or from the fact that, in the *penče*, the custom became established of very often drawing two verticals for the *pashas* of two tails and three for the *pashas* of three tails or *wezīrs*, these are all intepretations *a posteriori* which prove no more than those rejected above (as a curiosity there is given in fig. 15 (Pl. XXVII) a signature in which the words *khāliṣ al-fu'ād* are arranged in three verticals of a *tugh*, although they refer to a woman). It is also to be noted that numismatists sometimes seem to take the word *tughra* in the larger meaning of "*motif* of decoration by letters" (*JRAS*, ix [1848], 300, 381).

It was noted in (a) above that the Saldjūḳ and Mamlūk rulers had officials whose special duty was to draw the *tughra* (in Turkish, *tughra čekmek*, in Persian, *tughra kashīdan*). Similarly, the Ottomans had the *nishāndji* or *tewḳīʿī*, and this official made up, with the three *defterdārs* and the *defter emīnī*, the five high officials at court, the *khʷādjegān* (d'Ohsson, iii, 350; von Hammer, xvii, 54; see further on this official, NISHĀNDJĪ).

It was the duty of this official and his staff, in the early and middle periods of the Ottoman empire, to examine and control all documents presented to him for marking with the sultan's *tughra*. According to the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of the *tewḳīʿī* (*nishāndji*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (of 1087/1676-7, *MTM*, 515), the following were the formalities to be gone through: When a *firmān* is promulgated requiring official authorisation (*taṣḥīḥ firmānī*), the law requires that the *tughra* be executed by the Grand Vizier himself. On receiving this *firmān*, the *nishāndji* inscribes on the reverse the words *defteri gele* "let its register be brought" (in which is the precedent to be examined) and sends it to the *defter emīnī*. The latter at once sends back the *firmān* with the required register through the *kisedār* (official in charge of the registers) of the archives (*defter-khāne*). After finding the required reference, the *nishāndji* verifies it and keeps the *firmān* ordering it.

He also receives in a sealed bag (*memhūr kise*) the *berāt* issued by the *ḳāḍī-ʿasker*, writes on the register opposite the names of the beneficiaries of these *berāt* the word *ṣaḥḥ* "verified, seen, approved", again seals the bag and sends it by its *kisedār* to the *kāghad emīnī* (who collects the chancellery dues).

According to the *ḳānūn* of Meḥemmed II, the *nishāndjis* had to be recruited from the *müderrisīn* of the grade of *dākhil* and *ṣaḥn*, i.e. from among lawyers (evidently on account of the qualifications demanded by them as regards legislation) and also from the *defterdārs* [see DAFTARDĀR] and the *re'īs ül-küttāb* [*q.v.*]. The early *defterdārs* ranked on this occasion as equal to the *beylerbeyis*, the early *re'īs al-küttāb* only ranked equal to the *sandjak-beyi*.

The *re'īs al-küttāb* became more important, and the *nishāndjis* gradually saw their functions reduced to the calligraphy of the *tughras*. Among their duties, however, they retained the control of the registration of transfers of *tīmārs* [*q.v.*] and of the *wakf* villages (*Ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, 14, n. 5, suppl. to *TOEM* [1330/1912]).

According to the same *ḳānūn-nāme*, in the *dīwān-i hümāyūn*, the *nishāndjis* occupied the place of honour (*ṣadr*) along with the *wezīrs*, the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* and the *defterdārs*.

With the expansion of the empire, the *nishāndjis* were obliged to call in other officials for help; the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed II contains provisions for the *nishāndji* to be aided by the *kubbe wezīr*, who became called the *tughrakesh wezīr*, and commanders-in-chief (*serdār*) also had the privilege of affixing the *tughra*.

The work of the *nishāndjis* was somewhat lightened by the fact that the orders of the Porte destined for the capital did not have a *tughra*; only *firmāns* sent to the provinces were *tughralî* ("supplied with a *tughra*") (Mouradja d'Ohsson, Bianchi and Kieffer, under the word *ṭughralî*).

In conclusion, it may be added that the high officials and even the governors of the second class in tracing their *penče* frequently gave it a form very like that of the *tughra*. See photographs of orders issued by the former *wālīs* of Egypt (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 16-17) in which the *penče* resembles the sultan's *tughra*. Instead of (in the *penčes* of 1061 and 1062/1051-2 side-by-side with) *muẓaffar*, two, and later three, elliptical circles

are found. With the three shafts, they form letters *ṭā'* which, apparently, are an *a posteriori* reminiscence of the initial of the word *ṭūgh*. Instead of *dā'ima*, *ṣaḥḥ* is found. Instead of being at the top of the document, they were put on the margin of the right side and perpendicular to it.

When the *nishāndjī* disappeared with the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms, officials called *tughrakesh* were kept to draw the *tughra*.

Bibliography: For older Bibl., see *EI*[1] art. Of more recent literature, see Pakalın, iii, 525-30; Gibb and Bowen, i, 124 ff.; J. Reychman and A. Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman Turkish diplomatics*, The Hague and Paris 1968, 141-3. (J. Deny*)

(c) In later Turco-Mongol and Persian usage.

For this—in Persia, lasting up to the time of Nādir Shāh and the Ḳādjārs—see DIPLOMATIC. iii and its *Bibl.*

(d) In Indo-Muslim usage.

Shortly after its appearance at the Saldjūḳ court some time in the 11th or 12th century, the *ṭughrā* gradually found its way to South Asia, most likely through the calligraphers who fled conflicts elsewhere in the Islamic world and took refuge in India. Unlike the Ottoman *ṭughrā* which served as an imperial signature or monogram (*ʿalāma*/*shiʿār*), the South Asian *ṭughrā* evolved as a decorative style of writing resembling the Mamlūk *ṭughrā* in Egypt, particularly in the regular repetition of the elongated vertical letters (e.g. the *alif*) drawn from the horizontal band of the calligraphic programme and the symmetrical arrangement of those verticals. This essential feature of the *ṭughrā* is visible in a number of inscriptions in Islamic architecture in South Asia, such as the invocations, *al-mulk li 'llah* and *Allāh Kāfī*, inscribed on medallions at Radja ki-Bain Masdjid *ca.* 912/1506 and Ḳilʿa-i-Kuhna Masdjid (*ca.* 948/1541) in Dihlī and in the early 17th-century mausoleum of Shāh Dawlat in Manēr, Bihār (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 1); a Persian inscription of the ʿĪdghāh in Jalor, Radjasthān (*ca.* 718/1318); an Arabic inscription over the east gateway of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid of Aḥmadābād, Gudjarāt, dated 827/1424 (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 2); and the tomb inscription of Muḥammad Amīn, the Ḳuṭb Shāhī ruler in Golconda, dated 1004/1595-6.

It was in Bengal, however, where the *ṭughrā* flourished and dominated architectural calligraphy during the 14th, 15th and early part of the 16th centuries. Because of its distinctive ornamental style, this regional variety can aptly be called the Bengali *ṭughrā*. The Miyāna Dar inscription (dated 871/1466-67) in Gawr presents a fascinating example of this regional development. On it, the surface has been divided into thirty-two calligraphic panels, each alternating *ṭughrā* and monumental *thulth* styles (Pl. XXXIII, fig. 3). Interestingly, only in this inscription does the calligraphy resemble the Ottoman *ṭughrā*. In monumental Bengali *ṭughrās*, the convoluted uprights (*muntaṣibāt*) of the vertical letters are highly stylised (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4a), often bearing the characteristics of the letter *alif* of *thulth* with distinctive features of *zulf*, *badn* and *sayf* (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4b). While the crescent-like undulating curves represented by the oval letters such as *nūn* and *yā'* (Pl. XXXV, fig. 5), and in some cases the upper horizontal stroke (*shākila*) of the letter *kāf* (Pl. XXXIV, fig. 4c) and the word *fī* (Pl. XXXV, fig. 6), are superimposed on the extended uprights of the vertical letters, the main body of the text clusters very thickly at the bottom rendering an extremely intricate pattern of writing (see Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, *An epigraphical journey to an Eastern Islamic land*, in *Muqarnas*, vii [1990], 83-108). The calligraphers thus ranged freely in producing different forms and patterns of *ṭughrā*, using their creative imagination. However, it is not difficult to find a rhythmic pattern in the movement of the letters and the flow of lines in Bengali *ṭughrās*, which often contained a metaphorical expression of life, nature, and the environment of Bengal in abstract forms ranging from the bow and arrow of Bengali hunting life (fig. 5) to the swan and reeds of riverine rural Bengal (fig. 6). Though the *ṭughrā* lost its popularity in Bengal in the mid-16th century, it continued to appear in some South Indian Muslim kingdoms such as Golconda, Bidjapur, and Ḥaydarābād (see Siddiq, *al-Ṭughrā wa 'stikhdāmuhā fi 'l-Bangāl*, in *al-Fayṣal*, no. 148 [May-June 1989], 95-100).

The *ṭughrā* was used in some cases on coins during the Sultanate and Mughal periods (e.g. on some coins of the Emperor Akbar) in Dihlī and also in the east by the sultans of Djawnpur [*q.v.*]. It was also occasionally used on *farmāns* (e.g. the *farmān* of the Mughal Empress Nūr Djahān and Maḥmūd Shāh, the Bahmanid sultan of Gulbaraga in the Deccan). Among the rulers, however, the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh Ẓafar (d. 1862) is best known for his charming little calligraphic pictures of faces and flowers in *ṭughrā* style. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, zoomorphic patterns of the *ṭughrā*, often in the form of lions, horses, camels, or birds usually containing a Shīʿī invocation, became popular. The *ṭughrā* is still popular for calligraphic designs in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan, where it is widely used for official and institutional monograms, for example, on postage stamps, coins, medals and legal deeds. Quite often, these monograms resemble the late Ottoman *ṭughrā* in their appearance.

Bibliography: Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd*, Kānpur 1846; Muḥammad Ghulām, *Tadhkira-yi khushniwīsān*, ed. H. Hidayet Husain, Calcutta 1910; G. Yazdani, *A new inscription of Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12), 5-7; Shamsud-Din Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Rajshahi 1960; M.A. Chagtai, *Pāk wa Hind mēn Islāmī khaṭṭāṭī*, Lahore 1976.

(Muhammad Yusuf Siddiq)

TUGHRĀ, MULLĀ, 17th-century Indo-Persian poet, died *ca.* 1078/1667 (see Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, Add. 16,852).

According to most accounts, he was a native of Mashhad, but Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, who was his contemporary, mentions him as a Tabrīzī, stating at the same time that he heard the poet being called Mashhadī (*Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1361/1982, 339). Tughrā went to India towards the end of Djahāngīr's reign or in the beginning of Shāh Djahān's time. His first employer there was Mīr Muḥammad Saʿīd Mīr Djumla (d. 1663), prime minister of ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh of Golconda. Later, he served as secretary for Shāh Djahān's youngest son Murād Bakhsh (d. 1661). He accompanied the latter in his expedition to Balkh (1646), and travelled widely in the Deccan, finally settling in Kashmīr, where he died.

Tughrā's poetic output comprises *ghazals*, *ḳaṣīdas*, *ḳiṭʿas*, *mathnawīs* and other similar conventional verse forms. Among the *mathnawīs* is his *Sāḳī-nāma*, "Book of the cup-bearer", a lengthy work of some 10,000 couplets, composed by him after Ẓuhūrī's poem in the same genre (see Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, i, Mashhad 1369/1991, 816). In those poems
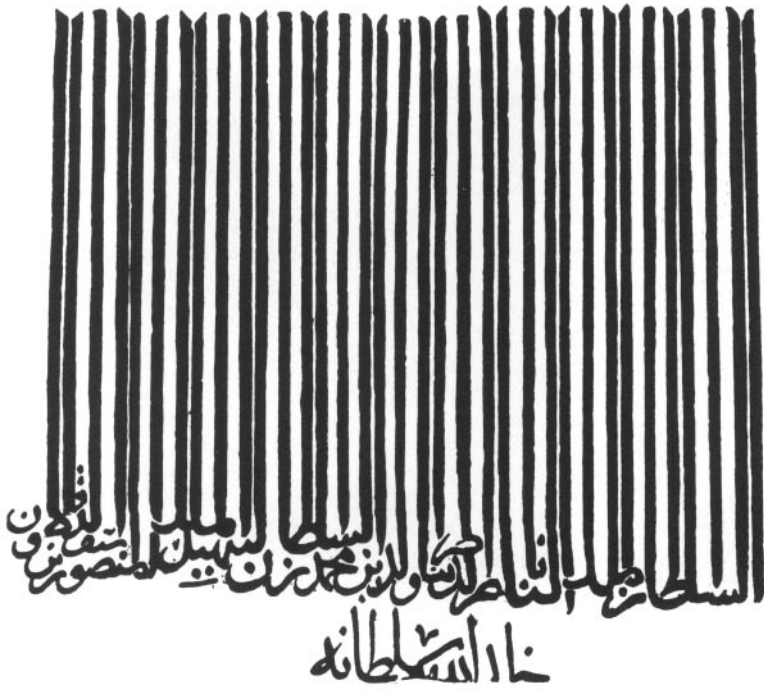
Fig. 1
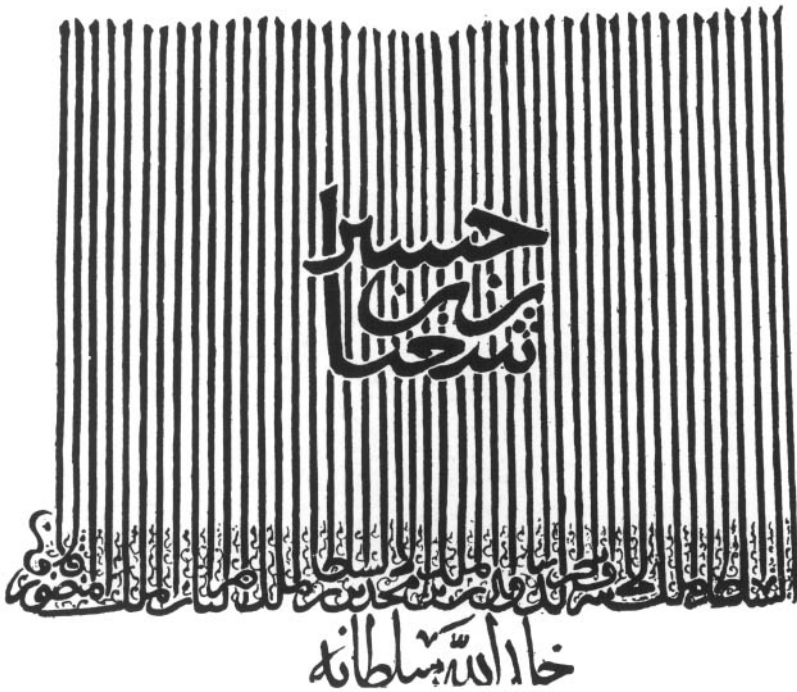
Fig. 2

Fig. 3
Tughra of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-13).

Fig. 4
Tughra of Meḥemmed III (1595-1603).

Fig. 5
Tughra of Ibrāhīm I (1640-48).

Fig. 6
Tughra of Maḥmūd I (1730-54).

Fig. 7
Tughra of Muṣṭafā III (1757-73).

Fig. 8
Tughra of Maḥmūd II (1808-39).

Fig. 9
Tughra of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76).
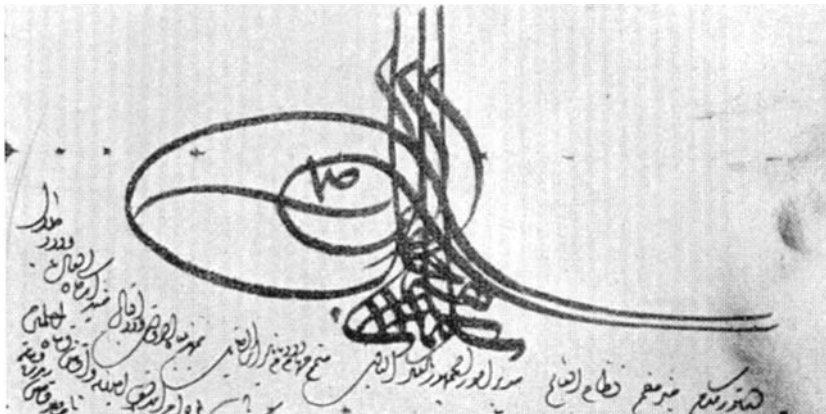
Fig. 10
Tughra of Sultan Süleymān II (III) b. Ibrāhīm on a *firmān* of the first ten days of Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1099/28 August-6 September 1688
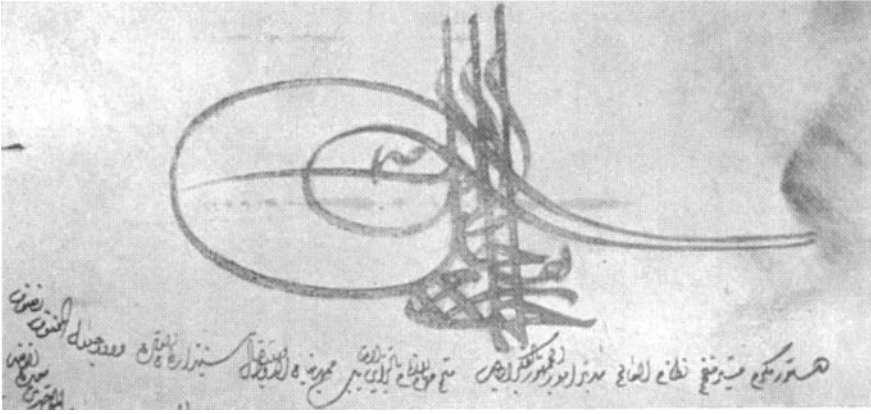
Fig. 11
Tughra of Sultan Aḥmad II b. Ibrāhīm on a *firmān* of the second ten days of Djumādā II 1104/16-25 February 1693

Fig. 12
A merchant's name arranged in a *tughra*
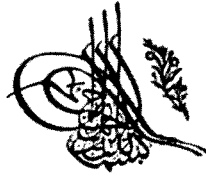
Fig. 13
Basmala tughra in a menu of a restaurant in Cairo
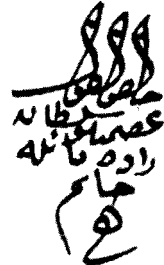
Fig. 15
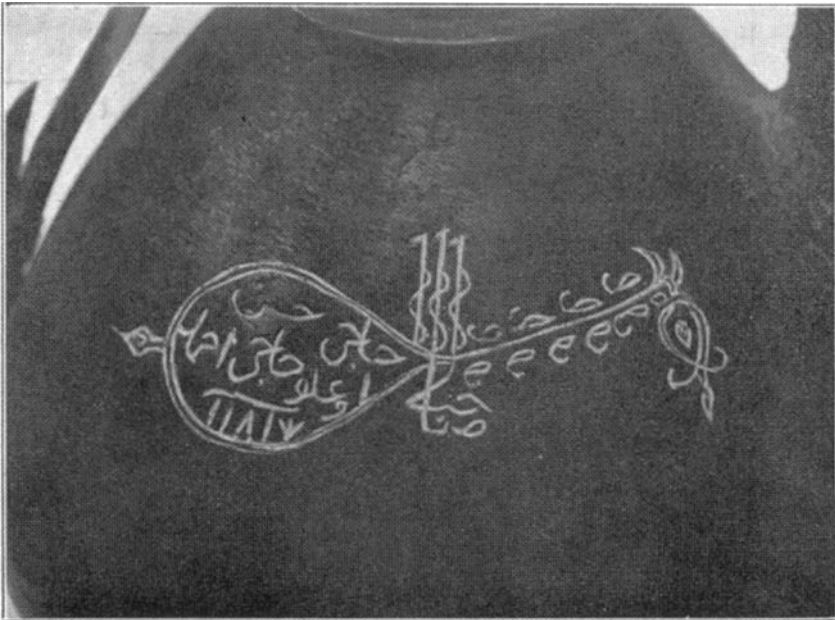
Fig. 14
Owner's mark on a signboard from Marʿash
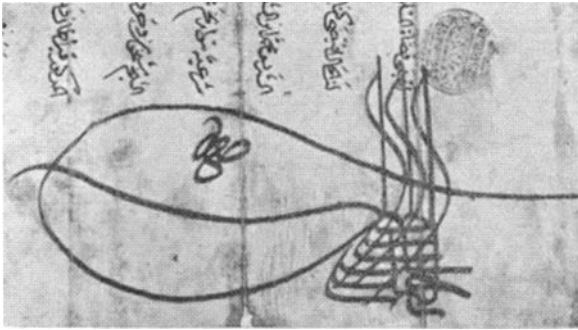
Fig. 16. *Nis͟hānd͟jī* Aḥmed Pas͟ha
10 Rabīʿ II 1026/17 April 1617
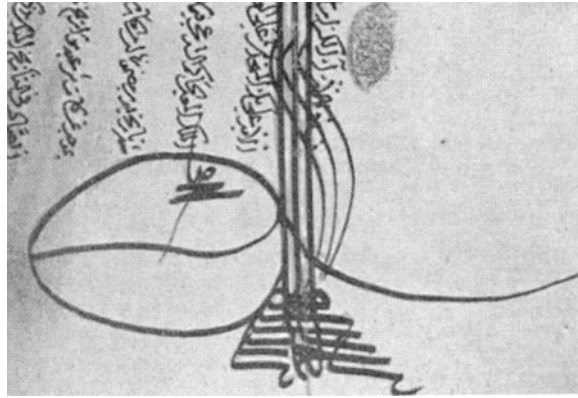
Fig. 17. *Tars͟hund͟jī* Aḥmed Pas͟ha
7 S͟hawwāl 1060/4 October 1650
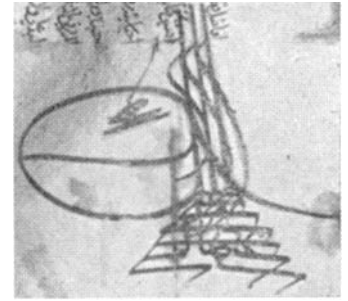
Fig. 24. *Bos͟hnak* ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha
9 Rabīʿ II 1093/17 April 1682
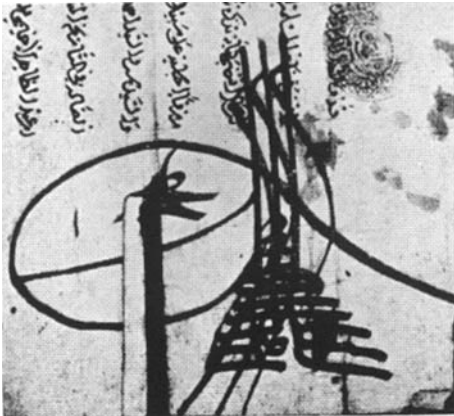
Fig. 18
K͟hādim (*K͟hadum-beyāzī*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pas͟ha
18 D͟hu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1061/2 November 1651
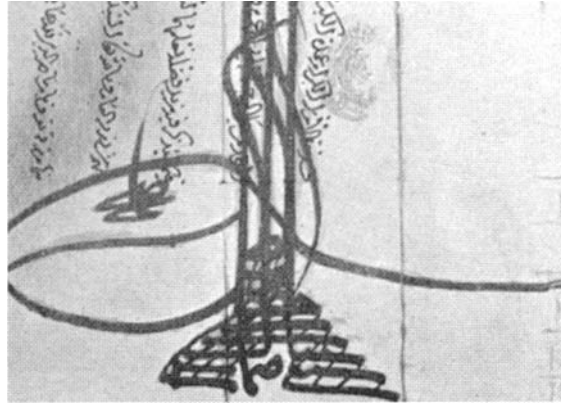
Fig. 19
K͟hādim (*K͟hadum-beyāzī*) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pas͟ha
17 Muḥarram 1062/30 December 1651
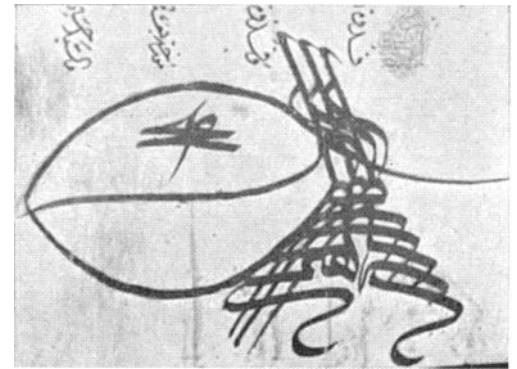
Fig. 20
(Dāmād) Malik Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha
10 Rabīʿ I 1072/3 November 1661
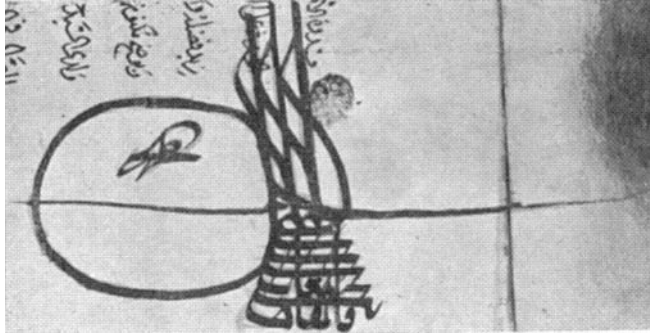
Fig. 21
Ken'ān, *ḳaymaḳām* (of the *wālī*) 19 Radjab 1080/3 December 1669
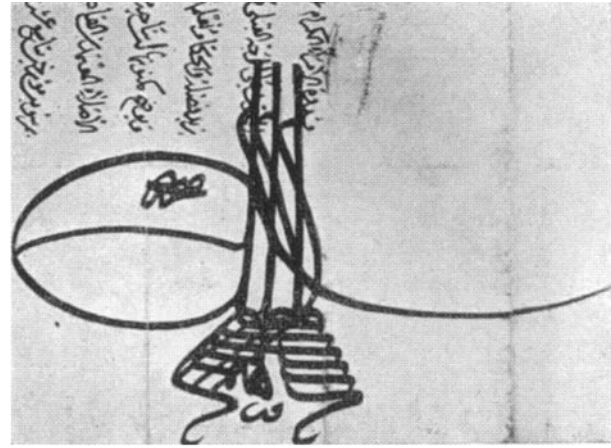
Fig. 22
Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pasha, 14 Sha'bān 1081/27 December 1670
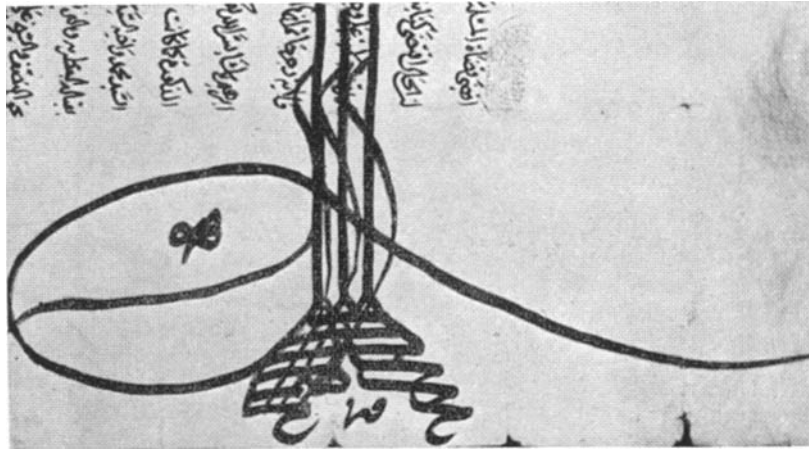
Fig. 23
Ḳara Ibrāhīm Pasha, 14 Muḥarram 1083/12 May 1672
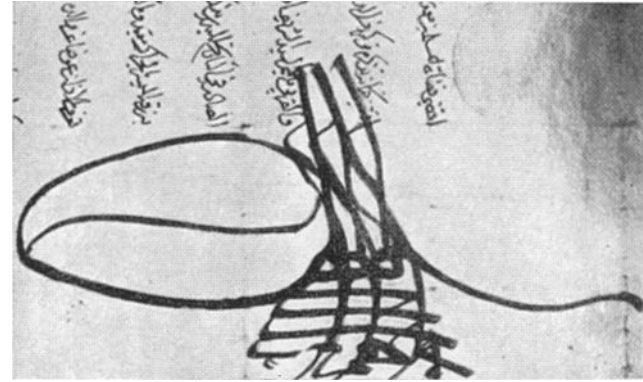
Fig. 25
Ḥamza Pasha, 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1096/24 November 1685
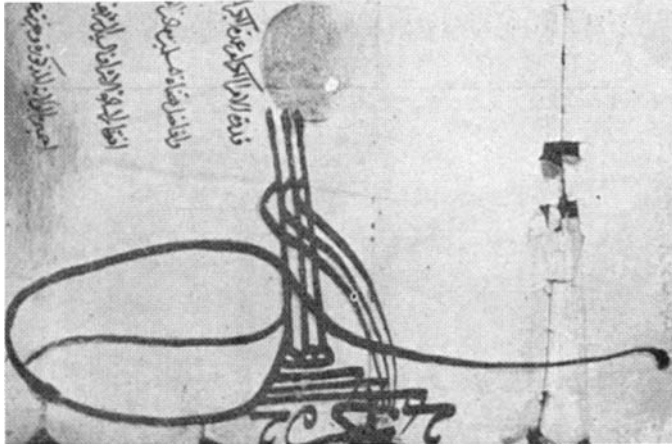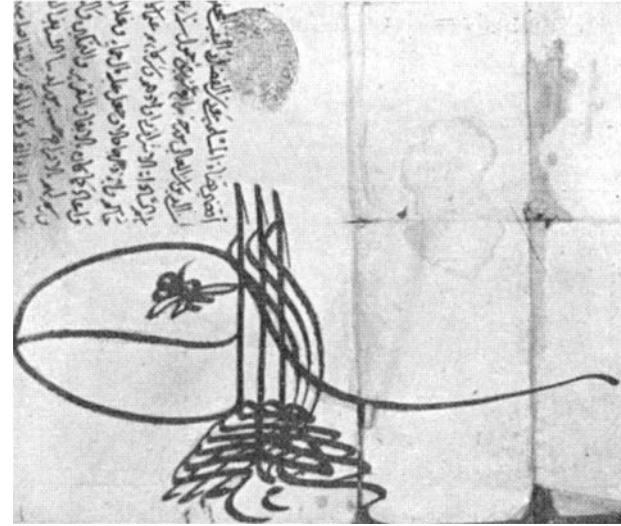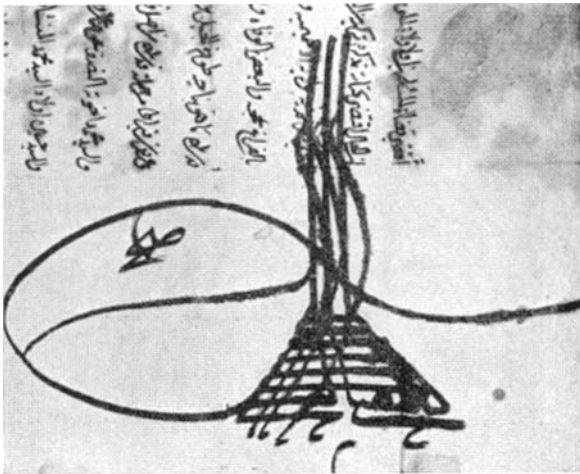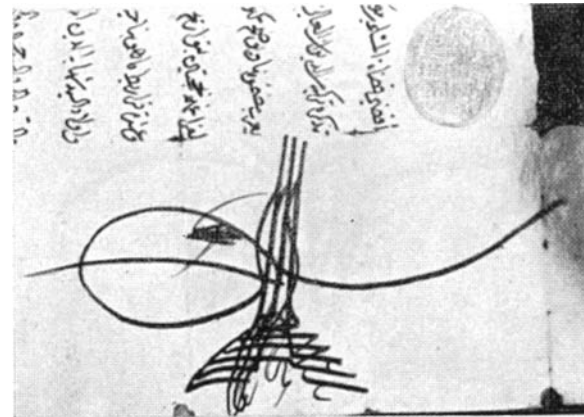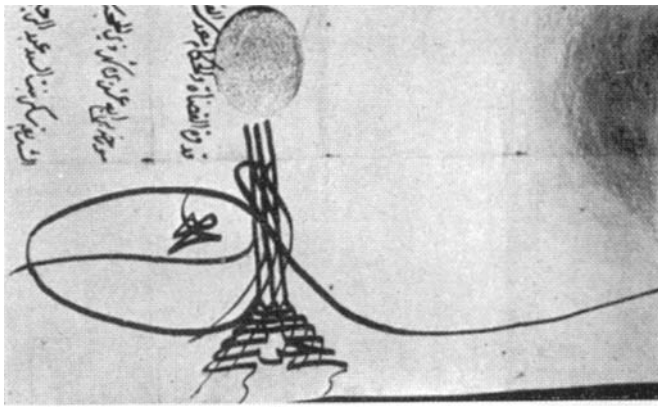
Fig. 30
Dāmād Ḥasan Pasha, 24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1120/6 March 1709
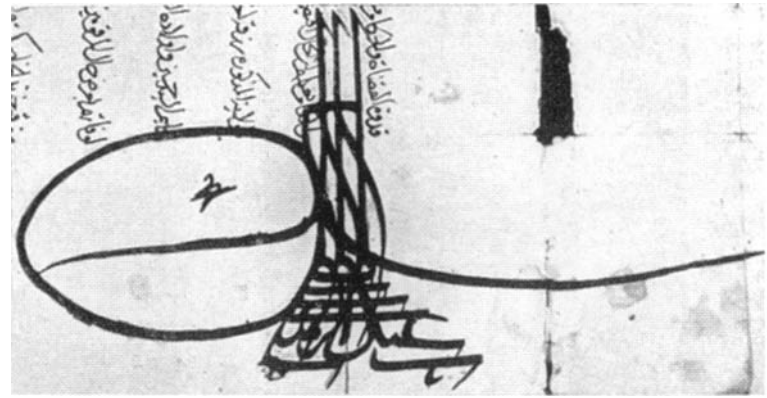
Fig. 31
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha, 10 Rabīʿ II 1089/1 June 1678
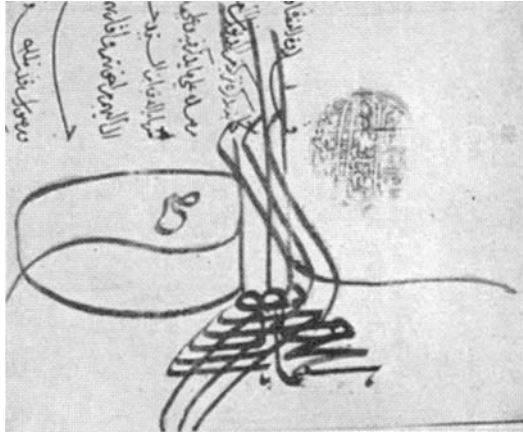
Fig. 32
Ṣadr-i̊ Sābiḳ Nishāndji̊ Meḥmed Pasha
14 Shaʿbān 1137/28 April 1725
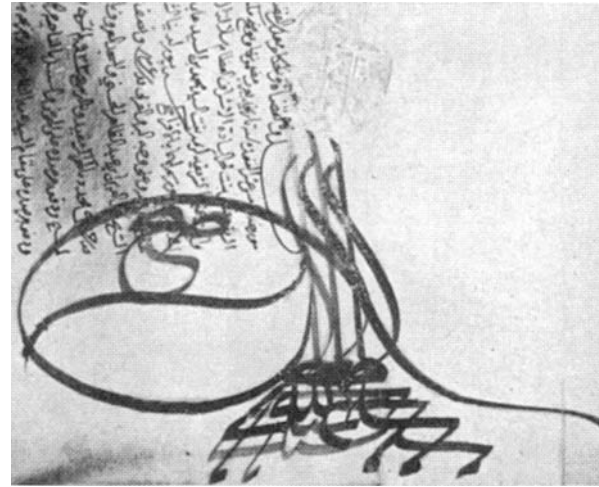
Fig. 33. *Boynu-eyri* Ḥasan-Pasha-Zāde ʿAbd Allāh Pasha
15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1165/24 September 1752
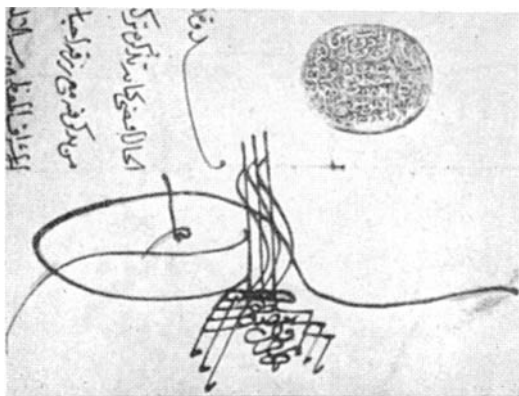
Fig. 34. Nābulusī Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a
12 Rad̲j̲ab 1188/18 September 1774
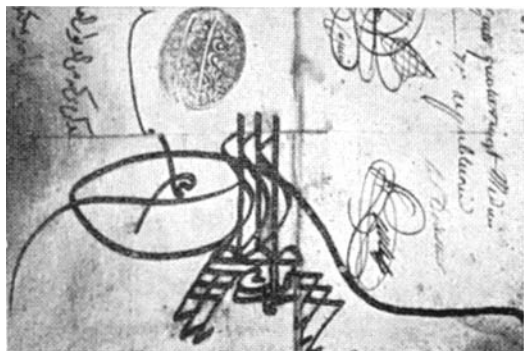
Fig. 35. *Silihdār* Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a
D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 1195/18 November 1781
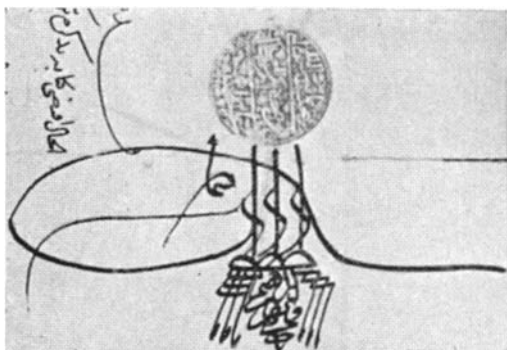
Fig. 36. Ibrāhīm Bey, *ḳaymaḳām*
19 D̲j̲umādā II 1199/29 April 1785
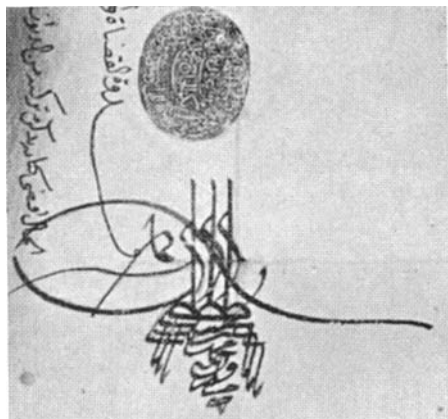
Fig. 37. Yegen Meḥemmed Pas̲h̲a
13 Rad̲j̲ab 1200/12 May 1786
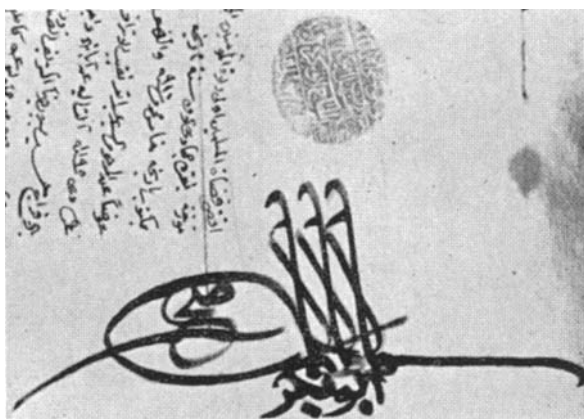
Fig. 38. Loḳmad̲j̲î (Abū) Bakr Pas̲h̲a
1 D̲j̲umādā I 1212/1 November 1797

where the poet's pen-name Tug͟hrā did not scan in the metre, he has employed S͟hīfta as his pen-name. A conspicuous element in his poems is the occurrence of Hindī words, in the use of which one discerns a deliberate effort on the part of the author.

Although Tug͟hrā's poetry was reportedly much admired during its time, it was his prose writings that won greater exposure and recognition in wider circles. He was the author of a number of treatises (*risālas*) that include descriptions of places, eulogies of individuals, discussion on mysticism, collection of metaphors from music and medicine, poetical application of the names of the planets, letters, praise of Zulālī K͟hʷānsārī's (d. *ca.* 1025/1616) seven *mat͟hnawīs*, as well as some other subjects. Seventeen of these treatises were published at Kānpūr (1871, 1903) and Lakhnaw (1885), and formed part of the curriculum used previously in *madrasa* education.

Bibliography: See also *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, iii, Calcutta 1912, no. 333; ʿAlī Ḳulī K͟hān Wālih Dāg͟histānī, *Riyāḍ al-s͟huʿarā*ʾ, Pers. mss., no. H.G. 51/3, Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University; Muḥammad Ḳudrat Allāh Gopāmawī, *Natāʾid͟j al-afkār*, Bombay 1336/1957; G͟hulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Sarw-i āzād*, Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) 1913; Mīr Ḥusayn Dūst Sanbhalī, *Tad͟hkira-yi Ḥusaynī*, Lakhnaw 1875; Muḥammad Afḍal Sark͟hus͟h, *Kalimāt al-s͟huʿarā*ʾ, ed. Ṣādiḳ ʿAlī Dilāwarī, Lahore 1942; Ḥusām al-Dīn Ras͟hīdī, *Tad͟hkira-yi s͟huʿarāʾ-yi Kas͟hmīr*, ii, Karachi 1968; M.L. Rahman, *Persian literature in India during the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan*, Baroda 1970; Aḥmad Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tad͟hkira-yi paymāna*, Mas͟hhad 1359/1980; D͟habīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Tārīk͟h-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, v/3, Tehran 1372/1993; Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian literature*, Delhi 1995. (Munibur Rahman)

AL-ṬUG͟HRĀʾĪ, Muʾayyid al-Dīn Abū Ismāʿīl al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Muns͟hiʾ al-Iṣbahānī, secretary, Arabic poet and alchemist.

He was born in 453/1061 at Iṣfahān, and his poems give ample testimony of his lasting attachment to his native town. He entered the service of Sald͟jūḳs at the time of Malik S͟hāh and went on to become chief secretary under that ruler's son, Muḥammad I, with the titles *muns͟hi*ʾ, *mutawallī dīwān al-ṭug͟hrā*ʾ and *ṣāḥib dīwān al-ins͟hā*ʾ; in short, he was the second most senior official (after the *wazīr*) in the civil administration of the Sald͟jūḳid empire. The sources praise the excellence of his style, as well as his beautiful handwriting, but none of his official letters seems to survive. In 513/1119, not long after the death of Muḥammad I, the prince Masʿūd b. Muḥammad rebelled against his brother Maḥmūd III and declared himself sultan, at the instigation, it is said, of al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī, whom he made his *wazīr*. When Masʿūd was routed the following year, the victorious Maḥmūd pardoned his brother, but al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī was accused of being an apostate (*mulḥid*, presumably meaning an Ismāʿīlī), and executed (in the unanimous opinion of the historians, unjustly) by order of Maḥmūd's *wazīr*, al-Simīrumī; the best sources put this in Rabīʿ I 515/1121. His death was avenged in Ṣafar 516/1122, when one of his former slaves assassinated al-Simīrumī in Bag͟hdād; this circumstance invalidates the date 518/1124 which some authors give for al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī's execution.

Al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī's Arabic *dīwān* (critical edition by ʿAlī D͟jawād al-Ṭāhir and Yaḥyā D͟jabūrī, Bag͟hdād 1396/1976) contains odes to Malik S͟hāh's minister Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], his chief secretary Muʿīn al-Mulk Muḥammad b. Faḍl, the sultans Muḥammad I and Masʿūd [*q.vv.*] and to various other persons, but also many private poems and incidental pieces. In two short poems (nos. 28, 127) he declares his S͟hīʿī sympathies, but on the whole his verse does not have a strongly religious flavour. Through some quirk of fate, a single one of his poems has eclipsed all the others, namely a longish *ḳaṣīda* bewailing his ill-treatment at the hands of his contemporaries, commonly known as the *lāmiyyat al-ʿad͟jam*, a name which it owes to a superficial resemblance with the much earlier *lāmiyyat al-ʿarab* of al-S͟hanfarā [*q.v.*]. It has been the subject of various commentaries, the earliest, it seems, by al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219), but the most famous is the gargantuan *G͟hayt͟h al-musad͟jd͟jam bi-s͟harḥ lāmiyyat al-ʿad͟jam* by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363 [*q.v.*]; printed several times in Cairo); for other commentaries, supercommentaries, *tak͟hmīsāt*, etc., see Brockelmann. It was first printed, with a Latin translation by Golius, in Leiden in 1629, and, again with a Latin version, by Pococke, Oxford 1661, probably the first major work of Arabic poetry to be made known in the West. An English translation is contained in J.D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabic poetry*, Oxford 1796.

Al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī was also a famous and prolific author on alchemy. Of his extant works on that subject (listed, with a brief indication of their contents, in Ullmann; none of them is available in print) the most interesting appears to be the *Kitāb Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-istis͟hhād* of 505/1112, a response to Ibn Sīnā's refutation of alchemy. The famous philosopher had maintained that each mineral belongs to a separate species, with its own "specific difference" (*faṣl*), and that consequently the transmutation of one mineral to another is impossible. Al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī accepted that each mineral has its own "specific difference", but claimed that the alchemist could "prepare" one substance for a divine intervention which would transform it to another, citing as a decidedly unfortunate parallel the supposed spontaneous generation of scorpions from a mixture of dust and straw. Some three centuries later, Ibn K͟haldūn summarised and rejected the arguments of both sides and defended a position which comes close to that of modern science: the minerals are all composed of the same basic elements and are thus, in principle, capable of transmutation, but the possibility of effecting the change surpasses the limits of human knowledge.

Bibliography: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, xii, 453-4, s.v. al-Muns͟hiʾ; idem, *Mud͟hayyil taʾrīk͟h Bag͟hdād* (ms.); Nīs͟hābūrī, *Sald͟jūḳ-nāma*, Tehran 1332 *S͟h.*/1953, 54, 65; Nad͟jm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rad͟jā al-Ḳummī, *Tārīk͟h al-wuzarā*ʾ, Tehran 1363 *S͟h.*/1984, 226-9 (quoting the *Naft͟hat al-maṣdūr* of al-Tug͟hrāʾī's contemporary, Anūs͟hirwān b. K͟hālid); ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Nuṣrat al-fatra* (partially contained in al-Bundārī's abridgement, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 110, 116, 132-3, 174; likewise derived from Anūs͟hirwān, but does not overlap with Nad͟jm al-Dīn); idem, *K͟harīdat al-kasr* (ms.); Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, London 1921, 225, 239-41; Yāḳūt, *Udabā*ʾ, iv, 51-60 (derives, according to al-Ṭāhir, mainly from ʿImād's *K͟harīda*); Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 395-6; Ibn K͟hallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, ii, 185-9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xii, no. 387; Ibn K͟haldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 234-5, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 273-4; Brockelmann, I², 286-8, S I, 439-40; *EI*¹ art. *al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī* (F. Krenkow); ʿAlī D͟jawād al-Ṭāhir, *al-Ṭug͟hrāʾī ḥayātuhu s͟hiʿruhu lāmiyyatuhu*, Bag͟hdād 1963; idem, *al-S͟hiʿr al-ʿarabī fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ wa-bilād al-ʿad͟jam fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-sald͟jūḳī*, ²Beirut 1405/1985, 101-30 (the best study, with detailed list of primary and secondary sources); M. Ullmann,

Fig. 1. *Allāh Kāfī* inscribed on a medallion in the early 17th century mausoleum of S͟hāh Dawlat in Manēr in Bihār.
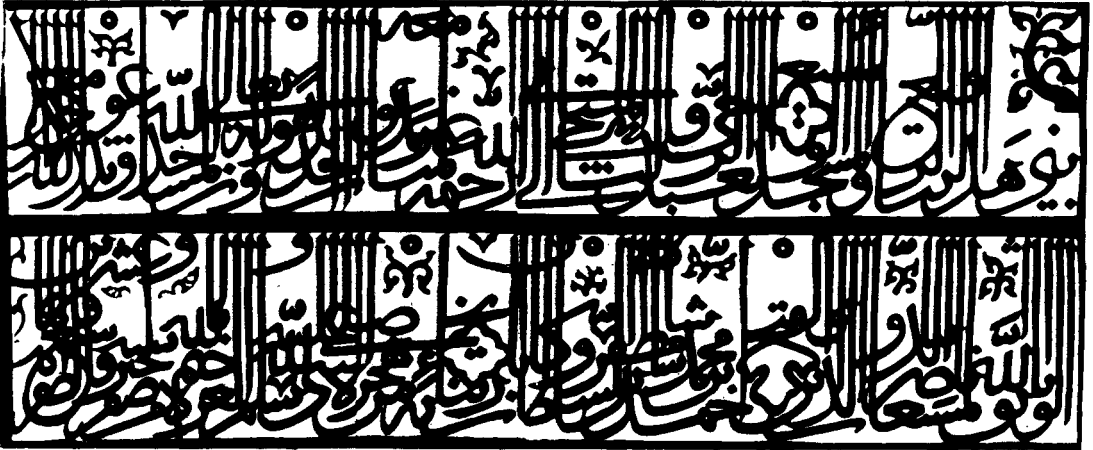
Fig. 2. An Arabic inscription dated 827/1424 from the reign of Sultan Aḥmad S͟hāh over the east gateway of the D̲j̲āmiʿ Masd̲j̲id in Aḥmadābād in Gud̲j̲arāt.
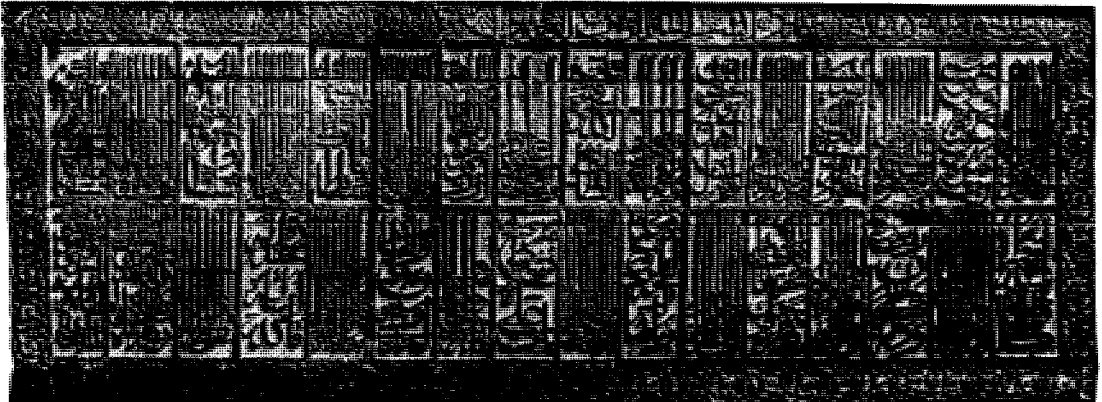
Fig. 3. Miyāna Dar inscription dated 871/1466-7 from the reign of Sultan Bārbak S͟hāh of Gawr, Bengal, now preserved in the University Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
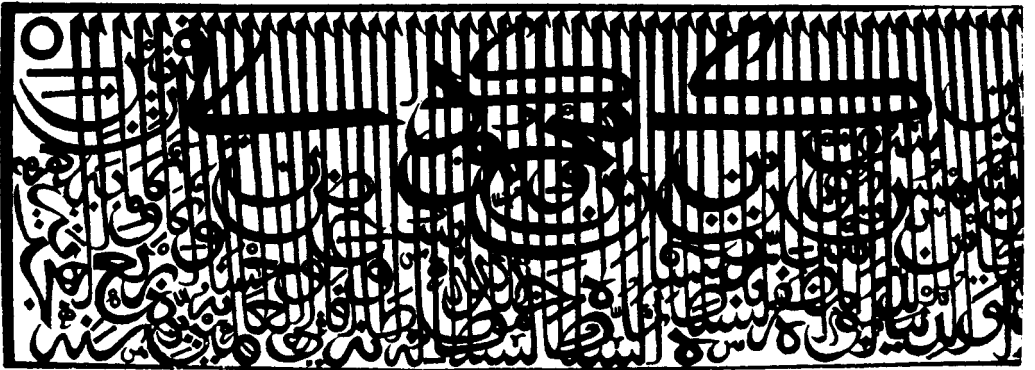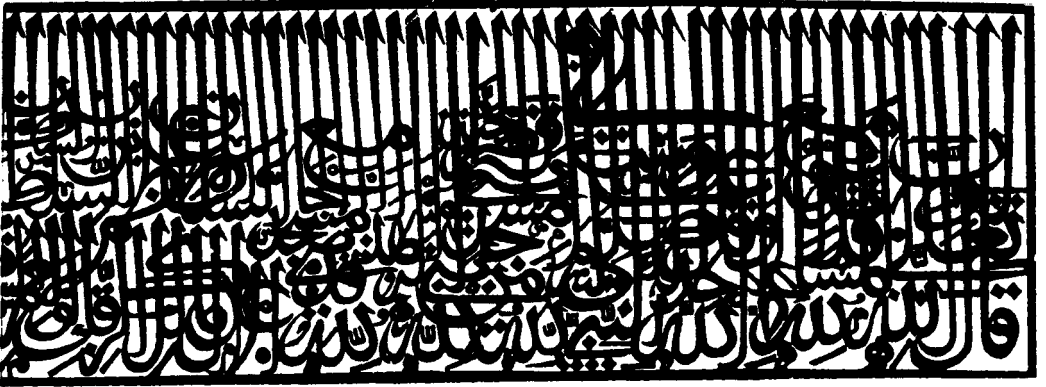
Fig. 4a. Darsbārī Masdjid inscription dated 884/1479-80 from the reign of Sultan Yūsuf Shāh of Gawr, Bengal, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 4b. The letter *alif* in the Darsbārī Masdjid inscription, with distinctive features of *zulf, badn* and *sayf.*

Fig. 4c. The upper horizontal stroke (*shākila*) of the letter *kāf* superimposed on the elongated uprights of the vertical letters in the Darsbārī Masdjid inscription dated 884/1479.
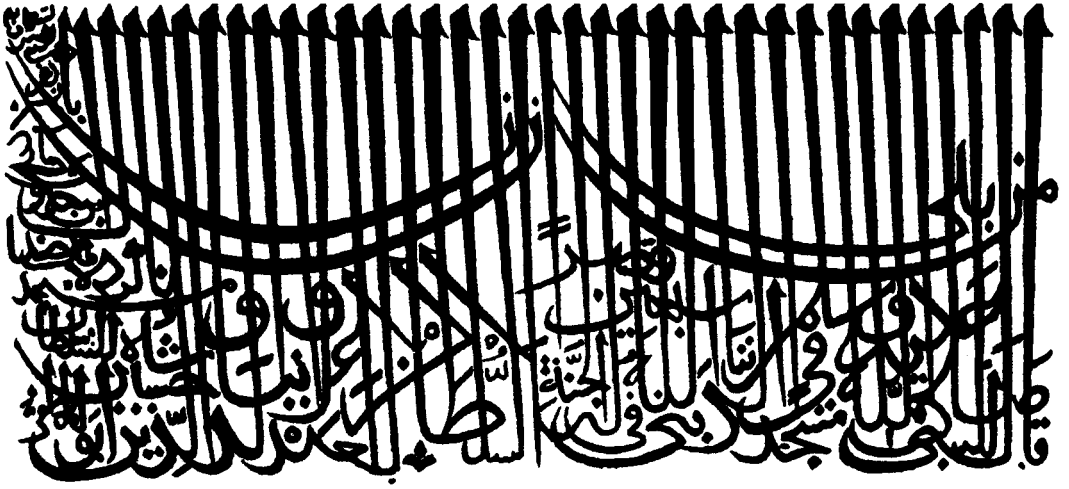
Fig. 5. The bow-arrow variety of *tughrā* in the Kusumba Masdjid inscription in Rajshabi, Bangladesh, dated 904/1498, from the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn Shāh of Gawr, Bengal.
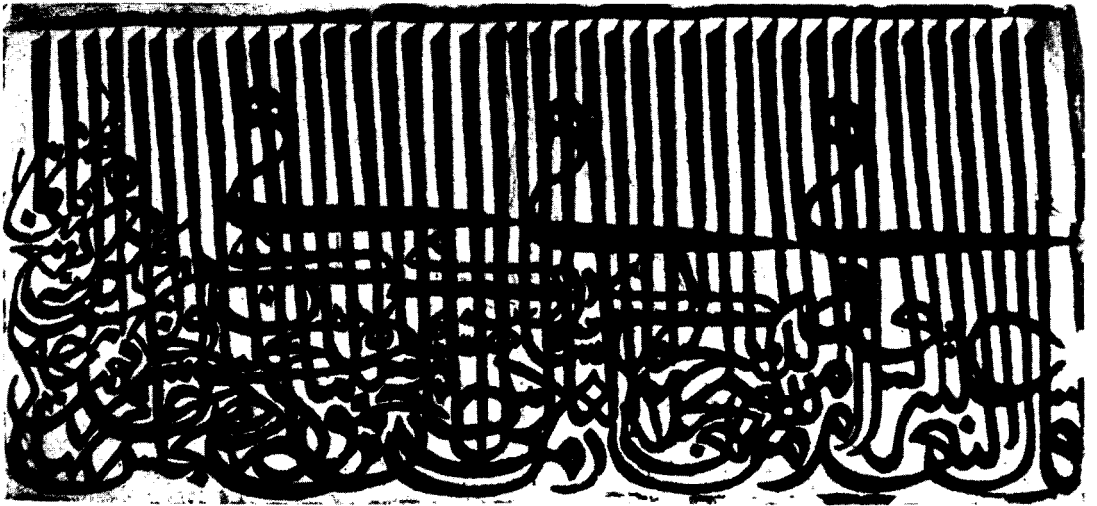
Fig. 6. The swan-reed variety of *tughrā* in a tomb inscription in Peril, near Dhaka, dated 869/1465, from the reign of Sultan Bārbak Shāh of Bengal.

Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, Leiden 1972, 229-31, 252-3. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

ṬUGHTIGIN, ẒAHĪR AL-DĪN ABŪ MANṢŪR (d. 522/1128), Atabeg of Duḳāḳ, son of the Saldjūḳid Tutush [*q.v.*] and founder in Damascus of the Atabeg dynasty of Būrids or Börids (497-549/1104-54 [see BŪRIDS]). He was a Turkish freedman of Tutush, who appointed him governor of Diyār Bakr and Atabeg of Duḳāḳ before giving to him in marriage Duḳāḳ's mother, Ṣafwat al-Mulk. When Tutush died in battle in 488/1095, he became regent for Duḳāḳ in Damascus, but his real reign did not begin till the death of the young Saldjūḳ prince in 497/1104.

Ṭughtigin at first strove to preserve his power by refusing to give back Damascus to Riḍwān [*q.v.*], Duḳāḳ's brother and prince of Aleppo, and by installing on the throne there a brother and then a young son of Duḳāḳ, called Ertash and Tutush respectively. Within a few months, Ertash's flight and Tutush's death allowed the Atabeg to assume sole power. He recognised Riḍwān's suzerainty in the *khuṭba* and *sikka*, but this recognition later disappeared whenever relations between Aleppo and Damascus became tense. Within a few years, Ṭughtigin managed to impose his authority on all the lands between the Ḥawrān in the south and Ḥamāt in the north, so that henceforth he appeared as the most powerful ruler in Syria.

Unlike Riḍwān, who showed no enthusiasm for *djihād* [*q.v.*], Ṭughtigin led several expeditions against the Franks to preserve the food supply of Damascus and communications with Egypt and Arabia. He combatted the Franks of Jerusalem in the regions of the Sawād and of Lake Tiberias, but the truces which followed these fights allowed the Crusaders to levy taxes on a part of the harvests of that region, which gradually passed under their control. He made similar agreements with the Count of Tripoli which gave the Franks a third of the harvests of the Biḳāʿ [*q.v.*], at the same time losing several fortresses in Mount Lebanon. Despite his efforts, he was unable to save Tripoli in 1109 or Tyre in 1124, and towards 519/1125, Damascus itself was threatened for the first time. Ṭughtigin had insufficient forces and power to resist the Crusaders alone, and help from nearby principalities, themselves weak and divided, was insufficient and useless. Despite these checks, Ṭughtigin gradually acquired, in Muslim eyes, the image of a fighter for the faith, as attest his titulature and the poetry written in his praise after 513/1119. Nevertheless, when his interests were threatened, as in 509/1115 when he felt menaced by the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, he did not hesitate to ally with the Franks.

His relations with Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] were, in fact, difficult until 509/1116. Muḥammad probably reproached Ṭughtigin with having impelled Duḳāḳ to support his brother and rival Berk-yaruḳ [see BARKYĀRUḲ] and with having usurped power in 1104. The Atabeg tried on several occasions to regain the sultan's confidence. In 503/1109-10 he even had the intention of going to Baghdād, but rumours of the sultan's desire to remove him from power led him to renounce this. When Mawdūd, *amīr* of Mawṣil, was assassinated in the great Mosque of Damascus by Ismāʿīlīs, Ṭughtigin was suspected of being behind the plot. Feeling threatened, he allied with the *amīr* Il-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], who was also on bad terms with the sultan. Then in 509/1115 Muḥammad sent an army into Syria under the command of the governor of Hamadhān, Bursuḳ b. Bursuḳ, with instructions to combat the two *amīrs* and then turn to attacking the Franks. Ṭughtigin and Il-Ghāzī preferred to ally with the Crusaders rather than lose their own power. The sultan's army was in the end defeated by the Crusaders without the intervention of the two *amīrs*, but in the next year, Ṭughtigin, regretting his attitude and disturbed by the Franks' advance, travelled to Baghdād and obtained the sultan's pardon and recognition of the government over his territories.

Within Damascus, Ṭughtigin's reign was marked by the rise of the Bāṭiniyya or Ismāʿīlīs under their Persian *dāʿī* Bahrām. The Atabeg allowed them to have a centre for propaganda (*dār al-daʿwa*) in the city and in 520/1126 handed over the fortress of Bāniyās [*q.v.*] to the south of Damascus to them. It remains obscure why he favoured this Shīʿī sect; he probably thought that their support might be useful against the Franks and Saldjūḳids. The Atabeg's death in 522/1128 coincided with Zangī's arrival in Aleppo, and from this time onwards it was northern Syria which was to be ahead of Damascus in the fight against the Crusaders. Ṭughtigin was buried near the *muṣallā* [*q.v.*] to the south of Damascus. His fighting skill and bravery made him, like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn after him, a legendary figure in the epic Frankish literature of the 13th century. As the hero of the *Ordene de chevalerie* under the name of Huon of Tabarié, he was represented as a Muslim prince converted to Christianity who was said to have fought at the side of the Jerusalem Franks (J. Richard, *Huon de Tabarié*, in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien. Mélanges R. Louis*, Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982, 1073-8).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. Amedroz, Leiden 1908, Eng. tr. Gibb, London 1932, Fr. tr. Le Tourneau, Damascus 1952; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Wulāt Dimashk fi ʾl-ʿahd al-saldjūḳī*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1949; Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, ms. Vienna AF 117, i; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. al-Dahhān, Damascus 1954, ii; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 296; M.A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin-New York 1991; J.-M. Mouton, *Damas et sa principauté sous les Saljoukides et les Bourides, 468-549/1076-1153*, Cairo 1994. (ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

TUKARŌʾĪ or MUGHALMĀRĪ, a place near Midnapūr in the southern part of West Bengal, the site of a battle in 982/1574 between Akbar's finance minister and commander Rādjā Tōḍar Mal [*q.v.*] and the young ruler of Bengal, Dāwūd Khān Kararānī [*q.v.*], who had repudiated Mughal suzerainty. Dāwūd Khān was beaten by a ruse [see ḤARB. vi, at Vol. III, 202b] and forced to flee, allowing Akbar formally to annex Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Bibliography: See that to DĀWŪD KHĀN KARARĀNĪ, and also J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire* (= *The New Camb. hist. of India*, I. 5), Cambridge 1993, 33. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬUKHĀRISTĀN, the name found in earlier mediaeval Islamic sources for the region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river, in the wider sense of the term (see below), with the ancient of the Balkh as the centre of its western part and such towns as Ṭālaḳān, Andarāb and Walwālīdj [*q.vv.*] as its centres in the narrower acceptation of the term, sc. the eastern part. It comprised in its wider sense the modern Afghān provinces of Fāryāb, Djūzdjān, Balkh, Sanangān, Ḳunduz, Takhār and Badakhshān.

The name of the region obviously preserves a memory of the people known to the Hellenistic Greek historians and geographers as *Tokharoi*, who may have pushed into this upper Oxus region from the Inner

Eurasian steppes as well as into what later became Eastern Turkistān. The Tokharians of Bactria or the upper Oxus region apparently used languages of the Indo-Iranian Saka group; see for these last, J. Harmatta (ed.), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, ii, *The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, UNESCO, Paris 1994, chs. 16-17, and for the history of the Tokharians of Bactria, B.A. Litvinsky (ed.), *History of civilizations of Central Asia*, iii, *The crossroads of civilizations A.D. 250 to 750*, UNESCO, Paris 1996, index, snn. "Bactria", "Tokharistan". But by the time of the coming of the Arabs to the region (sc. the second half of the 7th century), it is dubious whether the local people thought of themselves as in any way "Tokharians", unless perhaps we take into account al-Balād̲h̲urī's mention (*Futūḥ*, 408) of Bal̲kh̲ (in connection with al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays [*q.v.*], who raided into the region in the 650s) as *madīnat Ṭuk̲h̲ārā*. It is also true that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang mentions lands of the T'u-hu-lo in both the desert east of K̲h̲otan (sc. the Takla Makan) and on the Oxus (*Mémoires sur les contrés occidentales*, tr. St. Julien, Paris 1857-8, i, 23, ii, 247). In his time, the western land of T'u-hu-lo was divided into 27 petty principalities, extending northwards across the Oxus as far as the "Iron Gate", sc. the Buzgala defile on the road from Tirmid̲h̲ to Nak̲h̲s̲h̲ab and Kis̲h̲s̲h̲ and thence to the Kashka Darya and Sogdia.

What we do know is that the language of the pre-Islamic inhabitants of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān survived there well into Islamic times on the evidence of the recently-discovered hoard of documents, mainly in the Middle Iranian Bactrian language, written in a cursive script derived from the Greek alphabet (thus confirming Hsüan-tsang's description of the writing system of the people of T'u-hu-lo, cf. Abdur Rahman, *The last two dynasties of the Śāhīs*, Islamabad 1979, 232 ff.), but with some also in Arabic. It seems that we have here the royal archive of a petty prince of Simind̲j̲ān and Rūb in southeastern Ṭuk̲h̲āristān (cf. for Simind̲j̲ān, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1219, year 91/710; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 63, 108-9, comm. 338), whose latest document stems from 549 of the Bactrian era, probably to be equated with A.D. 781, hence from the early ʿAbbāsid period. It is in these documents, one dating from the later 5th century A.D., that we find what is apparently the first mention of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān as such; one single person is described as "the Hephthal *yabg̲h̲u*, the *k̲h̲ar* [= "ruler"] or Rōb, the scribe of the Hephthal lords, the judge of Tuk̲h̲āristān and G̲h̲arčistān".

In the Islamic period, Ṭukhāristān in its wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Bal̲kh̲, right and left of the upper course of the Oxus. According to Yāḳūt (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, iii, 518), there were two Ṭuk̲h̲āristāns, Upper (*al-ʿulyā*) and Lower (*al-suflā*), but he does not seem to have had any exact idea of this division. Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān was said to be east of Bal̲kh̲ and west (according to modern maps south) of the D̲j̲ayḥūn (Oxus); Lower was also west of the D̲j̲ayḥūn but more to the east than Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān. The latter is also mentioned in Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih and Ibn Rusta, and in al-Ṭabarī. According to Ibn Rusta, Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, as was to be expected from the physical features of the country, lay north of the Oxus; on 292, 8, the high-lying territory on both sides of the Upper Oxus is included in Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, along with Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān and S̲h̲ug̲h̲nān. In Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 34, on the other hand, it is assumed, as in Yāḳūt, that Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān lies east of Bal̲kh̲ and south of the Oxus. In al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1589, 1612) the expression Upper Ṭuk̲h̲āristān twice occurs without its situation being defined. In another passage (ii, 1180), we are told that the lands of S̲h̲ūmān and Ak̲h̲arūn (north of the Oxus on the Upper Kāfir-nihān) were in Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, without the qualification *al-ʿulyā*. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 289, 290, calls the district of the town of Bāmiyān [*q.v.*] "the first" (*al-ūlā*) or "the nearest" (*al-dunyā*) Ṭuk̲h̲āristān. Bāmiyān was the "first of the districts (*mamālik*) in the nearest, western Ṭuk̲h̲āristān". Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih assumes that Ṭuk̲h̲āristān extends far to the northwest, including Zamon, the modern Kerkī (36), as well as to the south, where the frontier lands (*t̲h̲ug̲h̲ūr*) of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān are said to be Zābulistān (35) and Kābul (37).

The frontiers of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān in the narrower sense are given most accurately by al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī (270); they were the lands east of Bal̲kh̲, west of Badak̲h̲s̲h̲ān, south of the Oxus and north of the main ridge of the Hindū Kus̲h̲; the most important towns besides the capital Ṭālaḳān or Ṭāyaḳān were Walwālīd̲j̲ and Andarāb.

When the Arabs made their first raids against Bal̲kh̲ and Ṭuk̲h̲āristān in ʿUt̲h̲mān's caliphate, they found various local princes like the above-mentioned *yabg̲h̲u* or D̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya ruling there, but the most powerful single force there was that of the ruler of the northern kingdom (sc. that north of the Hindu Kush) of the Hephthalites (Ar. Hayāṭila [*q.v.*], sing. Hayṭal (for *Habāṭila, sing. *Habṭal). The Hephthalites appear as such for the first time in al-Ṭabarī's history of the Sāsānids during the struggle for the Persian throne amongst his sons after the death of Yazdagird II in 457. They had conquered Ṭuk̲h̲āristān shortly before (al-Ṭabarī, i, 873, 4; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 119); from whom we are not told. During the Arab wars with the native princes, the last Sāsānids and the Turks, for the possession of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān, a D̲j̲abg̲h̲ū (*d̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya*, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1206) is mentioned as king (*malik*) of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān; he was a prince of the Turkish people of the K̲h̲arluk̲h̲ (Ḳarluḳ); the expressions *d̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya al-Ṭuk̲h̲ārī* (ii, 1604, 1612) and *d̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya al-K̲h̲arluk̲h̲ī* (1612) are used promiscuously by al-Ṭabarī, although in one passage (1591) he does make a distinction between Ṭuk̲h̲āristān and the land (*arḍ*) of the *d̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya*.

The conquest of Ṭuk̲h̲āristān was difficult and prolonged for the Arabs. Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], governor of the East for Muʿāwiya, was concerned for the safety of the eastern fringes of K̲h̲urāsān and feared the possibility of a revanche, with Chinese or Hephthalite aid, of the Sāsānid claimant Fīrūz, son of Yazdagird III. In 47/667 his commander al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-G̲h̲ifārī raided into lower Ṭuk̲h̲āristān and G̲h̲arčistān, crossing the Oxus into Čag̲h̲āniyān and driving Fīrūz back to Chinese territory, and in 51/671 al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī conquered Bal̲kh̲ and again crossed into Čag̲h̲āniyān (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 109-10, 155-6; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 16-17). The tribal conflicts in K̲h̲urāsān and the upheavals within the caliphate of the 680s and early 690s were not conducive to an extension of Arab power, and the Arabs faced a redoubtable foe in the Hephthalite ruler Ṭark̲h̲ān Nīzak [*q.v.*], and it was not until 91/709-10 that the governor of K̲h̲urāsān Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] was able to overcome the resistance of Nīzak and his ally the D̲j̲abg̲h̲ūya, killing Nīzak by an act of treachery. From now onwards, Arab control in lower Ṭuk̲h̲āristān was reasonably secure, and Bal̲kh̲ developed into a centre of Arab power (see Gibb, *op. cit.*, 36-42), although the caliphal grip was temporarily shaken by the revolt in 116/734 of al-Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Surayd̲j̲ [*q.v.*], who controlled Bal̲kh̲

for a while and who was supported by the local princes of Ṭuk͟hāristān; these last continued to send embassies to the Imperial Chinese court, requesting help against the Arabs, even after the decisive Arab victory at Talas in 133/751 over the Chinese army. Al-Ḥārit͟h had latterly allied with the K͟hāḳān of the Türges͟h or Western Turks, and Turks seem to have continued to be an ethnic constituent of the (otherwise mainly Iranian) population of Ṭuk͟hāristān; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) mentions K͟halluk͟h (= K͟harluk͟h) Turks as living in its steppe lands.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, Balk͟h and Ṭuk͟hāristān were at first governed by commanders sent out from ʿIrāḳ, but in the early 3rd/9th century they came within the vast governorship of the East allotted to the Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*]. In practice, Ṭuk͟hāristān was left largely to local dynasties, most notably the Abū Dāwūdids or Bānīd͟jūrids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who controlled the silver mines of Andarāb and Pand͟jhīr, issuing their own coins, and whose *amīr* Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was ruling in Balk͟h as late as 286/899; what may have been a parallel branch of the family ruled north of the Oxus in K͟huttal [see KHUTTALĀN] well into the 4th/10th century.

The history of Ṭuk͟hāristān henceforth forms part of that of the great powers of the East which dominated northern Afg͟hānistān—the Sāmānids, the G͟haznawids and the Sald͟jūḳs. Under the dynasty from central Afg͟hānistān of the G͟hūrids Ṭuk͟hāristān and Badak͟hs͟hān at the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th centuries came within the territories of the subordinate branch of the G͟hūrids centred on Bāmiyān. The G͟hūrid historian D͟jūzd͟jānī frequently uses the term Ṭuk͟hāristān in his sections on the G͟hūrid sultans and the irruption of the Mongols, but after that time it seems to have dropped out of use.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 426-8; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 199-248; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 66 ff.; idem, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 17-24. For the history of the region of Ṭuk͟hāristān in the post-Mongol period, see BALKH; KHULM; KUNDUZ; MAYMANA; MAZĀR-I SHARĪF; SHIBARGHĀN; ṬĀLAKĀN.

(W. Barthold-[C.E. Bosworth])

TUKULOR, a name given to the branch of the Fulbe [*q.v.*] (Fulani) people who live in Futa Toro, the middle valley of the Senegal River, and are closely associated with Islamic practice and Islamisation in the wider region. Tukulor (French Toucouleur) is derived from Takrūr [*q.v.*], the name of a town and kingdom in the same middle valley. The derivation probably came from the Wolof language and people who were the western neighbours of the Tukulor; from the Wolof it passed into French colonial practice and from there into widespread usage in European and African ethnographies of Senegal and West Africa.

Over the 20th century, the Tukulor have adjusted to this designation, but they much prefer to call themselves *hāl pulār* "speakers of Pular" (Fulfulde, Fulani), the language common to the Fulbe people who have spread across the Sahelian belt of West Africa. By this term they link themselves to the larger ethnic expression; they also create a context for emphasising the "Fulbe *d͟jihāds*" which occurred in Futa Toro, Futa Jalon (the mountains of Guinea), Masina (the Middle Delta of the Niger) and most spectacularly, in Hausaland under the leadership of ʿUt͟hmān dan Fodio [see ʿUTHMĀN B. FŪDĪ] in the 18th and 19th centuries.

There is no written record of the use of the term Tukulor before the early 19th century. This fact reinforces the probability of derivation from Wolof to French to more general usage, and the close association of the term with Islamic learning, practice and militancy in the middle valley. In late 18th-century Futa Toro, a group of Muslims organised themselves against the depredations of nomadic raiders from the north and the inability of the local Fulbe régime (the Satigis of the Deniyanke dynasty) to provide for their security. Under the leadership of Sulaiman Bal and then Abdul Qadir Kane, they succeeded in defending themselves, mobilising the peasantry and finally in establishing a régime which they called an imāmate or Almamate. These very committed Muslims received the name of *tōrōd̲be* or "seekers of alms" from the Deniyanke, and transformed it into the name for themselves and, ultimately, into the designation of the ruling class of the new order. *Tōrōd̲be* origins were quite diverse ethnically and linguistically (Fulbe, Soninke, Malinke, Wolof, Hassaniyya, etc.). Their ancestors were attracted to the middle valley, largely because of its agricultural productivity, based upon two growing seasons (one rainfed, one floodplain) per year.

Abdul Qadir became the first Almamy (*ca.* late 1770s-1807). Not only did he seek to establish a truly Islamic culture at the village level, in place of the diverse practice of the Deniyanke; he also sought to "export" the Islamic vision and revolution to the west and east of the middle valley. He ultimately failed in his effort, and was assassinated by a coalition of insiders and outsiders exhausted by his militancy and righteousness. His successors in the position of Almamy survived until the French colonial conquest at the end of the 19th century, but they never combined the power and zeal of Abdul Qadir.

The vision of Almamy Abdul Qadir did persist, however, as the ideal of a Muslim leader and state. It also emerged in the word Tukulor, as a way of referring to the inhabitants of the middle valley, or at least many of them, who made Islamic culture into a kind of badge of ethnic identity. At least, so thought the Wolof, and the French after them. Many of the inhabitants of the middle valley who migrated to the west, and especially to St. Louis, the French colonial capital at the mouth of the Senegal River, communicated a sense of superiority in Islamic practice. Most of those who led *d͟jihāds* in western Senegal in the late 19th century, or who emerged as leaders of the Muslim brotherhoods of Senegal in the 20th century, were of Tukulor origin or claimed such an origin for themselves.

One person who gave strong impetus to the association of Tukulor and Islamic militancy was al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar Tal [*q.v.*]. Born in the western confines of Futa Toro in the late 18th century, ʿUmar led a holy war against the Malinke and Bambara regimes of the western parts of modern Mali in the mid-19th century. To accomplish his purposes he recruited on a massive basis throughout Senegambia, and particularly in the middle valley. He enlisted perhaps as many as 40,000 people in the year 1858-9, and his son and principal successor, Aḥmad S͟hek͟hu, continued recruitment in Futa until his defeat by the French in the 1890s. The people who left their farms and homesteads in the middle valley to fight and settle in Nioro, Segu, Bandiagara and other bastions of the east were identified in various ways: *mud͟jāhid*, Futanke, and of course Tukulor.

Those who came back to the middle valley and lived in colonial Senegal reinforced the links between

Futa Toro, Islamic militancy and the designation Tukulor. Seydu Nuru Tal, a grandson of ʿUmar, helped to seal these links during the middle and later years of French colonial rule (*ca.* 1920-60). He used his grandfather's prestige, as the symbol of pre-colonial Islamic practice and militancy, to reinforce colonial authority and to undermine newer forms of Islamic reform.

These identifications have faded somewhat in the last few decades with the diversification and deepening of Islamic practice, the variety of kinds and origins of Islamic reform, the expansion of literacy in Pular and other West African languages, and the absence of any obvious central Islamic authority. The associations of the word Tukulor nonetheless survive, as well as some confusion between Tukulor and *tōrōḏbe*, the dominant class of the middle valley.

Bibliography: Abbé Boilat, *Esquisses sénégalaises*, Paris 1853; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912; D. Robinson, *Chiefs and clerics. Abdul Bokar Kane and the history of Futa Toro, 1853-91*, Oxford 1975; idem, *The Holy War of Umar Tal. The western Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century*, Oxford 1985; idem, *Ethnography and customary law in Senegal*, in *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, xxxii (1992); O. Kyburz, *Les hiérarchies sociales et leurs fondements idéologiques chez les* haalpulaar èn (*Sénégal*), doctoral thesis, Univ. of Paris X, 1994, unpubl.; J. Hanson, *Migration, jihad and Muslim authority*, Bloomington, Ind. 1996; Shaikh Musa Kamara, *Florilège au jardin de l'histoire des noirs: Zuhur al-Basatin*, i, Paris 1998.

(D. ROBINSON)

ṬULAḲĀʾ (A.), the pl. of *ṭalīḳ*, which means "a person loosed, set free, e.g. from imprisonment or slavery" (Lane, 1874). The plural becomes a technical term in earliest Islam for denoting the Meccans of Ḳurays̲h̲ who, at the time when Muḥammad entered Mecca in triumph (Ramaḍān 8/January 630), were theoretically the Prophet's lawful booty but whom he in fact released (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1642-3: *ḳāla 'd̲h̲habū fa-antum al-ṭulaḳāʾ*. Cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCCXLII, and Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Nihāya*, ed. al-Zāwī and al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iii, 136).

It was subsequently used opprobriously by opponents of the Meccan late converts, such as enemies of the Umayyads, the clan of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*] who had previously led the Meccan opposition to Muḥammad. In the exchange of letters between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān during the Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] negotiations (whether the correspondence is in fact authentic is doubtful), ʿAlī denounces his challenger as *ṭalīḳ ibn ṭalīḳ*, and declares that the *ṭulaḳāʾ* could never be accounted amongst the emigrants from Mecca before its conquest, the prestigious *muhād̲j̲irūn* [*q.v.*], since the Prophet had declared the *bāb al-hid̲j̲ra* to be closed at the surrender of Mecca; hence no member of Umayya was entitled to participate in a *s̲h̲ūrā* [*q.v.*] convoked to choose a new caliph, but only the Muhād̲j̲irūn and the Anṣār. See al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, 29-30, 201; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii/1, ed. Maḥmūdī, 279-82; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3278; al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 82; and cf. W. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early caliphate*, Cambridge 1997, 194, 231.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṬULAYḤA B. **K̲H̲UWAYLID** B. **NAWFAL**, from the Bedouin Banū Faḳʿas, a part of the tribe of Asad, one of the false prophets who arose in Arabia during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad and afterwards.

Details of Ṭulayḥa's life and activity before Islam are virtually unknown. Whereas certain clans of the Asad were connected with the religious and economic institutions of pre-Islamic Mecca, Ṭulayḥa's clan, Faḳʿas, had no such links. Neither does it seem to have taken a side in the struggle between Mecca and Muḥammad until the last phase of the Prophet's life. Muḥammad's raid on Ṭulayḥa and his clan at the place called Ḳaṭan, in the year 4/625-6, was most probably initiated by the Prophet rather than provoked by Ṭulayḥa (the former version is suggested by some sources, but the latter is favoured by many). Some sources relate that an unspecified number of Asadīs, headed by Ṭulayḥa, participated in the expedition led by the Meccans against Medina (al-K̲h̲andaḳ) in the year 5/627. Even if this information is true, it may be suggested that the Asadīs joined the siege in order to gain booty rather than achieve political ends (see Landau-Tasseron, *Asad*, 7-11, 20-2). Thus there is no unequivocal evidence that Ṭulayḥa was inimical to Islam during the Medinan period. Muslim traditions relate that he came to see the Prophet in the year 9/631, was converted to Islam but apostatised shortly afterwards. These accounts are doubtful, first, because they duplicate reports about another false prophet, Musaylima, and, secondly, because they may be biased: they may have been invented in order to justify the actions taken by the caliph Abū Bakr against Ṭulayḥa and his supporters during the Ridda [*q.v.* in Suppl.] wars (*ibid.*, 16).

Muslim historical tradition portrays Ṭulayḥa as an opportunist and a false prophet or rather, as a ludicrous imitator of Muḥammad. Yet it may be learned from the same tradition that Ṭulayḥa was actually a genuine D̲j̲āhilī soothsayer (*kāhin*) as well as a tribal chief. Descriptions of him as a poet, an orator, a composer of rhymed prose and an expert on genealogy probably relate to his religious function (al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1968, i, 359; see a typical example of his functioning as *kāhin* and his rhymed prose in al-Wāḳidī, *K. al-Ridda*, Paris 1989, 50). References to his valour and his visits to the Persian court in pre-Islamic times indicate his role as a tribal chief (but the reference to him as "Lord of K̲h̲aybar" should not be taken seriously, for it merely duplicates the genuine reference to Musaylima as Lord of Yamāma, see Ibn Ḥubays̲h̲, 14, and al-Ṭabarī, i, 1796-97).

Ṭulayḥa acted as both a soothsayer and a tribal chief when he was leading a group of clans opposing Islam during the so-called apostasy (*ridda*) wars. He started the opposition movement while the Prophet was still alive, apparently thinking that by this act he was protecting the independence and honour of his Bedouin supporters (see Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd al-g̲h̲āba*, iii, 66; Ibn Aʿt̲h̲am, 20, and the poem in al-Wāḳidī, *op. cit.*, 50). His supporters in their turn do not seem to have believed in his prophethood; rather, they wished to avoid paying taxes to the Muslim state (see al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izānat al-adab*, iii, 319). Ṭulayḥa was defeated by a Muslim contingent sent by the first caliph, Abū Bakr, in the battle of Buzāk̲h̲a [*q.v.*] (a place in Nad̲j̲d), in the year 11/632. He publicly repented in the time of ʿUmar, the second caliph, and his previous sins were altogether forgiven. He joined the Muslim armies and participated in important battles in ʿIrāḳ. He excelled in fighting and died a heroic death as a *s̲h̲ahīd* [*q.v.*] in the battle of Nihāwand in the year 21/642.

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ṬULAYṬULA, TOLEDO, a town of Spain situated not far from the geographical centre of the Iberian peninsula, 71 km/44 miles south-south-west of Madrid. Built 568 m/1,863 feet above sea-level on a granite hill, and surrounded on three sides by a bend of the Tagus [see TĀDJUH], which has dug out its bed along a deep geological fault, it commands in its immediate vicinity a fertile *vega* which runs to the north-east and the north-west along the river, with the denuded plain of Castile beyond it.

It is today, in the framework of provincial autonomy in existence since 1975, the seat of the regional government of Castile-La Mancha, the old New Castile, now severed from the province of Madrid. The town remained fairly sleepy till the 1930s, as Lévi-Provençal described it in his *EI*[1] art., but since the end of the Civil War it has, over the half-century, enjoyed a certain development, with expansion beyond its original site, so that most of its population now resides no longer in the historic centre of the town but in new suburbs built along the plain. The traditional town centre, despite some decay and decline—although partly hidden behind the well-preserved facades and doorways, and explicable by the necessary adaptation to modern life—still preserves much of the remains of its past, and each day sees files of tourists on day-trips from Madrid.

The Arab geographers who describe the Peninsula all give descriptions, of varying lengths, of Toledo. Al-Idrīsī puts it in the *iḳlīm* of al-Shārāt [*q.v.*] (= Las Sierras). In his time, it had already been taken from the Muslims. He describes its excellent strategic position, its ramparts and the gardens which surround it, intersected by canals from which the water is raised for irrigation by means of norias. Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ also praises the beauty of its orchards, among the trees of which were pomegranates with enormous flowers. According to Yāḳūt, the cereals grown around Toledo could be kept for 70 years without deterioration and its saffron was of excellent quality.

Livy (*Hist.*, xxxvii. 7) is the first to mention the Iberian town of *Toletum* which was taken, not without difficulty, in 193 B.C. by the proconsul M. Fulvius. It remained very prosperous under Roman rule, and when Christianity was introduced into Spain, it soon attained great importance as a centre of religion. In A.D. 400 a council of 19 bishops met there for the first time. Toledo was taken in 418 by the Visigoths and in the 6th century became the capital of their kingdom in the Peninsula. In 567 Athanagilda made it his capital and when the king Reccared was converted to Christianity in 587, the Visigothic capital again became the religious metropolis of Iberia, on an even grander scale. The Roman Catholic clergy began to interfere in the political control of the country and to display their activity in numerous councils.

It is in Toledo that is laid the scene of the legendary episode of king Roderic and Florinda, daughter of Count Julian of Ceuta, and in the town the spot is still pointed out on the bank of the Tagus where she was bathing when the Visigothic prince saw her and fell in love with her (*Baños de la Cava*). The invader Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] took Toledo in 92/714. He found it almost empty; only a few Jews had remained in it. Ṭāriḳ enrolled them in his army, which was soon rejoined in Toledo by the force he had sent to take Granada and Murcia. It is also in Toledo that the Muslim chroniclers locate the meeting of Ṭāriḳ and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*]. The Arab leader only remained a short time there and continued his advance to the north of the Peninsula, going to Saragossa, which he seized.

The Arab writers who deal with the history or geography of al-Andalus almost all record fascinating but legendary stories which circulated in the early centuries of the Hidjra about the fabulous wealth which the Muslim invaders found in Toledo when they took the city. The best known story is that of the "closed house of Toledo"; the sources containing it were studied by René Basset (*La maison fermée de Tolède*, in *Bull. Soc. géogr. Oran* [1898], 42-58).

The name of Toledo recurs frequently in the chroniclers of Muslim Spain in the period of the governors and especially after the establishment of the Umayyad amīrate of Cordova. According to the accounts which they give and which are confirmed by the Christian chroniclers, the town very soon became a hot-bed of sedition and a continual centre of rebellion against the government.

It is certain that, in the time of Muslim domination, part of the population remained Christian, with their traditional faith and Visigothic law. But it seems impossible to evaluate exactly what proportion remained that has traditionally been called "Mozarab" [*q.v.*] within the general urban framework and, especially, in relation to the converts or *muwallads* [*q.v.*]. It is also doubtful whether the frequent revolts in Toledo against the Umayyad central power were mainly the work of the Mozarabs.

It was in Toledo that the great Berber rising of 122/740 found most support, and it was near it on the banks of the Wādī Salīṭ (Guazalete) that the rebels were crushed by the troops sent from Cordova. It was again in Toledo a little later, after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had deprived him of his governorship, that Yūsuf al-Fihrī sought refuge, and he was killed near the town in 142/759.

From the reign of the first Umayyad *amīr* to that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, there was not a ruler

to whom Toledo was not a matter of care and anxiety, sometimes grave. In 147/764 Hishām b. ʿUdhra rebelled there, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had to send his two generals, Badr and Tammām b. ʿAlḳama, against the town. On the accession of Hishām I (172/788), his brother and rival Sulaymān had himself proclaimed in Toledo and the *amīr* was forced next year to besiege the town, from which he had to retire after two months without success. In 181/797, soon after the accession of al-Ḥakam I, a new rebellion broke out in Toledo, stirred up by an individual named ʿUbayda b. Ḥumayd. But the Umayyad prince was not long in severely punishing the Toledans for their habitual insubordination.

Their spirit of rebellion at this time was fanned by the verses of one of their townsmen, who was very popular with them, the poet Ghirbīb. On the latter's death, al-Ḥakam appointed to the government of Toledo a convert (*muwallad*) named ʿAmrūs, a native of Huesca, who, by arrangement with the *amīr* of Cordova, after gaining their confidence, lured the notables of the town into a trap in which they were all slain. This was the famous "day of the ditch" (*waḳʿat al-ḥufra*) at an uncertain date (181/797-8 or 191/806-7). This has sometimes been considered as a literary topos, but it nevertheless reflects the severe repression by the Umayyad central government of the permanent inclinations towards autonomy of the ancient Visigothic capital.

This repression did not prevent further revolts in Toledo. In 199/814-15 al-Ḥakam himself marched against Toledo, and by a stratagem succeeded in entering it; he then burnt all the higher part of the town. In 214/829 Toledo was again the starting point of a rebellion raised by a *muwallad* named Hāshim al-Ḍarrāb ("the smith") and it took two years to suppress it. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, an expedition was sent against Toledo under prince Umayya in 219/834. The next year, the *amīr* of Cordova laid siege to the town and it was taken by assault, after being invested for some months, in Radjab 222/June 837. Toledo remained subject to the Umayyads, to whom it gave hostages, until 238/852, but in this year, on the accession of the *amīr* Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, it rebelled once more. The intolerance of the *amīr* had exasperated the Toledans, and the latter, led by one of their number, Sindola, deposed their Arab governor and declared themselves free of Umayyad rule. Not only did they drive the representatives of the Cordovan government out of their town, but they organised an army which in Shawwāl 239/May 854 defeated the troops of the *amīr* Muḥammad near Andujar. Then, in order to resist the force sent against them from Cordova, they made an alliance with the king of Leon, Ordoño I, who sent an army under Gaton, Count of Bierzo, against them. But the resultant battle was disastrous for the Toledans, who lost 20,000 men. In 244/858, Muḥammad, giving the town no rest, inflicted another disaster on it by mining the bridge over the Tagus; it collapsed when crowded with soldiers. Toledo had to beg for *amān* in the following year, and Muḥammad appointed a governor there. From this time down to the reign of ʿAbd Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir, the Arab historians hardly ever mention Toledo. We only know that, in 259/873, its citizens obtained a treaty by which, if they agreed to pay tribute to Cordova, their political independence would be practically recognised.

The final subjection of Toledo was to be the work of the great Umayyad ruler al-Nāṣir. Before tackling it, he had to wait until all the other hot-beds of rebellion in his dominions had been exterminated. Once Badajoz had been taken, the caliph in 318/930 sent to Toledo a deputation of *faḳīhs* to make the citizens understand that their liberty was no longer compatible with the authority of the government of Cordova. This peaceful effort having failed, he at once laid siege to the town and came himself with a large army to direct operations. He pitched his camp at the stage (*maḥalla*) of Djarankas—probably corresponding to the modern Zalencas—and made it clear that he would not withdraw his troops until Toledo was taken by erecting some buildings and a bazaar which were given the name of Madīnat al-Fatḥ ("town of victory"), opposite the invested city. The blockade was continued into 320/932, and Toledo had finally to surrender. A strong Umayyad garrison was placed in the town and its capture had a great moral effect throughout Spain. Henceforth, it was the capital of the Middle Frontier (*al-thaghr al-awsaṭ*) and the office of governor of Toledo was one of the most important military offices of the Umayyad *dīwān*. Among the principal holders of this office were Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudayr, the *ḳāʾid* Aḥmad b. Yaʿlā and, in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the general Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣirī, the father-in-law of the famous *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] Ibn Abī ʿĀmir.

During the period of troubles which ended with the fall of the caliphate of Cordova and in the dismemberment of the Umayyad state in Spain, Toledo no longer played an important part in politics. On several occasions it served as headquarters or as a refuge for rival rebels, but it does not seem to have itself taken advantage of these occasions to rebel, as it had so often done before. It was for several years the base of operations of the general Wāḍiḥ, and between his two reigns Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār found refuge there. Soon afterwards, when petty Muslim kingdoms [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2.] were founded in the Peninsula, it became the capital of an independent *taifa*, that of the Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn.

The Banū Dhi 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*] were nobles of Berber origin who, in the reign of al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, had obtained certain military commands. They were settled in the region of Shantabariyya (Santaver, in the modern province of Cuenca). It was to them that the Toledans appealed when, on the fall of the Cordovan caliphate, they wished to give themselves a chief. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn, lord of Shantabariyya, sent them his son Ismāʿīl, who took command of the town and the territory belonging to it and appealed to the experience of a notable of Toledo, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥadīdī, to administer it for him. According to several Arab chroniclers, Ismāʿīl b. Dhi 'l-Nūn was not the first king of Toledo but succeeded other chiefs of other families, Ibn Masarra, Muḥammad b. Yaʿīsh al-Asadī and his son Abū Bakr Yaʿīsh; other names are also mentioned: Saʿīd b. Shanẓīr and his son Aḥmad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. M.n.y.w.h and his son ʿAbd al-Malik. The new ruler of Toledo, the beginning of whose reign is usually put in 427/1035-6, took the *laḳab* of al-Ẓāfir and was only a few years on the throne, dying in 435/1043-4.

His son Yaḥyā succeeded him and took the title of al-Maʾmūn. On his long reign, see DHU 'L-NŪNIDS. On the death of Yaḥyā al-Maʾmūn at the end of 467/1075, the kingdom of Toledo, now considerably increased passed into the hands of his grandson Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā, who took the *laḳab* of al-Ḳādir. The great incapacity of this prince brought a period

in which decadence became more and more marked after the brilliant and prosperous long reign of al-Ma'mūn. Left to himself by the old Muslim allies of his grandfather, especially by the prince of Seville, he had to seek the alliance of the king of Castile and Leon, Alfonso VI. The latter granted him his protection, but in return demanded increasingly larger payment of tribute. To meet his engagements, al-Ḳādir had to oppress his subjects with taxation and the latter ended by rebelling. Al-Ḳādir retorted by more rigorous measures and had several notables of the town executed, along with his first minister Ibn al-Ḥadīdī. This only exasperated the Toledans against him still more, and he had to abandon his capital and seek refuge at Huete. The kingdom of Toledo was then offered to the Afṭasid king of Badajoz, al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*], who in 472/1077 took possession of it. Alfonso VI retook Toledo soon afterwards for his Muslim ally, but this was only a pretence: on 27 Muḥarram 478, 25 May 1085, the king of Castile, after a treaty concluded between him and al-Ḳādir, which the latter could not escape signing, entered Toledo on his own account, thus making an important step in the progress of the Reconquista. The taking of Toledo had a great moral effect on Christians as well as Muslims. It, more than anything, determined the first invasion of Spain by the Almoravids in the next year.

But despite the initial successes of Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn and the Almoravids, and then those which their successors the Almohads were able, on occasion, to secure during their fight for the defence of al-Andalus against the Reconquista from the north, Toledo was never again to pass into Muslim hands.

Nevertheless, it remained for over a century one of their armies' main objectives. It was besieged, with the troops of Islam beneath its walls, several times, but never successfully. In 492/1099 Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn encamped before Toledo at San Servando, before taking Consuegra on his journey homewards. Ten years later, a year after the battle of Uclès, the great expedition of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn, the so-called campaign of Talavera, achieved the capture of the latter town and a siege of Toledo lasting several days. In 508/1114, raids mounted against Sagra and Sisla, the lands to the north and south of the town, were accompanied by a siege of Toledo. After the capture in 507/1113 of Oreja by the Almoravid governor of Cordova, there was a permanent presence of the veiled Ṣanhād͟jas on the Tagus a mere 50 km/30 miles from the town until 533/1139. Probably in this same year, the Christians recaptured Oreja, and Mora, 30 km/18 miles from Toledo, became the advance bastion for attacks on the town for a short period until 538/1144. After this, the enfeeblement of Almoravid power in the Peninsula and the Christian advances into al-Andalus removed the threat of an Islamic "reconquest" of Toledo until the consolidation of Almohad presence in the Peninsula, notably with Alfonso VII's capture of Calatrava [see ḲALʿAT RABĀḤ] mid-way between Toledo and Cordova, in 542/1147. The Almohad victory at Alarcos in 592/1195 enabled them to recover Calatrava and allowed them to push on as far as Madrid and Guadalajara, but without their effective control ever going beyond the defile and the tower of Guadalerza some 50 km/28 miles south of Toledo. In any case, the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa/al-ʿIḳāb [*q.v.*] (mid-Ṣafar 609/17 July 1212) put an end to any possibility of the Muslims recovering Toledo.

After passing into Christian hands, Toledo long retained a strong Arabo-Muslim imprint. This imprint was not because of the small minority of Muslim faithful who remained there; the greater part of the Muslim population seems to have emigrated immediately after, or even before, the Christian reconquest. Lévi-Provençal's words in the *EI*[1] art. "Having been a town of Mozarabs under Islam, it remained a town of Moriscos for quite a long time after its return to Christianity", may now be criticised on several counts. The first is, that if there were Mozarabs in Toledo before 1085, they must only have been a minority of very limited influence. Second, the term "Moriscos" is now reserved by historians for those Muslims remaining in the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th century, officially Christians because baptised, whilst continuing in practice to remain Muslims. Lévi-Provençal really meant for this time the Mudéjars, Muslims under the Christian power and recognised as such by that power. There is hardly a trace of these, in practice, until the mid-13th century. The desecration of the Great Mosque, described in a contradictory fashion by Christian authors (e.g. Jiménez de Rada) and Muslim ones (e.g. Ibn Bassām), may have arisen because of something in the migration of the Muslim population or possibly because of the presence of the Almoravids at the town's gates in the succeeding years. It was the great advance southwards of the Reconquista in the 13th century which enabled the Christians to bring back to the Tagus valley a number of captives, eventually freed without any obligation to convert to Christianity but with no possibility of returning to Islamic territory. The small Mudéjar community of Toledo in the 14th and 15th centuries was part of the intellectual élite of the Muslims of Castile, which allowed them to continue to exist with this status until the royal decree of 1502 which gave them no choice except baptism or exile.

The Arab imprint on reconquered Toledo arose really through the Mozarabs, whose number grew remarkably, and through the Arab-speaking Jews, with the arrival in the Tagus valley of the *d͟himmī* minorities of Andalusia and even from the Mag͟hrib, in the mid-12th century in the face of the appearance of the Almohads. The theory that some of the Muslims in Toledo were allegedly converted to Christianity immediately after 1085 and became "Neo-Mozarabs", rests on very fragile and disputable foundations. Whatever the case, the old and new Mozarabs of Toledo gave their tone to the place, at least until mid-13th century, assimilating for a while the immigrants coming from the north, Castilians and Franks, and imposing the use of their language, the Hispanic Arab dialect, including also for writing. Numerous traces of Islamic civilisation filtered through by means of the Mozarab influence, and are still perceptible today in what remains of traditional urban structures and habitats. The "Arabised" ambience of Toledo in the 12th and 13th centuries explains its role as a centre for translation from Arabic into Latin and then Castilian and as a bridge between cultures.

There is not much visible of the town's Islamic past. However, one may mention the little mosque of Bāb al-Mardūm, which became part of the church of Cristo de la Luz and which is the only survival from the caliphal period (built Muḥarram 390/December 999-January 1000 by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥadīdī), and the mosque of the *calle de las Tornerias* or *del Solarejo*, perhaps from the period of the Taifas, which served as the Muslims' place of worship till 1502. Certain authors attribute this last to the 13th century, but it is difficult to think of a new place of Muslim worship being

built in Christian Toledo, even to replace the old ones which had been confiscated, at a time when the Mudéjars were so few. The foundations of the present buildings may contain some surprises.

Bibliography: For the pre-1930 bibl., see the *EI*[1] art. and see also that to DHU 'L-NŪNIDS.

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(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL-[J.P. MOLÉNAT])

AL-ṬULAYṬULĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ b. ʿĪsā al-Tudjībī al-Ḳurṭubī, *faḳīh* of al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century.

He was originally from Toledo, where he studied with Wasīm b. Saʿdūn, and then at Cordova with various masters, including ʿUbayd Allāh, son of Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī, and Aḥmad b. Khālid. Ibn Muṭāhir, the author of a lost *Taʾrīkh Fuḳahāʾ Ṭulayṭula wa-ḳuḍātihā*, says that he was a pious ascetic who practiced the precept of *al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* to the point of drawing on himself condemnation by the people of Toledo. He then retired to a *ḳarya* where he cultivated his own garden, which he refused to leave even when the caliph al-Ḥakam II tried to drag him out of his retreat. He owes his fame to a *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-masāʾil [fi 'l-fiḳh]*, praised by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, even though he points out that certain of the questions treated were open to criticism. The work had a great vogue, since it appears in the bibliographical repertories of Ibn al-Ṭallāʿ (d. 497/1104), Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179 [*q.v.*]), Ibn Abi 'l-Rabīʿ (d. 688/1289) and al-Tudjībī (d. 730/1329 [*q.v.*]) which remained in use till the time of the Moriscos. A total of 16 mss. survive, eleven in Arabic and five in Aljamiado, from which M.J. Cervera is preparing a critical edition. Commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar* by the Andalusīs Ibn al-Fakhkhār (d. 723/1323) and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Karsūṭī (d. 755/1354). A versified version was made by Abū Ḥātim al-Ḍarīr (d. before 658/1260).

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(Maribel Fierro)

ṬULB (pl. *aṭlāb*), a term applied to a squadron or battalion of cavalrymen, used mainly in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. The word appears to be unconnected to the Arabic root *ṭ-l-b*, and may be of Turkish origin. Al-Maḳrīzī, the only contemporary writer to attempt a definition, states (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Bulāḳ, i, 86, ll. 26-7): "A *ṭulb* in the language of the Oghuz/Ghuzz (*bi-lughat al-ghuzz*) is a commanding *amīr* who has a standard attached [to a lance], a trumpet which is sounded, and the number of 200, 100 or 70 horsemen" (cf. the tr. in Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 51, following Quatremère: "dans la langue des Curdes"). The term, however, is not found in any of the dictionaries of old Turkish. Also, from the context of the many examples of this term in the sources, it is clear that it should invariably be translated as a cavalry unit and not the officer commanding it. The *ṭulb*, whose size varied, was the basic parade and field unit of the Ayyūbid army, but appears to have been an *ad hoc* formation. In the Mamlūk period, it is used both for an *amīr*'s entourage of personal *mamlūks* as well as the larger unit under his command. At times it appears to be a generic term for any unit of horse-soldiers, and is also applied to the cavalry formations of the enemies of the Muslims, such as the Franks and Mongols. The verb *ṭallaba* is derived from this noun, meaning "to arrange cavalry in formation, or in a squadron", and the verbal noun *taṭlīb* and the participle *muṭallab* are found.

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(R. Amitai)

TULBAND, the common Turkish pronunciation of Persian Dulband, a sash or wrapper for the head, thence turban, the typical form of traditional headdress in the eastern Islamic lands, the Iranian world, and the Muslim and Sikh parts of the Indian subcontinent. The *turban* of English, French and German, the *turbante* of Spanish and Italian, etc., come via forms like *tulband, tulbant*; in French and Italian the word is attested from the later 15th century, and in English from the mid-16th century. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. A glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases*[2], London 1903, 943-4.

It should be remembered, however, that the word *dulband* is by no means so widely disseminated in the east as one would have expected from the general use of the word turban in Europe, but is limited to the Persian (and to a smaller extent Turkish) speaking area, and even here is not the only name in use. The commonest word in Arabic is *ʿimāma*, which properly means only the cloth wound round the cap and then comes to be used for the whole headdress, and in Turkish *ṣarïḳ* is the usual name for the turban. Besides these, however, there are a large number of other names for what we often loosely call turban and for its parts in different Muslim countries; these are given in a preliminary list at the end of the article.

The origin of this form of headdress ought probably to be sought in the Ancient East; a turban-like cap seems to be found represented on certain Assyrian and Egyptian monuments (cf. Reimpell, *Geschichte der babylonischen und assyrischen Kleidung*, 40; J. von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel*, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, lxii [1918], 87-8, and von Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 268, and *Staatsverfassung*, 441). In ancient Arabia, the pre-Islamic Bedouins are said to have worn turbans, and it has been supposed that the high cap is the Persian and the cloth wound round it the true Arab element of the turban (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, 44, 237).

In Islam, in course of time the turban developed a threefold significance, a national one for the Arabs, a religious one for the Muslims and a professional one for civil professions (later divided into religious and administrative offices, *waẓāʾif dīniyya wa-dīwāniyya*) in contrast to the military ones.

Many details about the Prophet's turban have been handed down by Tradition, but most of these *ḥadīth*s bear obvious traces of a late date. They therefore prove nothing for the time of the Prophet, but only show what later ages wanted to believe. To the latter, the turban, as succinctly expressed in a *ḥadīth*, signified "dignity for the believer and strength for the Arab", *waḳār li 'l-Muslim wa-ʿizz li 'l-ʿArab*, and the Prophet to them is the owner of the turban par excellence (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*). The makers of turbans in Turkey (*dulbenddjiyān*) actually chose the Prophet as their patron saint, for he is said to have traded in turbans in Syria before his call and to have exported them from Mecca to Boṣrā (Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 590). The only reliable *ḥadīth* is negative: the *muḥrim* is not allowed to wear the turban, nor *ḳamīṣ, sarāwīl*, etc. This *ḥadīth* is also found in al-Bukhārī in the *bāb al-ʿamāʾim* (*libās, bāb* 15) contrasted with the following, mostly weak, *ḥadīth*s. According to one, for example, Adam is said to have worn a turban which Gabriel wound round his head on his expulsion from Paradise; previously he wore a crown (*tādj* [*q.v.*]). The next was Alexander, Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, who wore a turban to conceal his horns. A much-quoted *ḥadīth* says that "turbans are the crowns of the Arabs" (*al-ʿamāʾim tīdjān al-ʿArab*), which is variously explained to mean either that turbans are as rare among the Arabs as crowns among other peoples, for most Bedouins only wear caps (*ḳalānis*) or no headdress at all, or that the Arabs wear turbans as the Persians wear crowns, so that the turban would be a national badge of the Arabs as the crown of the Persians. A similar *ḥadīth* says "wear turbans and thus be different from earlier peoples" (*iʿtammū khālifu 'l-umam ḳablakum*).

Still more numerous are the *ḥadīth*s which describe the turban as a badge of Muslims to distinguish them from the unbelievers; turbans are a mark of Islam (*al-ʿamāʾim sīmā al-Islām*); the turban divides the believers from the unbelievers (*al-ʿimāma ḥādjiza bayn al-kufr*

wa 'l-īmān or *bayn al-Muslimīn wa 'l-mushrikīn*); the distinction between us and the unbelievers is the turban on the cap (*farḳ mā baynanā wa-bayn al-mushrikīn al-ʿamāʾim ʿala 'l-ḳalānis*); or the Prophetic tradition "my community will never decay so long as they wear turbans over their caps" (*lā tazālu ummatī ʿala 'l-fiṭra mā labisu 'l-ʿamāʾim ʿala 'l-ḳalānis*); and on the day of judgment a man will receive light for every winding of the turban (*kawra*) round his head or round his cap. Thus "to put on the turban" came to mean "to adopt Islam". Nevertheless, the stage was never reached where it was a religious duty (*farḍ*) to wear the turban; it was, however, recommended (*mustaḥabb, sunna, mandūb*) and a general recommendation runs "wear turbans and increase your nobility" (*iʿtammū tazdādū ḥilm^an*).

Especially at the *ṣalāt* and on going to the mosque or tombs is the wearing of the turban recommended and it is said that two *rakʿa*s (or one *rakʿa*, or the *ṣalāt*) with a turban are better than seventy without; for it is not proper to appear before one's king with head uncovered. Alternatively, God and the angels bless him who wears a turban on Fridays. In great heat and after the prayer, however, it is permitted to take off the turban, but not during the prayer itself; on the other hand, the lack of a turban is no reason for absenting oneself from prayer. At other times also—in great heat or at home or while washing—the turban may be removed, and as a rule the Arabs always wore the turban "until the ascension of the Pleiades", i.e. until the beginning of the great heat. Even in later times, the turban played an important rôle in the spreading of Islam, e.g. in the Sudan (cf. A. Brass, in *Isl.*, x, 22, 27, 30, 33; *MSOS, As. Studien*, vi, 191-2).

It has not always been the custom in Islam for none but Muslims to wear turbans. The later regulations for dress demand, it is true, that only believers should wear turbans, while unbelievers are only to wear a cap (*ḳalansuwa* [*q.v.*]). But in earlier times, unbelievers were only to wear turbans of another colour or with some distinguishing mark. Rulers who were not generally well disposed to members of other faiths were always zealous concerning strict regulations about dress; but with a change of attitude, the observation of the prescriptions became slacker until it again became necessary to enforce them more strictly. In later days, appeal was frequently made to an alleged dress regulation by the caliph ʿUmar I, which is however probably a later invention and was probably transferred from ʿUmar II to ʿUmar I. The latter is said to have been the first to forbid Christians to wear the turban or dress resembling that of the Muslim (cf. A.S. Tritton, *Islam and the Protected Religions*, in *JRAS* [1927], 479-84). Further laws about dress are attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd who, like ʿUmar II, is said to have issued a general order forbidding Christians to wear the same dress as Muslims. Al-Mutawakkil is said to have prescribed yellow for the unbelievers, including the turbans if they wore any, and the Fāṭimid al-Ḥākim black because this was the colour of the hated ʿAbbāsids. At one time, Christians were forbidden to wear red, at another, any one who wore white was to be punished by death. In Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th century, Christians wore blue, Jews yellow and the Sāmira red, and they might also wear silk, turbans, and neck-veil (*ḥarīr, ʿimāma, ṭaylasān*) of these colours (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiii, 364; see also GHIYĀR).

Turkish Anatolia had a whole series of dress regulations of its own: the earliest was enforced by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Pasha (d. 732/1331) in the reign of Orkhan. He introduced a cone-shaped cap of white felt but only for officials in the sultan's service; other subjects apparently had freedom of choice in their dress. In the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, further laws about rank, titles and dress of the officials were issued. Under Süleymān the Magnificent, ranks and professions were carefully graded as described in the *Shamāʾil-nāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān* of Luḳmān b. Seyyid Ḥüseyn, *ca.* 1580 (von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 17; Karabacek, 4). Süleymān also regulated the use of the turban, hitherto apparently quite arbitrary, and issued regulations about the trade of turban-makers, *ṣarïkdjïlar* (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443). Unbelievers were given red, yellow and black, while white was restricted to the Ottomans. *Ca.* 1683 in the reign of Murād IV, only the Turks of Istanbul wore wbite turbans; the Arabs in Egypt various colours; and the people of Barbary, white with gold. Jews and Christians in the east in those days wore blue (*Voyage d'Horace Vernet en Orient*, ed. M. Goupil Fesquet, Paris 1839-40) and, according to Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1774, Christians wore a blue stripe on their caps so that the tax-collector could at once readily recognise them.

In other countries also, the colour of the turban was not at all uniform, and for every colour authority was given from alleged *ḥadīth*s about the life of the Prophet, these traditions about turbans being of course all weak. A pious Muslim like al-Kattānī deduces from the contradictory description of the shape and colours of the Prophet's turban that he allowed himself considerable liberty and sometimes wore the turban without the cap and sometimes the cap without the turban, and sometimes both together; in the house or when visiting the sick, he put off both, but never when addressing the community, when he wished to make an impression on the people.

The commonest colour for the turban is white. The Prophet is said to have been fond of this colour, and it is considered the colour of Paradise. There is not actually a *ḥadīth* telling us that the Prophet's turban was white, but this is probably only because white was the normal colour. The angels who helped the believers at Badr are said to have worn white turbans.

If now the following references speak of turbans of other colours, they are not in direct contradiction with white, for the colours in question are connected with the events and have therefore a special reason. For example, another tradition says that at Badr the angels wore yellow turbans with the object of encouraging the fighting Muslims. According to another story, only Gabriel had a yellow turban of light, the other angels white, and others again reconcile the various statements about the angels at Badr by ascribing to some white, others green, black, red, etc. turbans. The Prophet is said to have at first liked the colour yellow but later to have forbidden it.

The Prophet is said to have worn a black cloak and a black turban on entering Mecca and at the speech at the gate of the Kaʿba, also on other occasions at sermons from the *minbar*, on the day of Ḥudaybiya and during his illness. In black, there is said to be a subtle allusion to sovereignty (*suʾdad*) and, besides, black is the foundation of all colours. The ʿAbbāsids claimed that the black turban of the Prophet worn at the entry to Mecca had been handed down to them, and in a tendentious *ḥadīth* in which Gabriel prophesies the coming of the ʿAbbāsids, he of course wears a black turban. Turbans of black silk (*khazz*) are said to have been at first permitted but later forbidden by

the Prophet; the so-called *ḥarḳāniyya* turbans are black (the derivation of the word is uncertain, according to al-Suyūṭī from *ḥ-r-ḳ*, to burn), and the Prophet is said to have worn them on his campaigns. Many great men in Islam are also said to have worn black turbans, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn al-Zubayr, Muʿāwiya, etc. and al-Suyūṭī wrote a whole book on black dress (*Thaladj al-fuʾād fī lubs al-sawād*). Later writers often claim the black turban as the special headdress of the *khaṭīb* and the *imām*.

The Prophet is said to have at first liked to wear blue but then forbade it because the unbelievers wore it. On behalf of red, it is urged that the angels at Uḥud (or also at Ḥunayn) wore red turbans. According to others, Gabriel wore red at Badr and on one occasion appeared to ʿĀʾisha in a red turban. The so-called *ḳiṭriyya* turban which the Prophet wore is also said to have been red. Sometimes also striped material has been used as turban cloth, e.g. yellow and red or green and red (Fesquet).

In the history of religion the green turban is important, as the well-known badge of the descendants of Muḥammad. Tradition is unanimous that the Prophet never wore a green turban, and there is no support for the colour green in law or tradition. But green is the colour of Paradise, and it is also said to have been the Prophet's favourite colour; some say that the angels at Ḥunayn (or also at Badr) had green turbans. The green turban as a badge of the *sharīf*s is, however, of much later origin: the ʿAbbāsid al-Maʾmūn in Ramaḍān 201/April 817 is said to have clothed the eighth Shīʿī Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā in green when he designated him his successor; the latter died before he could succeed, the ʿAbbāsids went back to black and there were even persecutions to compel the ʿAlids to wear black (see Ibn ʿAbdūs, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Märk, 395-6). They seem, however, for a period at least to have worn a piece of green cloth in the turban as a special badge (*shaṭfa*) and to have been fond of wearing green, especially in times of liberty of conscience. In 773/1371-2 the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ordered that the turban cloths (*al-ʿaṣāʾib ʿalā ʾl-ʿamāʾim*) of the ʿAlids should be green, and from 1004/1595-6 the whole turban became green by order of the Ottoman governor of Egypt, al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sharīf. This fashion spread from Egypt to other Muslim countries, at first regarded as a late innovation and sometimes disputed, but has now become generally approved. It is now regarded as a law that no non-ʿAlid should wear the green turban nor strictly anyone who is only connected with the Prophet on the mother's side, but this last point is frequently disregarded.

Not only the colour but other *ādāb* of the turban are regulated by religion: 1. When should a boy be first given a turban? When his beard begins to grow, when he reaches maturity, or at the age of, say, 7 to 10 years? One should go by the practice of the country; but in any case it shows shamelessness to wear a turban before one's beard begins to grow. 2. How should a turban be wound? Here again the answer is given by stories of how the Prophet wound his. It should be wound standing (trousers on the other hand are put on sitting), with the right hand, twisted to the right around the head and not simply laid upon it and in doing this, one should act according to the sunna, as regards pulling under the chin (*taḥnīk*) the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the size of the turban. As in putting on any other garment, one should utter a *basmala*, while the *ḥamdala* is only used for new articles of clothing. A new turban should if possible be put on for the first time on a Friday. It should be carefully done before a looking-glass, but one should not spend too much time over it. People of position may have their turban wound by two servants. There are countless ways in which a turban may be wound; 66 are mentioned, but these are not all. 3. The question whether gold and silver ornaments may be worn in the turban is usually answered in the negative. In the course of the development of the headdress, it was the women in particular who adorned their turban-like headdress in this way. Silk, on the other hand, is allowed with certain restrictions. 4. The turban has also acquired considerable religious significance as a symbol of investiture, since there is no crown or coronation proper as symbols of sovereignty in the Muslim East. The prototype is again an act of Muḥammad's; he is said to have put a turban on ʿAlī at the pond of Khumm [see GHADĪR KHUMM] and again when in Ramaḍān of the year 10 he appointed him governor of the Yemen; he is next said to have wound the turban on every governor in order to teach him fine manners (*tadjammul*) and to give him dignity. Following this example, the caliphs, the successors of the Prophet, put the turban on their viziers and later on sultans. For example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 280-1, describes the investiture of the Egyptian Mamlūk sultan Abū Bakr b. al-Nāṣir in 742/1341-2 by the Egyptian ʿAbbāsid caliph Ḥākim II. The caliph wore a black neck-veil (*ṭarḥa*) with white stripes (*marḳūma bi ʾl-bayāḍ*) and placed on the head of the sultan a black turban (*ʿimāma sawdāʾ*) with white stripes round the edge (*marḳūmat al-ṭaraf bi ʾl-bayāḍ*). Then we have a description of the investiture of al-Nāṣir Faradj by al-Mutawakkil in 801/1398-9, where we are told *ʿimāma sawdāʾ marḳūma, fawḳahā ṭarḥa sawdāʾ marḳūma*. The turban is also an essential feature of the robe of honour (*khilʿa* [*q.v.*]) which Muslim rulers used to bestow upon their viziers and *amīr*s (there is a poetical description of a turban, for example, in Mihyār al-Daylamī, d. 428/1037 [*q.v.*], *Dīwān*, i, 242; a description of a robe of honour of the Mamlūk period in al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3), and this is the origin of the differences in the turbans of the different classes, which were such that the initiated could at once tell an individual's profession by his turban. In general, it may be said that the largest turbans belonged to the highest and most respected ranks, especially of the clerical profession, and the differences in sizes of the turban are, according to some, more important than those of colour. With this is connected the endeavour to give oneself as large a turban as possible, and against this religion has had to fight: a warning is uttered against wearing too large a turban, since it is an extravagance—but not among learned men; on the contrary, they ought to be recognisable at once by some external feature to attain success in their labours. Hence the dress of the scholar is not a censurable innovation (*bidʿa*), although earlier men of learning did not wear it. All other statements about the sizes of turbans, including definite lengths like seven or ten ells, are again defended from the example of the Prophet.

To mention a few isolated examples, we have in al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 280, the description of the turban of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿīn, who in 815/1412 was for a period independent sultan of Egypt; his turban was round, of pleasing appearance (*laṭīfa*), with a tail hanging behind (*rafraf*) 1/2 × 1/3 ells in length. The Coptic Christian patriarch also had a larger and more regular shaped turban than the other priests. The dress of the Sultan of Morocco is described, e.g., in the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī

(*Waṣf Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Andalus*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis n.d. [*ca.* 1923]), 31, as not too large with *taḥannuk* and *ʿadhaba*; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 203: with a long, narrow turban. The head-dress of the Ottoman sultans is frequently described. The turbans of dead sultans were kept in their tombs, e.g. in the mausoleums in Bursa (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 446), and in other places we find them modelled in stone on the tombs.

The turban, generally speaking, as noted above, became the badge of the civilian professions. Turban-wearer (*ṣāḥib al-ʿimāma*: Ibn Shīth, *Maʿālim al-kitāba*, 34 or *rabb al-ʿimāma*) is synonymous with civilian and there is the expression "he abandoned the turban of men of the law and assumed in its stead the cap (*sharbush*) and the dress of the *amīrs*" (al-Maḳrīzī-Blochet, 335 n.). Al-Ḳalḳashandī often uses *al-mutaʿammimūn* in this sense, e.g. xi, 114: *al-m. min arbāb al-waẓāʾif al-dīniyya wa 'l-dīwāniyya* and *al-m. dūna arbāb al-suyūf*. To distinguish the various officers, the officials in Turkey under the old régime had different badges on their turbans, clusters of feathers and egrettes (*süpürge* and *balïḳdjïl*), and soldiers wore on them decorations awarded for bravery (*sor ghuč* and *čelenk*; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 446). Fesquet says that secretaries and scholars wore the turban high with many windings, merchants and artificers wore it loose and broad, and slaves very small.

It is on this point that we find the differences in the different countries and especially between the Muslim East and the West. This is noticeable in the description of western dress in al-Ḳalḳashandī and in the *Masālik al-abṣār*, and vice-versa in the accounts of eastern customs as given by the Moroccan al-Kattānī. In Muslim Spain, very few turbans were worn at all; the neck-veil (*taylasān*; *Masālik*, 42; al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 271) was rather worn instead; the loose end (*ʿadhaba*) and the chinstrap (*taḥnīk*) are, originally at least, apparently western fashions. In 1004/1596 we find the Turks being struck by the narrow turban of striped silk worn by the Persian ambassador (*GOR*, iv, 275).

In modern times the wearing of turbans has declined in some Muslim societies, although conservative and traditionalist circles have denounced tbe *bidʿa* implied in this and declared that contempt for the turban is heresy and unbelief. This trend attacked in a number of special treatises on the turban mentioned below, notably by al-Kattānī (see *Bibl.*) and according to them, anyone who succeeds in restoring the turban to a country acquires the merit of reviving a good tradition (*iḥyāʾ al-sunna*). In 19th century Ottoman Turkey the turban was officially replaced by the fez, which in its turn had to give way in 1925 to the modern European hat (*shapka*) just as in Persia under the Pahlawīs the turban was temporarily driven out by the *kulāh*.

The turban could also be used for many purposes other than that for which it was primarily intended. Thus in Saʿdī, *Būstān*, a man in the desert giving water to a dog dying of thirst uses his cap (*kulāh*) to get water out of the well and his turban-cloth (*dastār* or *mayzar*) as a rope. The turban was often used as a pocket, and also as a rope to tie up criminals, or to tie firmly in the saddle or to strangle. In 1032/1623 the rebel Turkish *ʿulamāʾ* chose the turban of Sheykh Aḳ Shams al-Dīn as their standard (*GOR*, iv, 590). In Mamlūk coats of arms [see RANK] *ʿiṣāba* means the cross or long bar, and in European heraldry a turban is the sign of a Crusader (*Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer*, 272). Some mussels of the genera of *turbo* and *clanculus* are called turban: Persian turban = *turbo cidarus*; Pharaoh's turban = *clanculus Pharaonis*; Turkish turban = *balanus tintinnabulum* (*Grande Encyclopédie*), and Turkish loans used to be known in the 19th century as "turban stock", and "turban lotteries" the shares of the Banque Ottomane, which were of very uncertain value.

As a survey of the many names for the turban and its parts, we give below an alphabetical list with short notes. The merit of first making a classification possible is due to Dozy, who in his *Dictionnaire des vêtements* and in his *Supplément* has collected ample material, which should generally be consulted. There are also the more recent works by Karabacek, Brunot and al-Kattānī.

ʿAdhaba is the end of the turban-cloth which usually hangs behind from the turban "between the shoulders". When this form of turban first came into use cannot be ascertained exactly; it is of course said to have been worn by the Prophet and by the angels at Badr and according to Ibn Taymiyya, Muḥammad had a dream in this connection in which God pointed to the place between the shoulders; but many of the orthodox regard this dream as anthropomorphism. The leaving of one end hanging down is recommended, and a turban without tails and *taḥnīk* is said to be *bidʿa*. On the position and length of the tail, there are differences of opinion; the most usual is four fingers long between the shoulders. The Ṣūfīs wear the tail on the left because the heart is on that side; wearing the tail behind the right ear was a privilege of the Ḥafṣid sultans of Tunis; the legists of the Imāmiyya are said to have left two tails hanging down, one before and one behind, and the so-called Baghdād turban had two tails. Form VIII of the verb *ʿ-dh-b* means "to wind the turban leaving a tail hanging".

ʿAḳāl, a cord of brown camel hair, which the ʿAneze wear instead of a turban cloth wound two or three times round their head-dress, which is called *kūfiyya*.

ʿAmāma, turban, another form of *ʿimāma*. According to the dictionaries, the pronunciation with *a* is wrong, but according to L. Brunot, *Noms de vêtements masculins à Rabat*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1923, i, 121, this was the pronunciation in Algiers. It was there an unwound turban, and was also given as a present to the *walī* of the woman one wished to marry.

ʿArakiyya, perspiration-cap, a little cap of some light material which is worn below the turban-cap, to collect the perspiration, and which often peeps out below it. The Turks called it *ṣarïḳ ʿaraḳiyyesi*. The name *maʿraḳa* is also found; some wrote *ʿarāḳiyye* and would connect the word with ʿIrāḳ (Brunot, 120; al-Kattānī, 33). In everyday language, the word is said to mean ordinary cap (*kalansuwa*) and in earlier times in Syria it was a sugar cone-shaped cap adorned with pearls worn by women.

ʿAṣb[*a*] = *ʿiṣāba*, bandeau. Al-Bukhārī (*Libās*, *bāb* 16) says that the Prophet once wore a black *ʿiṣāba*. Among the Mamlūks, *ʿaṣba* was the double camel hump-like erection on the *ṭurṭūr* worn by men and women (Karabacek, 71), and in early 19th century Egypt it was a square black silk kerchief worn by women (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. 1).

ʿAzāba (another form of *ʿiṣāba*?) seems to be a head-dress with pearls and gold worn in Morocco and Egypt.

Bayḍa is properly an iron helmet but, according to al-Kattānī, 3, may also mean a turban.

Bughtāḳ or *Bughṭāḳ* or *Bukhtāḳ*, from *Bughlutāḳ*, etc. may mean turban and especially the high headdress worn by Mongol princesses and ladies of rank, adorned with gold and pearls.

Burnus, barnūs, was in earlier times not a cloak but a high cap and in this sense it is used in al-Bukhārī, *Libās, bāb* 13. Of later writers, for example, al-Ḳalḳashandī, v, 204, still uses it in this sense: the Sultan of Morocco wore a high white *burnus*. The corresponding verb is *tabarnasa*.

Burṭul[*la*], a high cap, with the pronunciation *barṭala*, a low skull-cap; in modern parlance it means the *tādj* of a bishop. Persian has *pertele* from it.

Danniyya (perhaps from *danīna*), the "pot-hat" of the *ḳāḍīs*, called *ʿurf* in Turkish.

Dastār (Pers.), turban-cloth; *dastār bandān*, the "turban-wearers", are learned men, dervishes, etc.

Dhuʾāba, the tail = *ʿadhaba*. This word seems to occur usually in Egyptian writers. In the dress of the Fāṭimid caliph and officials, an end of the turban cloth was left hanging down with or without a *taḥnīk* (cf. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introd.). According to al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 43, Ṣūfī *Shaykhs* had a small *dhuʾāba* at the left ear. According to al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, 226, scholars and *ḳāḍīs* wore a *shāsh* with ends hanging down between the shoulders.

Dulband (Pers.) is perhaps the original of our word turban; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, 442, and *GOR*, iii, 17. *Dulband-dārān* are the turban-wearers, Turkish *dulbend aghasi*, the keeper of the sultan's turbans.

Farūdiyya, a square kerchief worn by women who make a kind of *rabṭa* with this and the *ṭāḳiyya* and *ṭarbūsh*. Two or three pieces of cloth used to be used, which formed a kind of small turban but quite distinct from that worn by men. The turban proper is distinctly a man's headdress, but women have occasionally had similar fashions. The vigour with which theologians attacked women who wore turbans or otherwise aped men's dress, quoting *ḥadīth*s to support their strictures, shows only too clearly the existence of such practices (cf. al-Kattānī, 42, 112).

Fez, the red cap originally belonging to Fās in Morocco, was replaced in Turkey in 1925 by the European hat (*shapka*), while it continued to be worn, e.g. in Egypt.

Fidām, turban, also a mouth-veil worn by the Parsīs and a kind of muzzle for camels and oxen.

Findjān seems to have been a headdress worn by women in Cairo and Syria, gilt below and decked with pieces of silver.

Ghifāra in early times was a kind of *ṭāḳiyya* for women, a red cloth with which they protected their veil from the oil on the hair. In Muslim Spain, it was the name of a similar cap for men, who usually wore not turbans but *ghafāʾir* of red or green wool, whilst Jews wore a yellow one. It would therefore perhaps correspond to the cap often called *shāshiyya* in the Maghrib which was worn under the turban.

Gulūta (Pers. pronunciation of the Arabic *kallawta*), a cap worn by women and children.

Hen(*n*)*in* (French), a high headdress worn by women in France and Burgundy, a 15th century fashion influenced by the East, which still survived in Germany in the 16th century. The form changed and was sometimes shaped like a sugar loaf or dome, sometimes like a roller or a truncated cone; sometimes it had two peaks, like the double henin worn by Queen Isabella of Portugal (Karabacek, ii, 67 ff., 84; there it is explained from the Arabic *ḥanīnī* "tinkling" [from the metal pendants on it?] which occurs once in the *Arabian nights*).

Ḥarfiyya is a name for the cap of the turban; cf. Brunot, 105.

Ḥunṭūz was a headdress worn by women in Morocco, triangular in shape, made of linen, three inches long and broad and a span high, with silk and silver, the whole looking something like a camel's hump; cf. al-Kattānī, 112.

ʿImāma, the most general Arabic word for the turban cloth and also for the whole turban; other forms are *ʿamāma, ʿimma*, pls. *ʿamāʾim* and *ʿimām*. The verb is *ʿ-m-m* in forms II, V, VIII, X. Details and variations according to colours, profession, and countries are mentioned above. Among special kinds may be mentioned the *ʿimāma Yūsufī* and *ʿimāma Sūsī* from Sūs in Morocco.

ʿImma is properly the style or form of winding the turban, then the turban itself. Al-Kattānī, 4: *ḥasan al-ʿimma = ḥasan al-iʿtimām*.

ʿIṣāba, turban-cloth like *ʿaṣba*, in more recent times also a headdress for women, as in the *Arabian nights*: *ʿaṣāʾib muzarkasha* of women and an *ʿiṣābat al-ḥuzn*. The *ʿaṣāʾib sulṭāniyya* under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks in Egypt (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 46; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 110) were the flags of the sultan in the public processions (*mawākib* [*q.v.*]), for the flags enveloped the head of the lance like a turban (al-Ḳalḳashandī, ii, 128; cf. al-Kattānī, 12-13, 36).

Ḳalansuwa [*q.v.*], a high headdress.

Ḳalewī or *ḳal*(*l*)*ewī* in Ottoman Turkey was a state turban which was worn in the capital by the Grand Vizier, the High Admiral (*Ḳapudan Pasha*) and the chief eunuch (*ḳizlar aghasi*) and in the provinces by the *pasha*s of three tails; cf. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 440, 444, and *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268, viii, 191.

Kalfa, pl. *kalfatāt*, a high cap, another form of *kallawta*.

Kallawta, kalūta, pl. *kalāwit, kalūtāt*, a cap. The word is perhaps connected with the French *calotte*, Pers. *gulūta*, and perhaps even with the Latin *calantica, calautica, calvatica*; in Syriac, *kalwā* is found with the meaning of tiara, mitre. This name was particularly common under the Turkish dynasties of Egypt; under the Ayyūbids, the sultan, the *amīr*s and the soldiers wore yellow *kalūtāt* without turbans (*ʿamāʾim*), with *dhawāʾib* hanging down behind (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 39; al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 98). In the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl b. Ḳalāwūn, caps embroidered with gold were introduced (*kalūtāt al-zarkash*; al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*); according to another source (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*), they were red with *ʿamāʾim*; from the time of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān they were worn larger. The *amīr* Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī introduced a special form, the so-called *kalūtāt yalbughāwiyya* which were large, but under al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ, still larger *kalūtāt čerkesiyya* appeared (al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*). In those days, a set of robes of honour included a *kalūta zarkash* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3).

Ḳalpaḳ [see LIBĀS].

Ḳamṭa, a red cloth, adorned with pearls, which Egyptian women twisted round their *ṭarbūsh*.

Ḳawuḳ [see ḲAWUḲLU].

Keffiyye, popular pronunciation of *kūfiyya*.

Kelle push, a small white or red cloth cap, around which the turban can be twisted.

Khurāsānī in Ottoman Turkey was the round turban worn by viziers and other officials who were no longer in active service and therefore did not wear the *mudjewweze* (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444). According to d'Ohsson, ii, 135, ʿOthmān I is said to have worn a cap of a red material, which was called *tādj-i khurāsānī* and was worn by the Tatars and the Čaghatay Turks.

Ḳināʿ, pl. *aḳniʿa*, also *miḳnaʿ*(*a*) was a cloth which men and women wound on the head, like the *ʿiṣāba* and the *kūfiyya*. Sometimes also it seems to mean a woman's veil of silk embroidered with gold, then again

to be the same as *ṭaylasān* (al-Kattānī, 12, 106). From *al-kinā'* came the Spanish *al-quinal*. Al-Bukhārī has a *bāb al-taḳannu'*.

Kisā', properly a general word for garment, is a piece of flannel worn by learned men in North Africa, around the body and head. In earlier times every one wore it and called it *ḥayk*, which was the name for a woman's veil (cf. Brunot, 133-4).

Konfil, a cap worn by women in Algiers and Tunis.

Ḳub', pl. *aḳbā'*, was in Egypt the name for the innermost cap of the turban, which could be kept on, even when sleeping, while the turban proper was taken off and put on a special turban stand, *kursī al-'imāma*; the *ḳub'* thus corresponds in a way to the later *ṭāḳiyya* and *'araḳiyya*. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian nights* have *ḳub'* for *ṭāḳiyya*. *Ḳub' khaṭā'ī azraḳ* is a similar cap of blue Chinese silk. According to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 105, there was a market called *sūḳ al-aḳbā'iyyīn* in Cairo. *Ḳubba'a* (= Syr. *ḳūb'ā*, Hebr. *ḳōba'*) is also said to have been a kind of cap or turban, but it also means the capital of a column.

Kūfiyya, popularly *keffiyye*, pl. *kawāfī*, is in Arabic probably a loanword from the Italian *(s)cuffia*, 6th century Lat. *cofea*, Span. *(es)cofia*, Port. *coifa*, Fr. *coiffe*, Eng. *coif*, to which the Turkish *uskuf(iyya)* is also said to be traced. It is a rectangular piece of cloth worn by the Bedouin and their women in Egypt, Arabia and 'Irāḳ on their heads, of linen or silk in various colours, almost a yard square. The cloth is folded diagonally, the ends hang down or are tied below the chin and above it the Bedouin sometimes, and townsmen usually, wind a turban. This form, which was already known in Egypt in the Mamlūk period and is mentioned in the *Arabian nights*, came into prominence again as part of the dress of the Wahhābīs.

Kūdj is a headdress worn by women, along with an *'iṣāba*. The word is perhaps a corruption of *seraghūdj*, *seraḳūdj*, which is said to mean a Tatar cap.

Ḳūḳa, a Persian word, is applied in Turkish to the plumed headdress worn by the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia and by the Aghas of the Janissaries (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444).

Kulāh is the general Persian word for the cap, which replaced the turban in Persia. In Ottoman Turkey it meant more particularly the sugar-loaf-shaped headdress of the cooks, confectioners and wood-cutters of the Palace, and also a white felt headdress worn by the Janissaries = *keče* and one of red cloth worn by the *bustāndjis* = *baretta*. *Surkh kulāhān* was the Persian name for the Shī'ī Persians corresponding to the Turkish *ḳïzïlbash*; cf. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi, 81.

Kulōta (cf. *kallawta*) means in Persian a veil worn by women or a child's cap = *gulūta*.

Kumma, kimma, pl. *kumām* is a little tight-fitting cap; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā', iv, 232, l. 5; al-Kattānī, 40.

Kurziyya, karziyya, kursiyya. The word seems to be a loanword in Arabic and Berber and to come from the Persian; it is found mainly in the Maghrib and Spain and was there applied to a man's headdress of white wool or strips of wool which the Berbers wound round their heads like a turban cloth. But now it seems to mean a cloak; cf. Brunot, 132-3.

Lāṭi'a (supply *ḳalansuwa*) means a small, tight-fitting (*lāṣiḳa*) cap, but is probably not a proper name for it; see al-Kattānī, 37, 40, 43.

Libda, lubbāda, a small cap of brown or white felt (*libd*) which the common people in Egypt wore under the *ṭarbūsh*. The very poor wore it alone, without *ṭarbūsh* and turban.

Lithām, a mouth-veil for men [*q.v.*].

Mandīl [*q.v.*], *mindīl*, a loanword from the Latin *mantile*, is applied to cloths generally, but may also mean the turban, especially in Turkish and Persian. It is found in this sense also in Arabic authors, like al-Tha'ālibī and al-Maḳrīzī, but they probably took it from the Persian.

Mayzar means in Persia the turban, probably derived from *mi'zar*, which, however, means a veil.

Ma'raḳa, a parallel form for *'araḳiyya*, perspiration-cap.

Mighfar, also pronounced *miḥfar*, the helmet, is a network of iron worn to protect the head in battle under the cap (*ḳalansuwa*): the Prophet is said to have worn one at the entry into Mecca. Soldiers wore a turban around the helmet, not only when fighting, but also in times of peace (Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, Heidelberg 1921, 59). Thus the Ottoman Murād IV, who was continually in the field, used to wind his turban cloth around his helmet (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443). Hence the phrase "to slacken the turban" = to live in peace and security (al-Kattānī, 4) while "the turban on the neck" (*fī 'unḳihi mindīl* or *'imāma*) is a sign of submission.

Miḳna'a is the same as *ḳina'*, a head-cloth but the former is usually smaller. The *miḳna'a* of women is also called *ghifāra*.

Mikwar(a), *mikwāra* is a word for turban, and *mukawwir* thus came to mean the same as *muta'ammim*, i.e. theologian, man of learning, and in Muslim Spain, the officials and jurists, because these alone wore the turban there.

Mishmadh, mishwadh, mishwādh, mishwash, are rarer words for turban.

Mudjawwaza, Arabic, but apparently only found in Turkish as *müdjewweze*, a barrel- or cylindrical-shaped cap, which was worn with the turban cloth from the time of Süleymān's dress edict, as the proper court and state headdress. Süleymān is said to have been the first sultan himself to wear it (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 442; Pečewī, i, 4: *M. surkh*); the *müdjewweze* was previously the military cap, the red top of which peeped out from the turban cloth. Meḥemmed II is said to have worn his turban over a spiral *tādj*, like the *müdjewweze* of scholars, and the turban of his son Bāyezīd II, like his father's, resembled the type worn by learned men (Karabacek, 15; von Hammer, *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268, viii, 191).

Muḳla, a large turban worn by learned men of unvarying shape, but also the headdress of Coptic priests with a long narrow band.

Nuṣṣ ra's "half the head", was a small helmet or cap worn by seamen in the Maghrib; the name was also found in Egypt. In Morocco the *ṭarbūsh* was also called "*niṣf al-ra's*" because it covered half the head, tightly fitting; cf. Brunot, 117-18.

Parīshānī, the "untidy turban", was the name of the turban worn by the common people in the reign of Süleymān I; *GOR*, iii, 17.

Pertele, Pers. pronunciation of *burṭulla*.

Rabṭa of women consisted of the *ṭāḳiyya*, *ṭarbūsh* and *farūdiyya*; together they made a kind of woman's turban, but it was very different from that worn by men.

Ruzza was a small turban for young people in Morocco (cf. Brunot, 105-6).

Sādj was a green or black *ṭaylasān*; cf. al-Kattānī, 106.

Salīmī, a special variety of the kind of turban called *Yūsufī*, called after Selīm I, who is said to have preferred it, as did Selīm II also; *GOR*, iii, 17, vii, 268.

Sharbūsh, sharbush, pl. *sharābīsh, sharābish*, probably from the Persian *sarpūsh*, but the latter is a woman's headdress. In Syriac we find *sarfūshā* in Bar Hebraeus.

The *sharbūsh* was the headdress of the *amīrs* under the Mamlūks in Egypt; according to al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 99, it resembled the *tādj*, was three-cornered, worn without a turban, and one formed part of a set of robes of honour. It had a markedly military character, and the *sharbūsh* of the *amīrs* is contrasted to the turban of the jurists (al-Maḳrīzī-Blochet, 335). In Cairo in those days, there was a special market for sellers of *sharbūsh*, in which, however, in al-Maḳrīzī's time only robes of honour were sold, and in Damascus there was a *madrasa* called *al-Madrasa al-Mālikiyya al-Sharābishiyya*. Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the *sharbūsh* fell into disuse (and was replaced by the *kalūtāt čerkesiyya?*).

Ṣarïḳ also *ṣarghï*, a bandage, was the usual Turkish name for the turban. *Ṣarïḳlï* = turban-wearer, e.g. *ṣarïḳlï khodja* = cleric with the turban, *ṣarïḳdjï* = turban-maker; *ṣarïḳdjï bashï*, the sultan's turban-keeper. The first guild regulation of the turban-makers dates from Süleymān I's time, when their shops were first opened, and regulations about the wearing of turbans were drawn up (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 443).

Shadd, the turban-cloth, then the whole turban, a name used particularly in North Africa and Egypt. The Egyptian texts of the *Arabian nights* have *shadd* for *ʿimāma*. Sometimes *shadd* was particularly the white-and-blue striped turban of the Copts, while that of the Muslims was called *shāsh*; the *shadd baʿlabakkī* was particularly well known. The *shadd tādj al-khalīfa* at the court of the Fāṭimids was the office of the turban-winder to the caliph; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 484.

Shāl. The word has passed into the languages of Europe, "shawl", etc., and means the turban-cloth or whole turban, especially in Egypt, sometimes also kerchiefs worn by women, e.g. in Arabia and North Africa.

Shapka/ṣapka is the Turkish word for the modern European hat, which was made compulsory in Turkey by law in 1925. Only clerics already wearing turbans (*ṣarïḳlï khodja*) were allowed to retain their turbans. A number of publications appeared at the time on the hat question (*shapka mesʾelesi*).

Shāsh, from which we get the English word "sash", meant the turban-cloth in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Persia. Under the Ayyūbids, the *ḳāḍīs* and learned men wore turbans with large *shāshāt*; some let a tail (*dhuʾāba*) hang down between the shoulders or wore the neck-veil in addition (*taylasān*; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 42; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 98, and al-Suyūṭī, ii, 226). The *shāsh*, however, also meant a cap (= *shāshiyya*) and formed part of a set of robes of honour; e.g. al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 52-3: *shāsh rafīʿ, mawṣūl bihi ṭarafᵘⁿ min ḥarīr abyaḍ*. From 780/1378 we also find the *shāsh* as part of a woman's dress; it is the cloth embroidered with gold and pearls, thrown over the double *ṭurṭūr*; cf. Karabacek, 67 ff.

Shāshiyya in Egypt was a cap, around which the turban-cloth was wound; it was of silk and might be trimmed with pearls and gold. On the other hand, however, it was the name given to the paper cap, put upon criminals, and also to iron helmet-like caps. To put on the *shāshiyya* meant "to adopt Islam." In early 20th century Morocco, it was a black cap for young people in the form of the *ṭarbūsh*, also a headdress in the form of a sugar-loaf, which the Darḳāwa dervishes wore, in Algiers a woman's cap (Brunot), in the oasis of Sīwa it was pronounced *shāsha*. *Shāshiyya* seems originally to have been the turban-cloth made of *shāsh* muslin; cf. *ZDMG*, xxii, 161.

Shemle was in Turkey in the reign of Süleymān I a carelessly wound turban-cloth, worn by the common people (*GOR*, iii, 17). In North Africa it was a cloth, still sometimes wound over the turban (*ʿimāma*); see Brunot.

Shimrīr = Span. *sombrero*, was the name given in Morocco to the European hat, sometimes also called *ṭarṭūr*; see Brunot.

Sīdāra is a skull-cap like the *ṭāḳiyya* worn under the *miknaʿa* and *ʿiṣāba*.

Sikka was the name for the Turkish dervish cap; cf. Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje*, in *Abh. Bayer. Ak. Wiss.*, 1. Kl., xxiv, no. 3 (Munich 1900), 40.

Sudūs, sadūs is a green *ṭaylasān* worn by women, especially in winter time as a protection from cold.

Tādj [*q.v.*], "crown", also turban.

Taḥnīk [*al-ʿimāma*] is a special adjustment, in which the turban-cloth is brought under the chin as a protection against heat and cold or its two ends tied under the chin. This form was found particularly in the Maghrib and those who used it defended it intolerantly and described all other forms of the turban as innovation (*bidʿa*), as the dress of the devil or of the Copts, or as a survival of the turbans of the followers of Lūṭ (al-Kattānī, 70). The opposite of *taḥnīk* is *iktiʿāṭ* or *iʿtidjār* (even letting the ends hang down is also wrong, in contrast to it), while other rare synonyms for the *taḥnīk* are *talaḥḥī* or *iltiḥā*. From the Maghrib, the Fāṭimids seem to have brought the *taḥnīk* to Egypt, and the *ustādhūn muḥannakūn* were the chief *amīrs* (eunuchs) at the Fāṭimid court who held the highest offices in the personal service of the caliph (al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 484; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ḳānūn*, ed. Bahgat, introd.). Farther east, also, the *taḥnīk* was occasionally found; e.g. even al-Ṣūlī is said to have recommended it. But it is no *sunna* with the Shāfiʿīs, while, for example, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] recommended it.

Ṭaylasān, neck-veil of the *ḳāḍīs*.

Ṭāḳ, a green *ṭaylasān*, a name of very rare occurrence.

Ṭāḳiyya, pl. *ṭawāḳī*, is originally a Persian word, and in Persia was the turban or a high cap. French *toque* and Spanish *toca* are perhaps connected with it. The name seems to be first found in Mamlūk Egypt in the 8th/14th century, when it was a round cap with flat top in various colours, worn without the turban-cloth. Under al-Nāṣir Faradj, it was extended in height from 1/6 to 2/3 ells and swollen out like a cupola (perhaps under the influence of old Egyptian models) and called the Circassian *ṭāḳiyya*. Egyptian women are said to have imitated this for erotic or other reasons, and this form then made its way to the East. The *ṭāḳiyya* was stiffened with paper, and in a Fāṭimid cap, similar in shape, of the 5th/11th century have been found fragments of papyrus with writing upon them. These headdresses were quilted and had a rippled appearance. Other forms were evolved from them, such as the bottles, barrels, cones and the so-called unicorns (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 104; Karabacek, 73; cf. *ṭurṭūr*). In more recent times *ṭāḳiyya* has been used as a synonym for *ʿaraḳiyya*; cf. Brunot, 116-17; al-Kattānī, 98.

Ṭals, parallel form for *ṭaylasān*.

Ṭarbūsh, probably, like *sharbūsh*, going back to the Persian *sarpūsh*, only found in Arabic from the 10th/16th century, was a tight-fitting cap, in Egypt usually of red wool, with a tassel of black or blue silk. Around this cap, men of rank wore the turban-cloth and under it the small *ṭāḳiyya* or *ʿaraḳiyya*. In Syria and in ʿIrāḳ, the *ṭarbūsh* had sometimes a peak, which hung behind or at the side and was kept in position by a piece of cloth. In Egypt this cap used to be called *shāshiyya* (in Morocco we still find both

terms in use side-by-side), in Spain *ghifāra*. *Trābshī* is a name given in Morocco to a young man, who does not yet wear the turban (Brunot, 118). The *ṭarbūsh* there was always imported from Europe; the *shāshiyya*, on the other hand, was made in the country itself.

Ṭarḥa = *ṭaylasān*.

Tasākhīn is also a kind of *ṭaylasān*.

Ṭurṭūr, *ṭarṭūr* (*a*), *ṭanṭūra*, *ṭanṭūra*, in Arabic a loanword of unknown origin (the Latin *turrita*, tower-shaped, has been compared), a high cap round which the turban can be wound. *Ṭarṭūra* seems to be found as early as a papyrus of the 2nd/7th century (Karabacek, 67), and in the 4th/10th century it was a popular headdress in Ḳayrawān (Karabacek, 68). The *ṭurṭūr* at a later date seems to have been a headdress of the Bedouin (they swore by it, *wa-ḥaḳḳ' ṭurṭūrī*; there is a saying "he fell at the first blow like the *ṭurṭūr* of a Bedouin") and to have gone out of fashion with the denizens of the towns. A *ṭurṭūr* of paper used to be put on the heads of criminals and prisoners captured from the enemy, and it was worn also by the "prince of the New Year" (*nawrūz*) at a popular festival in Cairo, which was prohibited in the reign of Barḳūḳ. The pointed *ṭurṭūr* was in the 8th/14th century, with or without the turban, the headdress of the common people in Egypt and the countries adjoining it (Karabacek, 68); at a later date, dervishes in Egypt wore sugar-loaf-shaped *ṭurṭūrs* with trimmings (Lane, *Manners and customs*, ch. I); in Turkey, it was worn by the volunteer corps of the Delis, in Algiers by the Dey's *čawushs*, in Morocco by the black soldiery. The name is found wherever Arabic is spoken, and *ṭurṭūr* in Arabic seems to have corresponded to *tādj* in Turkish and Persian. *Ca.* 780/1378, the double *ṭurṭūr* with two peaks like a camel's hump, and the *shāsh* above them, appears as a lady's fashion in Egypt and was taken to Europe (Karabacek, 71), and in more recent times the Druse and Maronite women of the Lebanon wore a *ṭurṭūr* plated with gold or covered with horn like the horn of a unicorn. In Fās, Algiers and Tunis also, the name was given to certain forms of women's headdress (see Brunot, 119; Karabacek, 80).

Ukrūf, *ukhrūf*, a high cap common in the Maghrib, which could be made either quite simply or of valuable material.

ʿUrf was in Ottoman Turkey a large globe- or pad-shaped turban worn by learned men, corresponding to the Arabic *danniyya* and the Persian *kulāhi-ḳāḍī*. Meḥemmed II was fond of wearing the *ʿurf* embroidered with gold; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444, and *GOR*, vii, 268, viii, 191.

Urṣūṣa, *arsusa*, *russa* is said to be a melon-shaped hat.

Usḳūf, also *usḳūfiyya*, from the Italian *scuffia* = Arabic *kūfiyya*, was a peaked cap embroidered with gold, which the officers of the Janissaries and some Palace officials like the Baltadjis wore, also called *kūka*. Süleymān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is said to have invented it; he is said to have introduced it out of affection for Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*] and even to have worn it. It came into general use in the reign of Murād I, and became a kind of ruler's crown; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 444, and *GOR*, iii, 17.

Yūsufī, *ʿimāme-i Yūsufī*, is an old name for the Turkish turban; it is said to have been originally invented by Joseph and to be called after him. Selīm I and II wore these *Yūsufīs*, which were then called *Selīmīs* after them; see von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 422, and *GOR*, iii, 17.

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No. 14 is the most detailed monograph on the turban and has been much used for the above article. Of other writings, al-Kattānī mentions nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, but himself only saw and used no. 8.

(b) Of European literature, in addition to the works of Dozy, Karabacek and Brunot cited in the text, one may mention a few general works on costume: Rosenberg, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, 5 vols., plates with brief descriptions, pl. 297 on the turban; J. von Falke, *Kostümgeschichte der Kulturvölker*, A. Kretschmer, *Die Trachten der Völker, Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek*.—16 forms of turban are illustrated by Fesquet, 44 different ones by Niebuhr, and no less than 286 are given by Michael Thalman, *Elenchus librorum or. mss.*, Vienna 1702, vi, 29-30, on Cod. turc. vii, Bologna; cf. Victor Rosen, *Remarques sur les mss. orientaux de la Collection Marsigli à Bologne*, in *Atti della Real Acc. dei Lincei*, cclxxxi (1883-4), 182.

(W. BJÖRKMAN*)

ṬULKARM, a town of western Palestine, lying on the coastal plain just below the rise to the mountains of Samaria, some 18 km/11 miles to the east of the modern Israeli port of Netanya, in lat. 32° 19' N., long. 35° 02' E. at an altitude of 105 m/330 feet. The district around Ṭulkarm is fertile agricultural land, with an annual rainfall of *ca.* 600 mm, and famed for such agricultural produce as citrus fruits, olives, watermelons, etc.

Ṭulkarm is not mentioned by the classical Islamic geographers and travellers, and the first solid mention of it comes from early Mamlūk times, when at some time before 663/1264-5 Sultan Baybars divided it equally as *iḳṭāʿs* between two of his *amīrs*, Badr al-Dīn Basarī al-Shamsī al-Ṣāliḥī and Badr al-Dīn Baylik al-Khaznadārī. In records from this time and later,

the name appears at Ṭulkarm, possibly from an Aramaic predecessor Ṭūr Karmā. From the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries, the Ottoman *tapu defteris* mention it as a village in the *nāḥiya* of Ḳāḳūn in the *liwā'* of Nābulus [*q.v.*]. In 955/1548-9, it had 190 households plus three bachelors, but at the end of this century, the number of households had fallen to 156 whilst the numbers of bachelors had increased to 20. There are no references to any mosques or *imāms* at this stage of its history. Of Ṭulkarm's taxes, one-third was the ruler's *khāṣṣ*, and part of the rest went to the upkeep of *madrasas* outside the town and to the complex of al-Ẓāhir Baybars in Cairo. The sources are silent about the town from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries, except for a reference to a learned Ḥanbalī scholar, Mar'ī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī (d. 1033/1623-4) who lived there but who had been born in Jerusalem; a number of his writings survive in manuscript.

Ṭulkarm began a more flourishing stage of its history at the end of the 19th century when in 1892 it was separated from the Ḳāḳūn *nāḥiya* and added to that of Banī Sa'b, becoming the seat of a newly-created *ḳaḍā'* in the *sandjaḳ* of Nābulus. It is depicted in travellers' accounts, *sharī'a* court registers and the Ottoman *sāl-nāme* as a steadily expanding, stone-built town, with piped water, several government offices and schools, including vocational ones. Towards the end of the First World War, in which Ṭulkarm had been the headquarters of the Eighth Ottoman army, and during the ensuing Mandate, Ṭulkarm benefited from its position on the standard-gauge Lydda-Haifa railway, being the junction for the 3 feet, 6 inches-gauge branch line to Nābulus. From 1948 to 1967 it was part of the West Bank of the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan. Its population has grown steadily in the 20th century, the 1937 population of 6,000 being subsequently swollen by Palestinian refugees. The town is in majority Sunnī Muslim, with a small Christian population.

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(M.'A. AL-BAKHĪT)

ṬULUMBADJI̊ (T.), the Ottoman Turkish term for fireman, firefighter (< *ṭulumba* pump for fire-fighting < Ital. *tromba* with lambdacism and possibly with contamination from Tkish. *tulum* "waterskin", see H. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The lingua franca in the Levant. Turkish nautical terms of Italian and Greek origin*, Urbana, Ill. 1958, 448-9).

Water pumps appeared in Italy in the 15th century and spread around the Mediterranean shores. They are mentioned—already as *ṭulumba*—in the 1560s in connection with the building of the Büyük Čekmeče bridge near Istanbul (R. Anhegger, *Eyyübî'nin menâḳıb-i Sultan Süleyman'ı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, i/1 [1949], 119-38), and in the next century Ewliya Čelebi mentions a gild of *ṭulumbadjiyān* (7 stalls and 80 members) who had the task of pumping water out of ships (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 547-8). The firefighting pump was actually introduced into the Ottoman empire by a renegade Frenchman, who is only known by his convert's name, Gerček Dāwūd Agha, installed at Istanbul in 1128/1716 after a stay in the Netherlands and a Muslim convert shortly afterwards as the result of conflict with the Genevan jeweller Jacob Marchand. He constructed a pump after the fire at the Arsenal of 26 March 1718 and before the fire at the factory for making muskets (*tüfeng-khāne*) on 17 July 1718, and was appointed head of the company of firemen, *ṭulumbadji̊ bashi̊*, within the Janissary corps, after the fire at the cannon foundry (*ṭop-khāne*) of 16 January 1720.

From this time onwards, the *ṭulumbadji̊s* comprised a company (*odjaḳ*) of the Janissaries; after the abolition of the latter in 1826 they were attached to the newly-created units of the *'asākir-i manṣūre* and, after 1846, to the new gendarmerie. A specialist brought from Hungary, one Zichny, modernised the organisation in 1874, founding a battalion of firefighters, supplemented by two more in 1890 and a fourth in 1908. In 1925 the whole organisation was taken over by the municipality.

The personage of the *ṭulumbadji̊* was a major figure in Istanbul folklore of the 19th and early 20th centuries, projecting the image of a swaggering, ill-behaved fellow. The group had a common, precise method of dressing, frequented specific coffee-houses, organised races and had their own songs.

Bibliography: See essentially the detailed *İA* art. of Cengiz Orhonlu; also Turgut Kut, *Ülkemizde yangın tulumbasını ilk kez imal eden Gerçek Davud'un ve bazı tulumbacıların mezar taşları*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxii (1979), 771-88. For the folklore aspect, see Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul tulumbacıları*, Istanbul 1981. For a visual impression of *ṭulumbadji̊s* at the end of the 19th century, see photographs nos. 56-9 in C.E.S. Gavin (ed.), *Imperial self-portrait. The Ottoman empire as revealed in the Sultan Abdul Hamid II's photographic albums presented as gifts to the Library of Congress (1893) and the British Museum (1894)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1988 [= *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xii].

(ST. YERASIMOS)

ṬŪLŪNIDS, governing family of Egypt from 254/868 to 292/905, the date of the brief restoration of direct 'Abbāsid rule over the province.

A history of the family centres on the careers of its first two members, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*] and his son, Khumārawayh [*q.v.*], who succeeded his father in 270/884. Ibn Ṭūlūn was sent as resident governor by Bāyakbāk (d. 256/870), himself appointed over Egypt by the caliph al-Mu'tazz in 254/868 (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 615). Ibn Ṭūlūn and Bāyakbāk were both members of the largely Central Asian Turkish guard formed initially in Baghdād then settled in Sāmarrā' upon its establishment by al-Mu'taṣim. A successful ten-years' reign enabled Ibn Ṭūlūn to present his appointed heir, Khumāramayh, with a seasoned military, a stable economy, and a coterie of experienced commanders and bureaucrats. Despite significant diplomatic and territorial gains by Khumārawayh, financial exhaustion, political infighting and strides by a revitalised 'Abbāsid state set the stage for Ṭūlūnid ruin some short years after Khumārawayh's assassination in 282/896. His son, Djaysh, was deposed by the Ṭūlūnid military command in 283/896 while his successor, and brother, Hārūn, was assassinated in 292/905. Shortly thereafter, an invasion by 'Abbāsid forces under the command of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, with naval support from frontier forces based in Ṭarsūs,

brought an end to the reign of Shaybān b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the last of the Ṭūlūnids.

The Ṭūlūnid period must be studied against the backdrop of a caliphate struggling with a growing loss of legitimacy, regional disturbances (including Coptic and ʿAlid-led movements in Egypt), a violent struggle principally in ʿIrāḳ between the caliphate and the Turkish command backed by allies within the administration, and a widening imperial financial crisis. The immediate external factors shaping Ibn Ṭūlūn's tenure in office included the emergence of Abū Aḥmad (b. al-Mutawakkil) al-Muwaffaḳ (d. 278/891) as the *de facto* ruler of the empire, and so rival to his brother al-Muʿtamid (d. 279/892), and the extended and costly revolt of the Zandj [*q.v.*] in southern ʿIrāḳ. Summoned from exile in Mecca by al-Muʿtamid (in 256/870), specifically to suppress the uprising, al-Muwaffaḳ quickly emerged as a power broker. His standing assumed formal status with the succession arrangement announced by al-Muʿtamid in 261/875, according to the terms of which Djaʿfar (b. al-Muʿtamid) al-Mufawwiḍ and al-Muwaffaḳ were to succeed to the caliphate in turn and each was to govern half of the empire, with al-Muwaffaḳ assigned over the eastern provinces (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1890). The sum of these developments was the opportunity presented to Ibn Ṭūlūn to expand the authority wielded, up to that point, by governors of Egypt. As such the Ṭūlūnids can be counted among other 3rd/9th century families, including the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] and Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*], wielding regional power largely unhindered by imperial will (Grabar, 51-8).

A central problem of Ṭūlūnid history concerns the extent to which the family sought, and achieved, independence from the imperial centre. The most plausible interpretation (Frantz, 13, 29-30; Grabar, 37, 56-8; Kennedy, 310-12) relies on both the physical (coins, papyri, *ṭirāz* inscriptions, and weights) and literary evidence (see *Bibl.*). While fragmentary and on occasion ambiguous, the evidence suggests a careful balancing act on the part of Ibn Ṭūlūn and his heirs in a complex political environment. Various developments, on the one hand, indicate a move towards autonomy on their part. Among Ibn Ṭūlūn's achievements was the assertion of control, by 257-8/870-2, over much of the financial administration of Egypt. In 257, Yārdjūkh, the new apanagist of Egypt, granted Ibn Ṭūlūn authority over Alexandria and Barḳa, then, in the more significant appointment the following year, the *kharādj* of Egypt and authority (*wilāya*) over the Syrian *thughūr* (Ibn Saʿīd, 80, 84; al-Balawī, 72-3; al-Kindī, 216-17). Ibn Ṭūlūn thus achieved a position of financial strength as well as a victory over Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], the head of the finance office and member of the imperial bureaucratic élite.

Also of note in this context were Ibn Ṭūlūn's efforts at creating an autonomous military and navy, a native Egyptian bureaucracy, and a network of financial and ideological support composed largely of high-level religious figures and merchants. The initial step towards the creation of a Ṭūlūnid army came with the revolt of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, governor of Palestine, in 256/870. Terse reports indicate that Ibn Ṭūlūn exploited the occasion to create an army composed of Sudanese and Greek slaves (al-Balawī, 51). Ibn al-Dāya (Ibn Saʿīd, 80) refers to large numbers of "Reds" and "Blacks" (*al-ḥumrān wa 'l-sūdān*) which may be a reference to the two groupings (although "Reds" more often refers to the Persians). The sources also mention élite guard units surrounding the persons of Ibn Ṭūlūn (slave troops from the region of Ghūr in Afghānistān: Ibn Saʿīd, 78) and Khumārawayh (Arabs of the Ḥawf region of Egypt: al-Maḳrīzī, iii, 819). The first of these may have been the core around which Ibn Ṭūlūn built the larger army (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2080). In a ceremony held in 258/871, Ibn Ṭūlūn had his forces swear personal allegiance to him (*al-bayʿa li-nafsihi*); the report (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 624) refers to the regular army, the Shākiriyya and the slave troops (?) (*al-djund wa 'l-shākiriyya wa 'l-mawālī*). Defections by high-ranking commanders, particularly that of Luʾluʾ in 269/883 to al-Muwaffaḳ and a mixed record of achievement by Ṭūlūnid forces in the field suggest persistent problems of securing such allegiance, perhaps a measure of Ṭūlūnid failure to secure an abiding basis of legitimacy.

One has also to contend with efforts at extending Ṭūlūnid rule over Syria, Palestine and the frontier zone with Byzantium (*al-thughūr*). A failed campaign in 269/883 to control Mecca and Medina was probably an attempt by Ibn Ṭūlūn to secure greater political appeal (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2083-4). Though perhaps tied to Ibn Ṭūlūn's personal experience among the holy warriors of Ṭarsūs (Hassan, 278), the concerted efforts to control the frontier zone should probably also be understood in this manner. The initial steps towards rule over Syria and the *thughūr* included two campaigns by Ibn Ṭūlūn, in 265/878 and 269/882, in which he secured the allegiance of the military governors of the major Syrian cities, although Ṭarsūs eluded his control. Following his father's death, Khumārawayh faced the invasion of Syria by armies sent by al-Muwaffaḳ as well as the defection of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, long a key member of Ibn Ṭūlūn's inner circle. Political as well as military gains enabled the younger Ṭūlūnid to extend Egyptian authority into the Djazīra, and, finally, over Ṭarsūs by 277/890. Two treaties negotiated with the ʿAbbāsid state in this period suggest the extent of Khumārawayh's prominence on the Near Eastern political stage. The first, with al-Muwaffaḳ in 273/886, recognised formal Ṭūlūnid authority over Egypt and the regions of Syria for a thirty-year period. The second treaty, reached with the new sovereign, al-Muʿtaḍid (d. 289/902), in 279/892, largely confirmed the terms of the earlier accord. Despite rather vague reports in the sources, however, both accords also contained provisions apparently seeking to confirm the status of the Egyptian governor as a vassal of the caliphal family (Haarmann, 49). The extraordinary dowry of some 400,000 dīnārs brought by Khumārawayh's daughter, Ḳaṭr al-Nadā, to her wedding in 279/892 with al-Muʿtaḍid, may have been an attempt to drain the Ṭūlūnid treasury (Frantz, 67).

On the other hand, numismatic and inscriptional evidence, weighed with compelling anecdotal material, points to an abiding concern on the part of the Ṭūlūnid administration not to distance itself unduly from the ʿAbbāsid state (Kennedy, 311). Coins and *ṭirāz* inscriptions which bear the name and title of the Egyptian governor, and thus read as marking a desire for autonomy, only date from 265-6/878-9. Among them is the inscription of 265/878 marking the foundation of Ibn Ṭūlūn's new congregational mosque. These are arguably best understood in the context of al-Muwaffaḳ's dominance over the caliphate (Grabar, 39-48). In this sense, these and other key measures on Ibn Ṭūlūn's part, such as the fashioning of the Egyptian army, the creation of an intelligence network and even the efforts at territorial expansion, were as much the means by which imperial interests were protected against the ambitions of al-Muwaffaḳ and his (largely Turkish) military coterie in ʿIrāḳ as they

were efforts to secure Ṭūlūnid authority.

No less significant a measure of service to the empire is that, on at least two occasions, in 257/871 and 262/875-6, Ibn Ṭūlūn remitted considerable sums of revenue, along with gifts, to the central ʿAbbāsid administration. The extended conflict with al-Muwaffaḳ would then have been an obstacle to more regular such payments (Frantz, 54-8). For al-Muwaffaḳ, the issue was, early on, to secure Egyptian revenue for the campaign against the Zandj, then to limit the growing presence of the Ṭūlūnid house. The pressing need for revenue and perhaps troops, inevitably drew al-Muwaffaḳ's attention to the considerable wealth of Egypt. Resistance by Ibn Ṭūlūn to such pressures, reflected, for example, in the letter sent in 263/877 by the Egyptian governor to al-Muwaffaḳ in which Ibn Ṭūlūn pointed out that al-Muwaffaḳ had no formal jurisdiction over Egypt, fuelled their escalating conflict.

Ṭūlūnid administration of Egypt bore several features of note. The literary evidence points to a highly centralised and pitiless style of rule joined to consistent attempts to win the backing of Egypt's commercial, religious and social élite. Ibn Ṭūlūn is reported to have replaced ʿIrāḳī officials with an Egyptian bureaucracy (Ibn Saʿīd, 83) and to have relied on the powerful merchant community for both financial and diplomatic support. Maʿmar al-Djawharī, a leading member of the Egyptian merchant community, served as Ibn Ṭūlūn's financier and maintained a network through which funds and intelligence made its way between Egypt and ʿIrāḳ. Concern over legal and religious sanction is suggested by Ibn Ṭūlūn's appeal, to an assembly of Egyptian and Syrian religious authorities convened in Damascus (269/882-3), for approval of his position against al-Muwaffaḳ. The need for such appeals is underscored by the refusal, on the part of the Egyptian chief *ḳāḍī*, Bakkār b. Ḳutayba, and two other jurists, to side with Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Kindī, 226).

Fragmentary evidence does not permit a thorough assessment of Ṭūlūnid economic and financial policies. Important evidence points, however, to a stable and prosperous economy closely administered by the Egyptian bureaucracy and propitious levels of agricultural production blessed by consistent high flooding (Frantz, 267). The political stability of Egypt is a *sine qua non*. Recurrent revolts among the Copts and on the part of Arab nomadic communities along the upper Nile, were perhaps largely a response to more efficient Ṭūlūnid fiscal practices. The strength of the Ṭūlūnid economy is attributable to a complex of long-term socio-economic factors and more immediate reforms on the part of both Ibn al-Mudabbir in the period just prior to Ibn Ṭūlūn's appointment and the Ṭūlūnid administration itself (Frantz and Morimoto). The measures in question include changes in the tax assessment and collection system, an expansion in the use of tax-contracts (itself the source of an emergent land-holding élite in this period), and investment and repairs in the agricultural infrastructure. The key sector of production, investment, and participation in Mediterranean-wide commerce, was textiles, linen in particular (Frantz, 281-5).

Public works projects initiated by Ibn Ṭūlūn reflected practical and ideological concerns alike. The establishment of the new quarter of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, and the replacement of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ with a new congregational mosque, were a response to overcrowding, particularly with the influx of new regiments. The well-known tower of the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque probably combines features borrowed from Samarran architecture and more local patterns. In addition to prodigious sums spent on military matters, the expenditures on Khumārawayh's part toward palaces, gardens and sumptuous social and artistic gatherings are said to have contributed to the alarming condition of the Ṭūlūnid treasury following his tenure in office.

Bibliography: The articles AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN (Z. Hassan) and KHUMĀRAWAYH B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN (U. Haarmann) should be consulted, along with the *EI*[1] art. *Ṭūlūnids* (H.A.R. Gibb).

1. The largely hagiographical biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn by Ibn al-Dāya [*q.v.*] preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib* (Cairo 1953) provides a near-contemporary account of his reign, complemented by a second valuable work, *al-Mukāfaʾa* (Cairo 1941). The *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn* of al-Balawī [*q.v.*], while largely based on Ibn al-Dāya, is a credible elaboration of that life story. The chronicles of al-Kindī, al-Ṭabarī and al-Yaʿḳūbī all contain valuable information on the Ṭūlūnid period. The earlier works are the principal sources for later authors, principally Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maḳrīzī and al-Nuwayrī.

2. Studies. C.H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strassburg 1902, ii, 180-98, and Z.M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, offer somewhat dated information and opinion. More recent scholarship includes O. Grabar, *The coinage of the Ṭūlūnids*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs 139, New York 1957; G.M. Frantz, *Saving and investment*, Ph.D. diss., Ann Arbor, Michigan 1978; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates*, London and New York 1986, 309-13, K. Morimoto, *Fiscal administration*, Kyoto 1981, and E.W. Randa, *The Tulunid dynasty*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Utah 1990, unpubl. Frantz and Morimoto rely, in good part, on the extensive surviving papyri, and Frantz cites the earlier such research of N. Abbott and A. Grohmann.

(M.S. GORDON)

TUM [see TIK WA-TUM].

ṬUʿMA, ILYĀS, Abū Faḍl al-Walīd, minor Arabic poet of the Mahdjar [*q.v.*] and of Lebanon, b. 1889 in Ḳurnat al-Ḥamrāʾ, Lebanon, d. 1941.

As the child of well-to-do parents, he received an excellent education at the ʿAyn Ṭūra school (1899-1903) and at the Madrasat al-Ḥikma in Beirut in 1905. His penchant for poetry manifested itself already during his school years in ʿAyn Ṭūra, where he composed poems in both flawless Arabic and French. He emigrated to Argentina in 1908 and went from there in 1910 to Brazil. He converted to Islam in 1916 and adopted the name Abū Faḍl al-Walīd. In 1920 he returned to Lebanon, where he lived until his death in 1941.

During his stay in Rio de Janeiro, he published a newspaper, from 1913 to 1917, named *al-Ḥamrāʾ* after the village where he was born and the Alhambra in Spain. From 1915 onwards he began to collect his poetry. The first volume came out in 1915 with the title *al-Gharībāt* ("Curiosities"), republished in Beirut in 1931 with the title *Aghārīd fī ʿawāṣif* ("Songs in storms"). Three more volumes followed: *al-Anfās al-mulahhiba* ("Kindling breaths"), Brazil 1917; *Rayāḥīn al-arwāḥ* ("Basil-scented souls"), Brazil 1918; and *al-Ḳaṣāʾid* ("Odes"), Rio de Janeiro 1921. The last volume was reprinted in Beirut in 1934 with the title: *Nafakhāt al-ṣuwar* ("Breaths of the pictures"). One prose work appeared from his hand in Rio de Janeiro in 1921, sc. *al-Ḳaḍiyyatayn* ("The two decisive issues"), about Eastern and Western politics.

After his return to Lebanon, he published a book on Arab history, *Aḥādīth al-madjd wa 'l-wadjd* ("Tales of fame and passion"), n.p. 1929; and *al-Mālik* ("The ruler"), n.p. 1932, on science, art and society. A volume of his essays on the Arabic language, poetry, prose and wisdom, appeared at Beirut in 1934 as *al-Tasrīḥ wa 'l-taṣrīḥ* ("Commission and permission"). He wrote three plays in prose, *Asrār Baghdād* ("The secrets of Baghdād"), *Nakbat al-Barāmika* ("The tragedy of the Barmakids"), and *Aḥmad wa-Wilāda* ("Aḥmad and Wilāda"), and one play in verse, *Ghāfir wa-Lubāna* ("Ghāfir and Lubāna"), 1932. He also translated poetry by Lord Byron which he published with the title *Zawāl al-hubb wa 'l-mulk* ("The end of love and power"), n.p. 1932.

Bibliography: Walīd Mashūḥ, *Abū Faḍl al-Walīd, al-shā'ir al-mudayyi'*, Damascus 1985. See also the *Bibl.* to MAHDJAR. (C. NIJLAND)

TŪMĀN, usually written thus in Arabic and Persian contexts, and pronounced *tümen* in Turkish and Mongolian ones, a term used in the eastern Islamic lands in mediaeval times with military, financial and administrative connotations.

The term appears to have entered Turkish from the Tokharian languages of what became Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, with the meaning of "10,000", but may be of Chinese origin (see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 507; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, ii, 641-2). Kāshgharī, however, translates it as "many" (*kathīr*), although he gives *tuman mink* as "a thousand thousand" (*alf alf*), i.e. a million (Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, Ankara 1941, 202 = Eng. tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982-5, i, 306). Both the general and more precise meanings of 10,000 are found in other early Turkish sources.

1. As a unit in the Mongol armies theoretically of 10,000 men, and as an administrative district in Mongol-controlled territory.

In the Mongol empire, *tümen* clearly refers to a division numbering—at least in principle—10,000 men, which was further broken up into units of 1000, 100 and 10. The decimal organisation of Inner Asian armies has a long history, going back at least to the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu) who fielded units up to 10,000 (Sima Qian [Ssu-ma Ch'ien], *Records of the grand historian of China*, tr. B. Watson, [2]Hong Kong and New York 1993, ii, 136-7), and was certainly found among the Mongols' more direct predecessors in the eastern Eurasian steppe, the Khitans, who founded the Liao dynasty in northern China and subsequently the Ḳara Khiṭāy state [*q.v.*] in Turkestan (D. Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford 1986, 89-90). Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*] already had a *tümen* of guards in 1206, although at this early stage the basic field unit appears to have been that of 1,000 soldiers (*Secret history of the Mongols*, §§ 202, 226; see § 106 for an even earlier usage of the term). *Tümen* is frequently mentioned in Persian and Arabic sources as the standard formation of the Mongol army in battle and elsewhere, both during the period of the united Empire and in the successor states. In the Ilkhānate, at least, it would appear that when Mongol commanders were mentioned in the pro-Mongol sources, these can be taken to be *tümen* commanders, thus giving us a suggestion as to the size of the particular army (J.M. Smith, *Mongol manpower and Persian population*, in *JESHO*, xviii [1975], 276). Whether *tümens* actually had a full complement of 10,000 troops remains an open question. In Mongol China, at least, there is evidence that these divisions had between 3,000 and 7,000 troopers in them (C. Hsiao, *The military establishment of the Yuan dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 170-1 n. 27). It may be assumed that a similar situation prevailed in the Ilkhānate, certainly because of the difficulty of keeping these units up to full strength given their frequent participation in campaigns. Besides divisions of Mongol and Turkish cavalrymen, the mainstay of the Mongol army, *tümens* of local troops of sedentary origin were formed, who joined the Mongols on their campaigns, including those against other Mongol rulers.

The expression *tümen* is also used to refer to administrative districts within the Ilkhānate. It may be possible that on occasion this usage was derived from the fact that the districts in question had to provide an actual *tümen* of local troops for the Mongol army (cf. Smith, *Mongol manpower*, 290-3, who argues that this was the case). In general, however, this seems unlikely, although it is also possible that it may be referring to those districts which provided the revenues for supporting a *tümen*. It appears that, on the whole, *tümen* was a general and indiscriminate term for an administrative district in the Ilkhānate (Morgan, *The Mongol armies in Persia*, in *Isl.*, lvii [1979], 89-91). *Tümen* as a label for a large military formation and an administrative region continued to be used in post-Ilkhānid Persia.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited above, see Doerfer, *op. cit.*, ii, 632-42, for an extended discussion with many examples; T.T. Allsen, *Mongol imperialism*, Berkeley, etc. 1987, 193-4, 209; P. Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan. His life and legacy*, tr. T.N. Haining, Oxford 1991, *passim*. (R. AMITAI)

2. As a unit of measure in accounting and numismatics used in Persia Central Asia and India, subsequently becoming a coin issued by the Ḳādjārs of Persia.

In the sense of a "heap [of money]", the word passed into Persian after the Mongol conquest and the early Ilkhānid rulers were said to have kept their treasuries as separate heaps of coins in the open air concealed under felt coverings, so that they could be physically picked up and moved about. Finding this practise too imprecise and informal for the needs of the state, Maḥmūd Ghazan [*q.v.*] decided to lock his treasury up, and to entrust bookkeepers with the task of determining exactly what, and numerically how much it possessed, rather than merely estimating the collective heights of piles of coins.

Maḥmūd Ghazan's coinage reform of 696/1297-8 was predicated on a change of attitude towards the official largesse that had formerly governed fiscal affairs to a more businesslike approach to financial management. The background to these financial reforms was recorded by Ghazan's court historian and *wazīr* Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who stated that in the past there had been no one universal standard for the fineness of gold and silver. This caused trade to be distorted, and resulted in much individual loss and hardship. As a remedy, Ghazan ordered that a uniform design be adopted for his coinage dies, and that the coinage alloy be as pure as possible. The weight of the dirham coin was officially fixed at a half-*mithḳāl*, *ca* 2.16 gr, and the people were directed to exchange 3.5 *mithḳāls* of old silver coins for 3 *mithḳāls* of the newly-minted, purer silver coinage. Rashīd al-Dīn provides no extended description of the coinage itself, but the above agrees with numismatic evidence that one dirham

Table 1

Ruler and dates	Metric weights			Traditional weights	
	Dīnār in gr	Tūmān in kg	Tūmān in gr	Tūmān in mit͟hḳāl	Tūmān in nuk͟hūd
Maḥmūd G͟hazan	12.96 gr	129.6 kg	129,600 gr	30,000	720,000
Öld͟jeytü					
703-12	12.96	129.6	129,600	30,000	720,000
713-17	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
Abū Saʿīd					
716-17 A	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
717-19 B	11.88	118.8	118,800	27,500	660,000
717-23 C	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
722-4 D	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
723-8 E	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
723-8 F	10.80	108.0	108,000	25,000	600,000
729-34 G	9.72	97.2	97,200	22,500	540,000
734-6 H	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Arpā K͟hān	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Mūsā K͟hān	8.64	86.4	86,400	20,000	480,000
Muḥammad	7.56	75.6	75,600	17,500	420,000
Sati Beg	6.48	64.8	64,800	15,000	360,000
Tog͟hā Tīmūr					
739-40	6.48	64.8	64,800	15,000	360,000
741-9 ʿIrāḳ	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
Sulaymān	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
Anūs͟hirwān					
745	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
757	3.24	32.4	32.400	7,500	180,000
Ind͟jūid					
745	4.32	43.2	43,200	10,000	240,000
756	2.88	28.8	28,800	6,660	160,000
Muẓaffarid					
755	3.24	32.4	32,400	7,500	180,000
796	0.54	5.4	5,400	1,250	30,000
D͟jalāyirid					
762	2.16	21.6	21,600	5,000	120,000
792	0.72	7.2	7,200	1,666	40,000

weighed a half-*mit͟hḳāl*, a double dirham one *mit͟hḳāl*, and six dirhams, or three double dirhams, three *mit͟hḳāls*, the coin which was known as the silver dīnār. To facilitate financial management, 10,000 silver dīnārs became the Ilk͟hānid unit of account to which the book-keepers gave the name *tūmān*. In this it was analogous to the Arabic *badra*, the skin of a lamb or goat capacious enough to contain a large sum of money. The usual amount reckoned as a *badra* was 10,000 dirhams, as the figure 10,000 was considered by the Arabs to represent both the perfection and the ultimate limit of numeration (Sauvaire, 136). In the *Tād͟j al-ʿarūs*, the *badra* is defined as a sack containing 1,000 or 10,000 dirhams, or 7,000 dīnārs. The equivalency of the last two figures is illuminating because it corresponds to the traditional ratio of ten silver dirhams *s͟harʿī*, each weighing 2.97 gr, being equal to seven gold dīnārs struck at the weight of the coinage *mit͟hḳāl*, 4.25 gr. It would thus appear that initially the *badra*, and later the *tūmān*, were considered to constitute the perfect unit of account having the mass of 10,000 coins of similar weight and fineness.

Under G͟hazan's reform gold did not form an official part of the new monetary system, and there was no standard weight for the gold coinage unit, although in practice gold coins were struck at roughly a quarter, half, one, two and three *mit͟hḳāls*. As a result, no regular exchange rate could be established between the fixed weight silver coins and the variably weighted gold. It was undoubtedly a wise decision on the part of Ras͟hīd al-Dīn to establish a mono-metallic coinage system sustained by an abundant supply of silver, where gold was treated as a commodity, held and traded in by means of coin-type ingots of standard purity but with a freely fluctuating value against silver.

There was no precedent in the western Islamic world which could have influenced G͟hazan's coinage reform, but the monetary system of the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*] bore such striking similarities to that of the Ilk͟hāns that G͟hazan must have looked eastward for his inspiration. In India, the standard coin of the Sultanate was the heavy silver *tanga* [*q.v.*], also named the dīnār, weighing between 11.09 and 11.21 gr (H.N. Wright, 395). At the time of G͟hazan's reform, the Dihlī silver tanga/dīnār followed both a trinary and quaternary notation. Under the former system, the tanga/dīnār was divided into 6 dirhams, the notation adopted by the Ilk͟hāns, probably because it was compatible with multiples and fractions of the Persian *mit͟hḳāl*.

Unlike the tanga/rupee system in Sultanate and Mug͟hal India, the *tūmān* underwent a series of devaluations which reduced its original value of approximately 129.6 kg of pure silver under G͟hazan's reform

Table 2

Ruler and dates	mithkāl per Tūmān	nukhūd per Tūmān
Shāh Ismāʿīl I		
907-23	200	4,800
924-30	160.75	4,050
Shāh Ṭahmāsp I		
930-7	160.75	4,050
937-46	133.3	3,200
948-53	112.5	2,700
954-84	100.0	2,400
Ismāʿīl II	100.0	2,400
Muḥammad Mīrzā	100.0	2,400
Shāh ʿAbbās I		
996-1004	100.0	2,400
1005-38	83.3	2,000
Shāh Ṣafī I	83.3	2,000
Shāh ʿAbbās II		
1052-4	83.3	2,000
1054-77	80.21	1,925
Shāh Ṣafī II or Sulaymān Shāh	80.21	1,925
Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn		
1105-23	80.21	1,925
1123-29	75	1,800
1129-35	58.3	1,400
Shāh Ṭahmāsp II	58.3	1,400
Shāh ʿAbbās III	58.3	1,400
Nādir Shāh	58.3	1,400
ʿĀdil/Ibrāhīm	50	1,200
Shāh Rukh	50	1,200
Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān	50	1,200
Karīm Khān	50	1,200
ʿAlī Murād Khān	41.6	1,000
Djaʿfar Khān	41.6	1,000
Āghā Muḥammad Khān		
1193-1209	33.3	800
1210-1211	20	480

to only 41.45 gr of silver at the outset of the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*]. Under Ghazan and his immediate successors, the most common Ilkhān coin was the double dirham. Silver dīnārs came into common use in Khurāsān under Öldjeytü [*q.v.*], while dirhams, halves and even quarters were commonly found in Anatolia and western Persia. The fractional denominations gradually faded from the Ilkhānid monetary system as the depreciation of the *tūmān* made them too light in weight for use as currency. In the West, their place was taken by the *akče* [*q.v.*]. In the East, the silver dīnār dominated the coinage system until the introduction of the Tīmūrid tanga [*q.v.*]. The Ṣafawids continued to use the *tūmān* as their unit of account, and assigned dīnār values to their silver coinage with the *shāhī* [*q.v.*] valued at 50 dīnārs, the *muḥammadī* at 100 dīnārs and the *ʿabbāsī* at 200 dīnārs. Under Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], the rupee was valued at 500 dīnārs. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh introduced the *riyāl* of 1,250 dīnārs, and later the *ṣāḥibkirān* or *ḳirān* of 1,000 dīnārs. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and his successors also issued fractions and multiples of the gold *tūmān*, while Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh issued commemorative silver one-*tūmān* coins in 1301, 1307 and 1313 A.H. Although the *tūmān* ceased to be the official unit of account in 1932, the word continues in popular

Table 3

Ruler and dates	nukhūd per Tūmān AR	Dates	nukhūd per Tūmān AV
Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh			
1212	480	1212-16	32
1212-8	432	1220-4	30
1219-32	432	1224-7	28
1232-41	384	1227-9	25
1241-50	360	1230-46	24
		1241-50	18
Muḥammad Shāh			
1250-1	360	1250-64	18
1251-2	330		
1252-5	300		
1255-64	280		
Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh			
1264-72	280	1264-93	18
1271-93	260		
1293-1344	240	1293-1344	15

use today with 10 *riyāls* spoken of as one *tūmān*. The tables record the vicissitudes of the *tūmān* from the time of its creation until its ultimate extinction, except for one murky period between the end of the Ilkhānids and the advent of the Ṣafawids, when it underwent what must have been a series of chaotic and obscure devaluations.

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(R.E. Darley-Doran)

ṬŪMĀN BĀY (al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Naṣr min Ḳānṣawh al-Nāṣirī), the last Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, r. 922-3/1516-17.

Born *ca.* 878/1474-5, he was purchased as a *mamlūk* by his paternal uncle Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*], and presented to the reigning sultan, Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*], by whose son and successor, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [*q.v.*] he was manumitted. During Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī's sultanate his career prospered. Appointed *dawādār kabīr* in 913/1507, he became in effect the sultan's chief minister, acquiring also the great offices of high steward (*ustādār al-ʿāliya*) and *kāshif al-kushshāf*. At this time of weakened governmental control over the provinces, he led five punitive expeditions to Upper Egypt, the granary of Cairo, to extort taxes in cash and kind, and to terrorise the local authorities. Disorders caused by Arab tribal raiding in Lower Egypt were met by him with severe, if ultimately ineffective repressive measures. Ṭūmān Bāy was appointed *amīr al-ḥādjdj* for the Pilgrimage of 917/1511-12, and in 920/1514 he served as regent *ad interim* (*nāʾib al-ghayba*) while the sultan paid a state visit to Alexandria.

He was again appointed regent in Rabīʿ II 922/May 1516, when Ḳānṣawh led his army to Syria for the fatal battle with the Ottomans under Selīm I at Mardj Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] (25 Radjab 922/24 August

1516). When the Mamlūk *amīrs* reassembled in Cairo, Ṭūmān Bāy unwillingly accepted election as sultan on 13 Ramaḍān 922/10 October 1516. As the Ottomans approached Egypt, Ṭūmān Bāy endeavoured to take the initiative and advance to the frontier. His plans were overruled by the *amīrs*, and he fell back on organising a line of entrenchments and a camp at al-Raydāniyya (north of Cairo) fortified with the cannons which had been cast in Ḳānṣawh's reign. His defences were overrun by the Ottomans, who were far superior in fire-power, on 29 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 922/22 January 1517, and Ṭūmān Bāy fled. With some supporters he succeeded in briefly reoccupying part of Cairo, but was again forced to flee, and made his way to al-Bahnasā on the west bank. A settlement with Selīm granting him autonomous but tributary status was rejected by the *amīrs*, and Ṭūmān Bāy's forces were finally defeated near al-Djīza on 10 Rabīʿ I 923/2 April 1517. He was betrayed to the Ottomans by an Arab *shaykh* of the Buḥayra, with whom he had sought asylum. Selīm decided that he could not be allowed to live, and Ṭūmān Bāy was hanged at the Zuwayla Gate of Cairo on 22 Rabīʿ I 923/14 April 1517. His corpse received honourable burial in the *madrasa* founded by his uncle. As an official and a ruler, he is viewed favourably by the contemporary Egyptian chronicler, Ibn Iyās, but he clearly lacked the strength of will and ruthlessness to dominate the Mamlūk *amīrs*. This hampered him in his operations against the Ottomans, as did his lack of military experience apart from desert skirmishing. There were also underlying causes for his failure, notably the impoverishment of the sultanate, the inveterate insubordination of the Royal Mamlūks, and the obsolescence of Mamlūk tactics and armament.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, 2nd ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Wiesbaden 1961, iv, v. The account of the reign begins at v, 102, but for the numerous earlier references consult *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr, al-Fahāris*, Wiesbaden 1986, i/2, 106-8, Fr. tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 2 vols., Paris 1955, 1960. Cf. D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956.

(P.M. Holt)

TUMBĀK [see TUTUN].

TUMBATU (Swa. Tumbatu, Ar. Tunbatū in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, only, iv, 366), an island of East Africa, *ca.* 5 miles long and 1 mile broad, and lying *ca.* 1/2 m northwest of Zanzibar in lat. 5° 50' S., long. 39° 13' E.

Yāḳūt says that people from Landjuya (sc. Zanzibar) had recently crossed to Tumbatu, where the inhabitants are Muslims. Manuscript histories of the island in Swahili, now lost, summarise the foundation legend of the settlement. The founder was Yūsuf b. ʿAlawī, of the Aḥdalī or ʿAlawī tribe (*sic*) according to Ingrams, having come from Tūsī, near Baṣra, in 600/1203-4. His eldest son became Sultan of Tumbatu, and his grandson Sultan of Kilwa, a tradition unsubstantiated by the Kilwa [*q.v.*] histories. Gray names the founder Yūsuf b. ʿAlawī, of the ʿAbdalī or ʿAlawī tribe; for Tūsī he writes Tūdī. The place-names are unidentified. The *nisbas* Aḥdalī, Aḥdal and ʿAbdalī still exist in Yemen, and should not be confused, as does Chittick, *Kilwa*, i, 239, with the Mahdalī of Yemen, the *nisba* of the second dynasty of Kilwa.

M.C. Horton's excavations describe a large site extending half-a-mile along the seashore, with numerous houses, a palace, two large mosques, one having two separate *muṣallās*, one perhaps for women. Occupation dates from *ca.* 1100 and terminates abruptly *ca.* 1350. The *miḥrābs*, and some surviving windows, are in the Sīrāf style of the Kizimkazi [*q.v.*] mosque; their inscriptions are in the same plaited Kūfic Sīrāfī style of 500/1106. It is evident that the carved elements come from earlier constructions, as at Shanga and elsewhere. The site was deserted precipitously, with coins left scattered on the floors, and bodies left unburied. The sudden evacuation was perhaps caused by bubonic plague, still endemic on the mainland. This suggests a date *ca.* 1350. The present villages of Gomani and Jongwe date only from the 17th or 18th century, their Swahili dialect having been recorded by Whiteley.

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(G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville)

TÜMEN, Russ. Tyumen', the name of a town, previously called Čimgi-Tura on the Tura river in Western Siberia and of a subgrouping, the *Tümenli*, of the Siberian Tatars (who in 1926 numbered 22,636). The toponym derives, probably, from the Činggisid administrative-fiscal unit *tümen* (< Turk. *tümen* "10,000" < Tokhar. A. *tmān*, B. *tmāne*, an early borrowing in Mongol where it came to designate a military unit of 10,000 (Clauson, *Dictionary*, 507-8; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, 303, 333, 377; Nasonov, *Mongolī*, 98 ff. [see TŪMĀN 1.]). This region had been largely inhabited by Uralic peoples, in particular the Ugric Khantī/Ostyak and Mańśi/Vogul peoples who had been undergoing displacement and assimilation by successive Turkic polities in the region (the Kimek Ḳaghanate, known to the 9th century Islamic geographers, and its heir the Ḳïpčaḳ confederation, early 11th century-1230s).

The region, an important centre of the fur trade, was incorporated into the Djočid *ulus*, forming elements in the territories of Shiban and Orda, brothers of Batu. With the fragmentation of the Djočid *ulus* in the late 14th century, Tay Bugha, a quasi-legendary figure of possible Noghay origins (see Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 8-12), is associated, perhaps inaccurately, with the founding of the "Tümen khānate", from which the later "Khānate of Sibīr" would develop [see SIBĪR], with its initial political centre at Čimgi-Tura. Its early history is murky. Buffeted by the Noghay wars of Tokhtamïsh (who took refuge in this region and then faded from view after his defeat on the Vorskla in 1399) and the subsequent state-building activities of Abu 'l-Khayr (d. 1468), founder of the Özbek confederation, the Shibānid Ibaḳ (d. 1493 or 1495), appears to have taken power in parts of the region well before he and his Noghay allies despoiled the rapidly-fading Great Horde and killed its *khān* Aḥmad in 1481.

Ibaḳ (Ibrāhīm) expanded his holdings around the Tobol and established marital ties with "Mar" ('Umar ?) the Taybughid ruler of Čimgi-Tura. Although he murdered his Taybughid brother-in-law, Mar's grandson, Muḥammad (Mamat/Makhmet/Magmetuk), took his revenge subsequently, killing Ibaḳ and then shifting the capital of the Tümen khānate from Čimgi-Tura to Sibīr/Isker/Kashlïḳ, which may have been an old

Ostyak political centre (*PSRL*, xxxvi, 47; Armstrong, 66-7; Frank, *Siberian chronicles*, 12-14). Ibaḳ's brother, who made a bid for power in the Great Horde (1496), continued to hold some of the Tümen territory. "Kulluk Saltan" of the Russian sources was the last of the Shibānids to retain a foothold here. By the early 16th century, the region was under Taybughid control. This may be considered the formal end of the Tümen khānate, now completely absorbed into the Khānate of Sibīr. The borders of neither of these states are clear. They appear to have included some Ugric "principalities".

The Shibānids returned in the person of Küčüm Khān [*q.v.*] who, backed by the Özbeks now dominant in Transoxiana, seized power here in 1563, holding it until the Russian conquest of Sibīr in 1582. Küčüm may have also accounted for the migration here of some Volga Tatar groupings, although the strongest influx of Volga-Ural Tatars to this region came in modern times (latter half of 19th-early 20th century, see Tomilov, *Etničeskaya istoriya*, 17). The Russian city of Tyumen' was founded in 1586 near Čimgi-Tura. Other urban centres of the Tümen statelet were Ḳïzïl-Tura and Djangi-Tura (Kyzlasov, *Pis'mennïe*, 47, 59).

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(P.B. Golden)

TŪN, a town of the mediaeval region of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in northeastern Persia. It lay some 80 km/50 miles west-north-west of the main town of the region, Ḳā'in, and was often linked with it; Marco Polo speaks of *Tunocain* (Yule and Burnell, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, [2]London 1903, i, 83, 86), and Tūn wa Ḳā'in still figures in the *Bābur-nāma* (tr. Beveridge, 296, 301).

Tūn has no known pre-Islamic history, but was a flourishing town in the 4th/10th century, when the geographers describe it thus, mentioning especially its strong fortress. Nāṣir-i Khusraw was there in 444/1052, and describes much of the town as in ruins, though still reportedly with 400 carpet workshops (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 126, Eng. tr. Thackston, 100-1). At the end of this century, Tūn and other places in Ḳuhistān were taken over by Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* from Alamūt, and the region became, and remains today, a centre for Ismā'īlism. Tūn's reputation here attracted the attention of the Il Khān Hülegü. After first attacking it in 651/1253, his commanders three years later besieged it for a week, sacking it and dismantling the citadel (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 615-16). It nevertheless revived enough for Mustawfī to describe it a century later as prosperous, with a rebuilt citadel and fertile agricultural lands (*Nuzha*, 143-4, tr. 142). After that time, it played little part in historical events.

Today, the mediaeval Tūn has become the town of Firdaws (lat. 34° 00' N., long. 58° 09' E.), the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of the same name, and with a population in *ca.* 1950 of 9,829 (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 282-3).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ṬUNA, in Ottoman orthography Ṭūna, the Turkish name for the Danube/Donau river, and also, from 1282/1864, the name of a *wilāyet* under the new provincial reorganisation of that time, comprising five *sandjaks* in the northern part of what became in 1878 Bulgaria [*q.v.*, and A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 82].

Ṭuna as a frontier region and its economic aspects.

Two contradictory logics have shaped the destiny of the Danube. Geography makes it the second longest river in Europe (2,857 km/1,775 miles) and gives it the role of a unifying factor between southern Germany and the Black Sea, whereas history has continually counterbalanced this by dividing its vast basin amongst antagonistic states. Thus the battle front between the Ottoman empire and the Christian world for long adversely affected the Danubian route's value.

However, the Danube does not present, geographically, a homogeneous course. Its upper basin comes within the Germanic cultural area, whilst its middle stretches come within the great Pannonian plain, dominated by Hungarians and Serbs. The Iron Gates defile (in Serbian, *Derdap*, from Turco-Persian, *girdāb* "whirlpool") forms a barrier difficult to get through, isolating the lower, Rumano-Bulgarian basin. The lower Danube valley has an assymetrical profile: the southern bank is an elevated one, and holds the main cities, whilst the northern one, low and liable to flooding, was, until recent decades, covered with thick, marshy forest land (*lunca*). This last formed a real barrier parallel to the river itself, and contributed considerably to the autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia *vis-à-vis* Ottoman power [see eflāḳ and boghdān]. Finally, the mouths of the Danube form a special stretch since, being accessible to sea-going shipping, they are orientated towards the Black Sea and the Straits.

Although known to Arabic geographers, the river did not really enter the Islamic sphere till the Ottoman conquests. The southern bank of the lower Danube was taken over towards the end of the 14th century (Nikopol [see nīkbūlī] 1393, Vidin [see widin] 1396). Above the Iron Gates, the capture of Smederevo (1459) was not decisive, so long as the strategically-situated fortress of Belgrade resisted (sieges in 1440, 1456). The mouths of the Danube, an important commercial crossroads, long controlled by the Genoese, were conquered at the end of the 15th century (Chilia 1484). Once the military barrier of Belgrade was lifted

(1522), the whole middle basin of the river was open to the Turks (Mohács [*q.v.*] 1526, definitive occupation of Buda [see BUDĪN] 1541).

From Komárom to the Black Sea, two-thirds of the Danube were Ottoman-controlled for a century and a half, yet this domination had hardly any effect in stimulating river traffic. Apart from the maritime section of the Danube, below Brăila, which had an active role in supplying Istanbul with food, the river remained a very regional line of communication, unable to compete with the great land axis Istanbul-Sofia-Belgrade. On the other hand, it played an important military role for transporting troops or frontier-harrying operations, with the help of *ṣaykas*, small, flat-bottomed gunboats.

From 1684 to 1739, the Danube formed the major axis for the Austrian military operations in Central Europe (Mohács 1687, Slankamen 1691, Senta/Zenta [*q.v.*] 1697, Petrovaradin [see WARADĪN] 1716). By the Treaty of Passarovitz/Požarevac [see PASAROVČA] in 1718, the Habsburgs gained Bosnian Posavina, northern Serbia as far as the Timok river, the Banat and Oltenia. This spectacular advance along the Danube was halted by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), which left them only the Banat. Until 1878, the frontier along the Save and Danube (along its section Belgrade-Orşova) separated the two empires.

A genuine revolution took place from 1830 onwards, when steam navigation appeared and the waters (especially at the Iron Gates) were regulated by works undertaken by Count Széchenyi. After this, regular traffic, increasingly swift and growing in volume, was possible on the Danube, and it became the axis for Austrian commercial penetration of the Ottoman empire. Travellers for Istanbul passed through Vienna, and railways from Cernavoda to Constanţa [see KÖSTENDJE] (1860), and then Ruse-Varna (1866) gave the prospect of shortening the route. Under the impulse of Midḥat Pasha [*q.v.*], Ruse/Rusçuk [see RUSČUK], capital of the province of the Danube (*Ṭuna wilāyeti*), became a showcase of Ottoman reformism. Russia, which had a Danubian frontier since 1812 and had then become controller of the Delta in 1829, tried in the 1840s to counter this penetration in order to strengthen its commercial hegemony in the Black Sea. But after its defeat in the Crimea, it was ousted from the Delta. At that point, freedom of navigation was proclaimed and an international commission took charge of regulating the Delta.

The Ottoman Empire's positions along the Danube continuously fell back. In 1829 it had to renounce its enclaves on the Wallachian shore (Brăila, Giurgiu, Turnu Severin), and in 1867 the garrisons in Belgrade, Smederovo and Kladovo had to withdraw. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 ended the whole of its control over Serbia and Rumania. It retained a theoretical control of the Bulgarian shore until 1908, but held until 1913 only the tiny island of Ada kale, below the Iron Gates, paradoxically forgotten until then by the international treaties [see ADA ḲALʿE].

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ṬUNB, the name of two small islands (the Greater and the Lesser Ṭunbs) in the Persian Gulf situated to the west of the Straits of Hurmuz (lat. 26° 15' N., long. 55° 17' E.), whose modest history has been linked in recent times with that of the island of Abū Mūsā to their southwest (lat. 25° 52' N., long. 55° 00' E.). All three islands have been the subject of disputes between the ruling power in Persia to the north and the *shaykhs* of the Arab shores of the Gulf, those now forming the United Arab Emirates [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA, in Suppl.].

The Ṭunbs are mentioned by the Portuguese author Duarte Barbosa in his description of the Inner Gulf (*ca.* 1518) as Fomon (read Tomon = Ṭunb) as amongst those islands dependent on the nominal Arab ruler in Hurmuz [*q.v.*]. Persia had a shadowy historical claim to the islands, but with the appearance of British naval power in the Gulf from the late 18th century onwards [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM], it was in general content to leave the islands under the control of local Arab *shaykhs*. However, in the later 19th century Persia steadily worked for the reduction of Arab influence on the Persian Gulf coast, and also in the 1860s revived earlier claims to al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*]. Arab traders having been squeezed out of Linga [*q.v.*] on the coast of Fārs and having moved to Abū Mūsā, in spring 1904 Persian customs officials landed on the three islands, hauled down the flag of the *shaykh* of Sharjah (al-Shāriḳa [*q.v.*]) and hoisted the Persian one; but British diplomatic pressure compelled the Persians to withdraw. In the ensuing decades, Britain recognised the general right of the *shaykh* of Sharjah over Abū Mūsā and of the *shaykh* of Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.v.*] over the Ṭunbs. Just one day before the final withdrawal of Britain from the Gulf, Iranian forces on 30 November 1971 occupied the Ṭunbs and Abū Mūsā, doubting the abilities of the *shaykhs* to defend the islands in such a vital waterway as the Gulf, and they have remained in Iranian hands ever since then.

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ṬUNBŪR (A.), pl. *ṭanābīr* (vars. *ṭanbūr(a)*, *ṭanbūridja*, *ṭanpūr(a)*, *dambūra*, *dombra*, with other terms such as *buzuk*, *buzuki*, *bizik*, *baghlama*, *djura*, *sāz*, *dotār*, *setār*, etc.), denotes the pandore and various types of long-necked musical instrument. It is generally to be distinguished from the lute [see ʿŪD] by its smaller sound-chest and longer neck.

1. History of the instrument and its usage.

The pandore was known in ancient Egypt (Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, 54), Assyria (Engel, *Music of the most ancient nations*, 54), and Persia (terracotta from Susa in the Louvre, Paris). In Egypt, it appears to have been known as the *nefer*, which some scholars equate with the Hebrew *nebel*. The instru-

ment exists with but little change in the *gunbrī* of North Africa, the name of which carries, in its consonants *n-b-r*, a trace of the old Egyptian word.

The *gunbrī* (dim. *gunībrī*), in its most primitive form, with a gourd, shell, or wooden sound-chest, a skin or leather belly, and horsehair strings without tuning pegs, is the earliest form of the pandore known to us, and is to be found among the rural populations of North Africa from the Atlantic to the Nile. The sound-chest is constructed in many shapes and sizes, pear-shaped, ovoid, hemispherical and rectangular. The better type of instrument, which is used by the professional musician in art music, has tuning pegs, and is generally very artistically adorned with colours. It is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in his *Riḥla*, iv, 406, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 959. For a full description of the instrument, see Farmer, *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, 39-49.

The *ṭunbūr, ṭinbār, tunbūr* (vulg. *ṭanbūr*) is the classical name for the pandore in the East. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 90 = § 3214) attributes its invention to the iniquitous peoples of Sodom and Gomorra, hence perhaps the popular etymology (*ṭann* = "musical sound" + *būr* = "one destined to perdition"), although the lexicographers derive the word from the Persian *dum* or *dunba* ("tail") and *bara* ("lamb").

We first read of the *ṭunbūr* in Arabic literature in the 1st/7th century (*Aghānī*[1], v, 161). The instrument was already the most favoured instrument in Persia, in al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān and al-Daylam (*Murūdj*, viii, 91 = § 3215) and by *ca.* 900 it became so popular with the Arabs as to threaten the supremacy of the *ʿūd* (lute). Two books on the lives of famous pandorists were written at this period (*Fihrist*, 145-6). In the 4th/10th century two distinct types were known: the *ṭunbūr mīzānī* or *ṭunbūr baghdādī* which was attributed to the Ṣābians, and the *ṭunbūr khurāsānī*. The former, which retained in its frets the scale of pagan times, was used in ʿIrāḳ and to the south and west of it. The latter was favoured in Khurāsān and to the north and east of it. Both were generally found with two strings, although the *ṭunbūr khurāsānī* was sometimes mounted with three. These pandores are fully described by al-Fārābī. The identity of these particular types of pandores is lost after this and, indeed, the *ṭunbūr* is merely mentioned by name by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), and Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (d. 1294). It is not described in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (8th/14th century) although Ibn Ghaybī gives details of several types, three of which bear the name. The *ṭunbūr-i shirwānī* had a deep pear-shaped sound-chest (*kāsa*) and two strings. It was favoured by the people of Tabrīz. The *ṭunbūra-yi turkī* sometimes had three strings but more generally two. Its sound-chest was smaller than the preceding instrument, although it had a longer neck (*saʿid*). Both of these instruments were played with the fingers. In the *nāy ṭunbūr*, which was also mounted with two strings, a plectrum (*miḍrāb*) was used. Examples of the *ṭunbūr* in varying types crowd into Persian painting of the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. Ewliyā Čelebi and Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa mention it among the Turkish instruments in the 11th/17th century. The former says that the *ṭunbūr* was invented at Marʿash. It was evidently mounted with gut strings, as he mentions the *tel ṭunbūr*, probably a wire strung instrument, the invention of which he attributes to a certain Efendi Oghlī of Kütāhiya. It was smaller than the other *ṭunbūr* and was popular with the women-folk.

The *sharḳī* mentioned by him is probably identical with the *ṭunbūr sharḳī*. He says that it resembled the *čārtār* and was played by Turkomans. In late Ṣafawid Persia, as we know from Le Mans, Chardin and Kaempfer, the *ṭunbūr* or (and) *ṭunbūra* was still favoured. The latter shows it with three strings but says that four or more were also found in use. Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776) says that *ṭunbūra* was the generic name for all the wire or metal-stringed instruments. He mentions three kinds of pandore: the *ṭunbūr* or *icitali*, the *sawuri*, and the *baghlama*. The *ṭunbūr*, which, he says, the Greeks of the Archipelago and Egypt called the *icitali* (? *īkītalī* < Tkish. *īkī* = "two" + τέλι "wire string", hence the modern Greek κίτελις), had two "wire strings". The *sawuri* is likened by Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte*), who wrote a quarter of a century later, to the *ṭunbūr buzurk* ("grand pandore"), and so the name may probably have been *suwwārī* ("grand"). The *baghlama* was a smaller *ṭunbūr* of three strings, and Niebuhr says that this was the name given it by the Greeks of Cairo. All these instruments of Niebuhr have pear-shaped sound-chests. Villoteau, who gives designs and a full description of the pandores of Egypt, says that he saw them only in the hands of the Turks, Greeks, Jews and Armenians in Egypt. He names five of them; except for the first named instrument, which had a round sound-chest and four double strings, they all possessed a pear-shaped sound-chest with three strings, some of which were doubled.

In Lane's time (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1836, ch. XVIII) the *ṭunbūr* still continued to be ignored by native musicians in Egypt, and was only to be found in the hands of Greeks and other foreigners. In Syria and Palestine the *ṭunbūr* was favoured by native musicians in various forms. In Turkey, the most popular type was known as the *meydān sāzî* strung with three double strings, of which the smaller varieties take the older names of *buzuk* and *baghlama* (Lavignac, *Encycl. de la musique*, v, 3018). In Persia the type finds expression in the *sitār, čārtār*, and such-like instruments. It was the most important instrument in Khʷārazm and Turkistān, as well as in the Caucasus and the Balkans. It is the *tan-pou-la* of China, the *tumburu* of India, the *domra* of Russia, and the ταμπουρας of Greece. The St. Médard Evangel (8th century), the Lothair and Notker Labeo Psalters (9th-10th centuries), and the Apocalypse of St. John (Bibl. Nac., Madrid: 11th century) show the early influence of the *ṭunbūr* on Western Europe.

The *tār* is a long-necked pandore with an elongated vault-shaped sound-chest and curvatures at the waist. We probably see the type in ancient Hittite art. It is clearly delineated in the frescoes at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra (early 8th century), and it frequently occurs in later Persian painting. It was to be found in the early 20th century in Persia and Central Asia, and Europe has borrowed the type in the *chitarra battente*. A tutor for the modern *tār* has been published in Persian (*Dastūr-i tār* by ʿAlī Naḳī Khān Wazīrī). As the word *tār* means "string", quite a number of differently strung instruments bear this word. The *yaktār* is a one-stringed instrument, better known in India. The *dūtār* is a two-stringed *ṭunbūr* with a pear-shaped sound-chest in Central Asia, and is mentioned by Ḥāfiẓ in his *Mughannī-nāma* (ed. Jarrett, 225). The *sitār* was originally a three-stringed instrument, but today it is more generally mounted with four strings. We see it in constant use in India with even more strings, where it is distinguished from the *tumburu* (= *ṭunbūr*) by being fretted and played with a plectrum. Its invention here is attributed to Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī (d. 725/1325 [*q.v.*]). The *čārtār* or *čahārtār* is a four-stringed instrument. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was invented by

the Ṣafawid Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 1488). It is unknown in Turkey or Persia today but is still in use in India (Shahinda, *Indian music*, 78). The *pančtār*, a five-stringed instrument, is known in Afghānistān. The *shashtār* or *shashtā*, a six-stringed instrument, is said by Ewliyā to have been invented by a certain Raḍī al-Dīn of Shīrwān. Ibn Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) describes it at length, and mentions three different types, one of which had fifteen double sympathetic strings in addition. Its pear-shaped sound-chest was half the size of that of the lute (*ʿūd*) but its neck was long. It is praised by the Turkish poet Aḥmed Pasha (d. 901/1496) as one of three favoured instruments (Gibb, *HOP*, no. 77).

Other instruments of the pandore type are the *ḳaradūzan, yūnkār, yaltuma, čūgūr, čashda* and *sūndar*. The *yūnkār*, a smaller instrument of three strings, was invented by Shamsī Čelebi, the son of the Turkish poet Ḥamdī Čelebi (d. 915/1509). The *yaltuma* was also invented by him. It was also a small three-stringed instrument with a waisted sound-chest like the *tār*. The *čūgūr* was invented by Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī of Kütāhiya. It had five strings with a wooden belly, and was used by the Janissaries. The more recent Turkish instrument is a long-necked pandore used by the minstrels known as *sāz shāʿirleri*. The *čashda*, says Ewliyā, was invented by Banklīshāh of Salonica. It was a small instrument with a hemispherical sound-chest (cf. the *čahazda* mentioned and delineated by Kaempfer). The *sūndar* of the Kurds resembled the *čūkūr*, but had twelve metal strings (see Ewliya Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i/2, 235-6).

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2. Technical aspects.

The *ṭunbūr* of Baghdād (described by al-Fārābī in the 4th/10th century) must have realised an acoustic system of division of the string into forty equal segments producing unequal consecutive intervals capable of integration with those of the harmonic system. It could only interpret melodies of a narrow range restricted to a few very close degrees, such as are found in certain liturgies of Upper Mesopotamia or in the *maḳām* [*q.v.*] *mukhālif* of ʿIrāḳ.

The *ṭunbūr* of Khurāsān (also described by al-Fārābī) must have realised a Pythagorean acoustic system with intervals of commas (531441/524288), of limmas (2a minor 256/243), of dilimmas (2a neutral, 3a Pythagorean diminished 65536/59049) and of tone (2a major 9/8) on a range of one-ninth per course. This system was to be revived and perfected by Ṣafī al-Dīn (7th/13th century).

Ṭanbūras are characteristic of the popular music of Upper Mesopotamia among the Kurds and the Aramaeans (Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Syriacs). The strings are plucked.

The Levantine *buzuḳ* has been perpetuated by the Nawar gypsies. It realises a system of quarter-tones (demitone, three-quarter tone, tone) or a Pythagorean system of seventeen frets per octave, hence twenty-seven frets per course. The courses are two to three in number, inter-tuned with fourth and octave intervals. The strings are plucked with a plectrum.

The Turkish *ṭanbūr* displays a hemispherical box some 35 cm/13.5 inches in diameter consisting of lunes and a wooden board with a bridge. The neck measures 78 cm/30.5 inches on average. The eight strings, about a metre in length, cover two octaves and are grouped in four courses, inter-tuned and usually with fourth and octave intervals. The frets (39 to 62) embody a Pythagorean system embellished by Ṣafī al-Dīn and the process of evolution in Turkey, giving a potential maximum of thirty-one degrees to the octave. The strings are plucked with a plectrum or scraped with a small bow (*yay*). The effects of *glissando* or of *vibrato* (by oscillation of the neck) are appreciated.

Differentiation—illustration of an acoustic system

The Ottoman Turkish differential evolution has enriched the Pythagorean systems of the *ṭunbūr* of Khurāsān and the Ṣafī al-Dīn system. Henceforward, standardised on the *ṭunbūr* is a system (irreducible in quarter-tones) which is illustrated, in Turkey, in Upper Mesopotamia, in Aleppo and by the Baghdād School of the lute, with thirty-one degrees to the octave.

The following is given in explanation of Table 1:

Column 1: 31 degrees of the scale on string tuned in *yegāh*. The terms are of Irano-Sanskrit origin, or are Turkish variants on Arabic; *yegāh* derives from *yekgāh*, position 1; it is the bass "open" string. The seven constitutive degrees of the *Yegāh maḳām* mode are in capitals with 6a neutral-7a diminished (*segāh*) and 7a minor (*čargāh*).

Column 2: equivalent Latin notes when *yegāh* (tonic sol-fa called "re"), is in "la" at 220 hertz. The alterations indicated conform to the *arabesques* code (nine marks per major tone, cf. pattern in margin).

Column 3: (in Italian according to usage) Pythagorean intervals. To be noted is the identity of neutral and Pythagorean intervals in application of the calculations of Ṣafī al-Dīn, neglected outside Turkey.

Column 4: values in cents (1200/octave, 200/equal major tone).

Column 5: approximative equivalence in commas of Holder, worth 22, 64 cents (53/octave, 9/major tone, 5/apotome, 4/limma).

Column 6: concordance with the "JCC" code applied by the author. He defines the twenty-four and thirty-one potential degrees by numerical and alphabetical indices from 0.A to 24.Z within the octave, with a view to facilitating transpositions-confrontations of pitches and systems by an invariable and transposable definition *of maḳāms*. The *Yegāh maḳām* has the formula AEHKORTZ and the *Rāst maḳām* the formula AEHKOSVZ, irrespective of the pitch of the *rāst* key-tone or of the acoustic system (Pythagoro-commatic, quarter-tones, empirical).

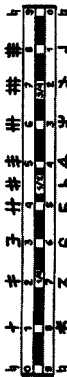
Column 7: equivalent Latin notes with so-called *arabesque* alterations when *rāst, tonic*, called *sol*, is in *ré* of 293,34 hertz, according to usage.

Column 8: 31 degrees of the scale on string tuned in *rāst*. The terms are of Irano-Sanskrit origin, or are Turkish variants on Arabic; *rāst* signifies "right"; *dūgāh, segāh, čargāh*: positions 2, 3, 4; *evič* or *evdj* is the Ottoman-Turkish-Latin evolution of *awdj*, the acme. The seven constitutive degrees of the *Rāst maḳām* (in *rāst*) are in capitals with 3a neutral-4a diminished (*segāh*) and 7a neutral-8a diminished (*evič*). These neutral degrees are thus higher than they would be in a quarter-tone system. They are separated from limitroph major degrees (*buselik* and *mahur*) only by a comma. Thus the Turkish-style *Rāst* evokes a major harmonic mode.

DEGRÉS DE L'ÉCHELLE VIRTUELLE TURQUE SUR LES CORDES DU TANBUR
DEGREES OF THE POTENTIAL TURKISH SCALE ON STRINGS OF THE TANBUR

grad/scal/yegâh 07/24/31/ottava yegâh=220 hertz	equi nota	intervall Pythagore	Cents:1200/ott	HolderC:53/ott	JCC-cod:31/ott	equi nota	gr/sca/râst 07/24/31/ot râst=293 hz
YEGAH	LA.♮	a vuoto	0000.0	00	0.A	RE.♮	RAST
(d-yegâh)	la.+	comma Pyt	23.5	1	0+A	ré.+	(d.râst)
				2			
		limma)		3			
k-n-hisar	si.♭	2a minor	90.2	4	1.B	mi.♭	n-zirgüle
k- hisar	la.ǂ	1a aumen)	113.7	5	2.C	ré.ǂ	zirgüle
		apotomé		6			
		dilimma)		7			
k-d-hisar	si.d	3a dimin	180.5	8	3.D	mi.d	d-zirgüle
AŞIRAN	SI.♮	2a magTon	203.9	9	4.E	MI.♮	DÜGAH
(d-aşiran)	si.+	2a mag+c.	228.4	10	4+E	mi.+	(d.dügâh)
				11			
				12			
acem-aşiran	do.♮	3a minore	294.1	13	5.F	fa.♮	kürdi
d-acem-aşiran	do.+	2a aument	317.6	14	6.G	fa.+	d-kürdi
				15			
		3a neutr)		16			
IRAK	DO.H	4a dimin	384.4	17	7.H	FA.H	SEGAH
geveşt	do.ǂ	3a mag.2T	407.8	18	8.I	fa.ǂ	buselik
	ré.ď	3a mag+c.	431.3	19	8+I	solď	
				20			
d-geveşt	ré.d	4a giu-c.	474.5	21	9.J	sol d	d-buselik
RAST	RE.♮	4a giusta	498	22	10.K	SOL♮	ÇARGAH
(d-râst)	ré.+	3a aumen)	521.5	23	10+K	sol+	(d.çargâh)
		4a giu+c.		24			
				25			
n-zirgüle	mi.♭	5a diminu	588.3	26	11.L	la.♭	n-hicaz
zirgüle	ré.ǂ	4a aum.3T	611.7	27	12.M	solǂ	hicaz
				28			
		5a neutr)		29			
d-zirgüle	mi.d	6a dimin	678.5	30	13.N	la.d	d-hicaz
DÜGAH	MI.♮	5a giusta	702	31	14.O	LA.♮	NEVA
(d-dügâh)	mi.+	5a giu+c.	725.5	32	14+O	la.+	(d.neva)
				33			
				34			
kürdi	fa.♮	6a minore	792.2	35	15.P	si.♭	n-hisar
d-kürdi	fa.+	5a aument	815.6	36	16.Q	la.ǂ	hisar
				37			
		6a neutr)		38			
SEGAH	FA.H	7a dimin	882.4	39	17.R	si.d	d-hisar
buselik	fa.ǂ	6a maggio	905.9	40	18.S	SI.♮	HÜSEYNİ
	solď	6a mag+c.	929.4	41	18+S	si.+	(d.hüseyni)
				42			
d-buselik	sol d	7a min-c.	972.6	43	19-T	do.d	
ÇARGAH	SOL♮	7a minore	996.1	44	19.T	do.♮	acem
(d-çargâh)	sol+	6a aument	1019.6	45	20.U	do.+	d-acem
				46			
		7a neutr)		47			
n-hicaz	la.♭	8a dimin	1086.3	48	21.V	DO.H	EVİÇ
hicaz	solǂ	7a maggio	1109.8	49	22.X	do.ǂ	mahur
				50			
		8a neutr)		51			
d-hicaz	la.d	9a dimin	1176.5	52	23.Y	ré.d	d-mahur
NEVA	LA.♮	8a giusta	1200	53	24.Z	RE.♮	GERDANİYE
		ottava					

abr:c=comma;k=kaba=ottava inf;n=nim=grado inf;d=dik=grado sup

Le code d'altérations arabesques confronte les code arabe, iranien, turc, les quarts-de-tons et commas. Assimilant 1 quart à 2 commas, il reprend de nombreux signes déjà utilisés sur portées orientales et en crée quelques nouveaux pour situer des altérations touchant les 9 commas du ton majeur.

Code d'altérations arabesques avec division du ton en 4 quarts - 9 commas

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TUNDJELI (modern Tkish. Tunceli), a province (*il*) and town of eastern Anatolian Turkey. The *il*, replacement of the old *sandjaḳ* of Dersim, was created in 1936 and the town, also called Kalan (lat. 39° 07' N., long. 39° 34' E.), was founded at the same date as its new chef-lieu on the site of the village of Mameki.

The very mountainous *il* (7,774 km²) is drained by the Munzur Suyu and the Peri Çayı, affluents of the Murat Su, the eastern branch of the Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT], which marks its southern boundary, whilst its northern boundary is made up of the Munzur Dağları which separates it from the valley of the Karasu, the western branch of the Euphrates.

The site of Pulur Höyük, excavated before its submersion by the lake formed by the Keban dam (Koşay 1976) was occupied in the late Neolithic or early Bronze times. At numerous points in its history, the region was a border one: between the Hittite empire and the Hurrian kingdom of the Mitanni in the 2nd millennium B.C. under the name of Išuva; between Media and Cappadocia in the Persian empire; and then between the Romans and the Parthians. Taken by the Arabs in 18/639, it was disputed by the caliphs and the Byzantine emperors until in 480/1087 it passed under the domination of the Saldjūḳ Turks and then in 641/1243 under that of the Mongols. In the 8th/14th century it was disputed by the Banū Eretna [*q.v.*] and Mutahharten, ruler of Erzincan, and then by the Ottomans and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in the next century. It was incorporated in the Ottoman empire by Meḥemmed II in 878/1473. In the 11th/17th century Ewliyā Čelebi described the citadel of Pertek, and Kātib Čelebi described Çemişkezek as the chef-lieu of a flourishing *ḳaḍā*. In the 19th century, the region made up the *sandjaḳ* of Dersim, with its centre Khozat (Hozat), dependent on the *wilāyet* of Maʿmūret ül-ʿAzīz, except during 1880-8 when it formed an ephemeral *wilāyet*. It then had nine *ḳaḍā*s and 533 villages with a total population of 63,430, made up of 15,460 "Muslims" (i.e. Turks), 12,000 Kurds, 27,800 Ḳîzîl-Bash and 8,170 Armenians who resided in the main urban centres, which were in fact only small places, except that Khozat reached a population of 5,600.

Shaken by the revolt of Ḳočgiri in 1921 and then divided between the *wilāyet*s of Elâziğ and Erzincan at the outset of the Republic, the region of Dersim in 1936 became once more a separate administrative unit, a *vilayet* with the name of Tunceli, and was again shaken by the revolt of Seyit Rıza in 1937. This comprised eight of the nine former *kaza*s of Dersim: the central one of Tunceli, which was the old *kaza* of Pah with a new centre at Tunceli or Kalan on the banks of the Munzur Suyu, Mazgirt, Pertek, Çemişkezek, Hozat, Ovacık (whose centre changed its location nine times after 1878), Nazimiye (the former Kızıl Kilise) and Pülümür. Its population was made up of Turks, peasants and town-dwellers, and Kurds, still in part semi-nomadic, who were the majority with 55% of the whole according to the 1950 census. The *il* is one of the most backward of the whole country, with a poor agriculture of cereals grown by wet farming and an almost non-existent industry (two units for the agriculture-food industry listed in 1991). It has suffered much rural emigration, which has hardly helped its chef-lieu Tunceli, a small town of 24,449 inhabitants in 1997, so that the *il*'s population, having reached a maximum of 157,974 in 1980, with a density of 20 persons per km², had fallen in 1997 to 86,268.

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(M. BAZIN)

TUNGANISTAN, DUNGANISTAN, a name coined by Western scholars and travellers (W. Heissig, Ella Maillart) for an ephemeral régime, hardly to be called a state, in the southern part of Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*] 1934-7. The name stems from the Dungan or Tungan [see TUNGANS] troops, Hui, i.e. ethnic Chinese, Muslims who formed the military backing of Ma Hu-shan, styled "Commander-in-Chief of the 36th Division of the Kuomintang" and brother-in-law of Ma Chung-ying [*q.v.*], best-known of the five Muslim Chinese warlords who controlled much of northwestern China in the later decades of Kuomintang rule (sc. up to 1949).

Ma Hu-shan's fief of Tunganistan stretched along the southern rim of oases of the Tarim basin [*q.v.*], along what the local Uyghur Turks called "the lower road" (*ashtin yol*), the southern arm of the historic Silk Route from Transoxania to northwest China, being bordered on the south by the Kun Lun mountains and northern Tibet (map in Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims*, at 129). It was essentially a warlord's base, transplanted from Kansu [*q.v.*] or Gansu to the remote west of China as an outpost of Chinese colonialism. Ma Hu-shan ruled from his capital Khotan [*q.v.*] as an autocrat, called *pādishāh* "king" by his Turkish subjects, and his policies of financial exploitation weighed heavily on these last. Local revolts by them hastened the end of Tunganistan, and in 1937 Ma's military power dissolved and the area of Tunganistan fell to the Soviet-backed warlord already controlling northern Sinkiang, Sheng Shih-ts'ai. Ma retreated to British India, and thence made his way back to

The Turkish musician Necdet Yasar playing the *ṭunbūr* (1990).

China. He later led anti-Communist guerilla groups in Kansu, but was captured and executed at Lanchow in 1954.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TUNGANS, Dungans, in Chinese, T'ung-kan, the Turkic name given to those Hui (i.e. ethnically Chinese Muslims) settled within Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [*q.v.*], especially in the northern Sinkiang regions of Dzungaria and Kumul, but numerous also in the northwestern provinces of China proper such as Kansu [*q.v.*] (Gansu), Ninghsia [*q.v.*], Shensi [*q.v.*] (Shaanxi) and Tsinghai.

The Tungans in Sinkiang were estimated at 92,000 in the mid-1940s, and played a considerable political and military role there during the Chinese Republican or Kuomintang period (1912-49). From the time of the last Ch'ing or Manchu governor in Sinkiang, Yüan Ta-hua, and the first Republican one, Yang Tseng-hsin (1912-28), successive governors and warlords there relied on Tungan troops from Kansu as the most effective military force in the region. Although co-religionists of the Turkic Muslims of Sinkiang, the Tungans were the allies of the Han Chinese Kuomintang during the 1920s to 1940s, and inimical to the Turkic population. Thus they formed the essential backing of Ma Chung-yu in the 1930s and firmly suppressed for him various Turkic Muslim risings in Sinkiang. They were the mainstay of Ma Hu-shan's "Tunganistan" [*q.v.*] in the southern part of the Tarim basin 1934-7, and opposed the advance of the Chinese Communists up to 1948, almost the end of Kuomintang rule in mainland China.

Tungans from Kansu and Shensi had also been settled in the upper Ili valley region of northern Sinkiang, the area round Kuld̲j̲a [*q.v.*], hy the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (Zianlong) (*r.* 1735-96), In the later 19th century, there were further migrations, including a mass flight in 1877 after the collapse of Yaʿḳūb Beg's [*q.v.*] secessionist movement in Kashgharia. As a result of these movements, there has been a considerable community of Tungans living first in Imperial Russia and then Soviet Russia (Russian *Dungane*), comprising Tungans in the present Kirghizia Republic and those from Shensi in the Kazakh Republic. There are small urban groups in Bishbek (former Frunze) and Alma Ata, hut most are settled farmers in the Chu valley. They have a strong sense of ethnic identity and of their Sunnī, Ḥanafī Islam. They use the Kansu dialect of Chinese as their official medium of communication, since the mid-1950s written in a script hased on the Cyrillic one with five additional characters (the present, post-1990 status of this is unclear), though most Tungans are bi- or trilingual (i.e. with a Turkic language plus Russian). By 1980, the community numbered almost 100,000.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**TŪNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD** [see al-dimyāṭī].

TŪNIS, in Ar. also Tūnus, Tūnas, sc. Tunis, the capital of modern Tunisia. Like ancient Carthage, it is situated at the base of a large gulf, sheltered from northerly and north-westerly winds, at the junction of the western and the eastern Mediterranean. Like the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa, it was located at the intersection of natural routes serving the diverse regions of the country. But although the location of Tunis is often confused with that of Carthage, the two cities were constructed on two distinct sites. While Carthage, founded in the 9th century B.C. by seafarers from Tyre, was situated on the coast, Tunis, founded at the end of the 7th century A.D. by the Arab conquerors, is set back from the coast, on the landward side of a low-water lagoon, situated on a hill which slopes gently towards the east but towers over the Sedjoumi *sabk̲h̲a* to the west.

Arab Tunis was not created *ex nihilo*; it took the place of a more ancient city, Tunes, and adopted its name. It is generally agreed that this name is of Berber origin. The three radicals *t.n.s.*, which are encountered in other toponyms of North Africa, are said to signify "halt", "bivouac" or "encampment" in the Berber language (G. Mercier, *La langue libyenne et la toponymie antique de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *JA* [October-December 1924], 298-9; A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1948, 108-9). If the name is indeed Berber, a reasonable inference would be that the city was founded by the indigenous population. The notion that Tunes is actually more ancient than Carthage is credible, although the earliest evidence regarding the former dates from a period during which Punic Carthage was already a major city. The existence of Tunes is attested at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. In fact, according to Diodorus of Sicily, in 395 B.C., 200,000 Libyans rose in revolt against Carthaginian rule and seized control of Tunes (Diodorus, *History*, xiv. 77). The name of the city often recurs in the writings of Greek and Roman historians tracing the history of Carthage. It was successively occupied by Agathocles in 310, Regulus in 256, the Libyans of Matho in 240, Scipio Africanus in 203 and Scipio Aemilianus in 146 (S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-27, iii, *passim*). It is known that Tunes derived its strength both from its natural location and from the fortifications with which it had been endowed (*locus quum operibus tum suapte natura tutus*, Livy, *History*, xxx. 9), and it seems logical to place this city, from which Carthage could be seen and which could be seen from Carthage, on the hill which would later be occupied by the Arab *ḳaṣba*. Having made common cause with Carthage, Tunes was destroyed at the end of the Third Punic War. But the smaller city was to be reborn. In an Africa which had passed under Roman domination, the existence of Tunes was still attested. It features in fact on the 4th century map of Castorius, better known as Peutinger's Table, under the name of Thuni, which could be a copyist's error for Thunis. Christianised, the city was an episcopal see, and the names are known of the bishops who represented the church of Tunes at the Conference of Carthage in 411 and at the Council of Constantinople in 553 (J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Algiers 1913, 164-5). But although the foundation of Tunes dates back to remote antiquity, and although the city succeeded in maintaining itself for centuries, it never played more than a modest role, in the shadow of the major metropolis which was successively the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa.

When the Arabs, at the end of the 7th century,

had completed the conquest of eastern Barbary with the capture of Carthage, they did not establish themselves there. Fearing lest a Byzantine fleet would arrive suddenly and retake the city, they decided to destroy it: demolishing its walls, cutting off the aqueducts which supplied it with water, filling in its harbours and devastating its agriculture. Judging that their security would thus be better served, they established themselves at the base of the lagoon, at the outskirts of Tunes, and the small town, occupied by troops and with new buildings proliferating, soon became a city which could easily be taken for an Arab foundation. The development of Tunis is closely linked with the destruction of Carthage. In fact, Arab historians date its birth to the year 80 of the Hidjra which began on 9 March 699, thus barely two months after the end of the year 698 which was fatal to Carthage, and attribute its foundation to Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], who took possession of the great ancient city (cf. Ibn Abī Dīnār, *K. al-Mūnis*, tr. J. Magnin, in *IBLA*, [1952], 156, 158). Having established himself in Tunis, on the orders of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān created an arsenal there, and a thousand Coptic labourers from Egypt were soon to be employed there in the building of ships, in order that the Rūm, i.e. the Byzantines, could be opposed on both land and sea (al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 84). It is sometimes stated in the works of Arab authors that Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, or one of his successors, brought the sea to Tunis. It should not be inferred from this that he dug a canal through the lake, a project which was to be realised at the end of the following century. In all probability, he dug a canal through the littoral strip separating the lake from the sea at the place called Ḥalḳ al-Wādī, i.e. La Goulette (cf. P. Sebag, *Les travaux maritimes de Ḥassān b. Nuʿmān*, in *IBLA*, [1970], 41-56). Thus the city at the base of the lagoon came to be linked with the shores of the gulf, and ships constructed in the arsenal of Tunis had access to the open sea.

In the early period of its existence, Arab Tunis assumed a military function. Troops were garrisoned there on a permanent basis, in readiness to oppose an enemy landing on the coast, or to take to the sea and raid the coasts of the Christian countries. Of the numerous maritime expeditions mounted by the Arabs in the 8th century, several were launched from Tunis (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, [2]Algiers 1948, 115). The presence of hundreds and thousands of soldiers boosted the development of the city. Arabs blended there with the Berbers who were converted to Islam, either willingly or by force, and a new people was forged from the association of the races.

Tunis was for a long time a secondary city in relation to al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the capital, seat of the governors appointed by the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs and, from the 9th century onward, of the Aghlabid *amīrs* who were to succeed in imposing their authority on eastern Barbary. But the officers and soldiers who constituted the *djund*, the militia of Tunis, did not always follow the orders of those to whom they owed obedience. On more than one occasion, at the initiative of an ambitious chieftain, the militia of Tunis rose in revolt, only to be crushed sooner or later by forces dispatched from al-Ḳayrawān. It was to these frequent revolts, the most important of which was that of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī in the first half of the 9th century, that Tunis owed its reputation as a "factious city" (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 87). It was none the less the object of solicitude on the part of the central power. The *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (240-9/854-63) undertook the construction of a new Great Mosque, replacing the one which dated back to the early years of the Arab conquest. An inscription dates the prayer hall and the cupola before the *miḥrāb* to the year 250/864 (S.-M. Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, 28-9). The defences of the town were then improved, with the reconstruction of the ramparts, and the first *ḳaṣba* was established (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 160).

Towards the end of the 9th century, the *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (262-89/874-90) installed himself there on a permanent basis and made it the seat of his government. But Tunis was not yet the country's first city. With the end of the Aghlabid dynasty, the choice of the last *amīrs* was called into question.

The Fāṭimid princes, of Shīʿī persuasion, who had been brought to power by a revolt at the beginning of the 10th century, then installed themselves in al-Ḳayrawān, before acquiring a new capital with the city of al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] which they created *ex nihilo*, on the eastern coast, whence al-Muʿizz b. Ismāʿīl departed for Egypt in 362/972. On leaving Ifrīḳiya, he entrusted its government to his loyal lieutenant Buluggīn b. Zīrī, who succeeded in transferring power to the members of his family, thus founding the dynasty of the Zīrid *amīrs*, who by turns had al-Mahdiyya and al-Ḳayrawān as their capital, at the end of the 4th/10th and beginning of the 5th/11th century. In the meantime, Tunis continued to develop. The Arab geographer al-Bakrī has left us the first detailed description. It was then "one of the most illustrious towns of Ifrīḳiya". The Great Mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna, was situated in the centre. The building, constructed in the 3rd/9th century, was the object of renovation under the Zīrids, who added to it a narthex-gallery, a cupola at the entrance to the main axial nave and porticos on three sides of the courtyard, which on the basis of inscriptions *in situ* may be dated from the end of the 4th/10th century (Zbiss, *op. cit.*, 33-4). All around the Great Mosque were located the city's *sūḳs*, where manufacturing and commercial activity was concentrated. They were surrounded by residential quarters, with fine houses, their doors framed in marble, baths and caravanserais. The town was encircled by a wall with five gates, as follows: Bāb Ḳarṭādjanna, or Carthage gate, to the north-east; Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn, or Water-carriers' gate, to the north; Bāb Arṭa, to the south-west; Bāb al-Djazīra, gate of the Cap Bon Peninsula, to the south, and Bāb al-Baḥr, gate of the Sea, to the east. Outside the last-named was situated the arsenal, *Dār al-ṣināʿa*, established at the time of the foundation of the city. Further to the east, on the shores of the lake, was the port of Tunis, reduced to a single jetty where ships were berthed. It is on the littoral, at the mouth of the man-made canal that the Castle of the Chain, Ḳaṣr al-Silsila, described by al-Bakrī, should be located. The city was a hive of multiple activities, industrial, commercial and agricultural, and it was also a major educational centre. Judged on the basis of its *ḥammāms*, fifteen in number, its population was one-third of that of al-Ḳayrawān, which had forty-eight, but it was undoubtedly more important than the towns of Bizerta, Sousse, Sfax or al-Mahdiyya (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 85-9). At this time Tunis could well be described as the second city of Ifrīḳiya.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs repudiated the Shīʿī doctrine and rejected the sovereignty of the Fāṭimid

caliph of Cairo, professing allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph of Baghdād. The response was not slow in coming. The caliph of Cairo unleashed on Ifrīḳiya the unruly Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym [*q.vv.*], then encamped in the Delta. They invaded the country, emerged victorious from all their battles, succeeded in capturing and sacking al-Ḳayrawān, and forced the Zīrid *amīr* to withdraw to al-Mahdiyya. Then, throughout the extended territory, the Hilālians installed themselves as masters and, taking advantage of the general anarchy, a multiplicity of local powers took over the space vacated by an enfeebled central power. To ensure their defence, the population of Tunis appointed as governor an officer by the name of ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān, who administered the town for many years and on his death bequeathed his power to his son who in turn bequeathed it to his descendants. Thus, for almost a century, Tunis was to be a small, independent principality, governed by the Banū Khurāsān [*q.v.*]. It is the most remarkable representative of this dynasty, Aḥmad b. Khurāsān (500-23/1106-28), who deserves credit for having restored the city's walls and for building within the walls a castle, the memory of which is perpetuated by a mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Banū Khurāsān, the population of Tunis increased, as many Muslim families from al-Ḳayrawān arrived to take refuge there (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 36). The small Jewish community which had been established in the 4th/10th century was swelled by emigrants from al-Ḳayrawān and al-Mahdiyya. At the gates of the city, merging with the *Madīna*, began the quarters which were to be the suburbs of Bāb al-Djazīra and of Bāb al-Suwayḳa (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 31). Tunis also developed its industries and its dealings with other countries. A letter from ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurāsān to the archbishop of Pisa, dated 552/1157, lays down the condition of commerce between the two cities (A. Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis*, Paris 1929, 50-2). Under the Banū Khurāsān, Tunis succeeded in eluding the clutches of the Normans from Sicily who, taking advantage of the anarchy afflicting the land, managed to take control of all the towns of the eastern coast. But it was to fall into the hands of the Moroccan ʿAbd al-Muʾmin who, having embraced the Almohad doctrine, wasted no time in making himself master of all North Africa, taking Tunis in 554/1159.

Before returning to his capital Marrakesh at the other extremity of the Maghrib, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin entrusted the administration of eastern Barbary to one of his sons, who took up residence in the *Ḳaṣba* of Tunis (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 154). At the same time, after three centuries during which the leading role had been played by al-Ḳayrawān or al-Mahdiyya, Tunis found itself promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīḳiya. The Almohad sultans were soon obliged to confront the enterprises of the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*], who succeeded in obtaining a foothold in the eastern Maghrib and even in taking control of Tunis in 600/1203. But their efforts were ultimately unavailing and the land, maintaining its allegiance to the Almohads, regained stability under the rule of a governor named ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ. Designated to succeed him on his death, his son Abū Zakariyyāʾ rejected the hegemony of the Almohads and proclaimed his independence in 625/1227. He thus founded the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids [*q.v.*], whose princes later awarded themselves the title of caliphs and who presided over the destinies of eastern Barbary for almost three centuries, with Tunis for their capital.

Shortly after asserting his independence, Abū Zakariyyāʾ undertook to remodel the *Ḳaṣba* of Tunis according to new plans (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Ḥafṣides*, tr. E. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, 35). This citadel comprised the palace in which the Sultan convened his council and gave audiences and the palace in which he and his family resided, as well as a congregational mosque, the building of which, undertaken in 629/1231, was completed in 633/1235 (*ibid.*, 35-6). It was encompassed by a high and strong wall with two gates, one of them, Bāb al-Ghadr, overlooking the countryside and the other, Bāb Intadjmī, opening on the town.

Under the reigns of Abū Zakariyyāʾ and of his successors, the *Madīna* of Tunis retained the structure which had been imposed upon it in the early Middle Ages, with its quarter of *sūḳs* in the centre, surrounded on all sides by residential quarters, but with new constructions enriching its monumental ornamentation. On more than one occasion, the Great Mosque was the object of restoration work which did not change its appearance (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 57, 93, 257). To respond to the needs of a burgeoning population, the *Madīna* was endowed with a new congregational mosque, the Djāmiʿ Bāb al-Baḥr, in the vicinity of the Gate of the Sea, in 682/1283 (*ibid.*, 67). More numerous creations affected the colleges or *madrasas* through which the Ḥafṣid sultans took pains to diffuse Sunnī orthodoxy and to train competent and committed functionaries. The first was the Shammāʿiyya (i.e. candle-makers') *madrasa* founded by the sultan Abū Zakariyyāʾ. It was followed by the Maʿāriḍiyya *madrasa* in the 7th/13th century, by the ʿUnḳiyya *madrasa* in the 8th/14th century, and by the Muntaṣiriyya *madrasa* in the 9th/15th century (*ibid.*, 73, 106, 214). The *madrasas* were supplemented by *zāwiyas*, and inscriptions *in situ* allow the dating in the 9th/15th century of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿArūs and that of Sīdī al-Ḳalay. Among other foundations with which the *Madīna* was endowed under the Ḥafṣids, worth mentioning is the *māristān*, a hospital, which was built in the Sūḳ al-Ṣaffārīn (i.e. of the coppersmiths) under the reign of the sultan Abū Fāris (796-838/1394-1434), and the *mīḍaʾa*, monumental hall for ablutions, which was built in the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn (i.e. of the perfumers) under the reign of the sultan Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (838-93/1435-88). The surrounding wall of the *Madīna*, reconstructed under the Ḥafṣids, was pierced by seven gates: to the north, Bāb Ḳarṭadjanna, Bāb al-Suwayḳa (which replaced Bāb al-Saḳḳāʾīn) and Bāb al-Banāt; to the south, Bab al-Djazīra, Bāb al-Djadīd and Bāb al-Manāra (which replaced Bāb Arṭa); and to the east, Bāb al-Baḥr, the city's principal gate.

Tunis was no longer identical with the *Madīna*, being flanked to the north by the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayḳa and to the south by the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra; these two suburbs, the existence of which is attested as early as the 6th/12th century, underwent large-scale development to accommodate an ever-increasing population. Of a semi-rural nature at the outset, they were gradually urbanised. In the southern suburb the sultan Abū Zakariyyāʾ had created, in the proximity of the Horse Market, a *muṣallā al-ʿĪdayn*, an oratory for the celebration of the two festivals of the Muslim year (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 33). His wife ʿAṭf had founded, near the Sheep Market, a congregational mosque known as the Djāmiʿ al-Hawā or Djāmiʿ al-Tawfīḳ, as well as the Tawfīḳiyya *madrasa*, attached to the mosque (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 382). The southern suburb was endowed with two other mosques: the Djāmiʿ Bāb al-Djazīra in the

7th/13th century, and the Djāmiʿ al-Ḥuluḳ, outside the Bāb al-Djadīd, in the 8th/14th century. Among Ḥafṣid constructions, also worthy of note is the *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Djalīzī which dates from the end of the 9th/15th century. It was in the southern suburb, outside the Bāb al-Manāra, that a quarter was assigned for the garrisoning of the Christian militia which served the Ḥafṣid sultans (A. Adorne, in R. Brunschwig, *Deux récits de voyage en Afrique du Nord au XVᵉ siècle*, Paris 1937, 190-1). In the northern suburb, a congregational mosque, the Djāmiʿ Abī Muḥammad, was built by an Almohad governor at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. The following century, a second such mosque was erected there, the Djāmiʿ Sīdī Yaḥyā, as well as the *madrasa* adjoining it and sharing its name (M. Bel-Khūdja, *Taʾrīkh Maʿālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa-fi 'l-djadīd*, Tunis 1939, 76-7, 184). Yet another such mosque, the Djāmiʿ al-Tabbānīn, was built in the 9th/15th century (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 235). The proliferation of congregational mosques, three in number in the southern suburb as in the northern, is a reliable indicator of the growth in the population of Tunis and of the expansion of the city under the Ḥafṣids.

For a long time the suburbs remained unprotected. It was only in the 8th/14th century that it was judged necessary to provide them with a surrounding wall, a construction which was completed under the reign of the sultan Abū Isḥāḳ (750-70/1350-69) (Ibn al-Shammāʿ, *al-Adilla al-bayyina al-nūrāniyya ʿalā mafākhir al-dawla al-ḥafṣiyya*, Tunis 1931, 131). It had virtually the same outline as that which was to be constructed at the end of the 18th century. It was pierced by three gates to the north: Bāb al-Khaḍrāʾ, Bāb Abī Saʿdūn, Bāb al-ʿUlūdj; and by four gates to the south: Bāb Khālid, Bāb al-Kurdjānī, Bāb al-Falla and Bāb ʿAlīwa. Under the Ḥafṣid sultans, Tunis already had the overall structure which would last until the eve of colonisation. To the south, the surrounding wall encompassed the cemetery of al-Kurdjānī, but it was outside the walls that the new cemetery was located, that of al-Djallāz, at the foot of the hill of Sīdī Ben Ḥasan.

To the east, outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, there was development of another suburb which consisted of *funduḳs* [see KHĀN] where Catalan, Venetian and Genoese Christian merchants had their residences and their warehouses. Further to the east was located the arsenal which continued to operate in Ḥafṣid times. It was not far removed from the jetty, used by the boats which transported merchandise and travellers between the town, at the base of the lagoon, and the harbour on the coast (Adorne, *op. cit.*, 186 ff.).

Far from the city, the Ḥafṣids acquired luxurious residences. The sultan al-Mustanṣir (647-75/1249-77) had built for himself, in a place called Rās Ṭābiyya, a fine palace in the middle of a park, linked to the *Ḳaṣba* by an avenue flanked by high walls (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 47). It was the same al-Mustanṣir who created not far from the Ariana the splendid residence of Abū Fihr, which was to be the object of enthusiastic descriptions (Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 339-40). More recent is the palace of Bardo (from the Spanish *prado* = garden), the creation of which dates from the reign of Abū Fāris and which was destined to survive to the present time (al-Zarkashī, *op. cit.*, 207). The Ḥafṣid sultans also attached their names to important hydraulic projects. Hitherto, the supply of water to the population had been assured by cisterns where rainwater was stored or by various wells sunk both within and outside the town. In the 7th/13th century, al-Mustanṣir undertook the restoration of the aqueduct which used to carry the water of Djabal Zaghwān to Carthage, adapting it to supply water to Tunis by constructing two diversions; one of them delivering water to a large reservoir situated close to the Great Mosque, the other delivering water to the residence of Abū Fihr, for the irrigation of gardens and orchards and for supplying the requirements of fountains and pools. In the 9th/15th century, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān (838-93/1435-88) increased the quantity of water supplied by the aqueduct by means of bore-holes created in the style of Saharan foggaras in a place called Kūm al-Uṭā, near Tunis (M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques ḥafṣides de Tunis*, in *RAfr.*, [1936], 517-80). The chroniclers of the time also mention cisterns, watering-troughs and fountains owed to the munificence of the Ḥafṣids (al-Zarkashī, *passim*).

Promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīḳiya, Tunis experienced development in all kinds of activity, with urban industries becoming ever more diversified. Chronicles and accounts of journeys afford a glimpse of the trade guilds dedicated to the working of textiles, leather, wood and metals as well as those contributing to the construction and decoration of houses and palaces: masons, potters, plasterers and sculptors. The city had its luxury industries, too: jewellery, wrought gold and perfumes, while the more mundane requirements of the population were supplied by mills, bakeries and *ḥammāms*. Tunis was also an important commercial centre, conducting exchanges with the Christian countries by sea, and with the lands of the Levant and Black Africa by caravans. Finally, intellectual activities were developed to an unprecedented extent. With its Great Mosque, the libraries of which had been enriched by the Ḥafṣids, and its *madrasas*, Tunis became the major intellectual centre of the land. Scholars and academics displaced from Spain by the Christian reconquest and taking refuge in the Ḥafṣid kingdom made a considerable contribution to the success and prosperity experienced by the sciences and literature.

The population of Tunis was increasing, and was not composed solely of Muslims. After the upsurge of intolerance which had marked the Almohad conquest (on capturing the city, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had compelled Jews and Christians to choose between conversion and death), the Ḥafṣid sultans adopted the traditional attitude of Sunnī Islam towards the People of the Book. Christians were permanently established—soldiers in the southern suburb, merchants outside the Bāb al-Baḥr—as were the Jews, who had their own quarter (*ḥāra*) within the walls of the *Madīna*. As for population numbers, the figure of 100,000 seems a reasonable estimate judging by the extent of the city, already approaching the dimensions which would take it into the modern age.

In the early 10th/16th century the corsair Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], who had taken control of Algiers and proclaimed his allegiance to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, sought to extend his domination to eastern Barbary. With a combination of guile and force, he succeeded in taking Tunis in 941/1534. With the aim of regaining his kingdom, the Ḥafṣid Mawlāy Ḥasan appealed to the Emperor Charles V who, anxious to restrain Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of the dethroned sultan. At the beginning of summer 1535, at the head of a powerful armada, he made his way to Tunis, expelled the Turks from the city and restored Mawlāy Ḥasan to the throne. Under the terms of a treaty which imposed quasi-protectorate status on eastern Barbary, the Spanish occupied La Goulette where they undertook the con-

struction of a powerful fortress to protect the land from sea-born assault (L. Poinssot and R. Lantier, *Les gouverneurs de la Goulette durant l'occupation espagnole (1535-1574)*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*, [1930], 219-52). This limited occupation did not prevent the *beylerbey* of Algiers, ʿUlūdj ʿAlī [*q.v.*], from taking possession of Tunis in 976/1569. The Spanish response was not slow in coming. In the autumn of 981/1573, Don Juan of Austria expelled the Turks from Tunis and, to forestall a counter-offensive by Ottoman troops, left behind an armed force of 8,000 men, who constructed a new fortress, *Nova Arx*, between the walls of the city and the shores of the lake, comprising six bastions joined by curtains, covering an area of more than ten hectares (P. Sebag, *Une ville européenne à Tunis au XVI^e siècle*, in *CT*, [1961], 97-107). The arsenal, still shown on printed maps from the first half of the 16th century, disappeared at about this time. But the following year, the Turks returned in strength, laying siege to La Goulette and Tunis and forcing their garrisons to capitulate (Rabīʿ II 981/August 1574).

With the conquest of 1574, Ifrīḳiya became a province of the Ottoman empire, administered by a governor who bore the title of *pasha* and was supported by a 3,000 strong Turkish militia. Within a few years, power had passed from the *pasha*, representing the sultan in Istanbul, to the chiefs of the militia (1591) and from the chiefs of the militia to a *dey*, who recognised Ottoman sovereignty but governed the country in an absolute manner (1595). But there was a gradual increase in the power of the military chief, the *bey*, who twice a year, at the head of a mobile camp, *maḥalla* [*q.v.*], set out to collect taxes in the hinterland. One such commander, Murād Bey, bequeathed his responsibility to his son who bequeathed it in turn to his descendants, thus founding the dynasty of Murādī *beys*. Princes of this dynasty would succeed in the second half of the 17th century in supplanting the *deys*, ultimately reigning as sovereigns in their own right. Through all these vicissitudes, the city which was the seat of the "powers of Tunis", *pasha, dey* and *bey*, maintained its status as capital of the country.

During the 17th century, the population of Tunis was transformed by numerous ethnic arrivals. These were Turks recruited in various provinces of the Ottoman empire and constituting the militia whose strength, 3,000 men at the outset, had increased to 4,000, concentrated in the capital. They formed the bulk of the mobile camp commanded by the *bey* and supplied contingents of armed men who took part in privateering (J. Pignon, *La Milice des janissaires de Tunis*, in *CT*, [1956], 301-26). "National Turks" were supplemented by "professional Turks", the latter denoting those who had abandoned Christianity and embraced Islam in order to live among the Turks as Turks.

More numerous were the Moors who, expelled from Spain in 1609 by Philip III, found a haven in Ifrīḳiya. Some settled in the hinterland where they put the land to good use, bringing prosperity to the villages which they populated; others were installed in Tunis, playing their part in the manufacturing and commercial activities of the city and forming clusters of Andalusian population in the *Madīna* (*Zuḳāḳ al-Andalus*) and in the northern suburb (*Ḥūmat al-Andalus*) (J.D. Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *CT*, [1957], 203-52). Among the new ethnic arrivals, also worth mentioning are the Jews from Leghorn/Livorno. For the most part, these were Jews of Spanish origin, forced to emigrate by the rigours of the Inquisition and given permission by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II to live and work in the port of Leghorn. Having forged commercial links with the lands of the Maghrib, a number of them established themselves in Tunis where, henceforward, a distinction would be drawn between Tunisian Jews, the *Twānsa*, and those from Leghorn, the *Grāna* (M. Eisenbeth, *Les juifs en Algérie et en Tunisie à l'époque turque (1516-1830)*, in *RAfr.*, [1952], 155-63), Furthermore, benefiting from concessions awarded by the Sublime Porte or from treaties of peace and commerce which the European powers had signed with the *deys* and the *beys*, small mercantile colonies, principally French and British, were well established and active. Finally, thousands of Christian slaves, natives of all the Mediterranean lands, added to the diversity and the markedly cosmopolitan nature of the population of Tunis.

In this same century, Tunis continued to be the greatest industrial centre of the country. Andalusians were in the forefront of the development of the manufacture of *shāshiyya*s or caps, an industry which soon employed a considerable work-force. With techniques that they introduced, the Andalusians also contributed substantially to the renovation of other industries such as silk weaving, metal-casting and ceramics. This was also the golden age of privateering [see ḲURṢĀN]. Sailing galleys and galliots fitted with rams, or in other sailing ships like polacres and galleons, the corsairs of Tunis attacked merchant ships at sea or mounted raids on the coasts of Christian countries, returning from their cruises with ample booty. Merchandise was sold to traders who resold it at a profit. Men and women were reduced to slavery, only to be freed if they could raise the money for their redemption. The trade in plunder and the ransoming of captives laid the foundations for vast fortunes. "There are in Tunis, as there are in Algiers, men of great wealth who do not know the extent of the sums that they have amassed" (J.-B. Salvago, *Africa overo Barbaria*, ed. A. Sacerdoti, Padua 1937, 80). However, piracy was not an obstacle to peaceful relations with a number of countries. French merchants controlled commerce with Marseilles; contacts with Leghorn were handled by immigrants from that locality. Maritime traffic was mirrored by overland traffic: a caravan route linked Tunis with Morocco, another linked Tunis with Mecca and a third gave access to Black Africa, beyond the Sahara (N. Beranger, *Correspondance*, in P. Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie au XVII^e siècle*, Tunis 1920-33, ix, x). Exchanges by sea and by land made the capital of the *deys* and the *beys*, according to one observer, "Barbary's most commercial city" (E. Plantet, *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour*, Paris 1893-99, i, 164).

At this time, Tunis retained its overall structure, with its *Madīna* flanked by two suburbs, but the Mūrādī *deys* and *beys* erected some new buildings. Under the reign of the Dey Yūsuf (1019-47/1610-37), the city was endowed with new *sūḳs*: Sūḳ al-Truk, for the tailoring of Turkish-style garments, Sūḳ al-Bashāmiḳiyya, for shoemakers specialising in the manufacture of pumps, Sūḳ al-Djerāba, for merchants from Djerba, and Sūḳ al-Birka for the sale of negro slaves. The same Dey built the mosque with octagonal minaret which bears his name, with the *madrasa* attached to it, as well as the *turba* which would be his final resting-place. Also owed to him is the construction, in the tailors' *sūḳ*, of the hall of ablutions, *mīḍa'a*, which would be transported to the Belvedere at the end of the 19th century, as well as the city's first coffee-house (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *K. al-Mūnis*, Tunis 1286/1869, 194-5). The *dey* Muḥammad Lāz (1057-63/1647-53)

built the minaret of the Ḳaṣr mosque as well as the *turba* which would be his mausoleum. The *bey* Ḥamūda b. Murād (1040-76/1631-66) who was without doubt the most remarkable prince of the Murādī line, endowed the Great Mosque with its first minaret, to be replaced in 1894 by the current one. It was also his reign which saw the building of the double gallery which constitutes its eastern façade: an inscription *in situ* dates it to the year 1047/1637 (G. Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 467). Also owed to him are the splendid mosque with octagonal minaret which was built in the vicinity of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ʿArūs, the *turba* in which he was buried, as were all the princes descended from him, and a hospital which was erected on the site of the first Ḥafṣid *māristān* (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 225-6). Opposite the *Ḳaṣba*, where the *dey*'s palace was situated, Ḥamūda Bey had the Dār al-Bey constructed to serve as the official residence of the *beys*. To his son, Murād b. Ḥamūda (1076-86/1666-75), belongs credit for the construction of a college, al-Murādiyya, in the *sūḳ* of cloths and fabrics. After a long war of succession which ravaged the country for more than ten years, Muḥammad b. Murād (1097-1107/1686-96) undertook the construction of two *sūḳ*s, the Great and the Small, devoted to the making of *s͟hās͟hiyya*s, as well as the fine mosque with cupolas, commonly called the mosque of Sīdī Muḥriz, which was completed under the reign of his brother Ramaḍān b. Murād (1107-10/1696-99); the plans were drawn up by the French architect F. Amelot (Ph. de la Motte, *Etat des Royaumes de Barbarie*, Rouen 1703, 131).

In addition to constructions owed to the initiative of the *deys* and *beys*, there were numerous private buildings which have been the object of an exhaustive study (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles)*, Paris 1967). Their siting affords a glimpse of the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups. While Moors, Turks and Andalusians were concentrated in the upper city, non-Muslims were quartered in the lower one. Jews continued to inhabit the old *ḥāra*; European merchants were installed near the Bāb al-Baḥr, the Gate of the Sea. Initially accommodated in houses leased from the Moors, they subsequently settled in *funduḳ*s set at their disposal by the Powers of Tunis, where their residences and warehouses were located. When the Chevalier d'Arvieux visited Tunis in 1666, there were three *funduḳ*s: one allotted to the French, another to the British and the Dutch, and the third to the Jews of Italian origin (*Mémoires*, ed. J.-B. Labat, Paris 1735, iv, 15). Also concentrated in the lower part of the *Madīna* were the bagnios or slave prisons, each known by the name given to its chapel. In the second half of the 17th century there were thirteen of them, for which a list of names exists (de la Motte, *op. cit.*, 127).

There is little to be said of the suburbs, which continued to be populated by the lower orders. There were few new constructions. In the southern suburb, the mosque of Bāb al-Djazīra was restored under the reign of Yūsuf Dey (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 196). In the northern suburb, the Moors established there were endowed with a congregational mosque, the Djāmiʿ Subḥān Allāh, as well as a college, the al-Andalusiyya *madrasa* (Bel-K͟hūdja, *op. cit.*, 82-5, 186-7). Beyond the first and second perimeter walls were the necropolises: the Muslim cemetery outside the Bāb ʿAlīwa, the Jewish one outside the Bāb Ḳartādjanna and the Christian one outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, with a chapel dedicated to St. Antony. Here free men and slaves alike were interred. To the north-west of Tunis the Bardo, promoted to the status of royal residence by the last Ḥafṣids, was highly regarded by the *bey* Ḥamūda b. Murād, who restored and expanded it, embellishing both the palace and its gardens (Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 227). Travellers have left enthusiastic descriptions of the place (d'Arvieux, *op. cit.*, iv, 47-8). During the 17th century the city, enclosed within the perimeter wall surrounding the *Madīna*, and its suburbs, did not expand, while its population, ravaged on more than one occasion by plague, varied considerably. It never reached the figure of 100,000 inhabitants.

In the early years of the 18th century, an officer of the militia who had organised the successful defence of the country when it was invaded by the Algerians, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Turkī, was appointed to the supreme magistrature with the title of *bey* and succeeded in bequeathing his power to his descendants. He thus founded the dynasty to which he gave his name and, as it had been the capital of the Murādī *beys*, Tunis now became that of the Ḥusaynid *beys* [see ḤUSAYNIDS].

During this century, the population of Tunis was not affected by new incoming ethnic groups. The armed forces of the country still comprised numerous Turkish soldiers and officers, natives of the various provinces of the Ottoman empire. Over the years, new recruits replaced those who were leaving on the expiration of their term of service, but a number of the latter married and settled in the country. The children born of Turkish fathers and Moorish mothers were called "coloughlis" (Tkish. *ḳulog͟hullari̊* = sons of slave soldiers), blending gradually into the urban population [see ḲUL-OG͟HLU]. A similar evolution applied to the Andalusians established in the city. Although loyal to their origin and fond of asserting their special identity, they married local women in increasing numbers, thus contributing to the mix of races. As it had in the past, the population of Tunis included, alongside the Muslim majority, Jewish and Christian minorities. Although they were both subjects of the *beylik* and subject to the status of *d͟himmīs*, from 1710 onwards Italian and Tunisian Jews were divided into two distinct communities, each with its own rabbinical court, its synagogues, schools and cemetery (Eisenbeth, *op. cit.*, 161-2). The Christians continued to be represented by small European mercantile communities, the French one being the most significant. As for Christian slaves, they were less numerous than they had been in the 17th century, although their number was to rise suddenly around the year 1800, with a final upsurge in piratical activity. All ethnic groups included, the population of Tunis increased by virtue of an 80-year absence of epidemics, from 1705 to 1785. However, it was reduced by a recurrence of plague which three times, in 1785, in 1794 and in 1818, ravaged the capital and, indeed, the whole country. The excessive estimates of certain travellers should be treated with caution; around 1830, the population of Tunis certainly did not exceed 80,000 inhabitants (A. Gallico, *Tunisi e i consoli sardi*, Bologna 1935, 189).

Tunis continued at this time to be a vibrantly active city. Accounts of journeys are full of detailed descriptions of its industries. The *s͟hās͟hiyya* industry was by far the most important, employing a large work-force, 15,000 persons according to the traveller-naturalist J.A. Peyssonnel, no doubt including the thousands of women who spun the wool and knitted the hats. Other trade guilds were devoted to the weaving of wool, of silk and of cotton, the tanning of hides and the manufacture of various types of footwear, working of wood, iron and precious metals, as well as all those involved

in construction: masons, potters, sculptors and plasterers (L. Filippi, in Ch. Monchicourt, *Relations inédites* . . ., Paris 1929, 118 ff.). The freedom of action of privateers was curtailed, following the signing by the *beys* of treaties of peace and trade with a number of the European Powers and the United States of America, which, to guard themselves against attacks by corsairs, were resigned to paying the Barbary States a kind of "tribute". Privateering was henceforward directed only against the principal states of the Italian peninsula, with Tunisian pirates attacking their merchant shipping and raiding their coasts. Privateering enjoyed a spectacular revival in the last years of the century, thanks to the distractions caused by the Revolutionary and Imperial wars in Europe (P. Grandchamp, *Documents concernant la course* . . ., in *CT*, [1958], 269-340). But following the resolutions of the Congresses of Vienna (1815) and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), the European Powers compelled the kingdom of Tunis to renounce piracy definitively. The capital of the Ḥusaynid *beys* remained the principal commercial hub of the country. At the end of the 18th century, the port of La Goulette was the object of substantial improvements under the direction of the Dutch engineers Homberg and Frank (P. Sebag, *La Goulette et sa forteresse* . . ., in *IBLA*, [1967], 13-34). Some exporting was conducted by other ports, but all imports passed through La Goulette. Maritime trade was conducted with Marseilles, Leghorn and the ports of the Levant. Other commerce was performed by caravans which linked Tunis with other lands of the Maghrib, with Mecca and with Black Africa. Reliable information is availahle concerning the caravan-route which brought ostrich feathers, gold dust and black slaves from the lands beyond the Sahara (L. Frank, *Tunis. Description de cette Régence*, Paris 1850, 116 ff.).

In the course of the 18th century, no changes are observable in the structure of the city, which retained virtually the same boundaries and the same area. However, successive *beys*, on acceding to power, lent their names to new buildings. As in the past, it was the central *Madīna* which benefited from the greatest number of creations. The founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (1117-48/1705-35) endowed it with a new congregational mosque, al-Djāmiʿ al-Djadīd, the New Mosque, in the Street of the Dyers, its construction completed in 1139/1726. Also owed to this ruler is the building of three *madrasas*, one of which adjoined the new mosque, while the other two were known by the names of al-Nakhla and al-Ḥusayniyya al-Ṣughrā, as well as the *turba* in which he was to be buried (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *Mashraʿ al-malikī*, Fr. tr. Tunis 1900, 14-15). ʿAlī I b. Muḥammad (1148-70/1735-56) constructed four new colleges: al-Bāshiyya, in the Street of the Libraries, al-Sulaymāniyya, in the Ḳashāshīn *sūḳ*, the ʿĀshūr street *madrasa* and the Bīr al-Ḥidjār *madrasa*. He also erected the *turba* which would be his mausoleum and that of members of his family (*ibid.*, 231-2). Succeeding his elder brother, who reigned barely three years, ʿAlī II b. al-Ḥusayn (1172-96/1759-82) lent his name to the construction of a college, al-Ḥusayniyya al-Kubrā, of a hospice, *takiyya*, designed for the sick and destitute of both sexes, and of the monumental tomb, Turbat al-Bey, which would be his last resting-place and that of all the *beys* who would reign after him (M. Ben Achour, *Tourbet el-Bey* . . ., in *IBLA*, [1985], 45-84). Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī II (1196-1229/1782-1814), having taken up residence in the Dār al-Bey, undertook to enlarge and embellish it, giving it the form which it would retain for a long time (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis*, Tunis 1962-8, iii, 76). On one side of it was the Sūḳ al-Bey, allocated for the sale of expensive fabrics. Wishing to improve the living conditions of the Janissaries, this ruler constructed five barrack buildings for their use: Ḳashlat al-ʿAṭṭārīn, Ḳashlat al-Bashāmiḳiyya, Ḳashlat al-Zanaydiyya, Ḳashlat al-Wuzār and Ḳashlat Sīdī ʿAmīr (*ibid.*, iii, 38).

In addition to these public buildings, which have been mentioned by Tunisian chroniclers and have attracted the attention of historians of Muslim architecture, there are numerous private ones which have likewise heen the object of study (Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis* (*XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles*), Paris 1971). Their siting gives the impression that the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups remained unchanged from one century to another. While Turks and Coloughlis, Andalusians and Moors inhabited the upper city, the minorities were quartered in the lower city. The Jews, whether Tunisian or Italian, occupied the *ḥāra*, which may have been extended. As for the Christians, they thronged the approaches to the Bāh al-Baḥr. Freemen were accommodated in the *funduḳs* and neighbouring houses. Slaves who did not lodge in the homes of their masters were confined overnight in the bagnios, less numerous than in the 17th century, most of them situated in the lower city. It was there that, in 1723, Spanish Trinitarians opened a hospital for the relief of the hardships of the captives (P. Ximenez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Tunez*, ed. I. Bauer, Tetouan 1934, 169 ff.).

The suburbs flanking the *Madīna* to the north and south continued to be occupied by the less privileged classes, and were also the destination of all those who arrived over the years from the hinterland. In the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra, the only construction worthy of mention is the *zāwiya-madrasa* built in memory of the Kabyle mystic Sīdī al-Bashīr and owed to the *bey*, al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1240-51/1824-35) (Bel-Khūdja, *op. cit.*, 211-12). On the other hand, the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayḳa was endowed with some significant structures. Yūsuf Ṣāḥib al-Ṭābiʿ, the all-powerful minister of the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī, built there a fine congregational mosque with octagonal minaret and two adjoining *madrasas*, as well as a *turba* to accommodate his mortal remains (Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 59). Successive *beys*, on coming to power, improved the supply of water to the two suburbs by building fountains, drinking-troughs and *fiskiyyas* to collect and conserve rainwater (*fiskiyya* of Bāb-al-Falla and *fiskiyya* of Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām, attributed to ʿAlī I b. Muḥammad Pasha). In the northern as in the southern suburb, wealthy dignitaries had attractive homes built for them, a development testifying to veritable urbanisation.

To the east, on land traversed by open sewers (*khandaḳ*) whereby the city's effluent was discharged, a new quarter took shape around the tanneries which, situated for many years within the *Madīna*, were moved outside the walls in the course of the 18th century (A. Raymond, *Le transfert des tanneries* . . ., in *Rev. d'Hist. Maghrébine*, [1977], 192-200). This new quarter was known by the name of that of the Dabbāghīn ("tanners") (Filippi, *op. cit.*, 80). But this was of little significance; Tunis remained essentially confined to the triptych formed by the *Madīna* and its two major suburbs.

At the turn of the century, the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī II decided to improve the city's defences by means of renovation of its ramparts. The works completed under the supervision of the Dutch engineer O. Homberg gave to the second perimeter wall the

outline which it was to retain virtually until the last years of the protectorate, with, to the south, the gates known as Bāb ʿAlīwa, Bāb al-Falla, Bāb al-Ḳurdjānī, Bāb Sīdī Ḳasim and Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh; and to the north, the gates known as Bāb al-Khaḍrāʾ, Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām, Bāb Abī Saʿdūn and Bāb al-ʿUlūdj. The walls of this second perimeter were flanked at long intervals by bastions, the construction of which is dated by inscriptions to the first years of the 19th century (Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 36; Plantet, *op. cit.*, iii, 491). The second perimeter wall which enveloped the city to the south, the west and the north, was interrupted to the east, leaving the suburbs partially exposed. No doubt it was reckoned that, on this side, the lake of Tunis constituted adequate defence. It should also be noted that the approaches to the city were defended by a number of forts either constructed or renovated by ʿAlī I Pasha. These were, to the south the *burdj* of Sīdī b. Ḥasan; to the west the *burdj* of the Rābiṭa and the Flifel *burdj*; and to the north the Ṭaḥūnat al-Rīḥ ("Windmill") *burdj* (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 346; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, ii, 144; Filippi, *op. cit.*, 91-2).

To the north of the city, the Bardo had grown in importance. The *beys* of the Ḥusaynid dynasty had added further constructions and had turned it into a small town with its palaces and gardens, within a perimeter wall flanked by round towers at the four corners (al-Ṣaghīr b. Yūsuf, *op. cit.*, 227-30; Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf, *loc. cit.*).

After 1830, Tunisia was opened on a broader basis to European influences. On coming to power, successive *beys* undertook to modernise and to reform the country [see TUNISIA. II. (c)]. The Great Powers assisted this process through the participation of their technicians and industrialists. In this new context, Tunis experienced numerous changes.

The major factor here was the development over several decades of the foreign colonies. The Christian population, which since the suppression of piracy had consisted only of free individuals, was swollen by an influx of new arrivals fleeing the poverty of their native lands—Malta, Sicily, Sardinia and southern Italy—in the hope of finding employment and livelihood in the land of the *beys*. Furthermore, by virtue of a codicil dated 2 November 1846 to the Tuniso-Tuscan treaty of 11 October 1822, Jews of Leghorn who had settled in Tunisia in the course of the 19th century, whatever the duration of their residence, retained their original nationality and constituted part of the Italian colony (C. Masi, *La fixation du statut des sujets toscans israélites*... in *Rev. Tunisienne*, [1938], 155-79, 325-42). Thus the European population of Tunis may have approached or even exceeded a total of 15,000 on the eve of the French protectorate.

The development of foreign colonies gave a new impetus to urban activities. French, Italian or other business concerns controlled maritime exchanges: the exporting of grain, oil, wool, skins, wax, and the importing of textiles, metals, wood and colonial products such as sugar, coffee, rice and spices (Ch. Cubisol, *Notices abrégées sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1867). Despite competition from imported manufactured goods, the trade guilds of the capital continued to supply traditional commodities to the Tunisian population: hats, fabrics, clothing, footwear, jewellery, etc. But the European influence was responsible for some innovations, such as the creation in 1277/1860 of the first Tunisian printing-press, leading to the publication of an Arabic-language official Tunisian newspaper (A. Demeerseman, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Tunisie*, in *IBLA*, [1956], 275-312; and see MAṬBAʿA. 1.B.5). European expatriates also created the first modern industries, with machinery powered by steam.

The city, of which the first detailed map was drawn up in 1859 by the French engineer J. Colin, still retained the overall structure which it had had since the late Middle Ages. There were few new buildings in the *Madīna*, besides a few *zāwiyas* of Ṣūfī mystics. Old buildings were assigned to new purposes. The palace which for years had been the seat of the *Dīwān* of the militia, restored by the bey Muḥammad II b. al-Ḥusayn (1855-9), was converted into the Tribunal of the Sharʿ (1856). The Ṣādiḳī College, founded by the minister Khayr al-Dīn in 1875, was installed in the former Ḳashlat al-Zanaydiyya [see ṢĀDIḲIYYA]. The old *māristān* was transferred to the former Ḳashlat al-Bashāmiḳiyya and renamed the Ṣadiḳī Hospital as a mark of respect to the reigning sovereign, Muḥammad III al-Ṣādiḳ. New buildings were more numerous in the suburbs, these being for the most part new *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*. In the suburb of Bāb al-Djazīra, the most important new construction was that of a barracks designed for the beylical infantry, on the site of a former Ḥafṣid *muṣallā*, close to the Square of the Horses, which was completed under the reign of the *bey* Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd (1835-37) (Ibn Abi ʾl-Ḍiyāf, *op. cit.*, iii, 191). His successor, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (1837-55), had a barracks block built outside the walls, to the north of the city, designed for the beylical artillery (*ibid.*, iv, 30).

The most significant changes took place to the east in the lower city. The continuing development of the foreign colonies took the form of a substantial extension to what was still called the "Frank Quarter". The Europeans had begun by leasing houses owned by Tunisians, then, having acquired the right to obtain real estate, they set about building houses conforming to their needs and their tastes, with windows opening on the street. At the ground floor level of these houses, shops proliferated, catering for all the multifarious needs of the population. Around the small square to which access was by the Gate of the Sea, consulates of the Powers represented in Tunis were concentrated. The *bey* al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1824-35) authorised the construction of a church, on the site of the former Trinitarian Hospital, bearing the name of Sainte-Croix. After the first European school founded in 1845 by the Abbé François Bourgade, others were opened by the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, for boys (1855), and by the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition, for girls (1845). In 1843, with the collaboration of the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph, the Abbé François Bourgade founded a hospital bearing the name of Saint-Louis for the benefit of the European population (M. Gandolphe, *La vie à Tunis (1840-1881)*, in Ch.R. Dessort, *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1926, 157-79). Under the pressure of numbers, the Frank Quarter ultimately exceeded the limits of the *Madīna*, extending towards the east, beyond the Gate of the Sea. The construction in 1861 of a new French consulate to replace the former, situated in the Fondouk des Français, increased the market value of land situated between the city and the shores of the lake, where building activity now accelerated. Shortly afterwards, the ramparts which had enclosed the *Madīna* were demolished. Henceforward, nothing would separate the old Frank quarter from the new buildings constituting the nucleus of the modern city of the future.

Under European influence, and that of the French consul Léon Roches, Tunis became a chartered muni-

cipality, but the city, even in its European sector, continued to suffer numerous deficiencies, such as open sewers and badly-paved streets congested with filth. However, the restoration of the Roman aqueduct from Zaghouan to Carthage, undertaken under the supervision of the French engineer J. Colin and completed in 1862, considerably improved the supply of water to the population. The installation by a British company of a gasworks provided the city with its first public lighting.

To the north-west of the city, the Bardo continued to enjoy the favour of the *beys*, who continually added to the constructions both inside and outside the complex. It was there that, during the reign of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, a Polytechnic School was founded for training officers of the Tunisian army, and a mint for the striking of currency. On the coast, to the north, between La Goulette and La Marsa, and to the south between Radès and Hammam-Lif, *beys*, princes, senior officials and dignitaries constructed palaces and homes to serve as their summer residences (Revault, *Palais et résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVI^e^-XIX^e^ siècles)*, Paris 1977). This was the nucleus of what would one day become a suburb of Tunis. In the seventies, a British company undertook the construction of a railway connecting the capital with La Goulette, with La Marsa and with the Bardo, ceding the franchise to an Italian company in 1880, but it was a French company which obtained the franchise for lines linking Tunis with the Algerian frontier and with the cities of the Sahel. Thus on the eve of the French Protectorate, Tunis had two railway stations: an Italian station to the north, and a French station to the south.

The institution of the French protectorate in 1881 marked a turning-point in the history of Tunis. A rapid increase of the European population is then observable. From year to year, successive waves of migrants swelled the membership of the various colonies, and in the city alone, in 1911, there were 17,875 French, 44,237 Italians, 5,986 Maltese and 1,381 Greeks, Spaniards and others, amounting to some 70,000 Europeans. At the same date, the indigenous population, which was yet to be counted, could not have exceeded 85,000: 65,000 Muslims and 20,000 Jews, and the city comprised some 150,000 inhabitants on the eve of the First World War.

The growth of the European population corresponded to the development of all the functions assumed by the capital city. The installation of a modern administration led to an increase in officials and state employees. The effort towards progress was represented by the creation of railways and roads which improved the links between Tunis and the hinterland. A modern port was constructed below the city, connected to La Goulette and the open sea by a canal 10 km/6 miles in length passing through the waters of the lagoon. The port, completed in 1897, became a centre for the exportation of phosphates and of iron and lead ores, as well as the agricultural products of northern Tunisia, while also handling almost all the importation of combustibles, machines and manufactured products. The installation of credit establishments, banks and subsidiaries, aided the development of import-export commerce. Alongside the traditional professional guilds, severely tested by competition from imported manufactured goods, modern industries grew in number, using machinery powered by steam, among which the most prominent were consumer goods (flour-mills, pasta factories, distilleries) and construction materials (brick-works, tile-works, lime production).

The city continued to develop, actually becoming a double city. Alongside the ancient city, which retained the features of an Arab town, a new city came into being having the characteristics of a European city, with its methodical planning, chequered pattern and the straight lines of its arteries. Houses accommodating Europeans grew in number, but there was also an increasing number of Tunisian Jews who abandoned the *ḥāra*, overcrowded and insanitary as it was. From year to year, the number of streets viable for traffic increased. The new city expanded towards the east, where the establishment of the port of Tunis opened up the land in the vicinity of the lake. The city was also extended towards the south and towards the north. Standing out from the whole was the city centre, traversed from west to east by Marine Avenue, where the former French consulate had become the Residence-General of France, with its cathedral, offices, banks, commercial premises, theatre, hotels and cafés. On either side were mixed zones where residential buildings alternated with industrial enterprises, whereas further out, at the borders of the town, were the attractive residences of the ruling class and the villas of the affluent. The extension of the city was accompanied by the construction of a network of subterranean sewers to replace the ancient open drains, the development of a water supply, of gas and of electricity after the construction in 1908 of a power station at La Goulette. One of the most positive achievements was the laying out of the Belvedere Park, covering an area of close on 100 hectares. In the enlarged city, transport was provided by a network of tramways, using animal traction at first before conversion to electric power. Rail links with the northern and southern suburb accelerated the growth of a number of centres revolving in the orbit of Tunis. Finally, the city benefited from a socio-cultural infrastructure comprising schools, colleges, dispensaries, hospitals, and research institutes, facilities designed for the use of Europeans but by no means barred to Tunisians.

During the inter-war period, Tunis experienced new developments. The population of the town increased, as did that of the suburban area. The growth of the Muslim population, Tunisian and non-Tunisian, was still at a meagre rate (1921: 88,800; 1936: 110,000); that of the Tunisian Jewish population was stronger (1921: 22,600; 1936: 32,300) as was that of the European population (1921: 81,400; 1936: 115,600), within which the French had become as numerous as the Italians. During these years, the population of the city increased from 171,600 to 219,500 and that of the suburban area from 21,300 to 38,500. Commercial activities, as evidenced by importing and exporting via the port of Tunis, had been in a state of full expansion in the aftermath of the First World War, but contracted as a result of the worldwide recession, recovering only at the end of the 1930s. Traditional industries experienced increasing stagnation (R. Plissard, *L'artisanat en Tunisie*, Geneva 1936), but within the limits imposed by a system of customs union with France, modern industries made some progress (notable creations include those of a cement works, a lead foundry and a superphosphates factory). The old city constituted by the *Madīna* and the two major suburbs flanking it showed few changes. The first Tunis management plan adopted in the 1930s was at pains to preserve the special characteristics of the Arab town by subjecting new buildings to standards, both in architecture and in decoration (G. Eloy, *La ville de Tunis à l'Exposition coloniale*, Tunis 1931). But the modern city developed more. The city centre was bedecked

by new constructions: public, such as the Municipal Casino or the Consular Palace, or private ones, such business offices, hotels and prestigious buildings. The urban impetus was directed towards the east, the south and the north. State aid to companies building inexpensive homes was reflected in the creation of a group of satellite cities: to the north, Franceville, El-Omrane, Mutuelleville and Beau-Site: to the west, Taoufik and Najah; and to the south, Bellevue and La Cagna. At the same time, building increased in the suburban zone where some centres comprised more than 5,000 inhabitants in 1936: La Goulette, 10,800; La Marsa, 5,600; Hammam-Lif, 6,700; and Ariana, 5,500. New projects helped the improvement of the supply of water with a dam on the Oued Kebir (1924), of urban gas with a new plant at Franceville (1925) and of electricity with a new power-station at La Goulette (1927). A combined concern for sanitation and ornamentation led to the creation on the edge of the lake of a fine esplanade covering twenty hectares, with avenues flanked by trees, lawns and playgrounds. Education was boosted with the construction of schools and of colleges.

During the Second World War, Tunis, occupied by the Axis armies and exposed to Allied aerial bombardment, suffered serious damage. Destruction was inflicted not only on harbour installations, on commercial and civilian railways and factories, but also on numerous residential buildings, whose unfortunate occupants required re-housing. Once hostilities were ended, efforts were directed towards repairing the ruins left behind by the war and responding to the needs of a population which had in the meantime expanded.

In the conurbation of Tunis, from one census to another, an increase in population is noted, of Europeans (1936, 115,600; 1946, 145,000; 1956, 160,500); of Tunisian Jews (1936, 32,300; 1946, 42,400; 1956, 38,900); of non-Tunisian Muslims (1936, 12,800; 1946, 23,200; 1956, 23,200). The growth in the Tunisian Muslim population was on a larger scale, doubling and then trebling over twenty years (1936, 97,300; 1946, 238,100; 1956, 338,400). This accelerated growth is explained by the rupture of demographic equilibrium observed at this time in the country. A reduction in rates of mortality, while the birth-rate remained very high, led to over-population of the countryside, and thousands of indigent families arrived to swell the population of the capital, where they hoped to find work and subsistence. Tunis thus found available to it a work-force surplus to the requirements of reconstructing and modernising the infrastructure. Despite the projects of industrialisation undertaken in the post-war years, many of those who had flocked to the city were unable to gain regular employment and were compelled to engage in marginal activities which barely enabled them to survive. Including all the constitutive elements, the population of the city doubled (1936, 219,500; 1946, 364, 500; 1956, 410,000) and that of the suburban area more than trebled (1936, 38,500; 1946, 85,200; 1956, 151,100). The population of the conurbation had risen to a little over half a million by 1956.

The growth of the urban population led to a new extension of the built-up area; the modern city experienced new developments. There was an increase in density of construction in certain zones where there was still vacant land, and urban pressure was directed towards the north with the founding, beyond the Belvedere, of the new quarter of al-Manza. But the major development was the appearance around the old city of a belt of "shanty-towns" (D̲j̲abal Laḥmar, Mallāsīn, etc.); these "towns" were composed of improvised constructions, erected without prior authorisation, on land illegally occupied, without any communal facilities, and they were the handiwork of the thousands of rural families who had converged on the capital. Their population, which already stood at more than 50,000 in 1946, had risen to more than 100,000 in 1956. These new suburbs ultimately constituted a third city on the cusp of the old and the modern city. This tripartite division is also found in numerous suburban "parishes" which, sandwiched between old Arab villages and the European quarters, were constituted by shanty-towns of greater or smaller extent. To respond to the needs of an enlarged population, production of gas and of electricity was raised, and the supply of water was improved by the construction of a new dam on the Oued el-Lil. But there was stark contrast between the wealth of a few and the poverty of large strata of the population of Tunis.

Following Tunisia's achievement of independence, in 1956, Tunis has experienced major changes. Decolonisation led to the evacuation of the various European colonies which had accounted for a high proportion of the city's population; French, Italians and other Europeans were induced to leave the country to settle in France or in Italy. In the urban area of Tunis, within a few years they had lost nine-tenths of their strength (1956, 162,700; 1966, 21,600; 1970, 18,800). Tunisian Jews, although the new State proclaimed the equality of all nationals irrespective of religion, were subject to discrimination, in fact if not in law, and they too felt obliged to leave the country to settle in France or in Israel (1956, 38,900; 1966, 13,200; 1970, 6,700). Despite the exodus of the various national or religious minorities, the population of the conurbation increased solely on account of the growth of the Tunisian Muslim population, brought about by a surplus of births in relation to deaths and an influx of elements from the hinterland (1956, 561,100; 1966, 679,600; 1975, 873,500).

The Arabisation of the population was accompanied by that of all the sectors of urban activity, in which Tunisian nationals took the place of those who had left. Within a few years, the capital city was asserting its diverse functions. The new State promoted management, services, bureaucracy, employing greater numbers of officials and agents. Sheltered by customs arrangements which guaranteed them a monopoly over the internal market, manufacturing industries prospered: among others, the textile industry, the plastics industry and mechanical and electrical industries. The development of modern higher education, with faculties of literature, sciences, law, medicine and theology and numerous specialised schools, gave Tunis a cultural function of the first rank.

The city itself has changed. The new administrators were not slow in eliminating statues which were seen as symbols of the colonial order. They also set about "Tunisifying" the urban toponymy, substituting, for the names of Residents-General, of French military achievements, of French provinces and cities, those of Tunisian thinkers, leaders of the nationalist movement or heroes of the Third World. These superficial changes were accompanied by more profound ones. The exodus of the minorities was followed by a redistribution of the Muslim population within the urban area. All the families having the means had abandoned the "Arab" city to settle in the "European" city, renting apartments in the centre or buying villas and detached houses in the periphery. The new municipal administration was at pains to remodel the colonial

city in the interests of sanitation, air quality and improving the circulation between all its constitutive elements. The walls of the second perimeter which still enclosed the old city were dismantled, the ancient *Ḳaṣba*, occupied under the Protectorate by the French army, was destroyed, insalubrious quarters were demolished; the cemeteries, long disused, were landscaped and converted into public gardens or recreation grounds. At one time there were plans to run a thoroughfare through the *Madīna*, from west to east, but fortunately this project, which would have done irreparable damage to the historical nucleus of the city, was not pursued. In spite of the exodus of the minorities whose accommodation could now be occupied by nationals, it was necessary to build thousands of new residential units to respond to the demands of a population which was growing incessantly. Although the central authorities undertook the creation of "people's cities" to re-house the population of the shanty-towns, it was private enterprise, supported by credit arrangements, which succeeded in constructing tens of thousands of individual houses or apartments in communal buildings. Within a few years, the built-up area increased by several hundreds of hectares, with extension of the city towards the south, the west and the north. Development of the al-Manza quarter, inaugurated in the last years of the Protectorate, had been such that it had been necessary to give numerical order to its successive extensions, straddling the neighbourhoods of Tunis and of Ariana. The twelve suburban neighbourhoods, the population of which had doubled (1956, 151,100; 1975, 323,100), saw their built-up area increasing at a higher rate than that of the city. At the same time that it was being extended, the city was covered with a new generation of constructions, some public (administrative buildings, hospitals and educational establisbments), others private (banks, company offices and tourist hotels), all of them drawing inspiration from the models and canons of international modern architecture. It is only in the affluent villas of the new bourgeoisie that traditional Islamic architecture is to be found, with its cupolas, horse-shoe arches and frameworks of sculpted stone.

The whole constituted by the city and its suburbs, Greater Tunis, has surpassed the figure of one million inhabitants (1984, 1,082,000, comprising 596,000 for the city and 486,000 for the suburbs; 1994, 1,259,000, comprising 674,000 for the city and 585,000 for the suburbs). The recent development of the capital of the Tunisian Republic reflects the transformation of the former European city. Constructions of the colonial period have been replaced by taller buildings, including skyscrapers. The city centre has been continually absorbing neighbouring zones and is now extending over land reclaimed from the lake, the shores of which are being pushed forward.

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(P. SEBAG)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MAḤMŪD BAYRAM (4 March 1893-5 January 1961), poet known for his corpus of Arabic strophic vernacular poetry (*zad̲j̲al* [*q.v.*]), prose satirist, song composer, playwright and writer of radio and film scripts. Bayram is remembered for bringing *zad̲j̲al* to a level of modern artistry that earned colloquial Arabic poetry new respect among the literati and prepared the way for the rise of a new colloquial poetry in the 1950s and 1960s.

Born in Alexandria to a family of third-generation Tunisian immigrant silk weavers, young Maḥmūd Bayram turned a failing career as a grocer into an informal education by reading the contents of his wrapping paper (finding, notably, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*). Attending lectures at the nearby mosque and frequenting literary cafes, he began to write poetry. Publishing his early (1916-18) narrative poems of social criticism (in standard literary Arabic) in the Alexandrian daily *al-Ahālī*, he became an instant local hero with "al-Mad̲j̲lis al-baladī" (25 March 1917) which satirically laid bare the interests of the élite group at the centre of city politics. Already showing a populist stance that supported the emergence of a secular nationalism but criticised its leadership for self-interestedly ignoring the needs of most Egyptians, Bayram turned to colloquial poetry as the nationalist confrontation with Britain came to a head in 1919. His denunciations apparently drew the ire of the Palace, and this, plus his founding (without a license) of two popular-satirical organs for his anti-government writings earned him banishment by France (as a Tunisian under the Capitulations, he was a "protected subject" of France) as a political troublemaker on 21 October 1919. After a brief spell in Tunisia, he was expelled to France where he became one of thousands of itinerant North African labourers, working in construction, silk manufacturing, and iron smelting, according to essays which he sent to the weekly Cairene newspaper *al-S̲h̲abāb* beginning in 1921. Until 1925 he filled this newspaper with *zad̲j̲als*, satirical *maḳāmāt*, and the extended colloquial prose dialogues popular in their book form as *Muntak̲h̲abāt al-S̲h̲abāb. I. is-Sayyid w'imrātuh fī Bārīs* (Cairo, 1923) and *Muntak̲h̲abāt al-S̲h̲abāb. III. is-Sayyid w'imrātuh fī Maṣr* (Cairo 1925). These and a collection of poetry (*Muntak̲h̲abāt al-S̲h̲abāb. II*, Cairo 1923) were his first published volumes. In his poetry of this period, Bayram transformed familiar genres of Egyptian oral expressive culture such as the *mawwāl* and *sīra shaʿbiyya* [*q.vv.*] into vehicles of social criticism and political criticism.

Moving around France, he continued into the 1930s to write for Egyptian publications and tried his hand at writing plays. Around New Year, 1933, he moved to Tunis, where he challenged the dominance of an ensconced cultural élite; he and others of the *taḥt al-sūr* group founded popular oppositional periodicals closed successively by the authorities. Bayram's Tunisian colloquial poetry and prose demonstrate his linguistic versatility and his intimacy with the local political scene, and the local authorities acknowledged the power of his pen by banishing him on 17 April 1937. Sent to Damascus by way of Beirut, Bayram continued his efforts to return to Egypt while writing for local newspapers and composing song lyrics, poetry, and plays for Egyptian consumption. He reached Port Saʿīd in early April 1938, as a fugitive, whose presence

was officially ignored by the Egyptian government. (He would receive citizenship only in 1954.)

The last two decades of his life finally brought Bayram a measure of financial and social stability, as he wrote regularly for a succession of major newspapers and became a sought-after contributor to newer media. He wrote lyrics for Umm Kulthūm and other leading singers, and produced the popular "Ramaḍān riddles", while his versions of popular oral epics (notably, *al-Ẓāhir Baybars*) held Egypt's expanding radio audience to their sets. He earned a State Prize for Literature in 1960.

His *Dīwān* was published in two parts (Cairo, 1943, 1948) during his lifetime, the only version of his pre-1940s works to emerge under his own supervision. Volumes of his *Complete works* continue to appear from the General Egyptian Book Organisation (*al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila li-Bayram al-Tūnisī*, Cairo 1975-), although these are not critical editions that take into account discrepancies between first and later serial publication of his texts. Many partial collections of his poetry and *maḳāmāt* have appeared, as have numerous biographies and memoires written or edited by his friends, and also some of his later audiovisual media scripts. His writings in Tunis are collected in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Djābirī, *Maḥmūd Bayram al-Tūnisī fi 'l-manfā. Ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, 2 vols. Beirut 1987.

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(MARILYN BOOTH)

AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR b. Sulaymān, Tunisian author of the 19th century (1204-74/1789-1857).

He stemmed from a family of scholars in Tūnis, his grandfather having been a manuscript copyist who had gone on the Pilgrimage to Mecca and had then settled at Sennar [see SINNĀR] in the Sūdān, thus establishing a family connection between that region, Cairo (where Muḥammad's father became *naḳīb al-riwāḳ*, i.e. superintendent of the Maghribī students at al-Azhar) and Tūnis.

Muḥammad was born in Tūnis in 1204/1789, and after studying at al-Azhar, made his way to the Sūdān, where his father ʿUmar had been at the court of the local ruler of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad, and spent seven and a half years there. He then moved to the adjacent region of Wadāī [*q.v.*], and the court of its sultan, Sābūn, at Wāra, spending a year and a half there before returning to Tūnis, after a ten years' absence, via Tibesti, Fezzān [*q.vv.*] and Tripoli, arriving home *ca.* 1228/1813.

He subsequently moved to Cairo and entered the service of the governor Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], serving as a preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) with an infantry regiment of Ibrāhīm Pasha's army in the Morea during the Greek Revolt. He then became a translator of European medical works at the veterinary college established by the ruler at Abū Zaʿbal to the north-east of Cairo, and there met the French scholar Dr. Perron, after 1839 Director of the Ḳaṣr al-ʿAyn medical school, where Muḥammad al-Tūnisī then became chief reviser of translations. Alfred von Kremer, who first came to Egypt in 1850, commends him warmly as one of his teachers in Arabic, and states that he was also engaged in the editing and publication of various classical Arabic texts, such as the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the *Mustaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī. He also undertook revision of the Calcutta text of 1230/1817 of the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī, then printed at Būlāḳ in 1274/1857. In his later years he lectured on *ḥadīth* at the Zaynab mosque, dying at Cairo in 1274/1857, according to von Kremer.

At Perron's instigation, al-Tūnisī's experiences in the Sūdān and his observations on the land, its people and customs, were written down in Arabic in two comprehensive works, which Perron then translated into French:

1. *Voyage au Darfour par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy . . . traduit de l'Arabe . . .*, Paris 1845, with its Preface by Jomard published separately as *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, suivies d'un vocabulaire de la langue des habitants et de remarques sur le Nil-Blanc supérieur*, Paris 1845. Cf. the detailed review of Perron's work by Sédillot, in *JA*, sér. 4, vol. vii (1846), 522-43. The Arabic text was published by Perron in his autograph as *Tashḥīdh al-adhhān bi-sīrat bilād al-ʿArab wa 'l-Sūdān*.

2. *Voyage au Ouadây, par le Cheikh Mohammed Ebn Omar el-Tounsy, traduit de l'Arabe*, Paris 1851, again with a long Preface by Jomard. The Arabic text, which Perron intended to publish, never appeared, and has since disappeared.

Al-Tūnisī also translated/wrote two works on botany and medicine, see Brockelmann, S II, 749.

Muḥammad al-Tūnisī was the first to give us full and reliable information about important parts of the eastern Sūdān. On Dār Fūr, we had before his time only the scanty notes of the explorer W.G. Browne and on Wadāī a little information gleaned by Burckhardt. It was not until several decades later that H. Barth and G. Nachtigal were able to visit these lands and describe them in more detail in their books. There is no reason to doubt al-Tūnisī's reliability; Perron checked his statements with the help of a number of people from Dār Fūr and Wadāī settled in Cairo and obtained complete confirmation of them. It cannot, however, be denied that there were certain defects in the Shaykh's description. A certain lack of order in the arrangement of the material, the lack of any approach to a regular system, a fondness for digression and a disposition to believe much too readily statements about the popular Islam of the country (e.g. especially about magic) are not as serious defects as the fact that he gave no exact geographical, topographical, statistical and meteorological data (cf. thereon the criticisms by Barth, in *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Centralafrika*, iii, Berlin 1859, 525 ff., and Nachtigal, in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteil.*, xxi [1875], 176, and in *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig 1889, iii, p. viii). Nevertheless, al-Tūnisī's two works form an important source for the ethnographical, cultural, and political conditions in the lands of the eastern Sūdān through which he travelled. In conclusion, it should be emphasised that the Shaykh's two books supplement one another; the much larger work on Wadāī also contains a good deal of information about Dār Fūr.

Bibliography: The main source for Muḥammad al-Tūnisī and his family is his own two travel books, esp. his autobiography in ch. 1 of his *Voyage au Darfour*, 1-25. See also Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 408; von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii, 324; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam*, n.p. 1683; Brockelmann, II², 643,

S II, 748-9; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts, Cairo Univ.*, ii (1944), 179-221; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, xi, 82-3; Ziriklī, *A'lām*[2], vii, 209.

(M. STRECK*)

AL-TŪNISĪ, SHAYKH ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN, Tunisian scholar (*fl.* in the first half of the 19th century) who travelled in the Sūdān and wrote on Dār Fūr and Wadāī [*q.vv.*].

He was an Azharī by training who in 1818 or 1819 set out for the Sūdān and spent some ten years there. From Sennar [see SINNĀR] and Kordofān [*q.v.*] he went to Dār Fūr and Wadāī, returning eventually via Fezzān to Tūnis. He recorded his experiences and observations there in an Arabic work of modest length which was translated into Turkish and thence into German by G. Rosen as *Das Buch des Sudan oder Reisen des Scheich Zain el-Âbidîn in Nigritien*, Leipzig 1847 (cf. *ZDMG*, ii [1848], 482).

The importance of his book lies in the description of the state of civilisation and organisation of society in Dār Fūr and Wadāī. We are told of the court life, of the soldiers, a campaign, the natives, slaves and negroes, of trade, superstitions, a wedding, etc. These interesting notes are an important supplement to the far fuller description of Muḥammad al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*]. Noteworthy is an account of excavations made by Zayn al-'Ābidīn with the permission of the sultan of Wadāī in ruins near the capital (47-9, 61-75). Zayn al-'Ābidīn left Wadāī just as a change on the throne took place; the name 'Abd al-'Aẓīm given in Rosen's translation for the new ruler (108) should be emended to 'Abd al-'Azīz (cf. G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig 1889, iii, 284, where an 'Abd al-'Azīz, grandson of Sābūn, ruler of Dār Fūr, is mentioned).

Bibliography: See that to AL-TŪNISĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'UMAR.

(M. STRECK*)

TUNISIA, a region of the northeastern part of the Maghrib. In mediaeval Islamic times it comprised essentially the province of Ifrīkiya [*q.v.*]. Under the Ottomans, the Regency of Tunis was formed in the late 10th/16th century, continuing under local Beys with substantial independence from Istanbul until the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881, which in turn gave way in 1957 to the present fully independent Tunisian Republic.

I. GEOGRAPHY, DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY.

(a) Geography.

Tunisia, situated between 6° and 9° degrees of longitude east, and between 32° and 37° degrees of latitude north, has an area of 162,155 km². Bordered by Algeria (Department of Constantine) the full length of its western frontier, it is bounded to the south by the Sahara and, in the far south-east, by Libya (Tripolitania). The Mediterranean washes its northern and eastern coasts, which are low-lying for the most part. The climate is generally moderately hot, but levels of precipitation vary considerably according to the region and even from year to year; in a country sandwiched between the sea and the Sahara, variations in latitude, and to an even greater extent in altitude, are a determinant factor in the fluctuations of rainfall. The relief is in fact very varied, although average altitudes are relatively low; the chains of mountains, continuation and conclusion of those of Algeria, impose a general south-west/north-east orientation.

To the north-west, towards Algeria, the mountains of Khroumiria [see KHUMAYR] and the Mogods, limestone and sandstone, rarely exceed 1,000 m/3,280 feet in altitude; subject to heavy rainfall, covered with oaks or with scrub, they contain zinc and iron mines (Douaria). They follow the coast where they blend, beyond the little port of Tabarka [see TABARKA] into the dunes of the Nefza, Cap Nègre and the little peninsula of Cap Serrat. To the east, they fall away gradually towards the hills surrounding the alluvial plains of Bizerta and of Mateur, both well irrigated and sustaining abundant corn-crops. The lake of Bizerta, connected to the sea via a channel, constitutes an ideal deep water roadstead *vis-à-vis* the nearby island of Sicily. Further to the east, the Ra's Sīdī 'Alī al-Makkī, above Porto Farina (*Ghār al-milḥ*), is the northern limit of the Gulf of Tunis, which is silted up by the alluvial deposits of the Medjerda and Wadi Miliane. The peninsula of Carthage, formerly an island, is joined to the continent by an isthmus which separates the Sebkha el-Riana from the lake of Tunis; the lake, below which is situated the capital, Tunis [see TŪNIS], is connected to the sea via the channel of La Goulette (*Ḥalk al-Wād*).

The Medjerda, which traverses northern Tunisia from west to east, is Tunisia's only genuine river; while the water level is low in the summer, from November to April the river is in flood, deep and muddy. Its lower course (Medjez el-Bāb, Tebourba) is separated by the gorges of Testour from its middle course, where it drains the broad alluvial basin of the Dakhla (region of Souk el-Arba and of Souk el-Khemis), as rich in cereals and pasturage as the nearby limestone hills of Beja. Its valley is bounded to the north by the calcareous mountains of Bejaoua and of Teboursouk, while to the south the very uneven relief of central and western Tunisia features alternation of calcareous outcrops and great plains, a continuation of the Saharan Atlas of Algeria. Tributaries of the Medjerda (Wadi Mellegue, W. Tessa, W. Siliana) and W. Miliane (plains of the Fahs and of Mornag), discharge directly or indirectly into the Gulf of Tunis.

To the south of the Haut-Tell is situated the most striking mountainous feature: the "Tunisian Dorsal" extends from the outskirts of Tebessa [*q.v.*] to Dj. Zaghouan (1,293 m/4,240 feet, 45 km/27 miles from Tunis) and as far as Dj. Reças and Bou-Kornine; it includes the highest summits: Chambi (1.544 m/5,064 feet) and Semama in the Byzacène range, the massif of Mactar, the Serdj, the Bargou, the Fkorine in the Zeugitane range. But it permits relatively easy communication with the south, via numerous cols or passes, in particular the major Ksour-Sbiba corridor; however, the watercourses which flow along the southern versant, such as Wadis Merguellil, Zeroud, El Hatob (which irrigates the plain of Gamouda), subject to a very irregular, even intermittent, climatic régime, tend to lose such water as they contain in the salt basins known as Sebkhas [see SABKHA]: S. Kelbia and S. Sidi El-Hani for example, in the plain of Kairouan, where the steppe-land begins. Its only urban areas besides Kairouan [see AL-ḲAYRAWĀN] are situated at the outlets

to the passes of the Dorsal: Sbeitla, Kasserine and Feriana. But, still more desert-like towards the south on account of increasingly meagre rainfall, it comes to an end, after Gafsa [see ḲAFSA] and the rich phosphate deposits of Metlaoui and Redeyef, in the depression of the Chotts [see S̲H̲AṬṬ] (Ch. El-G̲h̲arsa at -25 m/-82 feet, Ch. El-D̲j̲erid, Ch. El-Fed̲j̲ed̲j̲ enclosed by the D̲j̲. Cherb and the D̲j̲. Tebaga), at the oases of the D̲j̲erid (Tozeur, Nefta), a rich date-producing area, and at those of Nefzaoua (Kebili, Douz), where the Sahara begins. Further to the south-east, the limestone D̲j̲. Dahar (400/600 m/1,300 to 1,970 feet), with the massif of Matmata [see MAṬMĀṬA], is just the eastern rim of a vast Saharan basin.

(R. BRUNSCHWIG)

(b) Demography and economy.

Tunisia is the smallest of the states of the Mag̲h̲rib. In terms of population (8,785,700 inhabitants according to the census of 1994; see further below), it is ranked third among the countries of the region, after Algeria and Morocco but before Libya and Mauritania. A land of plains, hills and mountains, Tunisia is nevertheless the least mountainous state of the Mag̲h̲rib. It is also less well endowed than Algeria with reserves of oil and natural gas, and much poorer than Morocco in terms of fluvial hydraulic resources.

But in other respects Tunisia enjoys numerous advantages, in particular its openness towards the Mediterranean world and Europe and its rate of literacy which is the highest in the Mag̲h̲rib, more than 90% in the towns and more than 70% in the countryside. Investment in education has facilitated the formation of a substantial élite of cadres in all areas; some have gone in search of employment to the countries of the Gulf, or have settled in Europe or North America, as employment opportunities for intellectuals have become perceptibly fewer over recent years.

Furthermore, unlike Algeria and Morocco, and on account of its much less uneven and less mountainous terrain, Tunisia experienced waves of foreign penetration by the Phoenicians and then the Romans, followed by total Islamisation and Arabisation. This occupation by Mediterranean civilisations is also related to the importance of Tunisia's maritime frontages, especially that which extends from Bizerta to Djerba. This accounts for the fact that the eastern frontage is more densely populated than all the rest of the country, even though it is less humid than north-western Tunisia, or than the Haut-Tell.

Estimated at 1,200,000 inhabitants in 1881, with an average density of 7.3 per square km, the population of Tunisia has increased sevenfold, reaching a figure of 8,785,700 in 1994 with an average density of 53.6 inhabitants to the km^2. Annual growth in population, which reached 2.6% in 1966, has been reduced as a result of family planning policy, and was calculated at 1.7% in 1994.

The distribution of the population is very uneven: densities are higher in the more humid north than in the central steppes or in the Sahara to the south. But the more rapid development of the eastern littoral regions, in all respects, is responsible for the increase in population density there, and for the evolution of the country's major cities: the urban population represented 61% of the total population in 1994. The densely populated eastern littoral has reached an average of 90 inhabitants to the km^2, and comprises most of the country's towns, including the largest: Tunis, Sfax, Bizerte-Menzel-Bourguiba, Sousse, Gabès, etc. The Tunisian interior, much less urbanised, less populated and more rural, with densities varying between 30 and 60 inhabitants to the km^2, was formerly a land of semi-nomadic tribes; completely sedentarised today, it has become an agricultural region where orchards and market gardens predominate. Saharan Tunisia, formerly a region of nomadism and transhumance, is likewise currently fully sedentarised, deriving income primarily from oasis agriculture centred on the date-palm; from mining, especially of phosphates; and from the development of tourism. At the apex of the urban pyramid stands Tunis, the capital, with more than three times the population of the country's second city, Sfax [see SAFĀḲUS].

On account of demographic growth and meagre progress in agricultural productivity, Tunisia, once dubbed the "granary of Rome" is now permanently deficient in cereals, meat and dairy products. Commodities such as olive oil, dates and citrus fruits are in surplus, but even the production of these is subject to major fluctuations on account of variations in rainfall. The exportable surplus of citrus fruits is in decline (which is not the case in Morocco, for example), on account of urban and touristic development at the expense of orchards, the insufficiency of underground reserves of water and the lack of adequate dams. Levels of livestock do not cover the country's needs, and Tunisia imports dairy and meat derivatives on a regular basis. Fishing, concentrated on the eastern littoral, and especially at Sfax, in the Gulf of Gabès and in the Sahel, having reached and exceeded 100,000 tonnes in the mid-1980s, has declined and is in a state of continuing stagnation, having fallen to a figure of 84,000 tonnes in 1993. This decline is due in particular to over-exploitation of marine resources and to chemical pollution, resulting from the discharge of industrial waste and sewage into the sea. In all, agricultural exports represent no more than two-thirds of the level of food imports. Furthermore, despite the inadequacy of food production, what is being seen is a constant decline of the rural population which accounted for 70% of the total population in 1936, but only 39% according to the 1994 census.

Industry remains weak, despite recent progress, and remains concentrated in the urban centres of the eastern littoral, in particular at Tunis, at Bizerta-Menzel-Bourguiba, in the cities of the Sahel, Sfax and Gabès, etc., as well as in some less-centralised locations in the interior such as Beja, Kasserine and Kairouan.

The industrial base is feeble and inadequate; mineral resources are certainly diversified, but are limited, and in decline where metallic minerals are concerned. Only the phosphates of the Gabès region are in relatively abundant supply, but this industry is suffering as a result of stagnation of the international trade in phosphates: production has declined from 6 million tonnes in the mid-1980s to 4.3 millions today. Tunisia is attempting to compensate for this stagnation by developing sub-contracting industries such as textiles and leather, but even in this field competition is intense.

The development of the tourism sector, since the early 1960s, has afforded a partial compensation for industrial stagnation. Tunisian tourism is almost entirely resort-centred and is concentrated on the littoral from Cap-Bon to Nabeul-Hammamet, in the Sahel of Sousse and of Monastir, at Djerba and in the oases. The sector has experienced uninterrupted development: in 1994 the 152,933 tourist beds were split between 53,000 in the Sahel of Sousse and of Monastir, 40,000 in the region of Nabeul-Hammamet, 30,000 to 32,000 in the south-east, at Djerba and at Zarzis, 60,000 in the oases of the south-west, plus some 6,000 beds in the north, especially at Tabarka and Bizerte. Tourism

has led to the proliferation of airports in the vicinity of tourist centres, including Tabarka; but while the airports of Tunis, of Monastir and of Djerba are very profitable, the same does not apply to Tabarka, which does business only in the summer season.

Economic development and mobility of population have led to increased dynamism in the movement of merchandise and of people. It is a fact that railways have experienced little expansion since Independence and remain virtually dormant, with the exception of the Sfax-Gafsa-Gabès commercial routes, but the network of tarred roads has been substantially developed and links all regions of the country: a single dual-carriageway autoroute has been constructed from Tunis to Msaken, a distance of some 150 km/93 miles, the Tunis-Bizerta autoroute project is in the planning stage and there is talk of extending the north-south highway from Msaken to Sfax, although this is unlikely to be seen in the near future.

All in all, Tunisia has experienced major changes since Independence. Education has become universally available both in towns and in the countryside, for boys and girls alike (see VI. below); and a network of roads has made the majority of areas accessible. Industry, tourism and various services have experienced significant development almost everywhere. Although this development has not yet succeeded in erasing regional or social disparities, there can be no doubting the fact that Tunisia is a country on the move.

Bibliography: For older bibl. see *EI*[1] art. s.v., and also Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Tunisia*, London 1945; Guides Bleus, *Tunisie*, Paris. More recent works include P. Birot and J. Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient. I. La Méditerranée occidentale*, Paris 1953; J. Despois, *La Tunisie, les régions*, Paris 1961; idem and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967; A. Kassab and H. Sethom, *Géographie de la Tunisie: le pays et les hommes*, Tunis 1980; eidem, *Les régions géographiques de la Tunisie*, Tunis 1981; Sethom, *Pouvoir urbain et paysannerie en Tunisie*, Tunis 1993.

(Hafedh Sethom)

II. History.

(a) The pre-Islamic period.

The Berbers and Carthage. Tunisia was a gateway to the Maghrib for peoples of the Mediterranean coastlands, and in the early historical period was populated by nomadic and sedentary Berbers tribally organised. Its coastlands early attracted Phoenician voyagers, lured by possibilities of commerce with the West, and these founded ports and trading posts. It seems that they established themselves on the site of Utica towards the end of the first millennium; then, in 814 B.C. according to the Greek tradition, Carthage was founded by men from Tyre. Recent archaeological investigations have, however, tended to reduce the gap between this early date and that of the oldest remains so far found (see M. Vegas, *op. cit.* in Bibl., 213-14).

In the 6th century B.C. Carthage controlled the sea routes and dominated the Western Mediterranean. Before annexing southern Spain, its empire stretched as far as Sardinia and Corsica, the Balearic Islands, Malta and western Sicily, where there was incessant warfare in the 5th and 4th centuries with the Greek colonies of eastern Sicily. In the Maghrib, Punic colonies dotted the length of the coast, and around Carthage, its aristocracy held estates in the hinterland as far as Cape Bon and the Tunisian Sahel. It was control of the Mediterranean which was the pivot of the Punic-Roman warfare and which made the name of Hannibal famous. Abandoning Sicily in 264 B.C., the Carthaginians fell back in three phases, ending with the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. Yet despite the transformation of Carthaginian territory in northeastern Tunisia into a Roman province, for a century, Rome showed hardly any real interest in the Maghrib.

The Roman province. The fall of Carthage did not affect the advance of civilisation and there spread a mixture of cultures, beliefs, technical and artistic trends of Semitic, Egyptian, Greek and Hellenistic origin. A good number of towns continued to be administered by Suffetes and the Roman population there continued to worship Ba'al Hammon and Tanith, although the first deity was assimilated to Saturn and the second to Juno. The language of culture, Punic, co-existed with the Libyan vernacular of the province as also in the Numidian kingdom of Massinissa and Micipsa, dominant there and in southern Tunisia in the 2nd century B.C.; the two languages persisted in the countryside till the end of Roman domination, and a number of techniques inherited from the Punic period, notably in architecture, remained long after the Muslim conquest.

In 46 B.C. Julius Caesar inaugurated a new policy, annexing the Numidian kingdom and creating a Roman colony at Carthage. This soon became the capital of the Roman province of Africa, the richest and most important of the provinces of the Maghrib. Once colonies were founded, from the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., Roman municipal institutions were conferred upon the indigenous towns, favouring, with the spread of education, the integration of peoples. This century also saw a great economic advance, as in the production of ceramics and in agriculture, so that the province for long supplied Rome with part of its corn and exported olive oil in quantity. Social mobility allowed the descendants of decurions, notables of varying degrees of richness on whom the prosperity of the towns depended, to rise into the nobility; as knights, they took part in the Empire's administration and as senators, they sat in the Senate at Rome and attained the highest civil and military positions. Finally, urbanisation grew considerably, as the ruins of innumerable towns attest, many of Punic or Numidian origin and with names hardly changed much today, e.g. Carthage, Dougga, Bulla Regia, Mactor and Sbeitla. Towards the end of the century, the rise of the African dynasty of the Severi (193-235) marked the province's apogee.

It probably felt the effects of the great crisis of the Roman world (235-85), but was spared in large measure the troubles and problems of the Later Empire. The restoration of monuments and the manufacture in large quantities of mosaics which adorned the houses of the rich in the 4th century show that the province still retained a great deal of its economic prosperity. At the same time, the spread of Christianity and the richness of Christian literature in Latin showed both the power of the Church and the vitality of Romano-African culture, one to which the personality and work of St. Augustine gave a last brilliant flame. There were, however, some religious problems, notably that of the Donatist schism, and the western part of the province, especially, was affected by social troubles.

The period from Rome to the appearance of Islam. In 429 the Vandals pushed ahead of the other Germanic peoples who overran the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, establishing themselves in Spain and then embarking for Africa under their king Genseric, who was both vigorous and intelligent. They finally settled in the eastern part of the Maghrib, annexed the islands

and dominated the Western Mediterranean. The cultural contribution of the Vandals was very modest, but archaeology does not confirm the bad reputation of their name, since neither the commerce nor the agricultural prosperity of the province showed any obvious decline. The unwise actions, incompetence and anti-Catholic excesses of Genseric's successors contributed, together with successive waves of attack by nomadic and mountain-dwelling Berbers of the south and west of the province, to the fall of the Vandal kingdom.

An expedition launched in 533 allowed the Emperor Justinian, considering himself as the heir of Rome, to "reconquer" Africa. The Byzantines endeavoured to restore the administrative structure and to reinvigorate the economy, but the permanent menace of the Berber tribes forced them to adopt a defensive military policy and construct numerous fortresses which commanded possible invasion routes. The burden of taxation, numerous administrative or military failures and official corruption, provoking tensions and outbreaks, prepared the way for the ruin of the province, helped on by the Arab invasion of 647, although it was not until 698 that the incomers took control of Carthage.

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(b) The Islamic period up to *ca.* 1500.

In early Islamic times, the land known only since the post-Regency period as Tunisia was known as Ifrīḳiya; see therefore IFRĪḲIYA on the origin of the term and the geographical extent of the region in early Islamic times.

As a part of Africa with an advanced civilisation, the presence of man is attested there from very early times, with various names in historic times for the inhabitants: Lebu and *Libyes* or *Barbaroi* for the Greeks, whence the name Berbers, and *Mauri* and *Numidii* for the Romans; the Berbers themselves called themselves *Imazighen* (sing. *Amazigh*) "proud ones" or "proud ones of the West". The Arabs retained the term Barbar and called the whole of North Africa the *Bilād al-Maghrib* [see AL-MAGHRIB]. Three Arab texts on the Berbers have recently been edited, a compendium (*madjmūʿ*) comprising, in chronological order, the *K. Shawāhid al-djilla wa 'l-aʿyān fī mashāhid al-islām wa 'l-buldān* by Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1149), the *K. al-Ansāb* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm (8th/14th century) and the anonymous *K. Mafākhir al-Barbar* (probably 8th/14th century) (ed. Muḥ. Yaʿlā, Madrid 1996). The work of M. Shatzmiller [see MAFĀKHIR AL-BARBAR] seems to close a long-standing controversy over the identity of the work's author. The conquering Arabs also found Rūm, i.e. Byzantine Greeks and Hellenised elements, and Afāriḳa, romanised Berbers and Jews, who had possibly made their way westwards after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 73.

The Arab invasions

At the moment when the Arabs appeared, Ifrīḳiya was one of the last Byzantine provinces, and the most western one, to fall into Arab hands. The new invaders arrived, however, by the land route linking Egypt with North Africa; they had the same way of life as the Berbers, and unlike the preceding rulers, the Byzantines, first installed themselves in the interior of Tunisia, whilst the coastlands remained still in Byzantine hands.

The conquest of Ifrīḳiya was slow and full of turns of fortune and reverses. The Arabs were far from their home bases, and the caliph ʿUmar is reported to have been reluctant to embark on the campaign, the dangers of this distance being expressed in the phrase *Ifrīḳiya tufarriḳ*, whilst a spurious *ḥadīth* said that "the Berbers have taken nine-tenths of humanity's stock of anger" (cf. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, iv, 61, after al-Maḳdisī and Ibn al-Faḳīh). Whereas the campaigns in the Near East had been completed in a dozen or so years, the pacification of North Africa took 50 years to accomplish. ʿUthmān took up the attack again, and entrusted ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SAʿD] with the task, who won a great victory over the Patricius Gregory at Ṣubayṭila (Sufetula) in 28/647; the latter was killed, and the Arabs exacted a tribute of 300 gold talents. But this was a hollow victory, given the tenacity of Berber resistance; the Arabs led further expeditions, but always withdrew afterward to Tripolitania.

In 45/665 Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj left Egypt with a force of 20,000 men and joined up with the troops in Tripolitania under ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], but despite successful raids on Hadrumeta (Sousse), Hippo Dyarrithus (Bizerta) and Djarba, the Arabs did not remain. In 50/670 another expedition by ʿUḳba ended with the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the first point of anchorage in a hostile environment. In 62/681 ʿUḳba returned to the West, and reportedly reached the distant ocean, but on his return was attacked and killed at Tahuda near Biskra by Kusayla [*q.v.*] or Kasīla, chief of the Awrāba of the Barānis [*q.v.*] confederation. Kusayla held firm for several years, but was finally killed by an army under Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī in 67/686. The Berbers submitted, but by no means finally.

Resistance was now taken up by a woman, Dahiya or Dihya, etc., called in the Arabic sources the Kāhina [*q.v.*] or "priestess", from the tribe of Djarāwa, a tribe of the Berber Zanāta related to the Butr confederation in the eastern Aurès. This heroine's identity has been much discussed: pagan, according to Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Jewish, according to H.Z. Hirschberg, *A history of the Jews of North Africa*, i, Leiden 1974, and P. Sebag, *Histoire des juifs d'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1991; or Christian, as M. Talbi tends to believe, a Romanised Berber, see his *EI*² art. and *Un nouveau fragment de l'histoire de l'Occident musulman (62-196/682-812), l'épopée d'al-Kāhina*, in *CT*, lxxiii [1971], 19-52. She would accordingly have been Christian rather than Jewish, even though her tribe may well have been Judaised, as Ibn Khaldūn affirms, and converted to Christianity, a reflection of the racial and religious diversity of North Africa. This is how Abdelmajid Hannoum has set forth his theory in *Historiography, mythology and memory in modern North Africa*, in *SI*, lxxxv [1997], 85-131 and *Myth and mythmaking in French historiography of North Africa*, in *Hespéris-Thamuda* (1996). He concludes that we have here a myth regarding North African origins which has played an important role in building up Maghribī nationalism.

The crises in the East of the caliphate delayed the Arab reaction, but Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], after some checks, finally expelled the Byzantines in 79/698

and defeated the Kāhina. The question of the revolts of the Berber tribes has evoked the question whether it is possible to group them according to their modes of life, attempted by R.W. Bulliett in his *Botr et Barānes: hypothèses sur l'histoire des Berbères*, in *Annales ESC*, xxxvi/1 [1981], 104-16, suggesting that the Butr were camel nomads and the Barānis sedentary mountain people, a brilliant reconstruction which brings out the relationship between their appellations—relating to their clothing—their technological level and their religious tendencies.

After the Kāhina's defeat, the Berbers themselves went on to participate in the conquest of the rest of the Maghrib and then of Spain. Though master of Carthage, Ḥassān preferred to lay out a *miṣr*, a military encampment-town, at Tūnis [*q.v.*], a small, nearby Numidian town, more sheltered by the sea; but for the moment, this was overshadowed by Ḳayrawān, the uncontested capital of the new province of the Arab empire.

Ifrīḳiya in the age of the Arab governors

Governors were sent out from the Umayyad capital of Damascus and then by the ʿAbbāsids from ʿIrāḳ, with 22 of these in almost a century (84-184/705-800). One of these, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], was to complete the overrunning of the Maghrib, whilst his lieutenant Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] began the conquest of Spain. See on the period in general, Hichem Djaït, in *Hist. de la Tunisie*, ii, *Le Moyen-Age*, Tunis 1960, 11-97, repr. in *La wilāya d'Ifrīḳiya au IIᵉ/VIIIᵉ siècle*, in *SI*, xxvii [1967], 77-121, xxviii, 11-97, and idem, *L'Afrique arabe au VIIIᵉ siècle*, in *Annales ESC*, xxviii [May-June 1973], 600-11.

Amongst the many studies on the Arabisation and Islamisation of Ifrīḳiya and the rest of the Maghrib, see the older article by W. Marçais, *Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée?*, in *AIEO Alger*, iv [1938], 1-22, and more recently, M. Brett, *The spread of Islam in Egypt and North Africa*, in idem (ed.), *Northern Africa, Islam and modernization*, London 1973, and Bulliett, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period, an essay in quantitative history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1979.

As for Ḳayrawān, this needs to be placed in a wider context, as the fourth garrison city founded, after Baṣra, Kūfa and Fusṭāṭ in the East, on the model of the Prophet's installation at Medina, so that it became, like them, a *dār al-hidjra*, in which Muslims could follow, in complete security, the precepts of the faith. Firstly, the site of the mosque and the *dār al-imāra* were chosen, and then lots of land, *khiṭaṭ*, distributed to the various tribes making up the army. These provisional arrangements of the *miṣr* developed into a genuine city, and the difficulties encountered and endured explain why it soon became considered as the fourth holiest city of Islam after Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. According to the chroniclers, a high number of famous Successors settled there, which increased its prestige and aura of sanctity. The Umayyad governors had difficulty establishing their authority over the province, but an administration on the model of Damascus gradually evolved and links with the capital of the empire were kept up through the forwarding of part of the land tax and of slaves, much appreciated in the East.

This first phase of Ifrīḳiyan history lasted for almost a century, punctuated by politico-religious outbreaks and struggles, especially as the Berbers became partisans of Khāridjism, which entered the province from Tripolitania and the Djabal Nafūsa, with outbreaks between 123/740 and 155/771. These egalitarian rigorists, expelled from Ḳayrawān, founded dissident states in the central and farther Maghrib. See especially, on Khāridjism as it developed on the isle of Djarba [*q.v.*] and the southern zone of the Maghrib, AL-IBĀḌIYYA and ṢUFRIYYA. 2.

The Aghlabid amīrate

One of the last governors sent out from the East, al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, was at the origin of the first autonomous dynasty in Ifrīḳiya, that of his son Ibrāhīm, appointed governor by Hārūn al-Rashīd in 184/800. His family benefited from their distance from the capital Baghdād, as had the lines of the Fihrids, and especially the Muhallabids, before them.

The Aghlabid principality flourished. The *amīrs* were great builders, and Ḳayrawān became one of the most brilliant centres of the Muslim West. The Great Mosque of ʿUḳba was enlarged and surrounded by ramparts, whilst its water supply, in basins, excited the admiration of the geographers and of travellers. The ʿIrāḳī model was followed in other places. Ibrāhīm I founded al-ʿAbbāsiyya, recalling his allegiance to the caliphs, 3 km/2 miles from Ḳayrawān, on the model of al-ʿAskar, the royal residence near Fusṭāṭ in Egypt (133/750), whilst the second Aghlabid capital founded at al-Raḳḳāda [*q.v.*] in 263/876 echoed the Ṭūlūnid one of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ in Egypt. Caliphal institutions were copied—a vizier, *ḥudjdjāb, ʿummāl, kuttāb*, often Christians, formed the administration and collected revenues. The *amīr* had a personal guard of black slaves, analogous to the caliph's Turks. A mixed society grew up in the towns, comprising Berbers, the *Rūm*, the *Afāriḳa*, Arabs from Syria and ʿIrāḳ, Persians from Khurāsān, etc., whilst Jews and Christians continued to form part of this society (cf. J. Cuoq, *L'église d'Afrique du nord des origines au XIIᵉ siècle*, Paris 1974).

The Aghlabids attracted scholars and literary men to their court and founded a *bayt al-ḥikma* on the Baghdād model. Physicians from the East founded a local school of medicine in Ḳayrawān. Mālikism became the dominant legal school there, with such leaders as Asad b. al-Furāt (d. 214/829) and Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]). The latter's *Mudawwana* became "the Vulgate of North African Mālikism"; cf. MĀLIKIYYA and Saʿd Ghrab, *Ibn ʿArafa et le malikisme en Afrique du nord*, 2 vols. Tunis 1992-6.

The Aghlabid *amīrs* were equally active outside their capitals, and towns like Tunis, Sousse, Monastir and Sfax benefited from their works. Thus the great mosque of Tunis was enlarged, the ramparts strengthened and palaces built *extra muros* to the north and west of the town. The coastal defences were strengthened by the building of *ribāṭs* [*q.v.*], the best preserved today being those of Monastir and Sousse. Assured of their hold on the country, the *amīrs* undertook the conquest of Sicily from 212/827 onwards [see ṢIḲILLIYA] and Sardinia [see SARDĀNIYA], secured a foothold on the coast of southern Italy and even raided Rome in 232/846. Ifrīḳiya was thus prosperous during their century's rule, but it could not stand aside from the Sunnī-Shīʿī struggles of the ensuing period [see further, AGHLABIDS].

The Fāṭimid caliphate

The *dāʿī* Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣanʿānī won over the Kutāma [*q.v.*] Berbers of Kabylia to the cause of his master, the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, who claimed to be a descendant of the seventh Shīʿī Imām Ismāʿīl. In 297/909 the Mahdī seized Ḳayrawān and expelled the last Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh III, whose reputation had already been sullied through his cruelties. ʿUbayd Allāh, now styled *amīr al-muʾminīn*, henceforth controlled the central and eastern Maghrib and, especially, the trans-Saharan routes which conveyed gold from the West African sources, thus being able to build up a

powerful army and navy. Two years after his appearance in Ifrīḳiya, ʿUbayd Allāh founded a maritime capital, al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], as a base for his intended Mediterranean policy, and during his 24-year reign carried on warfare against the Byzantines and the two caliphates of Cordova and Baghdād. A fine palace, a *sūḳ* and an arsenal were built within the ramparts, and the court of al-Mahdiyya attracted scholars, physicians, poets and littérateurs.

But Shīʿī proselytising activities provoked a resurgence of North African Khāridjism, with various revolts, the gravest of which was that of Abū Yazīd "the man on the donkey", a native of the Djarīd and representative of the Nukkāriyya [see AL-NUKKĀR] sect amongst the Zanāta Berbers, which affected the region between the Aurès and Ḳayrawān in 323-34/934-45. With peace restored, Ismāʿīl al Manṣūr returned to Ḳayrawān and founded nearby his new residence of Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya [*q.v.*] in 337/948, which assumed the role of capital, previously supplanted by al-Mahdiyya.

Still aiming at the conquest of the East, al-Muʿizz made his power felt throughout the Mediterranean. An army from Ifrīḳiya conquered as far west as Fās, and in 359/969 his freedman Djawhar [*q.v.*] seized Egypt and founded al-Ḳāhira [*q.v.*] to the north of Fusṭāṭ. Al-Muʿizz left Ifrīḳiya and entrusted its government to his lieutenant Buluggīn b. Zīrī. See further, FĀṬIMIDS.

The Zīrids

For the first time since the Arab conquest, Ifrīḳiya was now governed by Berbers, the Zīrids being Ṣanhādja [*q.v.*] Berbers from the central Maghrib who had helped crush the revolt of Abū Yazīd. For some time they resided in their own centre of Ashīr [*q.v.*], then left for Ḳayrawān and then al-Mahdiyya. The land had revived after the Khāridjite revolts, and Ḳayrawān functioned once more as the intellectual and economic capital of the province. But Zīrid power was weakened by military operations required against the pro-Umayyad Zanāta and the pro-Fāṭimid Kutāma, and their cousins of the Banū Ḥammād [see ḤAMMĀDIDS] created their own principality in eastern Algeria, with its own capital of Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād [*q.v.*]. Mālikī pressure from within Ḳayrawān led the Zīrid *amīr* al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs *ca.* 442/1050 to break with Cairo and renew allegiance to Baghdād at a moment when Shīʿism in the East was being rolled back by the Saldjūḳs. The Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir [*q.v.*] reacted by unleashing Arab tribesmen against the Maghrib, led by the Banū Hilāl. See further, ZĪRIDS.

The Banū Hilāl: history and epic

These were Arab nomads who had long before left their native Arabian peninsula and settled in Upper Egypt. They were allegedly, so the sources say, incited by a Fāṭimid vizier to migrate to the North Africa of the rebellious al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs. It does seem to have marked an increase in nomadism in the Maghrib and a setback to urban life (cf. the reflections of Cl. Cahen on the phenomenon of nomadism).

After its sacking by the Hilāl, Ḳayrawān lost its former role permanently, and the countryside saw an increase in pastoralisation; our accounts of the catastrophic effects here are, however, all from city-dwelling chroniclers, hostile *ipso facto* to Bedouin and nomads. What does seem certain is that the land of Tunisia now became deeply Arabised and thus achieved an ethnic and cultural coherence. Popular memory retained the story of the invasions and made out of them a tribal epic, with very long poems on the migration to the West, the love of Djāziya, the roles of Abū Zayd al-Hilālī and Dhiʾāb, etc. (see HILĀL. part 2, and add to the *Bibl.* there, ʿAmr Abu ʾl-Naṣr, *Taghrībat Banī Hilāl wa-rāḥilihim ilā Bilād al-Maghrib*, Beirut n.d.; M. Galley and Abd al-Rahman Ayoub, *Histoire des Beni Hilāl*, Paris 1983; L. Saada, *La geste hilalienne*, Paris 1985).

The whole question has aroused strong controversy. What J. Berque has called "the received historical view" of the damaging effects of the Hilālian devastations was given by W. Marçais, H. Terrasse and H.R. Idris. More recently, others have expressed a more nuanced view: J. Poncet and Cl. Cahen, *Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadism*, in *JESHO*, xi [1968], 130-3; Berque, *De nouveau sur les Béni Hilāl?*, in *SI*, xxxvi [1972], 99-111, repr. as *Les Hilaliens au Maghreb*, in *De l'Euphrate à l'Atlas*, i, 55-88; M. Brett, *The military interest of the battle of Ḥaydarān*, in V. Parry and M.E. Yapp (eds.), *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London 1975, 78-88; idem, *The Flood of the Dam and the Sons of the New Moon*, in *Mélanges offerts à Mohamed Talbi*, in *CT* [1993], 55-67; R. Daghfous, *De l'origine des Banū Hilāl et des Banū Sulaym*, in *CT* [1975], 41-68; idem, *Contribution à l'étude des conditions de l'immigration des tribus arabes (Hilāl et Sulaym) en Ifrīqiya*, in *CT* [1977], 23-50; idem, *Maʿrakat Ḥaydarān wa ʾl-ṣirāʿ al-Zīrī al-Hilālī*, in *CT*, clxix-clxx [1995], 11-26.

The towns which resisted, like Tunis, Sfax, Tozeur, Gabès and Tripoli, sought protection from Arab or Berber tribal chiefs. These petty city-states were governed by autonomous lines like the Banu ʾl-Ward at Bizerta, the Banu ʾl-Rand at Ḳafsa, the Banū Malīl at Safāḳus and the Banu ʾl-Djāmiʿ at Ḳābis. Mahdiyya remained in Zīrid hands until the middle of the 6th/12th century. In particular, Tunis enjoyed a certain security for a century under the rule of the Banū Khurāsān [*q.v.*]; the town was defended, the suburbs developed and the Jews were able to install themselves *intra muros*. The *amīrs* built a palace and a mosque to the southwest of the Zaytūna (see A. Daoulatli, *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, Tunis 1966), thus moving the town's centre of gravity and preparing it for becoming the third capital of Ifrīḳiya.

During this 5th/11th century, pressure on Tunisia appeared with the advent of the dynamic and dangerous element of the Normans in the Western Mediterranean, only just installed in southern Italy and Sicily but soon attacking the coasts of Ifrīḳiya, at al-Mahdiyya, the Kerkenna Islands [*q.v.*] and at Djarba. These were the prelude to several centuries of attacks, later by Angevins, Catalans and then by Spaniards and corsairs, whilst on the more peaceful level, Italian, Frankish and Catalan merchants traded at the Maghribī ports and negotiated commercial treaties. As part of a reaction within North Africa, whereas the Fāṭimids and Zīrids had tried to unify North Africa from Ifrīḳiya, new Berber dynasties like the Almoravids and Almohads appeared from southern Morocco and moved eastwards in attempts to unite the Maghrib and al-Andalus. The Almohads combatted the Banū Hilāl and proclaimed holy war against the Normans, who had taken advantage of the disorders to seize al-Mahdiyya, Safāḳus and Djarba. The Almohads nominated a governor for Tunis, chosen as capital of the province, whilst they themselves were besieging Marrakesh.

The Ḥafṣids

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥafṣ, from the Moroccan tribe of the Hintāta [*q.v.*], was a great *shaykh* of the Almohads who was given the governorship of Ifrīḳiya in 603/1206-7, at a time which was troubled by the pretensions of the rulers of Majorca and those of Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*], the lieutenant of the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ

al-Dīn. The distance of the Almohad rulers allowed the governor Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥafṣ to break with them in 627/1229 and affirm his autonomy, giving birth to a new dynasty which was to reign there for over three centuries. Abū Zakariyyā' simply styled himself *amīr*, but his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh called himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* and in 650/1253 assumed the caliphal *laḳab* of al-Mustanṣir. This line of development was, however, stifled by the rise and the success of the Mamlūks in Egypt, with the installation of an ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo.

After the French king Louis IX (St. Louis) had been checked in Egypt, he turned his attention more westwards, and had the idea of seizing Ifrīḳiya as a preliminary to marching against Egypt by land, impelled thus by his brother Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, who wished to revive the former Norman ambitions in North Africa; but St. Louis died at Tunis in August 1270 and was buried on the hill at Carthage. The danger was over, for this was the last attempt at a crusade in the West.

In the mid-8th/14th century, the new power in Morocco of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] seriously threatened Tunis and the Ḥafṣids, with the capital Tunis twice occupied temporarily, in 748-50/1348-50 and in 758/1357. The Ḥafṣids nevertheless survived, and in the next century enjoyed a renaissance under rulers like Abū Fāris ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (796-837/1394-1434) and his son ʿUthmān al-Manṣūr (839-93/1435-88). Tunis was now the intellectual and economic capital of the province, and a period of fine building and development ensued. The palace of the Ḳaṣaba, with its mosque, became the new centre of the city. The Zaytūna was enlarged, a new basin for ablutions, the *mīḍaʾat al-sulṭān*, was built, and the Roman aqueduct restored. The population increase was signalled by the need to construct a second city wall comprehending the new suburbs. New religious buildings—mosques for newly-laid out quarters, *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*—were constructed, with an artistic style reflecting the double influence of the East and of al-Andalus. See further, ḤAFṢIDS.

The skies were, however, clouding for the Ḥafṣids as Europe was taking the decisive steps towards modernity, with the "crusade for Africa" menacing the coasts of Ifrīḳiya after the reconquest of Granada in 898/1492, whilst in the east, the power of the Ottomans was rising. Spaniards and Turks were henceforth to dispute control of the Mediterranean. The corsairs who had occupied Algiers since 922/1516 seized Tunis in 941/1534 and expelled the Ḥafṣid sultan. Charles V's armies occupied Tunis in 942/1535 and restored him. A fortress was built at La Goulette to defend the port entrance. The corsairs called in Ottoman help, and took definitive control of Tunis in 982/1574, thus closing the classical period of the history of Ifrīḳiya and heralding the period of the Regency.

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(MOUNIRA CHAPOUTOT-REMADI and RADHI DAGHFOUS)

(c) The period from *ca.* 1500 to 1881.

What might be called "the modern period"—a European historical concept, but nevertheless pertinent here—in Tunisian history, began in Ifrīḳiya around the opening of the 16th century, with a severe crisis, involving the break-up of the old-established Ḥafṣid state, the collapse of urban and sedentary societies and the recovered autonomy of the tribes (cf. Leo Africanus, tr. Epaulard, ii, 374-94). The deeply-troubled land now became a military and political vacuum attracting the great powers of the Mediterranean basin, the Spaniards and the Ottomans. The struggle between these latter two powers lasted some forty years, ending with the Ottoman victory of 1574, supported by the majority of the local inhabitants, or, at least, of the town-dwellers (see Ibn Abī Dīnār, *al-Mūnis fī akhbār Ifrīkiya wa-Tūnis*, Tunis 1967, 160-3).

Tunis now became an Ottoman province, like Algiers and Tripoli, with the sultan represented there by a *pasha* or governor, a handful of secretaries, a *ḳāḍī efendi* at the head of the judicio-legal institution, and above all, a militia of 3,000 Janissaries and a *dīwān* closely connected with this militia and forming the governor's council. It was a régime of military occupation which, in fact, intervened little in the daily lives of the people, except for questions connected with the maintenance of public order, obedience to the new masters and taxation, apart from these leaving the subjects alone with their traditional institutions, religious or customary, which the régime was content to control or at least utilise to its own profit. Although the hand of the régime was light, it nevertheless had significant consequences for the land: it made it into an entity distinct from its neighbours, the future framework for the state and then the nation of Tunisia, and it introduced there a certain "modernity". This last took the form of a more modern type of army; a central, paper-shuffling bureaucracy, however rudimentary; and relations with lands across the seas—the Ottoman empire, from which the régime

derived its legitimacy, its Janissaries and secretaries and which offered an immense unified commercial market, and Christian Europe, from which came manpower, such as slaves, who might become powerful *mamlūks*, adventurers and merchants, bringing goods and precious currency, acquired from around 1580 onwards by privateering [see ḲURṢĀN. i.] and then, from the 17th century onwards, by trade. With this process taking place, there took shape within Tunisia a kind of split between a Mediterranean outlook, marked by links with the outside world and the means for dominating the rest of the land, and a hinterland, devoted to traditionalism and stagnation.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the government of the province (*iyāla*) evolved into what was in effect a régime autonomous of Istanbul, paralysed by a prolonged crisis: the Turks, permanently installed in Tunis, seized power by means of the junior officers of the militia, the *deys*, who surrounded and invested the *dīwān* in 1591 (R. Mantran, *L'evolution des relations entre la Tunisie et l'empire ottoman du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle*, in *CT*, xxvi-xxvii [1959], 319-33). The province took on thereafter, in European eyes, its "barbaresque" denomination and permanent characteristics: privateering activity (with its golden age in the first half of the 17th century); the enslavement of Christians (a real phenomenon, although widely exaggerated); and an internal "tyranny", which, as well as being something rather strange and barbarous, was valid for the whole of the Maghrib (L. Valensi, *Le Maghreb avant la prise d'Alger*, Paris 1969, 15-17, 94-112). In practice, the internal situation, political and social, continued to evolve. One of the Deys, ʿUthmān, "seized complete control of decision-making" (*infarada bi 'l-kalima*) in 1595 or 1598 and set up a kind of principate which, whilst perpetuating the Turkish and military dominance and whilst benefiting from the proceeds of corsair activity (at this time at its apogee), did not hesitate to rein in the excesses of the soldiery and encouraged the peaceful activities of the local people and of emigrants coming in from outside. Thus the Moriscos [*q.v.*], expelled from Spain in 1609, now came to play an important role in the increase in artisanal and agricultural activity characterising this period (see J.D. Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian immigration in Tunisian history*, in *CT*, xix-xx [1957], 203-52); the Jews of Leghorn were natural intermediaries between the two shores of the Mediterranean; and finally, European merchants were installed at Tunis under the terms of treaties imposed, but in part warmly welcomed by one element of the ruling class, including the Dey (see P. Sebag, *Tunis au XVII^e siècle. Une cité barbaresque au temps de la course*, Paris 1989, 173; T. Bashrūsh, *Djumhūriyyat al-dāyāt fī Tūnis 1591-1675*, Tunis 1992, 63, 78, 107; J.M. Abun-Nasr, *The beylicate in seventeenth-century Tunisia*, in *IJMES*, vi [1975], 70-7).

This régime of the preponderance of the Deys, efficacious in Tunis and other places where there was a Turkish presence, progressively gave way to the predominance of the Murādī Beys from the middle of the 17th century onwards. These descendants of Murād, who had originally been a *mamlūk* of Corsican origin, were, as beys, commanders of the fiscal military organisation (*maḥalla* [*q.v.*]), and they now succeeded in breaking the resistance of the warrior tribes (Awlād Saʿīd, Awlād Shannūf, etc.) and in extending, within certain limits, the control of Tunis over the country's interior after some fifteen years of fighting (from 1628 onwards). They could thus now draw fresh resources from it and form new means of support, largely indigenous, thus enabling them to counterbalance the "Turkish" military institution and that of its representative, the Dey. Furthermore, responding to the demands of the local milieu, they re-established links with the earlier Ḥafṣid monarchical traditions. They founded a hereditary dynasty, and organised a royal court at Bardo, outside Tunis and away from the Janissary barracks; there at Bardo they brought together their military and civil "household", with their clients and their apologists and propagandists (see Ibn Abī Dīnār, *op. cit.*, 229-42). They did not, however, renounce at this time their "Turkish" or Ottoman allegiance, since they continued to depend on the services of the Janissaries and on privateering. But, thanks to local support, they managed to bend the Deys to their own authority and to frustrate by force the several attempts to restore the latter's power (in 1673, 1685-6 and 1694-5, on this latter occasion with the support of the Dey of Algiers to the "Turks" of Tunis). In regard to the latter, the Murādī Beys would figure as "Arab princes", unfaithful to their Ottoman suzerain (Plantet, *op. cit.*, 416-30); thus the Dey of Algiers would intervene at Tunis with the aim of putting an end—without, however, great success—to an evolution which could have been contagious, as much as by a desire for plunder. For other reasons, the Murādī line disappeared in 1702, the victim of a concatenation of internecine conflicts and the excesses of its last Beys, in addition to the discreet intervention of the Ottoman Porte. A Turkish officer who came back from Istanbul overthrew the Bey and then eliminated the rest of his family. He tried to restore the Turkish preponderance, but without success; at the first reverse which he suffered at the hands of the forces of Algiers, in July 1705, his attempt to turn back the clock collapsed leaving no trace, a sign of the irreversibility of the land's political evolution in the course of the 17th century.

It fell to his successor adeptly to take advantage of the "monarchical" experience begun by the Murādīs. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (I), a *kulughlī* [see ḲUL-OGHLU] and leading member of the ruling class, appointed to the functions of Bey by the authorities and notables of Tunis, succeeded in repelling the invaders from Algiers (October 1705) and in rapidly eliminating rivals. He utilised at one and the same time support from the Janissaries, the *mamlūks*, and above all, the forces of the local notables of the land (caïds-*lazzām*, the *shaykhs* of local communities, local military groups, religious leaders, etc.). He concentrated all power into his own hands, whilst maintaining the old institutions (the Dey, the *dīwān* and the council), which willingly submitted to his will rather than to the inevitable Ottoman allegiance. In order to increase the resources at his disposal, he encouraged local production and commerce, but intervened in economic affairs to ill effect. He had recourse to the *mushtarā* (gathering together cereals at a low price and re-selling them to the benefit of Christian merchants) and developed tax-farming (*lizma*) at all levels, measures which were consonant with the growth of European commerce (M.-H. Chérif, *Pouvoir et société dans la Tunisie de Ḥusayn bin ʿAlī, 1705-1740*, Tunis 1984, i, 119-50, 184-9, 195-204). For various reasons, internal as much as external, the land suffered a long series of troubles between 1728 and 1762: civil war between the supporters of the Bey and those of his nephew ʿAlī (1728-9, and then 1735-40), the despotism of ʿAlī Bāshā (1740-56), and invasions from Algiers supporting one side or the other (1735, 1756, on the last occasion involving the sack of the capital, with distressing excesses which the population were slow to forget) (Plantet, *op. cit.*, ii, 500-5).

When peace returned in 1762, the Ḥusaynid régime benefited from more than half a century of stability and consolidation, internal as well as external, in the reigns of ʿAlī Bāy (1759-82) and Ḥammūda Bā<u>sh</u>ā (1782-1814). These successful policies were explicable by the closer alliance of the dynasty with local notables (not, however, excluding allegiance to the Ottomans and the ruling classes' connection with the "Turks") and by skilful exploitation of favourable internal circumstances (*ca.* 1760-75) and external ones (the wars of the French Revolutionary period and the Empire). The increase of European commerce in Tunis during the second half of the 18th century likewise benefited from this atmosphere, securing profit for the persons involved, the state and its associates and clients (Abun-Nasr, *The Tunisian state in the eighteenth century*, in *ROMM*, xxxiii [1982], 33-61; D. Panzac, *La Régence de Tunis et la mer à l'époque de Hammouda Pacha Bey (1782-1814)*, in *CT*, clxv [1993], 65-84).

Society in Tunis, for its part, belonged undoubtedly to the late Arab-Islamic civilisation, marked by its conservatism, even devotion to the past, on the material, social and mental levels, and characterised by unchanging techniques, the segmentation into patrilineal families, in separate communities (as well as the age-old rivalry between towns and countryside), submission to "patriarchal" authority (in the sense used by Hisham Sharabi, *Le néo-patriarchat*, Fr. tr. Paris 1996), etc. The "Tunisian" land was, moreover, distinguished by a massive presence of tribes in the countryside and by a relatively homogeneous culture, overwhelmingly Arab and Mālikī Sunnī. In modern times, rural society did not change appreciably (Valensi, *Fellahs tunisiens, l'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes aux 18ᵉ et 19ᵉ siècles*, Paris-The Hague 1977, 365-8) except for interventions by the beylicate, which had several consequences. It broke the power of the great tribes; consolidated the position of a class of notables (e.g. caïds, <u>sh</u>*ay*<u>kh</u>s and marabouts with a wide following), which became its clients; and it favoured an economy of money circulation through its direct or indirect functions and its initiatives (*mu<u>sh</u>tarā*, the farming out of its dues, creation of souks, etc.). Yet all things considered, this "progress" was limited because of numerous blocking factors, technological, demographic, mental and political. It is more on the level of the towns that one should seek change as a result of borrowings from the Andalusī immigrants, the Ottomans and others, which were felt in the spheres of food, habits, music and architecture, at least in Tunis itself, from the 17th century onwards. European influences on society showed themselves somewhat later, in the 19th century, but in a deeper and more lasting manner. The body of *ʿulamāʾ* expanded progressively from this century onwards and became hierarchically differentiated. As a result, they functioned as allies of the central power which gave them a privileged position, but they maintained a certain distance, especially in cases of conflict between Muslims (e.g. the war with Tripoli 1793-4; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-a<u>kh</u>bār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, Tunis 1964, iii, 23-4) or when reforms inspired by modernism were in the air, *ca.* 1860 (A. Ben Achour, *Catégories de la société tunisoise dans la deuxième moitié du XIXᵉ siècle*, Tunis 1989, 443-4). The new ideas flourished more amongst the local scholars connected with the *Ma<u>kh</u>zan* or with the lands outside; this was the case with the apologia for "progress" and an opening-up for commerce presented by the minister-secretary Ḥammūda Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz *ca.* 1775 (Chérif, *Ḥammūda Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wa-afkāruhu "al-taḳaddumiyya"*, in *Rev. Hist. Maghreb.*, lvii-lviii [1990], 211-19), or further, with the modern notion of the fatherland [see WAṬANIYYA] set forth by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf and his imitators in the 19th century (see A. Demeersman, *Formulation de l'idée de patrie en Tunisie (1837-1872)*, in *IBLA*, cxiii [1966], 35-71, cxiv-cxv [1967], 109-42; A. Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIᵉ, XVIIIᵉ et XIXᵉ siècles, essai d'histoire culturelle*, Paris 1973, 122-3). Artisans and traders who were in contact with the outside world, the great caïds-*lazzām* and the exporters of the products of the land, were, in their fashion, the vehicles for modernity, despite a traditional way of life and culture. The trade of manufacturing <u>*sh*</u>*ā*<u>*sh*</u>*iyya*s or chéchias, headgear introduced first by Morisco refugees and then taken up by indigenous craftsmen [see LIBĀS. i and ii, Glossaries], is an example of an activity of a capitalist type, in the sense of the term for that time (Valensi, *Islam et capitalisme: production et commerce des chéchias en Tunisie et en France aux 18ᵉ et 19ᵉ siècles*, in *Rev. Hist. Moderne Contemporaine*, xvii [1969], 376-400). At the beginning of the 19th century, a certain Ḥād<u>jdj</u> Yūnis al-<u>D</u>jirbī handled business on a Mediterranean scale (Panzac, *op. cit.*, 80), and *ca.* 1840-50, the trading and other activities of one Ben ʿAyyād brought to mind, through his ways of conduct and his mentality, the entrepreneurs and captains of industry of overseas lands (L.C. Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey 1837-1855*, Princeton 1974, 342-3). But in the end, this was only an aborted "bourgeoisie", because of the traditionalism with which it was imbued, its non-evolving, imported techniques, the patrimonialism of the state and, finally, because of its dependence *vis-à-vis* the European capitalism with which it had to operate, in particular after 1815.

The 19th century was the age of European expansion, which became irresistible in all spheres and which provoked in Tunisia an upsetting of the earlier political and social state of balance, as elsewhere outside Western Europe. The expedition of 1815-16 of Lord Exmouth proclaimed to the Ma<u>gh</u>rib the new relationship involving force, and it brought about, more than the ending of corsair activity (by now moribund anyway), a liberty of commerce on the best possible conditions. The Bey of Tunis bowed to the exigencies coming now from Europe, on this occasion and on others, but soon found himself in a state of financial difficulty, whose burden he now placed on the shoulders of his subjects, whence the discontents of these latter, headed by the notables, and revolts (Chérif, *Expansion européenne et difficultés tunisiennes, 1815-1830*, in *Annales ESC* [May-June 1970, no. 3], 714-45). In 1830, the French installed themselves in Algiers, and in 1835 the Ottomans at Tripoli. In Tunis, Aḥmad (I) Bey (1837-55), faced with such threats, had recourse to an audacious policy of reforms. Out of this came a further step towards the feeling of the régime's Tunisian national identity (although it never ceased to proclaim its faithfulness to the Ottomans); the consolidation, in a certain sense, of the structures of state; the appearance of a core of men at court won over to the idea of reform; but also, the abortiveness of several ill-framed measures, unsurmountable financial problems, and sources of abuses and discontent (Brown, *op. cit.*, 348-56; Kh. Chater, *Dépendance et mutations précoloniales. La Régence de Tunis de 1815 à 1851*, Tunis 1984, 560-83).

Under Aḥmad's successors, reforms were accelerated under pressure from European consuls but also in response to a group of Tunisian reformers grouped round the person of <u>Kh</u>ayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]: in particular, the grant of guarantees to the subjects in 1857

and a constitution in 1861. At the same time, extensive public works—of doubtful utility—were begun, juicy contracts were concluded with unscrupulous intermediaries, and finally, heavy outside loans were obtained on catastrophic conditions (extravagant commissions obtained over wine-bibbing, even downright fraud). The Bey was driven to raise taxes to intolerable levels, provoking a near-general revolt in 1864, that of ʿAlī b. Ghidhāhum [see IBN GHIDHĀHUM, in Suppl.], followed by merciless repression which left the land in ruins and permanently irreconciled. At the end of this infernal cycle, aggravated by the natural calamities of 1867-8, the beylicate announced its bankruptcy. An international financial commission was then in 1869 charged with overseeing the country's revenues in order to secure repayment of the debt (J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 177-402). The defeat of France, the main pressuriser of the Tunisian government, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, gave Tunisia a momentary breathing-space, used by Khayr al-Dīn, now prime minister, to put affairs in order and to apply realistic reforms. But in 1877 he fell from power, and the descent to the abyss was resumed to France's profit, who succeeded in setting aside its rival Italy and in installing itself comfortably in Tunis under the Treaty of Protectorate imposed on the Bey on 12 May 1881. This was the logical outcome of a relationship based on force unfavourable for Tunisia for decades, but it was also the launching-pad for the new policy of colonial expansionism.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also H. Cambon, *Histoire de la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1948; B. Tlili, *Les rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident en Tunisie au XIX^e siècle, 1830-1880*, Tunis 1974; and for a list of the Ḥusaynid Beys and a brief sketch of their history, C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties, a chronological and genealogical manual*, Edinburgh 1996, 55-6 no. 22.

(MOHAMED-HÉDI CHÉRIF)

(d) The period of the Protectorate and the establishment of independent Tunisia.

This period involved struggles for the achievement of national identity and then of national independence, led first by the reformist movement on the eve of the Protectorate and then by the nationalist movement during the Protectorate.

The situation before the imposition of the Protectorate

European penetration of Tunisia had begun in the mid-19th century as the balance of forces between East and West increasingly tipped in favour of the latter, favoured by the almost universal decadence of the Regency, permitting first commercial and financial penetration and then political and military by the outside forces. Commercial penetration was seen in the unequal treaties imposed on Tunisia by Britain in 1863 and 1875 and by Italy in 1868. By the terms of these, the Tunisian government could not forbid or limit the import of British and Italian goods, which were only to pay an 8% entry tax and be free of all internal dues to which the indigenous Tunisian products were subject. France profited equally from these arrangements by virtue of her most-favoured-nation status. There was also a financial penetration, aided by the policies of the Tunisian government in the 1860s of borrowing from the European powers. Once the Bey became unable to keep up interest payments, France, Britain and Italy intervened to place the country's finances under their tutelage and to protect their interests, so that under their pressure, the Bey Muḥammad (III) al-Ṣādiḳ (1859-82) set up in 1869 the *Commission financière internationale*, made up of Tunisians and foreigners, which acted until 1884 as in effect the real ministry of finance in Tunis.

This financial and economic control limited considerably Tunisian sovereignty in these spheres, and increased in the 1870s. Western Europe entered a period of economic depression in the period 1873-96, involving a shrinkage of the European internal market, resulting therefore in the piling-up of industrial products and capital. In order to find outlets and fields for investment outside Europe, France embarked on a policy of colonial expansion which was to lead, in Tunisia, to its occupation and the establishment of the Protectorate.

The Protectorate

Hence on 24 April 1881 a French army of 35,000 men invaded the Regency of Tunis from Algeria. At the same time, the Naval Division of the Levant sailed from Toulon, and on 1 May the Brigades of Mourant and Bréart landed at Bizerta. On 8 May General Bréart marched on Tunis and on the 12th appeared at the beylical palace of Bardo with a contingent of troops. The Bey bowed to *force majeure* and signed the Treaty of Bardo establishing French hegemony in Tunisia. The act of 12 May, euphemistically called a treaty, was in fact a French *diktat* imposed on Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ. It did not deprive the Bey of all powers but merely ensured French preponderance in Tunisia to the exclusion of all other European powers. It deprived the Bey of freedom of external action, since he was now unable to treat with any outside power without the consent of the French government.

It was only by the Convention of La Marsa imposed on ʿAlī (III) Bey (1882-1902) on 8 June 1883 that France established a real protectorate over Tunisia. The Treaty of Bardo had just reserved control of external affairs to France, but by this convention, the Bey's internal control of affairs was encroached upon without, however, it being suppressed altogether. Nevertheless, by promising to implement the administrative reforms which France judged useful and to contract no loans for the Tunisian state without the sanction of the French government, the Bey in fact placed himself within the hands of the French Republic.

In the period which followed, the Bey was little more than a decorative figure-head justifying the Protectorate in the eyes of French, Tunisian and European public opinion. He lost all his prerogatives to the Minister Resident, elevated in June 1885 to the status of Resident-General, who now became the real master within the Regency. Some Tunisian ministers were admittedly retained in the government, but their number was reduced to two (as against five French ones); the prime minister and the "minister of the pen", who were chosen by the Resident-General, hence could only function under his orders. Their role, wrote the Resident Paul Cambon, was limited to "putting into effect through local officials decisions taken by the Bey at the behest of the heads of the different administrative departments and after the Resident's previously-bestowed assent". The two Tunisian ministers were in any case under the oversight of a French official, the Secretary-General whose functions, as laid down in February 1883, made him the real director of the Tunisian administration. The Protectorate provided, it was true, that local administration should remain in the hands of indigenous Tunisian *ḳāʾids*, *khalīfas* and *shaykhs*, but a body of French officials, called civil controllers, was set up in

1884 to supervise them; their role was thus comparable to that of the Resident-General *vis-à-vis* the Bey and the Secretary-General *vis-à-vis* the Tunisian ministers.

Economic change

This political and administrative tutelage obviously created favourable conditions for an economic tutelage, seen, in an agricultural economy, in land colonisation. This last process, begun before 1881, increased in intensity with the Protectorate. In the period 1881-92 the French government opened up Tunisia to capitalists investing in land colonisation, a private system of colonisation. The Protectorate administration contented itself with assuring these capitalists of "perfect security, good administration and a satisfactory development of a communications system". But after 1892, a system of official colonisation was instituted side-by-side with the private one. This official system involved centralising as much land as possible into the hands of the state so that it could be granted out at moderate charges and with facilities for repayment to French nationals. Also, whilst the private system was concerned with *milk* land on more or less legal conditions, the state system was concerned with "dead" lands, collective lands, forest lands and habous (*ḥubūs* = *awḳāf* [see WAḲF]).

In this way, French-owned land which had amounted to some 114,000 hectares on the eve of the Protectorate, by 1892 amounted to 443,000 ha and in 1914 to 560,000 ha. If one adds to these the lands acquired by the Land Service which were not yet allocated, and those acquired by other Europeans, especially Italians, amounting to over 130,000 ha, nearly one million hectares passed from Tunisian ownership to that of European nationals. These lands were usually situated in the most fertile and well-watered regions and had constituted the best territories of the Regency. This foreign grip on this preponderant economic sector led to a decline in other sectors such as stock rearing, artisanal activities and commerce directly or indirectly linked with them.

The situation by the nature of things provoked a reaction against European penetration, at first from the native Tunisian élite and then by wide sections of the population against French domination.

The reformist movement and resistance to penetration

The promoters of the patriotic movement saw themselves as protectors of the sovereignty of their land against the European powers. Fascinated by the rise and development of Western Europe, they themselves sought to learn from it the means and power of resisting European influences.

The movement first appeared in the 1840s with Aḥmad (I) Bey (1837-55), an enlightened ruler who was inspired by Western ideas to embark on a programme of reforms. His army was reorganised with French aid and on the French model, with a polytechnic college founded in 1840 at Bardo to train competent officers. It was the first modern educational institution in Tunisia, and formed for its students a real window on science, civilisation and Western methods. In 1846 the Bey abolished slavery in the Regency before making an official visit to France which confirmed him in his modernist convictions, and the officials who accompanied him, headed by K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], and these last, with the support of graduates from the polytechnic college formed the new reformist movement, so that it continued after Aḥmad's death in 1855 under his successor Muḥammad (II) Bey (1855-9). The latter promulgated on 9 September 1857, mainly under pressure from the consuls of outside powers but also from that of internal reformists, the Fundamental Pact which, as in modern states, guaranteed rights to all inhabitants of the Regency irrespective of religion and nationality, in effect, security of life and private property, equality before the law, equality of tax burdens and freedom of worship. It envisaged the grant of a constitution, in fact proclaimed by Muḥammad (III) al-Ṣādiḳ Bey (1859-82) on 21 January 1861. This document limited the powers of the Bey and his ministers and, in theory, ended absolute power. It was the basis for a new political system involving a separation of powers, with a legislative assembly, the Grand Council, and court with judges who could not be removed. Despite its suspension in 1864 during a politically troubled period in Tunisia, the reformist movement remained attached to a modernist and democratic programme. Its chief, K͟hayr al-Dīn Pas͟ha, who resigned in 1862 his presidency of the Grand Council in protest against the violation of the constitution by the Prime Minister, occupied himself with strengthening the reformist current by providing it with a theoretical basis in his book of 1867, *Aḳwam al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik* "The most straightforward of ways for knowing the state of the lands". In it he attributed the decadence of the Islamic countries to their arbitrary and unjust systems of governance, and advocated the adoption of Western-type political systems based on liberty, justice and the respect for laws, which would bring about the appropriate intellectual and cultural climate for scientific and technological progress which would benefit the Islamic lands; the Western system of democratic and constitutional government was in no way contrary to Islam, and both systems shared a common origin in the ancient world (for further analysis, see K͟HAYR AL-DĪN PAS͟HA, at Vol. IV, 1154b).

He became Prime Minister in 1873, but was unable to introduce a parliamentary system into Tunisia or even to restore the 1861 constitution. He had to be content to lay the foundations for a state based on law by codifying laws and determining the duties of state officials in order to transform the state from an instrument of exploitation to one which would serve the people. He aimed at reconciling the people with the state, to guarantee their persons and property, hence stimulate them to work and develop the resources of the land. Such a policy also implied modernisation of the educational system in order to produce persons capable of carrying out such policies. Hence in 1875 he created the Ṣādiḳī college, parallel to the Polytechnic created at Bardo in 1869, with teaching provided in the natural and human sciences and in foreign languages, and utilising the services of foreign, above all French, instructors with their modern pedagogical techniques. Thus the College became a symbol of modernism and a link between the Arabo-Muslim and the Western civilisations, and its products formed a link between the reformist movement and the nationalist movement which grew up soon after the establishment of the Protectorate (see further on the college, AL-ṢĀDIḲIYYA).

The beginning of the nationalist movement

This manifested itself as a continuation of the reformist trends, with a continuity of personages from K͟hayr al-Dīn through ʿAlī Bās͟h Ḥamba and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-T͟haʿālibī up to Bourguiba, and following essentially the policies set forth by the reformists before 1881, sc. constitutional institutions based on justice, freedom and equality before the law, and an educational system necessary for the renaissance and independence of Tunisia.

These ideas of an élite were far from the level of feelings of the mass of population, who reacted rather to the economic and social contradictions of the Protectorate régime as they touched their own basic interests; but it was the handful of reformers who led the movement of the creation of a national spirit, hence the foundations for a national movement. This last comprised, from the opening of the 20th century to 1956, three successive phases, those of the Young Tunisian movement, of the liberal constitutional Destour (*Dustūr*) party and then the Néo-Destour.

The *Mouvement Jeunes-Tunisiens* rose out of a journal, *Le Tunisien*, founded in 1907 by ʿAlī Bās̲h̲ Ḥamba, advocating a programme of economic, political and social measures within a modernist and nationalist framework. In the economic sphere, it mainly advocated the modernisation of agriculture and local industries through the provision of credit facilities, professional training and fiscal reforms aimed at combatting foreign competition. In the social sphere, the possibility of providing land for small Tunisian cultivators, re-acquiring lands allotted to foreign colonists, local control of public works, free and compulsory primary education and access to a secondary one, availability of higher education to the Tunisian élite and the right of Tunisians to all administrative posts on the same conditions as French persons. In the political sphere, the adoption of modern principles of rights and duties of governments and citizens would mean the participation of Tunisians in public life where such matters as taxation and their specific interests were involved. A reorganisation of the Tunisian judicial system was envisaged, on the basis of a separation of powers in the state and the codification of laws. The Young Tunisians did not therefore demand Tunisia's independence but simply a share in their country's government, and even set forth their programme as "un concours loyal à la France pour l'aider dans sa mission civilatrice". Nevertheless, by revealing the economic, social and political antagonisms with which large sections of the Tunisian population lived, they fostered the emergence of a public spirit which created conditions favourable to the emergence of a broader nationalist party.

This was the *Parti Libéral Constitutionel* founded in March 1920 under the leadership of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-T̲h̲aʿālibī [*q.v.*], better known as the Destour Party. This grew out of the former movement, but went beyond its élitist character to become a party open to the masses and with, for the first time, a structure, a formal programme and means of action linking all its members. In the long term, this programme envisaged the ending of the Protectorate and the achieving of independence, but in the short term it aimed at a constitutional régime enabling the Tunisian people to govern themselves, with only the conduct of external affairs reserved to the French government.

In order to realise its aims, the Party had during the 1920s to mobilise all classes of society and acquire a wide popular constituency. By 1924, the Protectorate authorities estimated its adherents at 45,000 without counting a much larger number of sympathisers not officially registered as members. During this period, it had about 60 branches. Even so, the Party remained moderate in its demands, limited to reforms within the framework of the Protectorate, and in its methods of action. Its leadership rejected violence and was suspicious of mass movements for fear of being outflanked or compromised. Hence it came into conflict with a group of young nationalists, who had returned from study in Paris at the end of the 1920s, familiar with the techniques of mass action and the mobilisation of the masses employed by European Communist and Fascist parties. In 1932 they grouped themselves under Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba (Bourguiba) around a French-language journal, *L'Action Tunisienne*, which immediately began to reflect the radicalisation of the nationalist movement in Tunisia.

The Néo-Destour and the radicalisation of the nationalist movement

The leaders of *L'Action Tunisienne* took advantage of the economic and social crisis gripping Tunisia in the 1930s to lead the masses into political action. Thus it drew them into a struggle against the burial of Tunisians who had become naturalised French citizens in Muslim cemeteries. Hence the Destour Party congress in Tunis of May 1933 decided unanimously to associate the *Action Tunisienne* team with its own Executive Committee. The team manoeuvred to capture the whole of the party by an extraordinary congress held at Ḳaṣr Hilāl in the Sahel in March 1934, which resolved to dissolve the old Destour Party's Executive Committee and replace it by a new Political Bureau, led by Dr. Maḥmūd Māṭirī and with Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba as its Secretary-General (for details, see ḤIZB. i. at Vol. III, 524). In reality, the divergency of the so-called *archéos* and *néos* was largely one of methods of achieving similar programmes, but the Néo-Destour was now more in tune with the aspirations of the Tunisian masses and accelerated its demands. The Liberal Constitutional Party, the old Destour, lingered on until the violent events of April 1938, al-T̲h̲aʿālibī having been contemptuously rejected by the new party in the previous year (for details, see AL-T̲H̲AʿĀLIBĪ).

After the Second World War, the Néo-Destour became much more radicalised, with its resistance to French control taking on the character of an armed struggle in the early 1950s, leading to the achievement of internal autonomy on 3 June 1955 and full independence on 20 March 1956.

Bourguiba and the constructing of the modern state of Tunisia

This involved completing the country's independence, providing it with a constitution, developing a modern system of education and adapting Islamic legislation to the exigencies of modern times. The achieving of complete sovereignty involved further conflict with France until on 17 June 1958 French troops evacuated bases in Tunisia, with the evacuation of the naval base at Bizerta following on 15 October 1963. On 12 May 1964 Bourguiba nationalised the lands formerly granted out for colonisation.

The new Tunisian government proceeded to elect a constituent assembly (25 March 1956), which abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a republic (25 July 1957) and on 1 June 1959 promulgated a constitution. This last established a political system based on the separation of powers, equality before the law and the guarantee of liberty of opinion and freedom of association yet this remained a dead letter, since public liberties were suspended in 1963. However, although Bourguiba did not think Tunisia yet ready for democracy, he undertook its modernisation, attacking where necessary traditionalist currents reflecting what he considered as retrograde Islamic religious attitudes. Thus on 13 August 1956 he introduced a code of personal status which deeply modified certain dispositions of the religious law. In fact, the new code abolished polygamy, gave women guarantees against unilateral divorce and regulated divorce proceedings. He laid special stress on education for transforming fixed mental attitudes within the population and for

bringing about the emancipation of women. Hence over a quarter of the national budget was reserved for the education of both sexes, spread over all the regions and forming a means of social advance (see further on the position of women, section VI, below) This mode of political development, embodying the will of a good part of the Tunisian élite to modernise their land in order to protect its independence and sovereignty, forms a prominent thread in the history of contemporary Tunisia, but as is delineated in section (e) below, by no means the only one.

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(ALI MAHJOUBI)

(e) Bourguiba and after.

As noted in the preceding section, Bourguiba confronted several Islamic religious practices head on, but his publicly avowed aim was to reform Tunisian Islam by bringing it more within the control of the state and by correcting corrupt and decadent practices which had crept into the faith and especially in the sphere of popular religion. Thus, as outlined above, Tunisia was the first Islamic country formally to abolish polygamy. Also, the *Sharīʿa* courts were abolished. The *ḥubūs* were nationalised, thereby bringing the *ʿulamāʾ* who had drawn their income from them into the state patronage nexus. The Zaytūna [*q.v.*] was incorporated into the University of Tunis. Pilgrimages and festivals at saints' tombs were controlled, and some shrines even demolished, and the Ṣūfī orders or *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 2.] viewed unenthusiastically. All these measures were aimed at controlling Islam by bringing it further within the ambit of the state apparatus. Yet the government actually increased steeply the number of mosques in Tunisia, with a three-fold increase during the period 1960-87. Bourguiba's ostensible attitude was that Islam had to be modernised in order the better to withstand contamination by Western values, and he denied the claims of local fundamentalists that they were the sole focus of Tunisia's religious identity. Yet Bourguiba's attempt in 1960 to abolish fasting [see ṢAWM] as deleterious for Tunisia's economic development backfired and had eventually to be abandoned.

Politically, Tunisia became for over twenty years a single-party state, with Bourguiba elected by the 1974 party congress as President for life. Economic development was at first pursued by long-term planning, the formation of co-operative societies (especially in the agricultural sector) and an initially moderate attitude towards private enterprise after the economic boycott by France after the nationalisation of French colonists' lands in 1964 had been eventually surmounted. A move towards more radical, collectivist policies began in 1969 when it was decreed that all private lands and private businesses and industrial concerns were to be formed into co-operatives. These policies proved highly unpopular and were abandoned in 1970, with their leading exponent, the minister Aḥmad Ben Ṣalāḥ, dismissed. Thereafter, Tunisia evolved into a mixed economy with the private sector playing a dominant role.

Nevertheless, discontents mounted within the country from 1971 onwards, with political repression of those demanding a more democratic and less autocratic political system, and in a climate of economic stagnation, strikes and riots increased, particularly in 1978. Rival political groups to the government grew up, from the Islamic Tendency Movement (though its leaders ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Mūrū and Rāshid al-Ghannūshī were temporarily jailed) to a Social Democratic trend under Aḥmad Mastīrī and a Communist party under Muḥammad Harnal. After the riots of January 1984, the government of Muḥammad Mazālī made approaches to the Islamists and Social Democrats, and the Communists were allowed to function as a legally-permitted party.

The riots were a watershed for Bourguiba's régime, warning of the dangers of economic austerity measures and the formation of a parallel state within the state by the Islamists (after 1988 called the *Ḥizb al-Nahḍa* "Party of Renaissance" in order to comply with a government decree that no party should incorporate the term "Islam" in its title). The aged Bourguiba himself continued as President until toppled from power in November 1987. His successor as President, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ben ʿAlī, made various concessions to the Islamists aimed at giving religion a more prominent role in public life, increasing the size and budget of the Islamic Religious Council and establishing the Zaytūna as a separate university. But conciliation of extremism proved impossible, and in the early 1990s Ben ʿAlī's stance hardened, so that the public manifestation of the *Ḥizb al-Nahḍa* had been largely destroyed by 1993.

Externally, Tunisia's diplomatic position remained uneasy amid the sharp North African regional rivalries. In 1983 Algeria offered a twenty years' treaty of peace and reconciliation, but this weakened Tunisia's relations with Morocco, since it apparently implied support for Algeria's position over the Western Sahara problem. Relations with its eastern neighbour Libya continued to be potentially explosive, especially after the abortive attempt at political union in 1974 and accusations of Libyan interference in the economically less advanced, hence more discontented, southern regions of Tunisia, seen in the January 1980 rebellion at Gafsa (Ḳafsa [*q.v.*]); in 1985 Libya expelled over 30,000 Tunisian emigrant workers, mostly involved in the oil industry. On the wider scene of Middle Eastern conflict, Tunisia became involved through the transfer in 1982 of the headquarters of the PLO to Tunis and also that of the Arab League after Egypt made peace with Israel.

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III. Religious Life.

From the 5th/11th century at least, Tunisia took over Mālikī Sunnī Islam [see mālikiyya]. The island of Djarba [*q.v.*] is a special case; formerly the population was three-fifths Khāridjite [see al-ibāḍiyya] occupying two-thirds of the island, but is now about one-third (*ca.* 35,000 out of 110,000 inhabitants), spread over Adjīm, Guellala, Tlāt, Sedouikech and el-Māy (see Muḥammad Khūdja, *Rasā'il al-Shaykh Sulaymān al-Ḥīlātī*, Beirut 1998). But the distinctions are tending to become blurred: the mosques with square or tapered minarets welcome indifferently Sunnīs and Ibāḍī faithful, and even marriages between the two communities are no longer exceptional. This retreat of Ibāḍism has been due firstly, to the renewed vigour of Mālikism since Ḥafṣid times, despite the latter's origins from the Muwaḥḥidūn (see Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 286 ff.), and secondly, to proselytism by ascetic *fakīhs* like al-Djimminī (Sīdī Brāhīm al-Djomnī, d. 1134/1722), whose knowledge of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ's [*q.v.*] *Mukhtaṣar* of Mālikī *fikh* was so great that the Murādī ruler built for him a *madrasa-zāwiya* at Houmt-Souk, where he trained missionaries to go forth and preach the virtues of Mālikism (see Ḥusayn Khūdja, *Dhayl Bashā'ir ahl al-īmān*, ed. T. Mamouri, Tunis n.d., 130). In the region of the Djarīd [*q.v.*], a marabout called Abū 'Alī al-Sunnī or al-Naftī took up the same mission. Even in Tunis itself, the Ibāḍī men from Djarba had a mosque, the Djāmi' Hintātī, in the heart of the medina. These moderate Khāridjites—often called al-Khawāmis in order to approximate them to the main four orthodox *madhāhib* and perhaps, too, to differentiate them from more radical Khāridjite groups like the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] and Nukkariyya [see al-nukkār]—seem to be the remnants of the great Berber Khāridjite movements whose revolts characterised the history of North Africa from the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th centuries (see al-Raḳīḳ, *T. Ifrīḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-Ka'bī, Tunis 141 ff.; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, i, 69; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mukaffā*, ed. M. Yalāwī, Beirut 1992, iii, 697).

Stages of Islamisation

The Islamisation of Tunisia was not achieved so quickly as the governor 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī affirmed to the caliph al-Manṣūr. "It is today entirely Muslim and there is no more *saby* (i.e. no captives of war to forward to the capital)" (Ibn 'Idhārī, 167). The Ten Successors were said to have been sent by 'Umar II *ca.* 100/719 to teach the natives there the basics of the Ḳur'ān and Tradition, and the dogmas and rites of the new faith. The lists of these men in the *Ṭabaḳāt* literature, e.g. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh al-Mālikī's (d. after 460/1067) *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, ed. B. Bakkūsh, Beirut 1992, 99, show that these *fakīhs* were above all transmitters of *ḥadīths* concerned with day-to-day practice; juridical controversies and theoretical debates would come later, beginning under the Aghlabids who, through their allegiance to Baghdād, professed Ḥanafism. This was given an impulse by Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who implanted it for a while at Ḳayrawān before his *Asadiyya* was supplanted by the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn and Ibn Abī Zayd's [*q.v.*] *Risāla*. Neither the views of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, nor the persecutions—in fact, much exaggerated—by the Fāṭimids, silenced the great Mālikī voices (see Yalāwī, *al-Ḥayāt al-adabiyya bi-Ifrīḳiya fi 'l-'ahd al-fāṭimī*, Beirut 1986, 41), whose teaching and works spread all through the Maghrib and Muslim Spain (H.R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 687 ff.). Under the Ḥafṣids, the *Mukhtaṣar fī fikh al-madhhab* of Ibn 'Arafa [*q.v.*] had the same fortune as the *Mudawwana* (Saad Ghrab, *Ibn 'Arafa et le Malikisme en Ifrīqiyya au VIII^e/XIV^e siècle*, Tunis 1992, i, 369; M. Maḥfūẓ, *Tarādjim al-mu'allifīn al-tūnisiyyīn*, Beirut 1984, iii, 368).

Ḥanafism

This cannot have re-appeared in Tunisia until the arrival of Ottoman troops in 982/1574 sent against the occupying Spanish, and it became implanted through the régime of the Deys and Beys who remained vassals, whether nominally or actually, of the Porte up to the French occupation of 1881. It survives today in islets in certain coastal towns: Bizerta, Kélibia, Sousse and Monastir, and in some towns of the interior: Béja, Le Kef and Zaghouan, sc. in the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] where the Turks had garrisons, and above all, in the capital, where the groups close to the Beylical power—military, civil and religious dignitaries—followed the *madhhab* of the court [see ḥusaynids]. But here also, the differences have tended to be attenuated: octagonal minarets no longer mark Ḥanafī mosques solely. Of the seven Ḥanafī mosques in Tunis (see Muḥammad Bel Khōdja, *Ma'ālim al-tawḥīd fi 'l-ḳadīm wa fi 'l-djadīd*, ed. Ben Ḥādjdj Yaḥyā Sahlī, Beirut 1985, 153 ff.), only two have a Ḥanafī *imām*. In general, Ḥanafism has lost its importance, never great, to the general dominance of Mālikism throughout the land. In the first place, the abolition of the Ḥusaynid ruling power contributed to this, with Tunisia becoming on 25 July 1957 a Republic with a parliament. Adhesion to the Ḥanafī law school no longer had any justification in the achieving or carrying out of any public office.

Justice

Secondly, there was the suppression in 1956 of the religious *Shar'* tribunal, set up in Tunis a century earlier under the name of the *Dīwān*. This supreme tribunal had two chambers: a Ḥanafī one, headed by the *Shaykh al-Islām*, and a Mālikī one, under the *Bāsh Muftī*. Both chambers were competent to consider, according to the litigants, cases relating to personal law—civil status, marriage, divorce, guardianship and succession. The *shar'ī* tribunals (*madjālis*) in the provinces were also suppressed and now attached to the civil courts. These last accordingly enlarged the sphere of their competence and were provided by the legislature with codes (*madjallāt*) in various areas: for commercial law, investment and finance, maritime law, real property, insurance, and above all, personal law, the watchword of the liberation of the Tunisian woman, to the point that the anniversary of the code's promulgation (13 August 1956) has become the Celebration Day of Women. All these documents, which laicised in some degree justice, were inspired by Mālikī, Ḥanafī or other decisions, and opted for a liberalisation of justice, e.g. in the handing-over to the sole surviving daughter of the whole of an inheritance (art. 143 bis, l. 2) instead of, as previously, just a half (a decision inspired by a legal provision attributed to the Shī'ī Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ (cf. al-Ḳāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-islām*, ed. Fyzee, ii, 378 nos. 1359-60; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mukaffā*, iii, 103, notice on Djawhar).

The teaching at the Zaytūna

The unification of the legal system and abolition

of the distinctions between the *madhāhib* inevitably brought about a shrinkage in the opportunities for teaching *fiḳh* in the two law schools, especially as the institution concerned with the training of future religious lawyers had this branch of its activities ended, and the Great Mosque, the Zaytūna, which had taught both Ḥanafī and Mālikī law, was now reduced to becoming a place for religious worship only. The educational function, at least on the secondary level, was ended (law of 4 November 1958), and higher education assigned to a "University of the Zaytūna" [*q.v.*] under the Minister for Higher Education. At present, it has two institutes for higher education plus a research centre: (1) the Higher Institute for Theology (for training teachers in this field); (2) the Higher Institute for Islamic Civilisation (open to students from outside Tunisia); and (3) the Centre for Islamic Research, situated in Ḳayrawān. As for the Higher Institute of Religious Sciences (meant for training and refresher courses for *imāms* and preachers), this was no longer part of the Zaytūna University, but after January 1997 was attached to the Ministry of Religious Affairs, itself set up in 1992. This is now ultimately responsible for all religious activities: teaching, the cult, training of *imāms* and preachers, organising of the Pilgrimage, exhibitions and commemorations, organising of cultural associations, congresses, colloquia, etc.

Suppression of the awḳāf

The *ḥubūs*/habous were likewise suppressed. Property in mortmain was restored to the original owners or, in case of the disappearance of these, became state lands. Hence there was no further need for administrators (*wukalā'*) responsible for superintending the *awḳāf* and of the procedures which had allowed the practice of enzel or *inzāl* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the perpetual leasing of properties at a low price or in return for disproportionate benefits.

The question of the "Arabic" numerals and calendar reform

The new Republic took another audacious, but in the end accepted, decision: the replacement of the so-called "Indian" numerals, used in the East in all works of religion and scholarship by the so-called "Arabic" ones. The Gregorian calendar and its nomenclature was adoped side-by-side with the Hidjrī one in official publications, if not in practical life. Astronomical computation was now used to fix the beginning and end of the Ramaḍān fast (from Ramaḍān 1380/March 1960), but since the results of such calculations were not unanimously recognised, even in neighbouring countries, after the political changes of 7 November 1987, a mixed method was adopted: visual observation of the crescent moon by the *Muftī* of the Republic, an important person in the power hierarchy, holding the rank of Secretary of State. The creation of this office (decree of 28 February 1958) had *ipso facto* meant the suppression of the posts of *muftī* in the provinces, these having existed since the replacing of the Grand Judge (*Ḳāḍī al-Djamā'a*) in 1856 by various subordinates (e.g. the *Ḳ. al-Ahilla*, charged with observing the crescent moon; the *Ḳ.* of the Bardo, in the beylical palace; the *Ḳ. al-Maḥalla*, who accompanied the annual tax-collecting expedition (the last two abolished under the Protectorate); the *Ḳ. al-Farā'iḍ*, for the division of inheritance; the *Ḳ. al-Ankiḥa*, for civil status and marriage; and the *Ḳ. al-Mu'āmalāt*, for transactions). This return to observation of the heavens was supplemented by astronomical computation, entrusted to the staff of the National Meteorological Office (decree of 8 April 1988).

Ramaḍān and the Pilgrimage

Another of the measures of the first President of the Republic, Habib Bourguiba, this time one less well received, was aimed at combatting the idleness and carefreeness of the period of the month of fasting. Each citizen was in future to carry out scrupulously his normal daily task, without absenteeism and loss of productivity, a necessary initiative in a developing country, and a measure put forth with the best of intentions, but sometimes badly carried out and arousing the opposition of a part of the population. It nevertheless had positive results in the long run: it guaranteed freedom of conscience for citizens and forbade anyone to act as judge and meddle in the religious behaviour of his neighbour, whilst maintaining the requirements of punctuality and serious fulfilment of work obligations; nevertheless, some ameliorations of hours were foreseen, as in regard to Friday afternoons, always regarded as to be free from work in order to allow the faithful to fulfill their obligations of community worship. In this connection, the State continued to resist those who demanded a holiday for the whole of Friday. It argued with reason that, if the whole of Friday was added to Saturday as a holiday for financial institutions, and with Sunday as a universal holiday also, the effective work week would be reduced to four days. It has also resisted demands for more religious programmes, more Ḳur'ān recitation, more sermons, etc., on the state-controlled radio and television networks, although it has conceded the interruption at times of football matches by the *adhān* or call to worship.

Other measures have tended to bring more order into religious practice, e.g. to reduce the number of pilgrimages for which citizens received state aid, to the one Pilgrimage, as prescribed by the religious law, whilst leaving the faithful to use, at their own expense, patterns of procedure other than the state-sponsored one.

Ṣūfī orders, marabouts and zāwiyas

In the earliest centuries of Islam in North Africa, Ṣūfism was merely a particular attachment to orthodoxy and personal renunciation of the world and its goods, as with such persons as Buhlūl b. Rāshid (d. 183/799) and al-Rabī' al-Ḳaṭṭān (d. 333/944). The biographical dictionaries of authors like al-Khushanī [*q.v.*], the al-Mālikī mentioned above, and al-Dabbāgh's *Ma'ālim al-īmān*, are merely the *vitae* of Ḳayrawānī saints, who despite their devotion to spiritual aims, did not hesitate to take up arms to defend their faith when it was menaced by the Fāṭimid intruders, or to take part in the massacre of the last Shī'īs, like Muḥriz b. Khalaf, the patron saint of Tunis (see Idris, *Zīrīdes*, ii, 695). Under the Ḥafṣids and their successors, Ṣūfī asceticism became a kind of boisterous and noisy mysticism, associated with thaumaturgic practices aimed at attracting the masses and at stimulating pilgrimages to saint's tombs, transformed into centres for the Ṣūfī orders, and enriched by the offerings of the faithful. Certain of these *ṭuruḳ* [see ṬARĪḲA] limited themselves to sessions of *dhikr* [*q.v.*], like the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], followers of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī on the hill of the same name at Tunis, and the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*], introduced by the great religious lawyer and preacher Sīdī Brāhīm al-Riyāḥī (see his *Dīwān*, ed. Sahlī and Yalāwī, Beirut 1990, 8). Others, such as the Aysāwiyya or the 'Arūsiyya-Sulāmiyya, had more extravagant manifestations, generally disapproved of if not condemned. Today, there remain only the Ḳādiriyya, in various localities of the interior, the *zāwiya* of al-Sayyida 'Ā'isha al-Mannūbiyya, frequented above all by women, those of Sīdī Muḥriz, Sīdī al-Ḥalfāwī at Tunis, etc. The increase in education, urbanisation

and opposition to obscurantism, have inexorably alienated the urban, and even the rural, populations from these marabouts; certain sagacious promoters have tried to take advantage of such ecstatic celebrations as the *Ḥaḍra*, *Mīʿād*, etc., by mounting, with varying success, spectacular shows which are half-folkloric and half-cultural.

Mālikism also shows its strength in the persistence of ancient traditions from the Ḥafṣid period, like the ceremony of the *akhtām* (pl. of *khatm*) "closing" of public readings (*riwāya*), with or without commentary (*dirāya*), of the canonical collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and of the *Shifāʾ* of al-Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*], readings which finish on 27 Ramaḍān in the Great Mosque in the presence of the Head of State himself. Likewise, the Mawlid [*q.v.*] is marked by readings of the Prophet's *Sīra* (*mawlidiyya*) in the mosques, and, at Tunis, by the chanted recitation of the 400 verses of the *Hamziyya* of al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. This attachment to the *Sīra* and the Tradition is such that the women of Tunis continue to swear jointly "*bi 'l-Shifāʾ wa 'l-Bukhārī*".

Religion and modernity

To sum up, Tunisia, if it has kept itself within the fold of Islam by a skilful formulation of itself, in the first article of the Constitution, as ". . . an independent state whose religion is Islam . . .", has nevertheless made great steps towards the way of rationality. The Republic's first leaders did not disguise their admiration for Kemal Atatürk, and many of the legislative measures taken since 1956 bear the seal of modernity and have a progressive and sensible tendency towards the secularisation of state institutions, that of public life and society generally preceding the inauguration of state measures. In this way, the attempts of certain religio-political groups to "re-Islamise" the country and lead it back to an alleged original purity, have been frustrated by the public authorities and condemned by almost all the population.

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(R. Brunschvig-[Mohammed Yalaoui])

IV. Languages.

Before the arrival of the Arabs in Ifrīḳiya [*q.v.*], in this region of the eastern Maghrib which was later to be called after its capital Tūnis, and its Islamisation, the linguistic situation there was already particularly complex and has in fact never ceased being so since its emergence on the stage of recorded history some three millennia ago, notably with the founding of the Phoenician trading posts and the birth of Carthage.

The oldest known language, that of the indigenous people called by the Romans Berbers, is Libyan, from which various local Berber tongues apparently derive [see lībiyā. 2.; also tifinagh]. It was rarely written, but is known to us from several hundred inscriptions, with one of them, a Libyco-Punic bilinguis, stemming from 138 B.C.; others are Libyco-Latin bilingues, that is, the oldest pieces of linguistic evidence already show the co-existence of at least two languages. With the foundation of the Carthaginian empire by Phoenicians from Tyre (814-146 B.C.), Punic became the official language, imposed on the local Numidian kingdoms, as their coins attest. For more than six centuries after the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, Punic continued to be used, even in the countryside whilst gradually giving place to Latin.

The period of Byzantine conquest (533-698) involved a Roman restoration after the interval of the Germanic Vandals. Roman civilisation, deeply Hellenised, allowed Greek to leave traces which are still perceptible.

Arabisation and its context

It can be said that the Arabisation of the land, following on the appearance of the Arabs in 647 until the fall of Carthage in 698, operated in a multilingual context, and these languages were subsequently to form a substratum which has left traces until the present day in toponomy, onomastic and the varieties of Arabic dialects (cf. the place names stemming from Punic, such as Ḳarṭādj, Utīk, Binzart, Ḳābis, Ḳafsa, Ḳirḳna, etc.; from Latin, such as Hergla, Rādis, Lamṭa, etc.; and from Greek, such as Ḳlībya, Ḳurbuṣ, Mistīr, etc.).

Latin continued to be the Arabs' language of administration, as contemporary coins show. For the four centuries up to the invasions of the Banū Hilāl [*q.v.*], Arabic co-existed with the previously-mentioned languages. We can put together an ethno-linguistic picture of this period from information in the Arabic geographers and historians, such as al-Yaʿḳūbī in the 3rd/9th century, through al-Bakrī up to Ibn Khaldūn [*q.vv.*] in the 8th/14th century; alongside the town-dwelling Arabs there was a more numerous class of *ʿadjam*, indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

The first of these, called *ʿAdjam al-bilād*, comprised the great mass of Berbers, now Muslim but using their own Berber language; the *Rūm*, probably descendants of the Byzantines; and the *Afāriḳa*, apparently descendants of Romans or Latinised Berbers, Christians using the Latin language, as certain funeral epitaphs of the 11th century from Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*], the new capital of the province, show. These last two groups are also mentioned as existing in the towns of the Djerid. Other *ʿAdjam* comprised mainly Persians, in the military followings of the governors.

In the 11th century, *Afāriḳa* are only mentioned at Gabès/Ḳābis [*q.v.*] and Munastīr ʿUthmān [see monastir]. The *Rūm* are no longer mentioned and, like the Persians, had probably been assimilated. Instead are mentioned Arab Bedouin tribes besides Berber tribes in the vicinity of Ḳayrawān. It thus appears that Arab-Berber bilingualism was dominant at the time of the Hilālian invasions (1051-2), which were to accelerate and deepen the Arabisation of the land. The Arabs already settled in Ifrīḳiya used various dialects, according to their tribal and group connections (Ḳuraysh, Rabīʿa, Ḳaḥṭān, Ḳuḍāʿa and, especially, Tamīm, the tribe of the Aghlabid dynasty [*q.v.*]). With the Hilālian invasions, the Berber majority became progressively assimilated to the Arab tribesmen, by being in their company as pastoralists in their migrations. Ibn Khaldūn records precisely the gradual and irreversible substitution of Arabic for Berber, by then confined to various speech islands, most of these bilingual. At the present time, Berber, still spoken within the family by older people using Arabic for purposes of their daily life, is in process of extinction in its surviving pockets in southern Tunisia and on the island of Djerba [see djarba].

As for the evolution of Arabic, this took place in the context of a progressive cleavage between official, literary Arabic and the dialects, which came to form two groups, an urban one and a Bedouin one. Ibn Khaldūn describes their peculiar features, notably on the phonological level. Already, the famed velar occlusive /q/ of Arabic became distinguished in Bedouin speech by being voiced and in the urban one by being unvoiced, features which have continued until

the present day to distinguish the two speech groups (cf. his *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 302-5, tr. F. Rosenthal, iii, 348-51).

New linguistic features

The Arabo-Berber bilingualism which has marked the following centuries soon began to receive further, more numerous and more complex, outside linguistic influences, especially from the Romance languages of Europe and from Turkish. Already in the 12th century, the Normans, after conquering Sicily, seized several of the coastal towns of Tunisia between Susa and Gabès between 1148 and 1160. These contacts, despite commercial relations with the Genoese and Venetians, were more often on the military level: the Crusade of St. Louis (1270), attacks by the Aragonese (1284-1335) and by the Franco-Genoese (1390), and the growth of corsair activity in the Mediterranean [see ḲURṢĀN. i.]. The great conflict over control of the Mediterranean, with Christians (especially those of Spain) opposing the Muslim Turks, ended with Tunisia firmly within the orbit of the Turkish empire from the end of the 14th century to the end of the 19th. Thus these exchanges, whether military or commercial, and especially after the Turkish conquest of Tunis in 1574, brought about movements of peoples and linguistic contacts involving not only Turkish but also various Romance languages of Europe.

Turkish linguistic influence

From the Turkish conquest until 1933 (the date of the last Tunisian document written in Turkish), Turkish was the main language of administration. It was also the means of communication in the army between Turkish officers and the Janissaries who came from the different regions of the Ottoman empire, and was used at court. The descendants of the Ḳulughlīs [see ḲUL-OGH̲LU] became integrated with the mass of population, especially on the coastlands, leaving visible traces in personal nomenclature (*bās̲h̲ā, bay, kāhya, s̲h̲awīs̲h̲, bās̲h̲, zmantar, bayram, s̲h̲albī, zarkūn*, etc.) and in the lexicon of Tunisian Arabic, in which some hundreds of words are still current in the spheres of administrative and military terminology and in those of the kitchen (dishes, utensils, tools), dress and music. Tunisian Arabic has also borrowed the Turkish suffixed morpheme *-d̲j̲i* for names of professions, etc., e.g. *ḳahwād̲j̲ī* "maker/server of coffee".

Spanish influences

Apart from military conflict (along the coastlands, where several places were temporarily occupied by the Spanish), the main impact here certainly came from the extensive emigrations of the Moriscos [*q.v.*] from the Iberian Peninsula after the *reconquista* (12th-16th centuries). These Moriscos spoke Aragonese, Castilian and Catalan; many of them no longer used Arabic. This Muslim group also included a strong minority of Jews, equally expelled from the Peninsula.

Several dozen family names, still in use today, stem from this period: Blānku, Bunatīru, Burīga, Katalān, Karabāka, Mālḳi, Merrīs̲h̲ku, Mnāra, Mnakkbi, Nīgru, Ḳabādu, Ṣāns̲h̲u, Zaʿfrān, etc. Some quarters of Tunis acquired Spanish names: Murkāḍ (Mercado), Bīga (Vega), Bārdu (Pardo), etc. Complete towns were peopled with Moriscos, including near Tunis (D̲j̲dayda, Ṭburba, Md̲j̲ēz-l-bāb, Testūr); near Bizerta (Metlīn, El ʿAlya, Rās ed̲j̲-d̲j̲bel, Rafrāf, Porto Farīna, etc.); at Cape Bon (Grumbālia, Slimān, Niānu, Turki, Belli); and there are also a score of names in northeastern Tunisia (Ḳalʿat-l-andlus, Māter, Zagh̲wān, etc.).

Spanish was still spoken in some localities up to the 18th century. New crafts and industries were introduced, with their technical vocabularies (manufacture of the chéchia = *s̲h̲ās̲h̲iyya*, a red felt cap), and several hundred words from ordinary vocabulary were integrated into Tunisian Arabic: *karrīta* < *carreta* "pony trap", *kardūn* < *kardon* (a variety of thistle), and the well-known *hindī* (*opuntia ficus indica*). Amongst complete lexical fields entering Tunisian Arabic, the most original is that of playing-cards, with e.g. *s̲h̲kubba* < *escoba*, also extending to other games, e.g. *dimīnu* "domino".

The intensifying of linguistic contacts and borrowings

Especially from the 19th century onwards, these contacts with Turkish and Spanish gave place to contacts with other European languages, notably Italian and French. Certain influences are difficult to define clearly since they stem from a common Romance stock, one of whose aspects is the Mediterranean *lingua franca*; names of fish and the complete vocabulary of seafaring are clear examples.

Italian influence

This was especially clear in the later 19th century, with several hundred Italian terms firmly integrated in the Tunisian vocabulary, since colonisation by Italians was strong at this time. In 1870, these colonists amounted to 7,000, three-quarters of them Sicilians. A year later, there was an immigration of several thousand Livornese Jews. The establishment of the French Protectorate in 1881 did not stem its growth, and *ca.* 1926 it stabilised at *ca.* 90,000, more than the French colonist population (70,000 at that time) despite 45 years of French colonisation. Lexical borrowings from Italian are diverse, and cover in particular the spheres of industry, building, agriculture, fishing and the arts.

The Maltese

In the 19th century, several thousand Maltese emigrated to Tunisia, settling especially in Tunis, Porto Farina (Gh̲ār-l-milḥ), Sfax and Susa, where the Maltese, mainly from the working class, took up the trade of driving coaches, with several thousand of them holding a virtual monopoly, and with Tunisians also involved in the trade using Maltese too, since, as an Arab tongue, it had many affinities with Tunisian Arabic. At present, the Maltese amount to only a few hundreds, mainly old persons.

The Arabic of Tunisian Jews

The Tunisian Jews who had adopted Arabic whilst retaining their Jewish faith were more numerous before Tunisian independence in 1956, with those who had become naturalised Frenchmen choosing thereafter to emigrate to France. Their speech was an Arabic with certain peculiarities, which have been in general well studied. One should mention also the existence of a Jewish Tunisian literature written in Hebrew characters.

The influence of French

The progress of imperialism in the 19th century and the rivalry between France and Italy over Tunisia was sealed with the French Protectorate of 1881 (see II (d), above), which brought about a new linguistic situation involving a veritable Arabic-French bilingualism, bringing various borrowings and various forms of linguistic interference. Human contacts, commercial exchanges and an economic penetration had preceded the Protectorate, and thus French became the official language of public administration and education. At the present time, it is French which has supplied the greatest number of loanwords, several hundreds, into Tunisian Arabic, covering all fields and more or less integrated, and its influence continues to mark the linguistic situation in contemporary Tunisia, even after forty years of independence.

The present situation

From what has preceded, it emerges that the linguistic situation in Tunisia has been one of continuous contacts with outside tongues, culminating in an Arabic-French bilingualism, grafted on to a diglossia of literary language and dialects, with a clear division here; hence a fluctuating, continually evolving linguistic situation.

Diglossia

The literary level is essentially a written one, but it is nevertheless spoken in educational teaching and in official discourse, political and religious. It is considered as "superior" and appears in a neo-classical form in the sermons at Friday worship and certain literary works, and in a modern and functional form above all in the language of the media.

As for the dialect, the spoken tongue of all Tunisians, this is rarely written, but is used above all in the theatre, cinema and songs, as well as in popular poetry, of Bedouin origin and called *malḥūn* [*q.v.*]. It possesses various regional varieties with phonological and lexical distinctions none of which prevents mutual comprehension. Two levels can also be distinguished within it, one for familiar usage expressing daily needs, and the other, of a more intellectual tinge since it draws on the literary level, used above all by literate persons and in radio and TV broadcasts. One can thus say that there is a division of domains of each form of the language, but these are seen mainly as complementary rather than concurrent or opposed to each other.

All levels present certain common phonological points, such as the lack of an opposition *ḍ* – *ẓ*. The former, considered as an archetypal feature of the Arabic language by ancient scholars (the *lug͟hat al-ḍād*), is never pronounced according to the prescriptions of the classical Arabic philologists; in Tunisia, it is everywhere merged with the voiced interdental emphatic as /ḏ̣/ except at Mahdiyya, where the three interdentals are merged with the dentals. The phoneme *d̲j̲* is realised as a voiced prepalatal spirant. The question of the opposition *ḳ*/*g* has already been mentioned, but it should be noted that the pronunciation *g*, of Bedouin origin, is solely dialectical and functions as a regional variant. On the urban speech level, on the other hand, the palatal *g* functions at times as an expressive variant and sometimes as a distinct phoneme; but the opposition here is not very productive at all, being favoured rather in loanwords, especially in those from French.

On the level of the vowels, as well as the basic three, with two degrees of openness (open *a*; closed front *i* and back *u*), the Tunisian Arabic system, whilst partly preserving the ancient short-long opposition, has become enriched with intermediate vowels, notably the front semi-closed *e* and semi-open ɛ, as well as the back semi-closed *o*, with its semi-open variant ɔ.

Regarding syllable length, the four syllables of the literary tongue are found (CV, CV̄, CVC, CV̄C), but the system has become enriched by the frequent elision of short vowels, notably in the case endings; one may mention, in particular, the syllables CCVC, CCV̄C, CVCC, CV̄CC. The syllable having the accent in the literary language is generally the third from the end of the word or the penultimate one if it is long; in Tunisian dialect, it is the last if it is long, otherwise the penultimate. Consequently, the morphological structure of words emerges as quite different from that of the literary language.

The lexicon remains basically Arabic despite thousands of speech units derived from the substratum or from the superstratum as mentioned above, although the semantic field of these units is considerably modified in all senses (restriction, enlargement of meaning, displacement, etc.).

Regarding syntax, the loss of the case endings of the literary language has resulted in the position of the speech units in the sequence of discourse becoming more functional, hence less free. Tunisian Arabic has nevertheless evolved its own grammatical instruments, e.g. the unvoiced "hushing" sound which functions as the morphophoneme of interrogation (when prefixed) and of negation (when postfixed).

The dual of the literary language is only used now in frozen forms, being replaced by the syntagm "pair + plural".

The role of French

French still functions in Tunisia as a language of culture and of opening to the modern world, hence it is less a foreign than a second language, fully recognised as such. Therefore what is in practice bilingualism has become since the 1960s a political choice within the framework of *Francophonie*, even though in certain of its applications it is a factor causing difficulties at the school level amongst a youth which feels less and less at home in it. All primary education is now in Arabic, and French has the status of second language from the third year onwards. Despite this, the dominance of French at the secondary level, at which all the scientific disciplines continue to be taught in French, has favoured on the level of the school system and even in the administration, the persistence at the level of daily, discursive speech, of a hybrid spoken Arabic, dotted with words and phrases from French, involving a language with code mixing or code switching, although the basis remains Arabic. Beyond the level of particular motivations, this mixture is less a *lingua franca* than an idiolectal form favoured by the bilingualism of the educational and administrative systems. In this way French, despite the fears which it raises, still retains the essential nature of its prestige, which is nevertheless not proportional to the degree of its mastery.

It is undeniable that people's linguistic habits are determined by their education, the official language policy and the dominant linguistic usage in the administrative or professional milieu involved. If a Tunisian is more or less bilingual, certainly the case with all educated people, surveys have shown that he or she will be more likely to use Arabic in dealings with such departments of state as those of justice, the interior or defence; on the other hand, he or she will be more likely to write out a cheque or postal order in French (1,894 persons against 20 using Arabic, according to the present author's observations).

Within the different forms of the media, there is more or less a balance between usage of Arabic and French.

At the university level, French remains solidly established in the scientific disciplines, whilst it is retreating slowly but irreversibly in the fields of the human and social sciences. These same phenomena are observable in the literary expression of research and educational endeavour—theses, mémoires, articles in learned journals, etc., emanating from various educational and university establishments.

At the present moment, even though bilingualism is no longer explicitly put forward as a political and cultural choice, it continues to characterise the linguistic situation of Tunisia. Despite this, Arabisation continues slowly but surely, without being part of any official plan. Its future at the university level will determine

the eventual linguistic situation of the country.

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See also *EI*[1] art. *Tunisia. 6. Language* (R. Brunschvig), now outdated, with bibl. up to 1925; *EI*[2] arts. ʿARABIYYA. (iii) The vernaculars (3) The western dialects (Ph. Marçais); BERBERS. V. Language (Galand); D. Cohen, art. *Arabe: langue arabe*, in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Paris 1993, ii, 707-14; L. Galand, art. *Berbères: la langue et ses parlers*, in *ibid.*, iii, 1033-4. (Taïeb Baccouche)

V. Modern Literature.

The birth of modern Arabic literature in Tunisia is intricately connected, as is the case in other Arab lands, to the reformist movements of the 19th century. Maḥmūd Ḳābādū (1812-71), who was clearly influenced by the reformist ideas of Khayr al-Dīn Pasha (1820?-89 [*q.v.*]), is credited with having first introduced contemporary themes, such as anti-colonialism, nationalism and social justice, into Tunisian poetry. The first decades of the 20th century witnessed a more progressive poetry that rejected a rigid submission to classical canons, such as the panegyric, elegy and invective, and adopted socially-conscious themes as poets began to identify more openly with the rising partisan political movements. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī Khazandār (1881-1954), born to an aristocratic family and raised in a classical Arabo-Islamic milieu, best represents a new generation of poets who embraced literary and social reforms, advocating a populist and nationalist approach to literature.

However, it was the emergence of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shābbī (1909-34 [*q.v.*]) that would give Tunisia its first truly modern poet and its one literary giant whose impact reached the far corners of the Arab world. In his short and troubled life, al-Shābbī was able to fashion a revolutionary poetics that embraced modernity in its fullest sense. Steeped in the aesthetics of romanticism, and perhaps influenced by the Lebanese-American poet Khalīl Djubrān, al-Shābbī's poetry is denuded of the stock phrases and hackneyed images of classical Arabic poetry. It possesses a deep lyricism which has the capacity, in the words of the Arab critic Salma Khadra Jayyusi, "to swing in equal measure between thought and emotion". His poems, posthumously collected and published in one volume in Cairo in 1955, entitled *Aghānī al-ḥayāt* ("Songs of life"), celebrate change through positive action and denounce any form of human stagnation. Not merely a practitioner of poetry but a theoretician as well, al-Shābbī professed his ideas in a series of controversial lectures, which he delivered in 1929 on *The poetic imagination of the Arabs.* In them he criticises classical Arabic poetry as a mere literary craft, devoid of any true poetic feeling, and asserts that it was only when the Arabs moved to an urban milieu and interacted with other civilisations that they developed a truly poetic sensibility.

Al-Shābbī's radical views, along with his brilliantly innovative poetry, had a profound impact on the generation of Tunisian intellectuals of the 1930s, who would become in essence the architects of modern Tunisian literature. Taking the name of the cafe they frequented in the popular quarter of Bāb Suwayḳa in the old medina of Tunis, the Taḥt al-Sūr group included artists and intellectuals who all shared in the political mission of resistance to the French Protectorate and social equality, and who were committed to the creation of a popular literature to promote social advancement.

Two essential features must be mentioned in the formation of this group and its literary output. First, the passion for and commitment to journalism were keys to the content and dissemination of its ideas. Especially in the aftermath of the Protectorate government's lifting of press censorship on 6 August 1936, a plethora of journals exploded onto the cultural scene, producing poems, anthems, short stories, literary reviews, satirical sketches, and *maḳāmāt*, a traditional Arabic literary genre of rhythmic prose [see MAḲĀMA] once more made popular by the brilliant and acerbic Egyptian exile Maḥmūd Bayram (1893-1961) [see AL-TŪNISĪ], who spent the better part of the 1930s in exile in Tunis. These journals uniformly expressed the collective social and political views of the group in a register of Arabic and in artistic media that were accessible to the growing urban readership.

Secondly, the polymath quality of the group's members pointed to a wide range of cultural stimuli that impacted upon the group. It was a period of rich cross-fertilisation and experimentation, where poets and writers of the classical Arab literary heritage (*turāth*), as well as representatives of French, Russian and American literature, provided guidance and inspira-

tion. The charter members of the Taḥt al-Sūr group opened themselves to the latest trends in creative writing, painting, photography, cinema, theatre, music and literary criticism.

Ironically, as this fertile decade of the 1930s came to an end, its most illustrious members would go on to be identified with one particular genre. For example, Muṣṭafā Khurayyif (1909-67) would emerge as a prominent national poet, whose poems came to be less songs of love and passion and more celebrations of national and regional events, e.g. Tunisia's independence, the bitter Algerian war for independence, the events of 1948 in Palestine. Collected into a grand anthology entitled *Shawḳ wa-dhawḳ* ("Longing and taste", 1965) Khurayyif's poems reflect closely modern Tunisian history and the poet's commitment to social causes, features common to much of post-independence Tunisian poetry until the rise of the avant-garde school of the late 1960s, led by poets such as al-Ḥabīb al-Zannād (b. 1946) and Faḍīla al-Shābbī (b. 1946).

ʿAlī al-Dūʿādjī (1909-49) emerged from the group and became known as the father of the Tunisian short story. His stories, posthumously collected into one volume, *Sahirtu minhu al-layālī* ("It kept me up at night", 1987) reflect the author's experimentation with different narrative forms, styles and language registers, as well as his remarkable ability to capture the many facets of the Tunisian personality through a wide range of humorous as well as bleak human situations.

Al-Bashīr Khurayyif (1917-83), like his older brother Muṣṭafā and others of the Taḥt al-Sūr group, experimented in various literary genres, but his literary trajectory would also follow a more narrow path, that of the novel. His first, *Ḥubbak ḍarbānī* ("Your love has brought me down," 1958), is a semi-autobiographical tale of a young man's amourous adventures amidst theatrical circles in 1920s Tunis. *Barḳ al-layl* ("Night lightning," 1960) is a historical novel set in the Ḥafṣid state of the 16th century. However, he is best known for his grand epic, *al-Digla fī ʿarādjīnhā* ("Dates on their stalks," 1969). The novel, thoroughly grounded in social realism, narrates the struggles of the impoverished and exploited workers of Tunisia's rural south, and breaks new ground with his vivid details of daily life and the use of the regional dialect in the dialogue, greatly enhancing the realistic mode of the novel.

However, it is Maḥmūd al-Masʿadī (b. 1911), peripherally connected to the Taḥt al-Sūr generation, who enjoys the highest critical acclaim as Tunisia's premier novelist. His literary projects, most important of which are *al-Sudd* ("The dam," 1955), a romance written in the form of a play, and *Ḥakā Abū Hurayra wa-ḳāl* ("Thus Abu Hurayra narrated," 1973), a novel written in the form of *ḥadīth*, combines modern themes of existential angst and alienation of the individual from society with the legends, language, and narrative forms of the early Islamic period. His work extends beyond the borders of the Tunisian landscape and touches upon universal themes that were treated by both European and Arab writers in the years immediately following the Second World War.

In the period of post-independence (since 1956), journalism continued to play a vital role in the fostering of a national literature, with *al-Fikr* replacing *al-ʿĀlam al-adabī* (1930s) and *al-Mabāḥith* (1940s) as the periodical of prestige, and the concept of literary commitment (*iltizām*) continued to be the guiding force for a new generation of writers. Naturally, the story of colonial oppression and the national struggle for independence dominated post-independence prose and poetry. The 1950s witnessed a proliferation of short stories by such writers as al-Ṭayyib al-Tarīkī (b. 1920), al-Ṭāhir Ḳayḳa (b. 1922) and Rashīd al-Ḥamzāwī (b. 1934), who wrote of social injustice and class conflict, poverty and ignorance. Perhaps Tunisia's most prolific chronicler of historical events and their devastating impact on the masses is Muḥammad al-ʿArūsī al-Miṭwī (b. 1920) whose anti-colonial novels, *Wa min al-ḍaḥāyā* ("Among the victims," 1956), *Ḥalīma* (1964) and *al-Tūt al-murr* ("Bitter mulberries," 1967), focussed attention on the plight of the rural population, of women and the downtrodden. In his more recent work, al-Miṭwī's shifts from novel to short story, from the village to the city, from colonial rule to post-colonialism and from epic romances of good vs. evil to a more complicated, modern fiction.

A new generation of Tunisian writers, emerging since 1969, has succeeded in bringing Tunisian literature away from the preoccupations of history and society as protagonists and towards the individual and the quest for identity and personal freedom. There has also been a break with traditional literary themes, tampering with generic boundaries, and shifting away from the familiar modes of narration and the predictable Tunisian hero-type, and a more conscious effort to break the rules of literary canonicity, to construct complex anti-heroes, and to apply modern techniques of stream-of-consciousness, surrealism, allegory and irony. This generation is also responsible for the development of a modern Tunisian theatre whose bold, vernacular language and delvings into the Tunisian psyche have produced a highly popular art form with tremendous social impact.

ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Madanī (b. 1938), whose versatility and productivity are reminiscent of the Taḥt al-Sūr generation, chose historical themes to write plays that reflect the modern Tunisian's quest for the self, alienation from society and disappointment with what is viewed as the neo-colonialism of the Tunisian élite. His first novel, *al-Insān al-ṣifr* ("Zero man," 1967-71) reflects the absurdist vision of modern man's inability to communicate. His later collections of short stories mix reverie and reality in narrating the human condition.

Similarly, Ḥasan Naṣr (b. 1937), who may be considered as Tunisia's most successful master of the short story (*Layālī al-maṭar*, "Rainy nights," 1968; *52 layla*, "52 nights," 1979), frequently employs fantasy and surrealism, mixing tragedy and comedy, in writing about the conflicts between tradition and modernity, alienation and emigration that disrupt contemporary life and create an inverted world of chaos.

The decade of the 1980s throughout the Arab world has been frequently referred to as the "era of the novel". Despite the large number of poetry and short story anthologies, it is the novel which has drawn the most attention. In Tunisia, as elsewhere, it is a novel with a strong social dimension in which society's concerns are embodied in the individual's search for meaning to his life. Writers such as Ḥasan Naṣr and ʿArūsiyya al-Nālūtī (b. 1950), long identified with the short story, have in their more recent work turned to the novel. Perhaps the most prolific of Tunisian novelists, Muḥammad al-Hādī Bin Ṣāliḥ (b. 1945), published his seventh novel, *Min ḥaḳḳihi an yaḥlum* ("A right to dream") in 1991, in which he deals with the problematic role of the intellectual and literary commitment in a developing nation such as Tunisia. In contrast to the strong local emphasis in Bin Ṣāliḥ's novelistic project, Hishām al-Ḳarawī (b. 1955) has

produced two novels that deal with regional Arab issues, with the Lebanese civil war and the occupation of Beirut (*Aʿmidat al-djunūn al-sabʿa*, "The seven pillars of madness," 1985) and the desperate situation of Arab politics (*al-Nasr wa 'l-ḥudūd*, "The eagle and the borders," 1989).

The flight of the rural population to the city, widespread unemployment, emigration to Europe, the breakdown of the family, the rise of the police state, and the emergence of Islamic movements as political opposition, have all found their truest expression in the contemporary novel. The bread riots of 1984 serve as a haunting background to Muḥammad Riḍā al-Kāfī's (b. 1955) stunning novel, *al-Ḳināʿ taḥt al-djild* ("The veil beneath the skin," 1990), which narrates the withdrawal of the protagonist amidst a series of personal, financial and social setbacks. Journalist, short story writer and novelist, Riḍā al-Kāfī belongs to a long continuum of Tunisian writers which began with the Taḥt al-Sūr generation of the 1930s, dedicated to the creation of a new literature that is committed to society, its needs and its advancement, these being the basic principles that have defined and shaped modern Tunisian literature.

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VI. THE STATUS OF WOMEN.

Tunisian society has undergone many transformations over the last century, and the place of women in society, and the relations of men and women, are one of the most significant indicators.

The sphere of work is especially notable here. Until the 1920s and 1930s, the essential unit of production was the family, in which both sexes participated, but with the rule that extra-familial tasks were the province of men. In both urban and rural milieux, women are mainly responsible for processing basic foodstuffs, spinning, making clothes, carpets, hangings, etc. Certain researches on urban artisanal production have demonstrated the importance of the non-visible work of women in certain fields of production considered as male ones.

For many reasons, including its colonial status, Tunisia came late to the industrial revolution and the changes in systems of production which inevitably brought with them upheavals in social relations, including the relationship between the sexes. It was only after independence that women really appeared on the labour market, the outcome of a long process, begun with the *Nahḍa*, in which the idea gradually took shape that the future of society would depend on the role women would play in it. Discussion at first revolved round the education and schooling of girls, and Khayr al-Dīn Pasha, Shaykh al-Sanūsī and the *Jeunes Tunisiens* all raised their voices on this topic. The debates became more spirited in the 1930s with the emergence of the national movement for independence, and Ṭāhir Ḥaddād's *Imra'atunā fi 'l-sharīʿa wa 'l-mudjtamaʿ* and the controversies which followed it were all notable factors here.

From the beginning of the 20th century, certain families had sent their daughters to school, and some women's associations were founded. But at the same time, the seclusion of women and the difference in their status compared with European women were raised by some nationalists into identity symbols. Discussion of this question of identity, the daily sight of European women wbo worked and were freely concerned with their occupations, the school enrollment of an increasing number of girls, the share of women in the national struggle, all stimulated reflection and discussion on such topics as the role of girls' education, wearing the veil, choice of spouse and women's share in the world of labour.

It was in this context that politicians, headed by Bourguiba, worked towards a more equal treatment of women and men (Personal Status Law of 13 August 1956 which forbade polygamy, forbade unilateral divorce, fixed the legal age for marriage, allowed women to sue for divorce like men, and made daughters the sole heirs of their parents in the absence of brothers; and the text of the Constitution) and stimulated a broad movement for an accelerated entry to school education for girls, for such educated girls to enter the labour market, for renunciation of wearing a veil, and for changes in the relationship of married couples. Since then the movement has gone forward, though not without hesitations and controversies, sometimes even violent, as in the 1986-7 Islamic fundamentalist polemics, which might have placed the advances in jeopardy if it had not been for the vigilance of women's groups and the political will of the ruling state power to guarantee, in the interests of Tunisia's development, male and female equality: the amendment to the Personal Status Law of August 1992, and the ratification of international conventions aimed at eliminating discrimination between sexes, not to mention action in the educational sphere, health (family planning), in the labour sphere and in the mass media.

Recent statistics are significant here: 83.2% of girls aged between six and thirteen are in school (89% of boys), whilst in 1995-6 47% of the children in primary schools were girls, and 48% of those in secondary schools and 44% of students are female. Women represent *ca.* 20% of the active working population. They thus have their place today in all spheres of education and the world of work.

Inequality nevertheless remains, above all in rural areas. Unemployment affects women more than men. Even if girls sometimes have better school results than boys, they still tend to choose less prestigious and appreciated careers. Women are poorly represented in the scientific and technological spheres and have few managerial functions; there are very few of them in politics, trade and professional unions and associations (except women's ones). Public life remains still

mostly a male preserve. All these reflect a latent resistance to social developments and an identity concept which looks more at the past than to the future.

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(LILIA BEN SALEM)

AL-ṬŪR (A.), a word with the basic sense of "mountain".

It occurs ten times in the Ḳur'ān (II, 60/63, 87/93; IV, 153/154; XIX, 53/52, etc.), on two occasions (XXIII, 20; XCV, 2) expressly coupled with Sīnā'/Sīnīn, specifically meaning Mount Sinai. Virtually all its occurences in the Ḳur'ān are connected with the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the Sinai Desert [see BANŪ ISRĀ'ĪL; SĪNĀ'; AL-TĪH]. It was early recognised by the Arabic philologists as a loan word from Hebrew or Aramaic (cf. Hebr. *ṣūr* "rock" > "cliff", Aram. *ṭūrā* "mountain"), more proximately, from Syriac (see A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 206-7).

1. D̲JABAL AL-ṬŪR, Mount Sinai.

The Arab geographers (e.g. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 557; Abu 'l-Fidā', tr. Reinaud, 65; cf. A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur le Palestine*, Paris 1951, 135) locate the mountain as not far from the Red Sea (Baḥr Ḳulzum) and say that it was climbed from al-Amn (Elim ?), where the children of Israel once encamped. In the vicinity was the Wādī Ṭuwā, where Moses spoke with God before he was sent to Pharaoh (Ḳur'ān, XX, 12; LXXIX, 16; Yāḳūt, III, 553; Ṣafī al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilā'*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 213).

On the north side of the mountain (now D̲jabal Mūsā) in what is now called the Wādī S̲h̲u'ayb (valley of Jethro) at a height of 5,000 feet is the monastery of Catherine, on the site of the castle built by Justinian I probably between A.D. 548 and 562 to protect the monks of Sinai. According to the Book of Monasteries (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of al-S̲h̲ābus̲h̲tī, the "Church (*kanīsa*, for which Yāḳūt, ii, 675, writes *dayr*) al-Ṭūr" was on the top of the mountain, built of black stone and strongly fortified; there was a spring outside and another inside the building. The monastery was inhabited by monks and much visited on account of the miracles wrought there (ed. G. 'Awwād, Bag̲h̲dād 1386/1966, 310, 426-9). In this description, the Christian church of the Mother of God (Θεοτόκος), which was built also by Justinian on the slope of the mountain, probably on the site of the present Chapel of Elijah (see below), is confused with the monastery at its foot.

The monks of the monastery possess a copy of an alleged letter from Muḥammad granting protection (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, 268-70; Moritz, in *APAW* [1918], Abh. 4, pp. 6-8), and a number of genuine documents of the time of the Mamlūk sultans Ināl, K̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam and Ḳā'itbay (Moritz, *op. cit.*, 25 ff.). They mainly deal with the protection of the Christian monks from the raids of the marauding Bedouin of the country round, but seem to have been regarded by the latter as empty threats, as their frequent renewal shows (Ḳā'itbay issued no fewer than 22 *firmāns* for the monastery during the 30 years of his reign!). The monastery was frequently stormed, set on fire, its gardens robbed and pilgrims and merchants plundered; sometimes the monks even had to seek refuge in the monastery of the village of al-Ṭūr (see below) (Moritz, *op. cit.*, 28).

Within the monastery "between the church and the dwellings on the northern part of the buildings" there is still a mosque, the pulpit of which was, according to an inscription, presented by Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr Anūs̲h̲takīn al-Āmirī in Rabī' I 500/November 1106 in the reign of the caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (Moritz, 50-2). The monastery of Sinai in this inscription is called the "upper monastery" (*al-dayr al-a'lā*) to distinguish it from monasteries in al-Ṭūr (῾Ραιθοῦ) and Fārān. According to another inscription, this same Anūs̲h̲takīn founded three *masād̲j̲id* (places for prayer) on the Munād̲j̲āt Mūsā, a mosque on the hill of the monastery of Fārān and another below Fārān al-D̲j̲adīda, and a lighthouse on the shore of the coast (al-Sāḥil). By Munād̲j̲āt Mūsā is certainly meant the traditional Sinai, now D̲jabal Mūsā (Moritz, 54); it was only in the 14th century that the name was transferred to a smaller hill east of the monastery of St. Catherine, which is now called (like a hill near Fīrān) D̲jabal Munād̲j̲a. Of the three *masād̲j̲id*, only two could have been on the top of D̲jabal al-Ṭūr, namely, the Christian church built in A.D. 364 by St. Julian and a small mosque, also mentioned by al-Idrīsī; the third place of prayer no doubt lay on a small plateau 500 feet below the summit on which now stands a chapel of Elijah erected at a later date. The mosque on the "hill of the monastery of Fārān" is perhaps to be sought on the D̲jabal al-Muḥarra, that of new Fārān in the oasis of Fīrān, in the gardens of which the inhabitants of the "city of the Amalekites" Fārān later settled (al-Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 188; Moritz, 56). Moritz supposes the lighthouse (57) to have stood at that point on the coast where the Wādī Fīrān enters the sea and there is a poor anchorage.

In a Syriac description of the seven climes of the 13th century A.D., the mount of Sinai (*Ṭūrā de-Sinai*) forms the centre of the crescent-shaped map in the second clime (Chabot, *Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne*, in *Bulletin de géogr. hist. et descript.* [1897], 104, and pl. iv.).

The library of St. Catherine's has proved to be of unique value for its preservation, *inter alia*, of important manuscripts and archival documents in Arabic. The former are important for Christian Arabic literature, and the latter significant for both mediaeval Islamic history and Arabic diplomatic [*q.v.*], given that original documents, as opposed to texts copied into later works, such as manuals of secretaryship, have been so sparsely preserved in the pre-Ottoman Islamic Middle East. As Stern noted, it can hardly be coincidental that these administrative documents have been preserved by a monastery, which had a sort of corporate existence lacking in Islamic institutions (*Fāṭimid decrees*, 4). B. Moritz was the pioneer in 1914 in drawing the attention of the scholarly world to all

this Arabic material (in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sinaiklosters im Mittelalter nach arabischen Quellen*, in *APAW* [1918], Abh. 4; cf. also C. Schmidt and Moritz, *Die Sinai-Expedition im Frühjahr 1914*, in *SBPAW* [1926], 26-34). More recently, S.M. Stern studied archival material in his *Fāṭimid decrees. Original documents from the Fāṭimid chancery*, London 1964, see esp. ch. 1; *Petitions of the Ayyūbid period*, in *BSOAS*, xxvii [1964], 1-32; and *Two Ayyūbid decrees from Sinai*, in Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic chanceries. First series*, Oxford 1965, 9-38. Cf. also E. Khedoori, *Charters of privileges granted by the Fātimids and Mamlūks to St. Catherine's Monastery (ca. 500-900 A.H.)*, diss., Univ. of Manchester 1958, unpubl. For the material from the succeeding Mamlūk period, see also H. Ernst (ed. and tr.), *Die mamlukische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters*, Wiesbaden 1960; and for the Ottoman one, K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1970, and R. Humbsch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des osmanischen Ägyptens, nach arabischen Sultans- und Statthalterurkunden des Sinai Klosters*, Freiburg 1976. For catalogues and publications relating to the Arabic mss. of the Library, see the *Bibl.* below.

The little town of al-Ṭūr lies to the south-west of the Djabal Mūsā on the Gulf of Suez, about 50 miles from Rās Muḥammad, the most southern point of the Sinai peninsula. In the early years of the 20th century, it was in regular caravan communication with the monastery of St. Catherine, some of whose monks usually staying in the town (Weill, *La presqu'île du Sinai*, 82). It lies at the only spot on the west coast of the peninsula which is completely free from coral reefs and has therefore an anchorage. As al-Ṭūr is further excellently supplied with water, and has large palm-groves in the vicinity, it has always been the most important harbour in the peninsula. In ancient times, it was called Ποσείδιον (Agatharchides, in Strabo, xvi, 776 and Diodorus, iii, 42) and later (from the Arab tribe of the 'Ραϊθηνοί) 'Ραϊθοῦ ('Ραηθώ in Suidas); probably the monastery there dated from the pre-Arab period.

Al-Ḳalḳashandī already knows al-Ṭūr as the most important Egyptian harbour for the ships of the pilgrims to Mecca, until about 450/1047 when ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*] took its place. It was not till 780/1378-9 that the harbour of al-Ṭūr was restored and the pilgrims henceforth again took the northern route (Weill, *op. cit.*, 92-4). After the discovery of the sea-route to India by the Portuguese, al-Ṭūr gradually lost its importance and sank to be a mere fishing-village, until in the second half of the 18th century a quarantine station was put there for pilgrims returning from Mecca and the place began to flourish once more. Sultan Murād built the fort of Ḳalʿat al-Ṭūr near the old monastery, but both are now completely in ruins.

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2. ṬŪR ZAYTĀ or DJABAL ZAYTĀ, the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS. A.], height 2,680 feet, still called DJABAL AL-ṬŪR. According to tradition, 70,000 prophets died there of starvation and are buried there. The Ascension of Jesus, according to an old tradition, took place from the Mount of Olives. Between it and the town ran the Wādī Djahannam (vale of Kedron, now Wādī Sittī Maryam with the well of Siloam, Arabic ʿAyn Sulwān) over which ran the bridge of al-Sirāṭ. The village of Kafr al-Ṭūr now stands on the hill.

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3. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Tabor (still called DJABAL AL-ṬŌR). At the spot where Jesus revealed himself to his disciples, the monastery of Dayr al-Ṭūr or Dayr al-Tadjallā stood on the hill. In the Crusading period there was a fortress on the top, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn captured and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had restored in 608/1212. The Crusaders tried in vain to recapture it in 614/1217. Baybars in Djumādā II 661/April-May 1263 used the fortress as a base of operations for his raids against ʿAkkā.

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4. AL-ṬŪR, the hill of Gerizim, height 2,849 feet, above Nābulus, the sacred mountain of the Samaritans. Jewish tradition makes it the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac. The hill is still called Djabal al-Ṭōr or al-Djabal al-Ḳiblī to distinguish it from the Djabal al-Shamālī or Islāmiyya (Ebal) to the north of the town.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 557; Ṣafī al-Dīn, ii, 214; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 74, Luke and Keith-Roach, 6, 129; Marmardji, 134.

5. ṬŪR HĀRŪN, the hill of Hōr (5,600 feet) west of Petra, called after Aaron, who according to an old tradition, is buried there (Josephus, *Antiquities*, iv. 4, 7). When the children of Israel accused Moses of having slain him, he showed them on the top of the hill the bier on which Aaron lay. In al-Masʿūdī, the hill is called Djabal Maʾāb in the district of al-Sharā; he also mentions the caves in the mountain. On the east-

ern peak (5,200 feet) of the Djabal al-Nabī Hārūn is Aaron's grave (Ḳabr Hārūn), which is still a place of pilgrimage for the Bedouin.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iii, 559; Ṣafī al-Dīn, ii, 215; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 93-4 = §87; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, 429-30; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 74; Dalman, *Petra*, 1908, 15, 42, 168; idem, *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912, 2, 8, 26.

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ṬŪR ʿABDĪN, "mountain of the [Christian] devotees", a mountainous plateau region of northern Mesopotamia, in early Islamic times coming within the province of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*] and now, in the Turkish Republic, coming within the *il* of Mardin. It has been notable throughout the Islamic period for the survival—at least until the later 20th century—of a vigorous Syriac Christianity, with many churches and monasteries.

1. Geography.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn stretches roughly from Mārdīn [*q.v.*] in the west to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*], the modern Turkish town of Cizre, in the east. To its north and east, the Tigris forms the boundary up to the point where it is joined by the Batman Su. In its northwestern part lies the Koros Dağı. In the south, the borders of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are well marked where the wall of the tableland slopes steeply, often precipitously, to the North Syrian plain, with the tableland looking from the desert like a strong barrier. Below this wall runs the historic road from Mārdīn to Naṣībīn [*q.v.*] (modern Nusaybin) and thence to northern ʿIrāḳ. Together with Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are usually included the mountains around Mārdīn, with the Mazı Dağı to its west and, separated by a pronounced depression, the basalt ridge of the Karaca Dağı. Its two modern urban centres are Mardin and Midyat (Aramaic: Midhyadh).

The average height of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in its central portion about 3,000-3,500 feet above sea-level. In the district between Midyat and Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*] on the Tigris and in the mountains of Mārdīn, individual peaks reach 4,300 feet. In general, however, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn lacks any marked heights and looks everywhere like an undulating plain which is cut by deep and broad wādīs. The largest is the Wādī Khaltān, which flows into the Tigris at Finik (to the northwest of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar).

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists almost entirely of limestone, often with beds of marl. In places, however, we find angular basalt blocks scattered, which are of volcanic origin. Such outcrops of basalt are found especially in the east, towards Djazīra, where the basaltic Elimdagh rises as a continuation of the southern wall of limestone of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and also west of Mārdīn where the lava from the Karadja-Dagh flowed out. To the nature of the rock composing it, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn owes its many caves, which are often, as in ancient times, used as dwellings. Such caves are numerous, for example in the region of Midyat (mentioned as early as the Assyrian inscriptions), and notably at Ḥiṣn Kayfā, which is the regular troglodyte capital.

The eastern and western part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is in general characterised by an absence of trees, but in its centre, east of Midyat, a strip of forest runs from north to south. Here we have many small hills overgrown with stunted trees (dwarf oaks) and shrubs. As a result of the scarcity of forests and the fact that most of the rainfall sinks into the porous limestone, there is a serious scarcity of water in a large part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. For watering the cattle, water is collected in cisterns, often very old, and large ponds. The south has the most plentiful supply of water; there we find numerous springs and countless little streams running southwards through the hills, usually to disappear in the sands of the Mesopotamian plain at no great distance from the foot of the mountains. The streams that flow from the southern side of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn enter the river Djaghdjagh, which divides into two arms above Naṣībīn. The southern slopes of the Karadja Dagh, as well as the Mārdīn mountains, are drained by the Khābūr [*q.v.*] which receives the waters of the Djaghdjagh at al-Ḥasaka in northeastern Syria.

In spite of many barren patches and the generally unfavourable irrigation conditions, there are many stretches of ground which grow cereals well and excellent pastures, especially in the hollows which hold the fertile reddish-brown earth, and on the slopes of the little hills, which are preferably used for the vine. At the monasteries we find well cared-for vineyards. Terraces to which the soil has been carried have also been built to grow the vine and fruits. The people are exceedingly skilled in irrigating their fields. In addition to cereals (usually barley) and the vine, cotton and all kinds of fruits (especially very fine apricots) are grown. In the wooded portions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn oak galls and manna resin are gathered, and are found in large quantities. A ridge west of Mārdīn, the Djabal al-ʿAfṣ, takes its name from the plentifulness of oak galls there (*ʿafṣ*). On the wines and other products of the soil of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Göttingen 1881, i, p. viii, and Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 429.

Bibliography: For 19th and early 20th-century travellers who journeyed through the interior of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, from Shiel (1836) to de Beaufort, Sandreczki, Goldschmid, Socin, Sachau, Lehmann-Haupt, Sir Mark Sykes, Gertrude Bell, etc., and the reports of American missionaries, see *EI*[1] art. *Bibl.*, and note A. Socin, *Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv (1881), 237-69. Of recent studies, see Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks. *Turkey*, London 1942, ii, 477-8, 572-3; W.C. Brice, *A systematic regional geography. South-West Asia*, London 1966, 136-7.

(M. STRECK*)

2. History.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was already known to the Assyrians as the Kasiyari mountains; it is found thus called in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari I (1308-1275 B.C.) and Šulman-ašarid (Shalmaneser) I (1275-45). In Assyrian inscriptions we find, as well as Kasiyari, two other names apparently referring to parts only of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn: Ni-irbu, probably the central part of the massif, and Izala, the southern fringe and the Mārdīn region (whose name is also mentioned), the Syriac Īzəlā and Arabic Djabal Izal. The whole region corresponds roughly to τὸ Μάσιον ὄρος, Masius, of later Greek geographers like Arrian and Ptolemy.

The Aramaic name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn stems from the period when the massif had become a flourishing centre of Eastern church life and monasticism. The name appears in a Syriac *Lives of the Saints* from the time of the Emperor Julian (*r.* 351-63). Byzantine sources also note many fortresses in the region, built to face the frontier with Sāsānid Persia; these are listed e.g. in the *Descriptio orbis romani* of George Cyprius (beginning of the 7th century). In Byzantine sources we find the ethnicon Τουραβδηνός. The name appears in the Armenian geography of Moses Khorenacʿi as Turabdin, apparently, however, denoting a restricted area, the southern fringes of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 141, 158), perhaps Izala.

In mediaeval Arabic sources we also find the name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. For the pre-Islamic period we have it in verses of the poet Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī, which tell us that the legendary founder of the kingdom of al-Ḥaḍr [*q.v.*], Sāṭirūn, also ruled the land of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (see Ibn Khurradādhbih, vi, 95, ll. 11-12 = Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 559, l. 5, and cf. also Yāḳūt, ii, 284, ll. 13-14). Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is also mentioned in a poem, the subject of which is Khusraw and Shīrīn: see Ibn al-Faḳīh, 159, l. 19 f.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 54, l. 1, mentions that in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn remnants of the Aramaeans still survive. Ibn Rusta, 90, l. 8 and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 175, l. 12, point out that the Hirmās, a tributary of the Khābūr [*q.v.*], rises in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. We may also mention that the Arab geographers (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. de Goeje, 73, l. 3, and Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Paris, 282) also have the special name Djabal Māridīn for the southern borders of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the district of Naṣībīn and Dārā. The Modern Syriac pronunciation of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (one also hears Ṭūr al-ʿAbedīn) is ū-Ṭūro daʿ-ʿĀbōde. The name Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is locally not unknown, especially in Christian circles, but belongs to the literary rather than to the spoken language. This hill-country is called in Arabic *al-Ṭūr*, also *al-Djabal* and *Djabal Ṭōr*, or *Djabal al-Ṭūr*; cf. Prym and Socin, *op. cit.*, i, pp. i, ii, and Sachau, *Reise in Syrie und Mesopotamien*, Berlin 1883, 387.

The district of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn passed with the rest of Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra) into the hands of the Arabs in the years 18-19/639-40, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 176, ll. 3-5 = Yāḳūt, iv, 390, ll. 15-16, and Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iv, 36, 156. The Ṭūr belonged to the Mesopotamian province of Diyār Rabīʿa under the caliphs.

As regards its political history after the conquest, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn generally shared the fortunes of the adjoining districts forming the rest of al-Djazīra. Concerning the interior, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper, there is comparatively little in the Arabic sources. On the other hand, important towns on its borders like Mārdīn, Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Naṣībīn are frequently mentioned. There is important material for local history in Syriac literature, particularly in chronicles and hagiographic texts. Valuable information for the history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the 9th/15th century, especially for the period of Tīmūr's campaigns, is contained in a continuation of the *Chronicon Syriacum* (of profane history) of Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Faradj) by anonymous monks (one of whom belonged to a monastery in Bāsebrīna); see Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, 328. In mediaeval times and up to the present day the history of the Kurdish tribes in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and the country round it is of importance. The history of the Kurdish dynasties of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and Ḥiṣn Kayfā is of special importance in this connection; cf. the account based on the Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī [*q.v.*] given by H.A. Barb, in *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xxx [1859], 117 ff., and see also KURDS, KURDISTĀN. iii. B.

In the redistribution of territory which followed the First World War, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was left to the Turks. In the administrative division of the Ottoman empire as it existed down to that War, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn belonged to the *wilāyet* of Diyārbakr and to the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn, which was divided into five *ḳaḍās*: Mārdīn, Djazīra, Midyat, ʿAwīne and Naṣībīn; see Cuinet, *op. cit.*, 412, 496-7. As noted above, it is now in the *il* of Mardin.

In the early Byzantine period and the first centuries of Islam, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was probably inhabited almost entirely by Christian Aramaeans. Later, more and more Muslims (mainly Kurds) settled there, so that with the gradual decline in the numbers of Christians, the result of frequent persecutions by the Muslims, the proportion altered more and more in favour of the latter down to the First World War. According to Cuinet's statistics, not, however, too reliable (*op. cit.*, 412, 496-7), the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn, which in area at least was larger than Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in the wider sense, had in 1890 in all 194,072 inhabitants, viz. 122,522 Muslims, 67,970 Christians, 1,500 Yazīdīs, 1,500 Gypsies and 580 Jews: the Christians were thus a third of the whole population. In the two *ḳaḍās* which were almost entirely within Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, those of Midyat and ʿAwīne, Cuinet, 513, 517-18, gave the population in 1890 as 31,920 Christians and 37,712 Muslims. In the central *ḳaḍā* of Midyat the numbers were about equally balanced: 22,632 Muslims and 22,186 Christians, the majority Jacobite in theology, with a few thousand Uniate Catholics and a few hundred Protestants.

In 1882 the Ottoman government granted the Christians *millet* [*q.v.*] status, but this has not been maintained by its recognition as a minority under the Turkish Republic, with its state policies of Turkification. The 20th century has accordingly brought much violence and persecution for the Syriac Christian community, as it did for the Armenian Christians of the Ottoman Empire. Extensive emigration began after the persecutions of 1915 in eastern Turkey. Violence against the Christians, above all from the surrounding Kurds, exacerbated by central and local Turkish officialdom's failure to protect the Christians, was unleashed in the disturbed, post-First World War years before the new Turkish Republic established its authority in the eastern provinces of the realm. In 1924 the Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatius Elias III, was driven from his residence at Dayr Zaʿfarān to the east of Mardin, and migrated, with 3,000 to 4,000 of his followers, to the safety of French-mandated Syria (see H.C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925, 113).

With the internal insecurity which characterised Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s, persecution and violence against the Christians by unrestrained Muslim Kurds increased, especially with the return to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn of Kurds from Beirut after the Lebanese Civil War broke out in 1975, who now wrought their vengeance on the local Christians. Internal emigration to Turkish cities like Istanbul (with a community there estimated in 1985 at 12,000), Ankara, Diyarbakır, Elâziğ and Malatya, increased, as did external emigration to Germany, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium and the United States, where there are now substantial communities. The restoration of order within Turkey by the military régime after 1980 improved the condition of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn Christian community, but the future remains uncertain for it, especially with the present resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism within Turkey, and emigration continues.

The focus of the Christian community, in the 1980s numbering some 10,000, remains the town of Midyat, in whose vicinity 33 villages were still inhabited by Christians in 1983; of the 80 monasteries known in mediaeval times (see below, 3.), six remain with resident monks and nuns (Anschütz). The community in Midyat comprises traders and craftsmen, such as gold and silversmiths, dyers and tailors, plus what might be called a proletariat which has come in from the countryside and is en route for Istanbul or Europe. Outside the town, the villagers still use largely

primitive agricultural and stock-rearing methods.

Bibliography: Older sources are detailed in *EI*[1] art. s.v.: notable there are Gertrude L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 296-322; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911-20, *passim*; Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, London 1915, 354-7, 578; W.A. Wigram, *The Assyrians and their neighbours*, London 1923. A classic recent study is H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 3 vols. Beirut-Wiesbaden 1967-71, with material of historical and demographic as well as of linguistic interest. For the recent situation in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, see Gabriele Yonan, *Assyrer heute. Kultur, Sprache, Nationalbewegung der aramäischsprechenden Christen im Nahen Osten*, Hamburg 1978, and the works of Helga Anschütz, especially her monograph *Die Syrischen Christen vom Tur ʿAbdin*, Das östliche Christentum, N.F. 34, Würzburg 1984, and see her essay *Christliche Gruppen in der Türkei*, in P.A. Andrews and R. Benninghaus (eds.), *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Beihefte zum TAVO, Reihe B, no. 60, Wiesbaden 1989, 460-4, also *ibid.*, 161-3.

(M. Streck-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Religious complexion.

Christianity spread from Edessa into Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at an early date. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) there is mentioned a bishop of Ciphas/Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and in the *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 a bishop of Turabdin, whose seat may have been at Ḥāḥ, is listed. From the time of the great Christological controversies until the 20th century, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has been the citadel of the Jacobites; nowhere do or did they exist until recent times in such solid masses as in these highlands and in Mārdīn and its vicinity. Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper originally seems to have been a single Jacobite bishopric; *ca.* 1089 it was divided into two dioceses, the bishops of which lived in Ḳarṭamīn and Ḥāḥ respectively. Later, in the 13th century, other sees were created in the chief towns of the district. In the middle of the 14th century differences between the patriarch of Mārdīn and the Bishop of Ṣalāḥ (2 hours' journey north of Midyat) led to a schism, in the course of which the bishops of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn cast off the authority of the patriarch and chose the bishop of Ṣalāḥ as patriarch of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Ḥiṣn Kayfā. This split lasted for over a century.

In addition to Jacobites, there were in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in mediaeval times, and even later, communities of Nestorians. The oldest monastery there, that of Mār Awgen, was for long in their possession (see below). These Nestorians were won over to Rome in the 16th and 17th centuries and henceforth called themselves Chaldaeans (*Kaldāniyyūn*), as a religious community with their own ritual. The members of this so-called Chaldaean church settled in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn had in the early 20th century at their head two bishops (in Mārdīn and D̲j̲azīra); according to a native Chaldaean cleric, they numbered in 1914 8,070 souls. According to Cuinet, there were in 1890 in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn about 4,000 Syrians (*Suryāniyyūn*), i.e. Jacobites in union with Rome, who were under a Patriarch of Mārdīn and a bishop of D̲j̲azīrat Ibn ʿUmar. According to Cuinet, there were in the administrative district of Mārdīn also 28,666 Armenians, of whom one half professed to belong to the Orthodox Church, the other half in fairly equal portions to the Roman Catholic and to the Protestant churches. The Armenian Protestant community is a creation of the activity of American missions. The prosperity caused by the civilising influence of the American missionaries, who had their main centres in Mārdīn and Midyat, spread practically over the whole of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, but ceased with the First World War. Finally, Cuinet gives from about 1890 as further Christian inhabitants of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Mārdīn 6,730 Greeks (who had to leave Turkish territory after the War), and mentions 580 Jews.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn plays a very important part in the history of eastern monachism. According to a tradition in Nestorian circles, St. Eugenius came from Egypt in the 4th century and founded a monastery in the southern part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, and thus laid the foundation of the monastic system which developed to such an extent in Mesopotamia. St. Eugenius, who had many followers, is said after his death in 363 to have been buried in the monastery built by him. Certainly, by mediaeval times Ṭūr ʿAbdīn had become a regular monks' citadel like an eastern Mount Athos. When Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 387-8, was told that there were over 70 ruined monasteries in this mountain land, one need not think this is an exaggeration. Great churches, for the most part of the 7th-10th centuries, are still to be seen. These monuments of mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture of the east are of considerable importance for the history of Christian art.

Amongst the monasteries, many of whose ruins still dot the region's landscape, important has been the mother house of all the monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, that of Mār Awgen, situated 13 miles east of Mārdīn. In mediaeval times it was the centre of the Nestorians of the west, but in more recent ages was inhabited by Jacobite monks. The monastery of Abraham, often referred to in Syriac literature as "the great monastery [on Mount Īzlā]", was founded by the creator of Nestorian monachism, Abraham of Kaskar (d. 588). Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, one hour's journey east of Mārdīn, was the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch till his removal in 1924 to Aleppo (see above, 2.). In the early 20th century the principal monastery and goal of pilgrimage for Jacobites was Ḳarṭamīn, 12 miles southeast of Midyat. This was perhaps the most celebrated one of the Jacobites of Western Asia, with some 300 monks in its mediaeval heyday; it is still functioning on a small scale, and is usually known locally as Mār Gabriel after its celebrated abbot, d. 667.

The Muslim part of the population of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn consists mainly of Kurds. They have spread more and more widely into the heart of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in recent centuries, and the Christian peasants with whom they have been constantly warring are being driven more and more from the southern slopes of the mountains towards the plains. The followers of the Yazīdī religion in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn are also Kurds, but their numbers are insignificant. The most important Yazīdī tribe there is called D̲j̲ilkī (Ts̲h̲elkī), hence *čalkōyo* = Yazīdī in the Ṭūrōyo language.

Arab Bedouin also encamp occasionally in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn especially on its southern outliers; for the names of some of them see J.G. Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *JRGS*, xxxv [1865], 54-5, and M. von Oppenheim, *Von Mittelmeer zum Persische Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 68. A special position is occupied by the large tribe of the Mḥallamī (Muḥallamīya) whom we find as early as the already mentioned anonymous continuation of the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus (year 1407). They are the result of the intermarriage of Arabs and Kurds (with Arab influence predominant), and are said to have renounced Christianity over 300 years ago. They dwell mainly in the part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn running west of Mārdīn to the Tigris.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in 2. above, see Gertrude L. Bell, *The churches and the monasteries of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, new ed. by M.M. Mango, London 1982 (orig. Heidelberg 1911); G. Wiessner, *Christlische Kultbauden im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, i-ii, Wiesbaden 1981-3; A. Palmer, *Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier. The early history of Tur ʿAbdīn*, Cambridge 1990.

(M. STRECK*)

4. Languages.

Three indigenous languages (here in the sense of dialect clusters) are spoken in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn: Mārdīn Arabic, Ṭūrōyo, and Kurmāndjī. Of these the first two are peculiar to the area (though with some overspill into the plain south of Mārdīn in the first case), whereas Kurmāndjī is, of course, the language of the northern Kurds in general, of which the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn variety represents just one distinctive dialect. The distribution of the three languages is roughly as follows: Arabic in the Western part and Kurmāndjī in the Eastern, while the Ṭūrōyo-speaking villages are grouped in a large oval around Midyat, the centre of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Two important Arabic-speaking towns are, however, situated in the Eastern part: Ḳarṭmīn (Yayvantepe) and Āzəkh (İdil). It should be noted that there is much interpenetration of the language areas, not only geographically, but also in the sense that there are, or were, a number of villages with a linguistically-mixed population, which also meant that many people were polyglot. Speakers of Ṭūrōyo are often quadrilingual in Ṭūrōyo, Mārdīn Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish. Other languages of importance are the official state and school language Turkish and, among the Christians, Classical Syriac in its Western variety, used not only as a church language, but also as a medium for serious writing for the community; it is thus not entirely a dead language.

(i) Mārdīn Arabic is a member of the Anatolian group of the northern Mesopotamian *qəltu* dialects, the others being the Diyarbakır, Siirt, Kozluk and Sason dialect groups (see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 2). The *qəltu* dialects are characterised by a number of isoglosses, chief among them the ending *-tu* for the 1st person sg. perfect, as in the shibboleth *qəltu* "I said", and the umlaut *imāla*, conditioned by an adjacent /i/, as in *bəsētīn* (Mārdīn) "gardens". The Anatolian dialects in turn are distinguished from the Euphrates and Tigris groups by the following main isoglosses: (a) the development of a copula from the independent personal pronouns, as in *bayti gbīr-we* (Mārdīn) "my house is big" (with some overspill into the Tigris group); (b) /n/ rather than /m/ in the following pronominal forms: *hənne* "they", *baytən* "their house", *əntən* "you (pl.)", *djītən* "you (pl.) came", and *baytkən* "your (pl.) house" (Mārdīn forms); (c) the negation *mō* for the imperfect, as in *mō tbīʿ* (Āzəkh) "you (m. sg.) do not sell" vs. *mā tbīʿ* in the Euphrates dialect of Dēr iz-Zōr. The Mārdīn group is distinguished from the other Anatolian groups by certain features that must be called conservative, prime among which is the preservation of the interdentals (with the exception of the villages of Djawze, Ḳəlləf, and Āzəkh), whereas the Diyarbakır dialects have dentals, Siirt labiodentals, and Kozluk and Sason sibilants instead. For further isoglosses see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 28-29.

Mārdīn Arabic is, in turn, divided into six dialects which, from west to east, are as follows: Plain dialects (outside Ṭūr ʿAbdīn proper; 9 villages), Mārdīn city and vicinity (partly outside the Ṭūr; Mārdīn plus 6 villages), Kōsa (tribal name; 16 villages), Mḥallami (tribal name; 19 villages), Ḳarṭmīn, and Āzəkh. For a list of towns and villages in which these dialects are spoken, together with their official Turkified and their historical names and their population according to the census of 1965, see Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 6-15. Cf. also the language map of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in Anschütz, *Die syrischen Christen*, no. 7 (in back pocket), where additional villages are indicated as Arabic-speaking.

Most of the speakers of Mārdīn Arabic are Sunnī Muslims (mostly Shāfiʿī). Only Mārdīn, Ḳəlləf (Dereiçi) in the Mḥallami area, and Āzəkh (İdil) have sizeable Christian, mostly Syrian Orthodox, communities. Other villages, too, are listed by Anschütz as having small Christian populations, but the emigration of Christians in recent years has been so intensive that little can be said about the present situation.

Mārdīn Arabic is not a written language in any of its dialects (for an interesting private attempt of writing the dialect of əṣ-Ṣawr [Savur], transitional between Mārdīn proper and Kōsa, see Sasse, *Mḥallami*, 282). There is also no diglossia situation, since Standard Arabic is unknown to the speakers of Mārdīn Arabic.

(ii) Ṭūrōyo (*nisba* of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, denoting the language as well as the inhabitant) is one of the four Neo-Aramaic languages that form an archipelago of remnants of the ancient Aramaic language, once dominant in the Fertile Crescent (for an overview see Heinrichs, *Studies*, pp. x-xv). Although historically belonging to Eastern Aramaic, Ṭūrōyo is so different from the Northeastern Neo-Aramaic group (to which Modern Assyrian belongs) that it has been assigned separate status as Central Neo-Aramaic (Tsereteli, *Klassifikation*, and Jastrow, *Mīdin*, p. xx). To this would also belong the rather aberrant and almost extinct dialect of Mlaḥsô (see below).

Ṭūrōyo is characterised by a certain conservativeness in its phonology vis-à-vis the Northeastern group; it preserves the pharyngeals /ḥ/ and /ʿ/ (*ḥalwo* "milk", *ʿaṣro* "ten") as well as the fricative variants /f/, /w/, /th/, /dh/, /kh/ and /gh/ of the stops /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/ and /g/ (though as phonemes and not as conditioned allophones as in the ancient Aramaic languages) and the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/. Phonological innovations are the unconditioned shift of /ā/ to /ō/ (*mōro* "lord") and the loss of ancient gemination with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (*shāto* "year"). On the morphological level the most striking innovations are: (a) the development of a definite article from the ancient pronouns of the third person (*ū-malko*, "the king", *ī-malaktho* "the queen", *am-malke* "the kings", and likewise *am-malakyōthe* "the queens;" the article always carries the stress); (b) the development of a copula (e.g., *ōno harke-no* "I am here", *hiye/hiya harke-yo* "he/she is here"); (c) the restructuring of the verbal system, i.e. the abandonment of the old Semitic prefix and suffix conjugations and recreation of the tenses on the basis of participles, as follows (the forms in parentheses give the Classical Syriac [CS] equivalents; the latter is, however, not the immediate forerunner of Ṭūrōyo):

	present	*preterite*
First form (equivalent to CS Pʿal and Etpʿel)		
active	*gōrəš* (*gāreš*)	*grəšle* (*grīš-leh*)
	"he pulls"	"he pulled"
passive	*məgrəš* (*metgreš*)	*griš* (*grīš*)
	"he is pulled"	"he was pulled"
Second form (equivalent to CS Paʿʿel and Etpaʿʿal)		
active	*mḥālək* (*mḥallek*)	*mḥālakle* (*mḥallak-leh*)
	"he throws"	"he threw"
passive	*miḥālək* (*methallak*)	*mḥālək* (*mḥallak*)
	"he is thrown"	"he was thrown"

Third Form (equivalent to CS Afʿel and Ettafʿal)

active	*maʿməd* (*maʿmed*) "he baptises"	*maʿmadle* (*maʿmad-leh*) "he baptised"
passive	*mitaʿməd* (*mettaʿmad*) "he is baptised"	*mtaʿməd* (not in CS) "he was baptised"

In addition to verbs that have *grəšle* in the first form preterite active, there are "intransitive" ones that have the form *dāməx* "he slept," *damixo* "she slept" (CS *dammīk[ā]*). All forms ending in *-le* are ergatively inflected: *grəšle* (lit. "pulled [m.] by him") "he pulled" or "he pulled him", *grišōle* (*grīšā-leh*) "he pulled her", *grišile* (*grīšīn-leh*) "he pulled them".

Tenses formed from an infinitive, such as they exist in Modern Assyrian (*bə-grāša ʾīle*, lit. "in pulling he is", "he is pulling"), are not found in Ṭūrōyo. The passive is formed from the old passive participles and those of the t-stems, and not periphrastically as in Modern Assyrian.

The main dialect split in Ṭūrōyo is between the town dialect of Midyat (Midyōyo) and the village dialects. Mutual comprehension is never hampered.

The majority of speakers are Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite), with a smattering of Uniates and Protestants. The last thirty years have seen an ever increasing exodus of the Christian population from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn mainly due to Kurdish pressure. As a result of this there are now large Ṭūrōyo-speaking communities in a number of Western countries, especially in Germany, the Netherlands, the USA and Sweden. The total figure of speakers is not precisely known, but is likely to be in excess of 50,000.

Ṭūrōyo was not written for most of its history. Some attempts were made in the 1870s, at the instigation of the American missionaries in Mārdīn, to write Ṭūrōyo in the Syriac script (see Heinrichs, *Written Ṭūrōyo*). But this did not in the least rival the success of the Eastern Neo-Syriac (> Modern Assyrian) standard language devised by the American missionaries in the 1830s in Urmia, the reason being that (a) the Ṭūrōyo speech community was much smaller and (b) the Jacobites, when not writing in Classical Syriac, preferred Arabic and Turkish Karshūnī. When H. Ritter launched the revival of Ṭūrōyo studies in the 1960s, a simplified version of his (non-phonemic) transcription, using Roman letters and diacritics, was taken up by some of his informants. But it was only in Sweden in the 1980s that an official standard was created by Yusuf Ishaq and his collaborators (see Ishaq, *Ṭūrōyo*), again based on the Roman alphabet with only a few diacritics. This was done primarily for elementary school education, pursuant to a 1976 Swedish law requiring that children be instructed in their mother tongue. The first primer *Toxu qorena* ("Come [pl.], let's read!") came out in 1983. The language chosen was not one of the dialects, but a mixed town-village form which is now becoming increasingly used (cf. *qorena*, "let's read", with *qurena* in Midyat and *qorina* in the villages). The new standard has since been widely adopted also for other publications. Since 1987 the journal *Nsibin* (Södertälje) has appeared regularly in Ṭūrōyo and Turkish; the publishing house of the same name has also produced a fair number of monographs in Ṭūrōyo (educational materials, poetry, history). The total number of Ṭūrōyo speakers in Sweden was estimated at 18,000 in 1987 (Ishaq, *Ṭūrōyo*, 190), of which 4,000 to 5,000 then resided in Södertälje, south of Stockholm. But the reading public for Ṭūrōyo publications goes far beyond Sweden, as letters to the editor in *Nsibin* show.

The hierarchy in the Syrian Orthodox church has not been very sympathetic to the use of the vernacular in Roman letters, advocating instead the use of the classical language. This is indeed used in other journals, e.g. *Bahro Suryoyo* (Södertälje 1979-), which, however, also publishes texts in Ṭūrōyo (often poetry), but in Syriac letters. The semi-official (?) publication by G. Büyükbalık *et al.*, *Hej Midyat! Šlomo Midyat!* (Södertälje n.d. [*ca.* 1993]), contains the same Ṭūrōyo stories in both Roman and Syriac letters (and Swedish translation).

Related to Ṭūrōyo, but sufficiently different to make mutual comprehension difficult if not impossible, is the former dialect of the village of Mlaḥsô (now Yünlüce) near Lice in northern Diyarbakır province. Almost all of the Christian inhabitants of the village became victims of the Armenian massacres in 1915. O. Jastrow found the last survivors and collected texts from them, on which he based his grammar (see *Bibl.*).

In the important town of Cizre (see IBN ʿUMAR, DJAZĪRAT) on the margin of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, there used to be a Jewish community that spoke a Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Eastern variety (see Nakano in *Bibl.*).

(iii) Kurmāndjī [see KURDS, KURDISTĀN, v. Language], the language of the northern Kurds, is spoken in a specific Ṭūr ʿAbdīn dialect, according to Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, p. xxxiv. In addition to the Kurds who are Shāfiʿī Sunnīs, there are also Syrian Orthodox Christians and Yazīdīs who speak Kurmāndjī as their mother tongue. The Christians live(d) mostly in mixed Muslim-Christian villages north and east of Midyat, the largest concentration being in Karbōrān (Dargeçit) (34 km/21 miles north-east of Midyat). The switch from Aramaic to Kurdish must have occurred a few centuries ago, since there exists a small Christian literature in Kurmāndjī in Syriac script, the most famous product of which is the *Lāvidj* ("Song") in sixty stanzas on the terrors of the Day of Judgment, composed by Mafriyān Shamʿūn, who died in 1740 (see Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, 347-55, on the martyrdom of Mafriyān Shamʿūn and the occasion of the composition of the song). Mss. of the *Lāvidj* exist in several libraries.—The Yazīdīs live in eight villages southeast of Midyat (see Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, *15*).

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(ii) Ṭūrōyo. E. Prym and A. Socin, *Der neu-aramaeische Dialekt des Ṭûr ʿAbdîn, I. Die Texte, II. Übersetzung*, Göttingen 1881 (dialect of Midyat); A. Siegel, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts des Ṭûr ʿAbdîn*, Hanover 1923, repr. Hildesheim 1968 (based on Prym-Socin); H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo, die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdîn*, A. *Texte*, 3 vols., Beirut and Wiesbaden 1967-71 (texts and facing German tr.), B. *Wörterbuch*, facs. ed. R. Sellheim, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1979, C. *Grammatik*, ed. R. Sellheim, Stuttgart 1990 (covers the town dialect of Midyat and a number of village dialects); O. Jastrow, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Mīdin im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, 4th ed., Wiesbaden 1993; idem, *Lehrbuch der Ṭuroyo-Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1992 (teaching grammar, interspersed with well-selected readings); Y. Ishaq, *Svensk-turabdinskt lexikon—Leksiqon Swedoyo-Suryoyo*, Stockholm 1988; W. Heinrichs (ed.), *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*, Atlanta 1990; idem, *Written Ṭūrōyo*, in *Studies*, 181-8; Y. Ishaq, *Turoyo—from spoken to written language*, in *Studies*, 189-99; K. Tsereteli, *Zur Frage*

der Klassifikation der neuaramäischen Dialekte, in *ZDMG*, cxxvii (1977), 244-53; Jastrow, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Mlaḥsô*, Wiesbaden 1994; Aki'o Nakano, *Conversational texts in Eastern Neo-Aramaic (Gzira dialect)*, Tokyo 1973.

(iii) Kurmāndjī. Prym and Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen. Erzählungen und Lieder in den Dialekten des Ṭūr ʿAbdîn und von Bohtan*, St. Petersburg 1890; Ritter, *Kurmānci-Texte aus dem Ṭūrʿabdîn, 1. Kärboran*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 1-135, 2. *Yeziden*, in *ibid.*, xxv-xxvi (1976), 1-37.

For the distribution of the languages, see the listing of villages in Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo*, A, i, *10*-*15*; Helga Anschütz, *Die syrischen Christen vom Tur ʿAbdîn*, Würzburg 1985, 60-158 (and map no. 7); Jastrow, *Qəltu-Dialekte*, i, 6-15; P.A. Andrews, *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden 1989 (explaining the map by idem, *Republik Türkei. Ethnische Minderheiten im ländlichen Raum*, TAVO Nr. A VIII 14, in two sheets, Wiesbaden 1987).

(W.P. Heinrichs)

TURABA, the name of a wadi and of a settlement in western Arabia, and also of a settlement in northern Arabia.

1. The wadi.

This runs in a northeasterly direction from the mountains of the Sarāt [*q.v.*] to the south of al-Ṭāʾif and past the settlement of Turaba, when it becomes the Wādī Ṣubayʿ. It flows through a region of *ḥarras* [*q.v.*] through the Ṣubayʿ [*q.v.*] country and disappears into the ʿArḳ al-Ṣubayʿ of Nadjd. The mediaeval Islamic geographers describe it as being three nights' journey long and as having date palms, trees, fruits and cultivation. They place it variously in tribal territory of the Hilāl, ʿĀmir and Ḍibāb (see al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, ed. M.ʿA. al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Riyāḍ 1394/1974, 63, 296, 312; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 21). Modern travellers like Philby have noted a considerable flow of water in the wadi after heavy rains.

2. The settlement in western Arabia.

This is located in lat. 21° 15' N., long. 41° 34' E. at 125 km/78 miles to the east of al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] in what was regarded as the western borderlands of Ḥidjāz, being normally controlled in mediaeval times by the power ruling at Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. It existed, however, in pre-Islamic times, and the Sabaic inscription of the well of Murayghān (Ry 506) describes how forces of Kinda and Saʿd-Murād, allies of the Abyssinian viceroy of South Arabia Abraha [*q.v.*], defeated hostile Bedouin, apparently part of Maʿadd, on the route through *T.r.b.n* in 662 Himyarite era/probably A.D. 552-3. See A.F.L. Beeston, *The well of Mureighan inscription*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 391-2; S. Smith, *Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1956), 435-6; M.J. Kister, *The campaign of Ḥulubān. A new light on the expedition of Abraha*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxviii (1965), 425-6.

In 1813, the walled town of Turaba was strenuously defended by the Wahhābīs of the local Buḳūm tribe against the invading Egyptian army of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha's brother-in-law Muṣṭafā Bey, but had to capitulate in 1815 to Muḥammad ʿAlī's forces (see G. de Gaury, *Rulers of Mecca*, London 1951, 200, 208-11, 223, 228-9, 239). In summer 1918 the Sharīf Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] of Mecca claimed control of Khurma, 90 km/56 miles further down the wadi from Turaba and awarded to him by the British government in its endeavour to settle territorial dispute between the Sharīf and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd of Nadjd and his Wahhābī supporters. But in May 1919 Ḥusayn's second son ʿAbd Allāh [*q.v.*] was decisively defeated at Turaba by Ibn Suʿūd's Ikhwān, leaving al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca vulnerable to Suʿūdī attack, even though this did not in fact come until 1924 (see H.St.J. Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, i, 168-70, 177, 180-1, 301, ii, 22-3; idem, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928, 40, 101-2, 319; idem, *Arabian jubilee*, London 1952, 195, 200). Turaba is now a medium-sized provincial town of Saudi Arabia in the *imāra* or province of Mecca with road connections and an air field.

Bibliography (in addition to references given above): Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 29, 281, 296; Zaki M.A. Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Jeddah 1989, maps A3 and 44.

3. The settlement in northern Arabia.

This small place, also spelt Turba, is located in lat. 28° 18' N., long. 42° 56' E. at 150 km/95 miles north-east of Ḥāʾil [*q.v.*] in the *imāra* of Ḥāʾil.

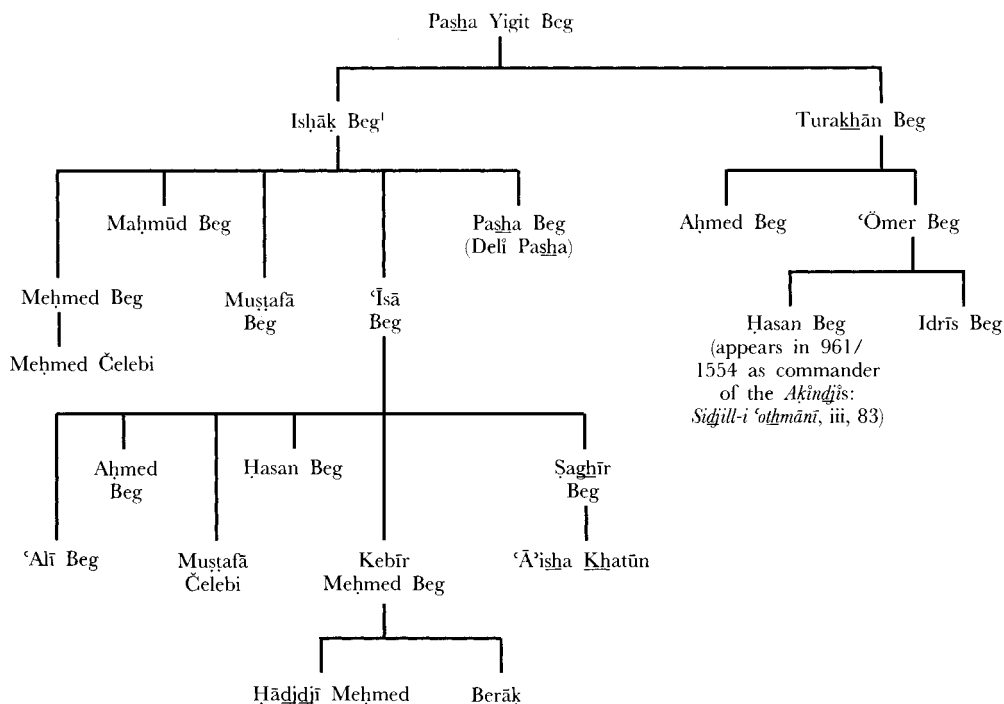
Bibliography: See Farsi, *National guide and atlas*, maps A1 and 115. (C.E. Bosworth)

TURAKHĀN BEG, an Ottoman general, conqueror of Thessaly and warden of its marches, d. 860/1456.

The hitherto obscure origin of Turakhān Beg is now explained in his last will and testament of Djumādā I 850/August 1446 (in a certified Greek translation in Epam. G. Pharmakidis, Ἡ Λάρισα, Volo 1926, 280-7), where he calls himself son of the "late Pasha Yigit Bey" (τοῦ μακαρίτου Πασσᾶ Γηγὴτ Βέη). Accordingly, his father was the well-known Pasha Yigit Beg (called by the Serbians and Italians Pasaythus, Basaitus, etc.; cf. C.J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, iv, 7, n. 5) who conquered Üsküb (Skoplje) on 6 Jan. 1392 and governed a part of Bosnia after 791/1390 in the modern southern Serbia as Ottoman warden of the marches. He must have died about 816/1413 in Üsküb. There his tomb (*türbe*) is still shown; see Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1927, 5, with an illustr. There is no support for the statement of the *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, i, 37, that he did not die till 835/1431; nor for the statement that the Grand Vizier Isḥāḳ Pasha had been his "slave" (*kōle*). This is obviously due to confusion with Isḥāḳ Beg, the first governor of Bosnia, whose "lord" (*efendi*) he is called in a curious gloss in the *Altosman. anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, 28,3 (which is probably followed by Ṣolaḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 52). Nor was Yigit Beg the son of Isḥāḳ Beg, as has been stated in Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, ii/1, 127 (probably following Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm. Turc.*, 315, 13), but obviously his father, as is evident beyond doubt from the Arabic inscription on the mosque of Ghāzī Isḥāḳ Beg at Skoplje of the year 842/1438-9 (see text in Elezović, *op. cit.*, 11, below). When therefore Isḥāḳ Beg appears in Č. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive*, Sarajevo 1911, 200, as the son of Pasha Yigit Beg ("Pašait-beg"), this is quite correct, although his epithet there, Hranušić, is an unnecessary Slavisation (see 192, below). It is therefore evident that Isḥāḳ Beg and Turakhān Beg were sons of Pasha Yigit Beg, i.e. were brothers. We do not know when and where Turakhān was born. The meaning of the name also is uncertain, if it is not to be connected with the old Turkish title *Tarkhān* (as in Astrakhān), mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 410; its pronunciation is assured by the Byzantine form Τουραχάνης in G. Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondyles, in the *Chronicon breve*.

Nothing is known of the early career of Turakhān

Genealogical tree of the descendants of Pasha Yigit Beg

- Pasha Yigit Beg
  - Isḥāḳ Beg[1]
    - Meḥmed Beg
      - Meḥmed Čelebi
    - Maḥmūd Beg
    - Muṣṭafā Beg
    - ʿĪsā Beg
      - ʿAlī Beg
      - Aḥmed Beg
      - Muṣṭafā Čelebi
      - Ḥasan Beg
      - Kebīr Meḥmed Beg
        - Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed
        - Berāḳ
      - Ṣaghīr Beg
        - ʿĀʾisha Khatūn
    - Pasha Beg (Delī Pasha)
  - Turakhān Beg
    - Aḥmed Beg
    - ʿÖmer Beg
      - Ḥasan Beg (appears in 961/1554 as commander of the *Akindjis*: *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iii, 83)
      - Idrīs Beg

1) The left part of the genealogical table is taken from Cl. Elezović, *op. cit.*, 121. It requires to be checked, as there might be confusion with the descendants of an Ewrenos-oghlu, among the sons of ʿĪsā Beg at least. See also Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, iv, 8 n. 1, where attention is called to such possible confusions.

Beg. His name is found for the first time in May 1423, when he appeared in command of the cavalry in the Peloponnesus, broke through the ruined trenches of the Isthmus at Hexamilia, took most of the defences recently restored by the Emperor Emanuel on this tongue of land and, meeting no resistance, ravaged the interior of the country. He attacked a number of Byzantine towns like Mistra, Leondári, Gardhíki, Dabiá (*Chronicon breve*, in the Bonn ed. of Ducas, 199) and subdued the Peloponnesus for the Ottomans as far as the lands held by the Venetians. This whole campaign (Phrantzes, 117; Chalcocondyles, 238) was most probably intended as a reconnaissance against Venice. Soon afterwards, Turakhān appeared, if Ducas reports correctly, with his cavalry on the Black Sea (50). He also took the field against the Albanians and inflicted a decisive defeat on them (Chalcocondyles, 239, 252) and reappeared in the Peloponnesus, where from Naupaktos he prevented the despot Constantine from taking the town of Patras (Phrantzes, 150). At the end of 1431 he again destroyed the walls of the Isthmus of Corinth, besieged Thebes in the summer of 1435 and conquered it in a few days (Phrantzes, 157-159). At this time, the Byzantine historian Georgios Phrantzes made his acquaintance in Thebes (160-1). At the beginning of Nov. 1443, Turakhān Beg commanded one of the Ottoman corps in the battle against John Hunyadi and his Vlach allies in southern Serbia. His peculiar conduct in the battle of Izlādī (*Altosman. Chron.*, ed. Giese, 58, tr. 90) was held to be responsible for the defeat (Katona, xiii, 253: *Twrhambeg*; Chalcocondyles, 315) and he was sent in custody to the state prison of Bedewī Čardaḳ at Toḳat. Nothing is recorded of the next ten years of his life. In the early days of October 1453, Meḥemmed II sent Turakhān with his two sons Aḥmed and ʿÖmer with a large force to the Peloponnesus, where he again took the outer defences of the Isthmus, invaded Arcadia plundering and burning, and ravaged and burned the whole Gulf of Messene passing via Ithóme (i.e. Messene). When the difficulties of communication made it necessary to divide his army, Aḥmed was captured in the pass of Dervenaki between Mycenae and Corinth by the brother-in-law of Matthaeus Azanes, the despot Demetrius of Sparta (cf. Phrantzes, 235; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 426), but was liberated in December 1454 by his brother ʿÖmer (*ibid.*, 383-4). In October 1455 Turakhān appeared with his sons in Adrianople (Phrantzes, 385-6). He died in the middle of 1456, probably at a great age (Phrantzes, 386).

His official residence as governor was at Larissa in Thessaly (Turkish: Yeñishehr-i Fanār [*q.v.*]), the lands of which he held as a fief. There he built a mosque and numerous other buildings for charitable purposes; even a Christian church, in Tirnovo (Greek Tyrnawos) not far from Larissa, which is still standing, was built by him. His tomb, a chapel-like *türbe*, is in Larissa

on the north-east edge of the town. The cemetery around it with a monastery has now disappeared. Turak͟hān Beg had two sons, Aḥmed and ʿÖmer, who accompanied their father on his campaigns. ʿÖmer, who appears as Ottoman warden of the marches in the Peloponnesus, while his brother Aḥmed succeeded his father in Thessaly, was left in 1456 by Meḥemmed II on the Peloponnesus with an army (Phrantzes, 388 ff.), in 1463 acquired the country round Naupaktos and in 1467 after an initial reverse inflicted a defeat on the Venetians (Phrantzes, 425; a fuller account of ʿÖmer, Ὀμάρης [Phrantzes always writes Ἀμάρης], is given by Chalcocondyles, see Index, s.v. Omares). On the further life of the two brothers, of whom Aḥmed, like his father, had made the Pilgrimage, not much is known. ʿÖmer seems to have been the more active of the two. In 1477 he fought on the Isonzo against the Venetians (J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 151), next year defeated the Albanians (*ibid.*, ii, 157), and was still alive in 1484, as his will dated Muḥarram 889/ February 1484 shows (Pharmakidis, *op. cit.*, 287-303, 307-10). He had two sons, one of whom, called Ḥasan Beg, is known from his will written in S͟hawwāl 937/May 1531 (Pharmakidis, 310 ff.), while the other, Idrīs Beg, made a name in his day as a poet and excellent translator of Hātifī's *K͟hosrew u S͟hīrīn* and *Laylā u Mad͟jnūn* into Turkish (see Sehī, *Ted͟hkire*, 36-7).

The family of the Turak͟hān Og͟hullarï, which was established around Larissa and owned extensive estates until quite modern times, later played no important part in history. A certain Fāʾiḳ Pas͟ha, recorded as a late descendant of Turak͟hān Beg, by his extortions as governor of Rūm-eli made his name hated; he was beheaded in the court of the Palace at Istanbul, aged 70, in March 1643 (see von Hammer, *GOR*, 322, from Naʿīmā; Zinkeisen, *GOR*, iv, 535). J. Ph. Fallmerayer in 1842 saw "at the chief mosque [of Larissa] a biography of Turchan-Beg preserved there" (*Fragmente aus dem Orient*², 1877, 381 ff.), but this seems to have since disappeared (like the ms. biography of the Ewrenos-Og͟hullarï [*q.v.*] mentioned by Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, 117).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also C. Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, index; and MORA; TESALYA; YEÑIS͟HEHIR.

(F. BABINGER)

TŪRĀN, a geographical-ethnic term in the *S͟hāh-nāma*.

In Firdawsī's epic, *Tūrān* refers to the land to the north-east of Īrān, the border between the two countries being the River Oxus (called by Firdawsī the D͟jayhūn). The term is assumed by the poet to derive from that of a son of Farīdūn named Tūr, the area covered by the name being designated as his apanage. The first occurrence of *Tūrān* in the *S͟hāh-nāma* (apart from a formulary reference in the panegyric to Maḥmūd of G͟hazna) specifically links Tūr and Tūrān (*digar tūr-rā dād tūrān zamīn*; "then he gave Tūr the land of Tūrān"; i, 90, 183). In Firdawsī's version of events, king Farīdūn divides the world between his three sons, Salm receiving the west ("Rūm"), Tūr receiving Tūrān, and the youngest, Irad͟j, receiving Īrān. Much of the first half of the epic is taken up with recurrent warfare between Īrān and Tūrān, and this is traced to the fratricidal slaying of Irad͟j by his older brothers Salm and Tūr, and the revenge taken on them by Irad͟j's grandson Manūčihr.

The enmity between Īrān and Tūrān as it is presented in the *S͟hāh-nāma* has been seen by some (e.g. A.M. K͟hazanov) as a reflection of rivalry between the sedentary world of Īrān and the nomadic world of southern central Asia. Firdawsī's text lends some support to this theory: Tūrān raids Īrān much more often than Īrān raids Tūrān, which fits presuppositions concerning nomadic raids on sedentary areas; the border area is described as covered in the tents (*k͟hargāh*) of the Tūrānians (iii, 7, 24), implying they are a nomadic population, and the wealth of Pīrān-i Vīsa, the chief advisor of the Tūrānian king, is described as consisting partially of flocks of sheep (iii, 81, 1256). However, Firdawsī shows little concern to characterise the conflict according to this nomadic/sedentary scheme, and the mode of life of both peoples is presented as virtually identical (e.g. Pīrān-i Vīsa and his king live in palaces, as the Iranian aristocracy does, not tents). In so far as the societies differ, this is largely for ethical reasons, (though Firdawsī places ethically admirable and contemptible characters in both camps), with the Tūrānians being seen as, generally, the more culpable.

For Firdawsī, "Tūrānian" is virtually synonymous with "Turk"; this reflects the omnipresent Sāsānid influence on the essentially prehistoric material which forms the opening sections of the *S͟hāh-nāma*, as the area designated Tūrān was probably at least partly occupied by Turkish tribes during the Sāsānid period. Though Tūrān's southern border is clear enough (the River Oxus, the crossing of which by Tūrānian troops signals the renewal of war, and the forcing of such troops back beyond which signifies Īrānian victory) its other borders are left nebulous. In the opening stories of the poem Tūrān sometimes seems by implication to include "Čīn" (China, e.g. the first time the name is used, i.90.183), and it is said to stretch as far as "the Sea of Čīn" (iii, 75, 1159-60). Later in the poem, however, Tūrān is clearly differentiated from "Čīn", and characters move from one to the other (vi, 260, 715), or the name appears in a list of countries that also includes "Čīn" (e.g. vii, 105, 1791; ix, 276, 3784). In the quasi-historical closing section (especially during the reign of Anūs͟hirwān the Just) "Čīn" largely replaces Tūrān as Īrān's major Asian rival.

Bibliography: *S͟hāh-nāma*, ed. Bertels *et alii*, 9 volumes, Moscow 1966-71; W. Barthold, *A historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984; Davoud Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographischen-historische Studien zum iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden 1975; A.M. Khazanov, ch. "The early states among Eurasian nomads", in *Oikumene. iv. Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et orientalem spectantia*, Budapest 1983. (D. DAVIS)

ṬŪRĀN (or Ṭuwārān?), the mediaeval Islamic name for the district around Ḳuṣdār [*q.v.*] or Ḳuzdār in the east-central part of what is now Balūčistān, the territory in British Indian times of the K͟hānate of Kalāt [see KILAT].

According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 820, the kings of Ṭūrān and of Makurān (Makrān) submitted to the Sāsānid Ardas͟hīr (224-41). The Paikuli inscription only mentions the Makurān-S͟hāh. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 38, thought that these princes at first owned the suzerainty of the Sakas, and their submission to Ardas͟hīr was the result of the conquest of Sakastān (= Sīstān) by this monarch.

Al-Balād͟hurī does not mention al-Ṭūrān. According to one of his sources, al-Ḥad͟jd͟jād͟j [*q.v.*] appointed Saʿīd b. Aslam to Makrān and "(all) that frontier". Al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 171, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 226, among the inhabited places in Ṭūrān mention Mad͟jāk, Kīzkānān, Sīwī and Ḳuṣdār (or Ḳuzdār). Ibn Ḥawḳal, 232, says that Ṭūrān is a valley with a fortified town (*kaṣaba*) also called al-Ṭūrān and in its centre is a fortress

(*ḥiṣn*) commanded by a certain Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baṣrī. He also mentions Ḳuzdār separately from the *ḳaṣaba* of the same name. Ḳuzdār was the town (commercial?) of Ṭūrān, possessing "a district and several towns". A certain Mug̲h̲īr (or Muʿīn or Muʿtazz) b. Aḥmad had seized Ḳuzdār and only recognised the direct authority of the ʿAbbāsid caliph.

The town of Ḳandābīl, five farsak̲h̲s (more accurately 5 *marḥals*) from Ḳuzdār, is outside of Ṭūrān and is the capital of the district of the Budhas (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 436: Zuṭṭ al-Budha). Ḳandābīl, lying in the plain, is identified with Gandāwa (75 miles north-east of K̲h̲uzdar, to the north of the Indus, at a height of 314 feet above sea level).

The position of Kīzkānān, the residence of the already mentioned Muʿīn b. Aḥmad (chief of Ṭūrān according to al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, or of Ḳuzdār, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal), is unknown. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 192, 275-6, connected Kīzkānān with Ḳīkān (cf. al-Balād̲h̲urī, 432), and sought it at Kalāt. In this case, Kīzkānān = the *ḳaṣaba* al-Ṭūrān. The land between Kīzkānān and Ḳandābīl, inhabited by Budhas and possessing vines, bore the name of its chief Ayl (or Utl?).

Yāḳūt, iii, 557, reckons Ṭūrān (the *ḳaṣaba* of which is Ḳuṣdār and which has several *rustāḳ*) among the *nāḥiya* of Sind. He also mentions a *nāḥiya* of Ṭūrān in Madā'in and a village of Ṭūrān belonging to Harāt.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. Persiens*, i, 56, thought that the name Ṭūrān might come from the Iranian term Tūra, which means "enemy, non-Iranian countries"; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 31-3, 187, 190; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 332; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 123; C.E. Bosworth, *Rulers of Makrān and Quṣdār in the early Islamic period*, in *St. Ir.*, xxiii (1994), 199-209.

(V. Minorsky*)

TŪRĀNS̲H̲ĀH b. AYYŪB, al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam S̲h̲ams al-Dawla Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn, older brother of the famous Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*], the Saladin of European writers, conqueror of the Yemen in 569/1173 and founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty there [see ayyūbids].

Tūrāns̲h̲āh first appears on the historical stage in the year 564/1168-9 after his arrival in Egypt from Syria with a number of members of the Ayyūbid house to strengthen the hand of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, still technically the vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph there. Tūrāns̲h̲āh was soon in action, assisting to suppress a rebellion of black slave guards who were attempting to return power into the hands of the Fāṭimids with the connivance of the Franks. He succeeded in banishing the guards to Upper Egypt. In 567/1171-2, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn finally put aside all pretence that he was merely the vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph. He put an end to the mention of the caliph in the *k̲h̲uṭba*. Further trouble from the slave troops in Upper Egypt in 568/1172 necessitated the despatch of a large army from Cairo. Tūrāns̲h̲āh was the logical choice as commander of the army. He pursued the fleeing Sudanese, firstly to Aswān and from there into Nubia. Arriving at Ibrīm, the Ayyūbid army under Tūrāns̲h̲āh defeated the local Nubians and plundered the town, taking prisoner all men, women and children. The church of this Christian community was converted into a mosque by him, the cross destroyed and the *ad̲h̲ān* made from the dome. The place abounded in pigs, and these were slaughtered at the command of Tūrāns̲h̲āh. The local bishop was thrown into the fortress along with the other prisoners. He left a garrison in Ibrīm and gave it as a fief to one of his *amīrs*. He returned north to Egypt, bringing with him much booty, mainly slaves, and reported to his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the barrenness of the land and its oppressive climate.

In 569/1173 Tūrāns̲h̲āh led a massive army up the Nile, across the Egyptian desert, across the Red Sea and down into Tihāma [*q.v.*], the coastal plain, and into the Yemen. Ḥaraḍ was taken, and Zabīd, and then the army crossed over to the Taʿizz area [*q.v.*], before turning southwards to Aden [see ʿadan]. Having dealt with Aden, he moved north and halted for a while in al-Dumluwa and D̲h̲ū D̲j̲ibla before marching on the important town of D̲h̲amār which he took over. He then stood at the gates of Ṣanʿā' [*q.v.*]. This in essence is the sum total of the military achievements of Tūrāns̲h̲āh in the Yemen. By the time he left the country to return to Egypt in 571/1176 (for he never felt at home there), he had virtually rid the Yemen of the Sulaymānī *s̲h̲arīfs* ruling in northern Tihāma, the Mahdids [*q.v.*] based in Zabīd, and the Ismāʿīlī Zurayʿids of Aden.

The reasons for the conquest of the Yemen by the Ayyūbids from Egypt in 569/1173 can be briefly summarised as follows. It may well have been that the Ayyūbids were looking to expand their strategic and economic interests by their military action at the southern end of the Red Sea. There are certainly suggestions in the primary sources that the internal affairs of the Yemen and, in particular, the strong Fāṭimid influence there, perturbed the Ayyūbids greatly, not to mention tales of religiously disaffected dynasties like the Mahdids in Zabīd, rumoured to be K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ites. Tūrāns̲h̲āh is supposed to have been subjected to strong pressure from the Ayyūbid court poet ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī, himself a Yemeni, to invade his native land which, he claimed, was weak and divided and in need of Ayyūbid domination. There are reports, too, of an invitation from the Sulaymānī *s̲h̲arīfs* to rid the area of the Mahdids. Perhaps the strategic and economic reasons were the strongest, but it should also be borne in mind that the powerful and restless character of Tūrāns̲h̲āh may well have been instrumental in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's agreeing to his expedition to the Yemen, for it would seem it was at the former's instigation that the conquest was undertaken. Tūrāns̲h̲āh's sitting idly in Cairo for any length of time at the head of a numerous army was a dangerous situation which his brother was eager to avoid.

Tūrāns̲h̲āh was offered the governorship of Damascus on his return to the north from the Yemen in 571/1176. He went as governor to Alexandria in 574/1178 and it was there that he died in 576/1180. He was buried in Damascus.

Bibliography: 1. The following two primary sources are particularly useful in tracing the main events described above: Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 196-8, 213-15, 220-31, 240-5; Muḥammad b. Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrid̲j̲ al-kurūb fī ak̲h̲bār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn al-S̲h̲ayyāl, Cairo 1953, i, 137-40, 148-52, 155-86, 200-03, 221-32, 237-43; see also al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tarwīḥ al-ḳulūb fī d̲h̲ikr al-mulūk Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Damascus 1971, 48.

2. Modern sources and studies. G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1978, ii, 27-47, with a comprehensive study of the reasons for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen at 50-80; M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge 1982, 33, 35, 44, 60, 65, 102.

(G.R. Smith)

TURBA (a.), a term which comes to acquire the sense of tomb, mausoleum, in Islamic funerary architecture.

1. General meaning of the term.

Turba (sing. and coll. *turāb*, pl. *turab*) in its basic meaning as "earth", "dust" and "soil", is widely mentioned in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections (Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936, i, 268-68). Here, *turba* is designated as the material from which the earth and mankind was formed (*wa 'l-nās banū Ādam wa-khalaḳa llāhu Ādam min al-turāb*, al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, Ḥimṣ 1965, ix, 21). As part of pious elaborations on the physical appearance of Paradise, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥanbal report traditions describing the composition of the soil (*turba*) in Paradise consisting of saffron and musk (Wensinck, i, 268), based on the Prophet's saying about the pure and scented quality of the soil in Paradise (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, ix, 84). Outside the context of the *ḥadīth*, discussions take place in *adab*, historical and legal literature concerning the healthy or unhealthy quality of the soil (*turba*) of a region (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], i, 207; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 41), the problem of the contamination of the soil on a cemetery with the flesh of the deceased and its inherent consequences for its suitability as a place for the ritual prayer (al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo 1308/1890, viii, 222) or the miraculous or healing effects of the soil from places like Karbalā' or Nadjaf (Ibn Ḳuluyya, *Kāmil al-ziyarāt*, Nadjaf 1356/1937-8, 280-5). In mediaeval works on agriculture, however, different qualities of soil were not discussed under the term *turba*, but under *ṭīn, ṣaʿīd* or *arḍ*.

Finally, *turba* is legally acceptable as a substitute to perform the ritual ablutions (*wuḍū'*) in the case of lack of water and this procedure is known as *tayammum* [*q.v.*]. Based on Ḳur'ān, IV, 43, and V, 6, al-Shaʿrānī discusses the opinions of the four Sunnī schools on the similarities of pure *turāb* or *raml* with water (*al-Mīzān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1313/1896, i, 144-5). The permissibility of *turba* for the performance of *tayammum* is again supported by the conviction that *turba* was the material God used when he created the earth.

2. *Turba* in the funerary context.

Turba is frequently associated with the funerary context by association with dust into which the dead body turns after death (*wa-anā bayt al-turāb wa-anā bayt al-dūd* (al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vii, 167). *Turba* acquires the meaning of "tomb" in inscriptions on mausolea in combination with other terms designating certain architectural forms (R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture*, Edinburgh 1994, 257). But it is rarely used as a simple synonym for *ḳabr* in the sense of "grave" (for exceptions see al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1964, iii, 1951; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1895, 82-3, no. 57, Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1374/1955, i, 228). Arabic literary texts generally make a clear distinction between *turba* and *ḳabr* [*q.v.*]. The latter is used almost exclusively as a term which refers to the location of a tomb or to describe a simple grave with no architectural features attached to it (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, vi, 199, 276, 304, 333, x, 42, xi, 232). It must be noted, however, that the Persian translation of *turba*, i.e. *khāk*, is only known from literary sources (Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, xviii, 73-4) and it does not play a role in epigraphy or funerary architecture similar to that of *turba*. *Khāk* is used exclusively to mean an inconspicuous grave with no solid shelter attached to it. In Persian literature, a specific use of *turba* which acquires the meaning of *tābūt* (cenotaph) as can be found in al-Hudjwīrī's description of a miraculous event within the mausoleum of the mystic Abū Saʿīd at Mayhana (*Kashf al-mahdjūb*, ed. V.A. Zhukovski, Leningrad 1928, 1930), must be regarded as an exception. In combination with an architectural term as in *turbat-khāna*, *turbat* signifies the funerary function of a building (Dihkhudā, xiii, 547).

3. *Turba* and funerary architecture.

More frequently, *turba*, Tkish. *türbe*, is used as a standard term designating an Islamic funerary building or complete funerary building complex of various forms or, in a more generic sense, denoting only the funerary aspect of a building. Formulations like *dufina fī 'l-turbati 'l-latī banāhā/istadjaddahā* (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, ix, 118-19, x, 182), *naḳala fulān/nuḳila fulān ilā turbat[in] buniyat/banāhā lahū* (*ibid.*, vii, 48, 139, 265; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, iii, 247), or the visual qualities attached to a building (*turba ʿaẓīma*, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 46-7) also corroborate the generic use of *turba* for single funerary structures of any type. Accordingly, the term was applied also to the famous tomb of the Fāṭimid caliphs in Cairo which had been installed in the Western Palace by the caliph al-Muʿizz after 362/973, called the *turbat al-zaʿfarān* (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 252, 297), *al-turba al-Muʿizziyya* (Ibn al-Ma'mūn, *Akhbār Miṣr*, in A.F. Sayyid, *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn al-Ma'mūn*, Cairo 1983, 40) or *turbat al-a'imma* (*ibid.*), and the separate tomb chamber of the caliph al-ʿAzīz (al-Musabbiḥī, *Nuṣūṣ ḍā'iʿa min akhbār Miṣr li 'l-Musabbiḥī*, in *AI*, xvii [1981], Arabic part, 21). Both the *turbat al-zaʿfarān* and the *turba* of al-ʿAzīz were not freestanding mausolea but consisted of a separate chamber (*ḥudjra*) within the palatial complex, hence the designation *turbat al-ḳaṣr* (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, i, 303, v, 375), even though they appear to have faced the main artery of Cairo and were possibly visually identified as tombs by domes, *shubbāk*s or external inscriptions.

In epigraphic texts on funerary buildings, *turba* appears only as late as in the middle of the 5th/11th century in Persia (Dāmghān, Čihil Dukhtarān (446/1054-5): *RCEA*, vii, no. 2572; Abarḳūh, Gunbad-i ʿAlī (448/1056-7): *RCEA*, vii, no. 2582), followed by examples in ʿIrāḳ (al-Dūr, Imām al-Dūr (last third of the 11th century A.D.): *RCEA*, ix, no. 3574) and Syria (Mausoleum of Duḳāḳ b. Tutush b. Alp Arslan at Damascus (*ca.* 500/1100): *RCEA*, viii, no. 2942). The use of *turba* as a generic and non-architectural term in the context of mausolea is reflected especially by inscriptions in which the word *turba* is used as a secondary terminological designation denoting the *utilitas*, i.e. the building's funerary function, in combination with a term by which information concerning the architectural or religious quality of a building is established. For example, the Dāmghān tomb tower inscription starts with "Has ordered the building of the *ḳubba*..." and continues with "preparing for his rest a tomb (*turba*) for himself and for his offspring (*mustaʿidd[an] li-nawmihī turbat[an], lahū wa-li-awlādihī*...). Although single, free-standing domed or conically roofed structures certainly would have evoked visual associations with funerary buildings throughout the Islamic world during the mediaeval period, the use of double terminologies can be explained by the fact that, besides the term *ḳubba*, also *ḳaṣr, dawlat-khāna* or *masdjid*, none of which originally denoted the funerary context of a building, were soon incorporated into the terminology for mausolea. For this reason, inscriptions using a double terminology of the type *hādhihī 'l-kubba turbat[un]* continue well into the 7th/13th century (Huart, *op. cit.*, 74, no. 47). A double terminology in which *turba* is combined with another term bearing a religious quality can be found in the epigraphical panels inside the Imām Dūr mausoleum in al-Dūr, which

designate the building as both *masdjid* and *turba*. In opposition to Dāmghān, the use of *turba* at al-Dūr denotes the character of the funerary structure for a building that—apart from its form—would otherwise only have ambiguously conveyed the term for its usage in its inscription.

When used as the only term in a funerary inscription, *turba* may also suggest the meaning of "mausoleum". In this sense, the tomb tower at Abarkūh is labelled only as *turba*. Similarly, the mausoleum over Nūr al-Dīn Zangī's tomb in Damascus with its distinctive "sugar-loaf" dome, although of another architectural type than the mausoleum at Abarkūh, is also called *turba* in the inscription (*RCEA*, ix, no. 3293). Designated as *turba*, it is clearly distinguished terminologically from the *madrasa* which is mentioned in the same inscription and which forms the larger part of the whole complex.

In the majority of epigraphic texts on mausolea between the 5th/11th and the 7th/14th centuries, *turba* is widely replaced by *kubba*, which acquires an additional meaning—beyond its quality as a genuine architectural term used otherwise in the context of mosques and secular buildings—for designating funerary structures in general. There exists no quantitative evaluation of the terminology for funerary architecture in epigraphy or according to specific regions, but one can observe a general preference for *kubba* or *mashhad* as against *turba* in Khurāsān, central Persia and ʿIrāk to denote funerary buildings (but cf. the name of Turbat-i Djām [*q.v.*]), in opposition to Syria and Egypt, where *turba* is widely understood as a term for mausolea and outnumbers both former designations (cf. KUBBA, above, at Vol. V, 291a). In the Levant, this phenomenon is also evident in literary texts, for instance Pilgrimage guides (Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra*, ed. K.M. al-Radjab, Baghdād n.d.) or local histories and biographical works (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Kalāʾid al-djawhariyya fī taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. M.A. Dahman, Damascus 1949; idem, *Kudāt Dimashk*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1956).

Historiographers and geographers often apply *kubba* and *turba* in descriptions of funerary structures in an unspecific way as "mausoleum" without implying architectural or other connotations. Ibn al-Djawzī and Yākūt apply both terms, obviously for stylistic reasons, when describing mausolea of two caliphs in Baghdād isolated from the rest of the caliphal necropolis as *kubba* or *turba mufrada* (*Muntaẓam*, vii, 289; *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, iv, 47) with no indication given that these buildings were of a distinctly different form. *Turba* in its use as a general term for mausolea is further confirmed towards the end of the 5th/11th century through the existence of the court office of the *nāẓir al-turab fi 'l-Ruṣāfa* (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 117) and 100 years later through that of a *farrāsh bi-turab al-khulafāʾ* (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ed. C. Farah, Ḥaydarābād 1398/1978, i, 278).

In the same way, *turba* can be used as a synonym even for *mashhad* (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 248), a term otherwise often used to describe a larger funerary shrine complex consisting of a courtyard with arcades, adjacent rooms and the tomb structure proper. This distinction is made in Ibn al-Athīr's report on the destruction of the Mashhad Bāb al-Tibn (al-Kāẓimayn) in Baghdād by a Sunnī mob in 443/1051 which mentions the pillaging of the *mashhad* and the burning of the *turab*, the mausolea of the Seventh and the Ninth Imāms (ed. Beirut, ix, 577). However, in his mention of the *mashāhid li 'l-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-turab li 'l-akābir* in the Karāfa cemetery in Cairo, Yākūt (iv, 317) clearly establishes a terminological hierarchy not predominantly based on visual elements but with the goal of marking the distinction between mausolea erected for secular rulers and high officials (such as Ibn Ṭūlūn or al-Mādharāʾī [*q.vv.*]), and the shrines of venerated religious authorities like al-Shāfiʿī [*q.v.*]. Whether this type of terminology was a generally accepted system, reflecting different grades of esteem and popular veneration for those individuals within the Muslim community, or whether it was based on personal choice of vocabulary cannot be determined. Contemporary authors like Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn appear not to have made the same distinctions; he describes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's soaring domed structure over al-Shāfiʿī's tomb in Cairo as both *kubba* and *turba* (*Kalāʾid*, 108, 110; *Kudāt Dimashk*, 108, 178).

Bibliography: Given in the articles but see also that to KUBBA. (T. LEISTEN)

TURBAT-I ḤAYDARĪ [see ZĀWA].

TURBAT-I [SHAYKH-I] DJĀM, a small town in northeastern Persia in the modern province of Khurāsān. It is on the Mashhad-Harāt highway, 150 km/96 miles from Mashhad and 75 km/48 miles from the Afghān frontier (lat. 35° 16' N., long. 60° 36' E.).

The earlier Islamic name of Turbat-i Djām was Būzadjān or Pūčkān (both names in Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 177, tr. 171, cf. also 143-4, tr. 151-2, where he calls it Djām); it was here that the great mathematician Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī (d. 368/998 [*q.v.*]) was born. The geographers describe it being four stages from Nīshāpūr, in a fertile agricultural region depending on *kanāts* for irrigation; Būzadjān itself produced cotton cloths (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103; Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 507; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 356-7). In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*, praises its fertility, with 200 villages in its *rustāk*, and he praises its numerous shrines, in addition to the famed one of the mystic Shaykh Aḥmad-i Djām (d. 536/1142 [*q.v.*]). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 75-7, tr. Gibb, iii, 580-2, the town of Djām, because of its sanctity, was exempt from paying taxes to the sultan (in this case, the Il Khānid Abū Saʿīd, who had allegedly stayed in the Shaykh's hospice; the tomb of the Shaykh was also visited later by Tīmūr and the Mughal fugitive Humāyūn).

In the 19th century, Djām, as it was then called by its inhabitants, was a small place. In 1830 E. Conolly estimated that it had *ca.* 200 houses; in 1894 C.E. Yate estimated *ca.* 250, and noted that, although Djām had formerly had a local chief, it was now directly under the Kādjār governor of the district. The modern Djām is the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* of that name in the *shahrastān* of Mashhad (*Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān-zamīn*, ix, 74-5).

Bibliography: See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 264-5, 278, 286-7; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 35 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TURBAN [see TULBAND].

TÜRBE [see TURBA].

TURFAN, a fertile oasis town in the Uyghur Sinkiang Autonomous Region (Eastern or Chinese Turkestan) of the People's Republic of China [see SINKIANG], and district centre of a *hsien* or county of the same name. Native Uyghur Turks pronounce the name as Turpan, the Chinese as Tu-lu-fan. The Turks, who constitute the basic population, have been Muslims since the dawn of the modern era, and today use a modified Arabic alphabet for their script. There is also a sizable Chinese constituency, and Uyghur Turkish and Chinese are the

two official languages. The historical term "Uyghur" for the Turki-speaking inhabitants of Sinkiang and their language as spoken today is a concept created in the 1920s as a result of modern nationalism; prior to that, "Turki" was the prevalent term. It better expressed the closeness of this language to Uzbek, an equally recent creation which replaced the term "Turki" in Uzbekistan.

Turfan's historical importance lies chiefly in its pre-Islamic past, and owes much to the site's position on one of the intersections of the Silk Road network, along which trade and culture travelled between China, the West, and India from antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages. In contrast to most other parts of the *Dār al-Islām*, Islamisation of the population of this city and region occurred late and gradually, approximately from the end of the 14th century to the early 16th. Another difference is that, except for the relatively brief period of the 16th and early 17th centuries, and a still briefer period in the 19th, Islamic Turfan has remained under the rule of non-Muslims—first the Buddhist Djungars (also spelled Zungars) and then the Chinese. Yet another contrast is the fact that Islamic civilisation, often brilliant in other parts of the *Dār al-Islām*, including Western Turkestan, did not rise to a similar level in this part of the world. The area is especially important to philologists, however, because of the texts in "Tokharian" and in Uyghur Turkish found here by archaeologists from several countries, especially Germany (several expeditions led by A. Grünwedel and A. von Le Coq in the early years of the 20th century). Most of the Uyghur texts pertain to the final stage of pre-Islamic Turfan (9th-14th centuries), and, in their depository in Berlin, have been a treasure trove for the historical study of Turkic languages.

The modern town, its name (the earliest known mention dates from 1377; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 189-202), and its Islamic identity differ from Turfan's predecessors: the ruined cities of Chiao-ho, 20 km to the west, and Ḳočo, 40 km to the east. These two archaeological sites, together with several others in the vicinity, are in scholarly literature comprised under the name of Turfan, despite the anachronism and topographical inaccuracy of this usage. Other appellations have also existed: Yar-khoto (Turco-Mongolian, "Cliff-city") for Chiao-ho; Kao-chang, Huo-chou and Idiḳut-shähri for Ḳočo. In Muslim sources, Ḳočo is usually called Ḳara Khodja or Ḳara Khodjo, which eventually became limited to a town adjacent to the ruined site on the north-east but distinct from it; the archaeological site, with an area considerably larger than Ḳara Khodja, is in scholarly literature known as Kao-chang or Ḳočo.

Chiao-ho (Chinese for "[City between] twin rivers)" was the capital of a kingdom known in the 2nd century B.C. as Chu-shih. Chiao-ho retained its importance, until in the 6th century Ḳočo became the seat of the local royalty. The basic population in those centuries spoke an Indo-European tongue labelled by linguists as Tokharian; conversion to Buddhism, which penetrated here from India, resulted in the compilation of texts written in this language, priceless documents for modern linguists and cultural historians. At the same time, the relative proximity of China facilitated the first conquest of this area by the Middle Kingdom (1st century B.C.): a precedent for a pattern of intermittent suzerainty that was to recur here and in other parts of Sinkiang throughout history.

In addition to influences from India and China, the Turfan area also underwent those of the Turco-Mongol nomads of the Eurasian steppe to the north of the Tianshan mountain range. The dynasty which ruled in Ḳočo by the time this city gained primacy may have been part of the Turkish élite which came to dominate the area. These Turks followed the example of the native population and converted to Buddhism, so that this religion remained implanted in Turfan until the aforementioned Islamisation a millennium later. It is less clear, however, what linguistic effect the presence of probably Turkic-speaking rulers had on the population at this time.

During the final stage of Turfan's pre-Islamic past, that of the Uyghur kingdom of Ḳočo (9th-13th centuries), the population became Turkicised. The area came under the sway of the Uyghur ḳaghans of Mongolia for some time prior to the ḳaghanate's destruction by the Ḳirghiz [*q.v.*] in 840; one branch of the Uyghurs then established itself in Ḳočo, creating a civilisation remarkable for its composite nature, peaceable character and aptitude for survival. The Uyghur ruling class mostly retained the Manichaean religion, to which it had converted while still in Mongolia following the lead of the ḳaghan Bögü (759-80), whereas the bulk of the local population remained Buddhist or, to a lesser degree, Nestorian Christian. The three religions coexisted peacefully, and it was at this period that the greatest number of texts in Uyghur Turkish were written. The Uyghur ruler, known in Mongolia by the title of ḳaghan, adopted here the additional Turkic title of *iduḳ ḳut* ("auspicious felicity"), eventually abbreviated as *idiḳut*, hence the name of the capital as *Idiḳut shähri* ("idiḳut's city"). In a manner parallel to the religious tolerance prevalent here, the people of the society of this kingdom also appear to have lived harmoniously side-by-side, despite initially divergent origins, languages, and ways of life. The ruler and the Uyghur élite escaped the exceedingly hot summers of the Turfan area by moving to the northern slopes of the Tianshan mountains, where the kingdom's other capital, Bishbaliḳ (*q.v.*; "Five towns" in Turkic, known in Chinese as Bei-ting, "the Northern mansion"), lay some 100 km/65 miles due north of Turfan.

In the second half of the 12th century, the Uyghur ruler of Ḳočo became a vassal of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*], who had established themselves as the suzerains of much of Western and Eastern Turkestan. This step was followed by a more crucial one taken by the Uyghur ḳaghan Barčuḳ in 1209, when he declared allegiance to Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]; he then appeared in person at the Mongol court two years later in order to render homage to the conqueror. Barčuḳ's pragmatic sense not only saved his kingdom from the devastations attendant on the Mongol conquests but also set the stage for a recruitment of the Uyghur scribal class (*bakhshis*) into the administrative structure of the Mongol Empire. The Uyghur script, of Sogdian and ultimately Syriac origin, also became the Mongol script through this process.

The area of Turfan lost its distinct identity after the disappearance of the Uyghur state towards the end of the 13th century. The former kingdom lay between eastern (Chinese) and western (Central Asian) Mongol states fighting for the spoils of the disintegrating Mongol Empire. Documentation on when Turfan proper began to eclipse Ḳočo in size and importance, and how Islam began to assert itself there, is scanty. The first reference to its Islamisation is found in Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, London 1895, 52, Persian text ed. and tr. W.M. Thackson, Cambridge, Mass.

1996, text 32, tr. 28, where we read that Khidr Khʷādja, Khān of Mogholistān [*q.v.*] (1392-99), "undertook a campaign against Karakhodja and Turfan, two very important towns in China (Khitay), and forced their inhabitants to become Muslims...". We can infer, however, that the conversion remained incomplete, for when in 1420 an embassy from Shāhrukh, the Tīmūrid ruler of Harāt, passed through Turfan on the way to China, the bulk of the population was still Buddhist (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, selection and tr. K.M. Maitra, *A Persian embassy to China*, Lahore 1934, repr. New York 1970). Moreover, when the embassy stopped a few days later at "Karakhodja", several Chinese officials of the ruling Ming dynasty recorded its members' names and the purpose of the mission. This suggests that the long arm of Chinese power made itself felt even while full-fledged conquest was still three centuries away, and while there were political and religious links between this area and the regions to the north and west. Paradoxically, these links were at this time more palpable still farther east, for it was at the next way station, "Kāmul" (better known as Hami), that the embassy met with signs of an Islamic presence: a mosque built by its ruler, Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn, who had erected it opposite a large Buddhist temple.

The Uyghur identity of the by then extinct kingdom of Kočo, however, may not yet have been fully forgotten, for Islamic sources of the 16th century still refer to the Turfan area as "Uyghuristān". It was the pious Moghol khān Manṣūr (1503-45) whose *ghazā* forays into the eastern marches of Turkestan not only propagated a firmer implantation of Islam in the Turfan area but also led to the extinction of Buddhism there. Much of Eastern Turkestan was soon afterwards exposed to renewed invasions by Oyrat Mongols, who, after founding an empire of their own that included the Turfan area, converted to Buddhism. The masters of this empire are known by the Mongol name of Djungars, but Muslims used the Turkic name Kālmāk [see KALMUK] for them as well as for the other Western Mongols. By then the Turks of the Turfan area professed Islam, and it was this denomination as well as the city that became the main mark of their identity: they were Muslims and "Turpanlïks", and forgetting all the other highlights of their past, they attributed the Buddhist and other monuments to the "infidel Kalmuks".

Both the Djungars and their successors the Chinese of the Ching (Manchu) dynasty who destroyed the Djungars in 1758, exercised a relatively benign rule in Turfan, as in other parts of "Nan lu", the southern portion of Sinkiang. This leniency translated itself in varying degrees of local self-rule. The Turfan area came under the authority of a petty monarch bearing the Chinese title *wang* (king) and residing in nearby Lukchun. Amīn Khʷādja Khānlïk (ruled *ca.* 1730-60), the first member of these loyal clients of the Manchus, appears to have been descended from the Khʷādjas of Eastern Turkestan. These were a family of Nakshbandī dervishes who assumed temporal rule in places like Kāshghar, Yarkand and Khotan (eventually as clients of the Djungar overlords). They were suppressed there by the Chinese in the wake of the destruction of the Djungars, so that the Turfan branch of the Khʷādjas formed a significant exception and maintained itself until the fall of the Manchu monarchy in 1911.

The rebellion of Yaʿkūb Beg [*q.v.*] against Manchu rule produced a brief spell of independence for Sinkiang, and the Turfan area was the easternmost segment which he managed to bring under his rule. It was near Karakhodja that the Chinese army inflicted the first defeat on him in 1877 before eliminating him altogether. This reconquest led to a reinforcement of the Chinese presence also in Turfan, where a Chinese city grew up east of the Muslim one.

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TURGAY, the name of a land-locked river-system in the western part of what is now the Kazakhstan Republic and also of a town on the river Turgay (lat. 49° 38' N., long. 63° 25' E.) some 640 km/380 miles east-south-east of Orenburg. It lies in the steppe region now known as the Turgayskaya Stolovaya Strana.

The main river Turgay is formed of the Karïnsaldï Turgay, which receives the Tastï Turgay, and the Kara Turgay, and flows into Lake Durukča; north of it runs the Sarï Turgay, which is called Ulkuntamdï in its upper course and receives from the west the Muildï-Turgay and the Sarï-bui Turgay. The Sarï Turgay flows into Lake Sarï-Kopa. In Turkish, *turghay* or *torghay* means "little bird" (Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, iii, 1184, 1457); Kara Turghay is a name of the starling. The fortifications of Orenburg are called Torghay Kala.

The modern town of Turgay on the river of the same name was built in 1845 by Major Tomilin as a fortress and one of the centres of Russian power among the Kirgiz [*q.v.*] (here meaning Kazakhs) under the name of the Orenburg fortress (Orenburgskoye Ukreplenye). In 1865 the territory of the Orenburg Kirgiz was divided into two provinces (*oblast'*), the Ural and the Turgay. When the Turgay province in 1868 was divided into districts (*vyezd*), the fortress was made the capital of the district and called Turgay. As there was no suitable centre in the province itself, the Turgay province was administered from Orenburg. The governor lived there and in it was published from 1881 the official gazette, *Turgayskiya Oblastniya Vyedomosti*. The southern part of the province with the town of Turgay was less suitable for agriculture and Russian colonisation than the north, on account of the scarcity of fertile areas, although in the 1860s about 1,300 hectares were cultivated on the river Turgay alone. From Turgay, trade routes lead northwards to Orsk and Kustanay, and southwards to Irgiz and Perovsk (now called Kïzïl-Orda).

Before Russian rule, the present Turgay territory was inhabited only by nomads and hardly mentioned in historical sources. The 5th/11th century author Gardīzī in his section on the land of the Kimäk [*q.v.*] Turks describes itineraries going northwards from the

lower Syr Darya along the Irghiz and Turghay rivers towards the Urals and the Ishim-Irtysh basin, and his river S. fūk (read Sukūk, Tkish. *savuk/sovuk* "cold"?) may be the Turgay (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 258). The campaign of the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad [*q.v.*] against the Kïpčak and his encounter with the Mongols (612/1215-16), described by al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 9 ff., apparently reached this region (see Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 370-1; Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 128 ff.; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 307-8).

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TÜRGESH [see TURKS. I.2].

ṬURGHUD ʿALĪ PASHA [see ṬORGHUD].

TÜRK ODJAGHÎ (T., literally "Hearth of the Turks"), a cultural and social organisation in late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey, formally instituted in 1912 and enduring until 1931. It aimed to spread Turkish nationalist ideology through its cultural and social activities in the Ottoman Empire. Its journal *Türk Yurdu* ("Homeland of the Turks") was widely read, and at the time it was closed down by the Kemalist state, it had over 30,000 members and 267 branches in Anatolia. In 1932 it was replaced by the *Halk Evleri* [see KHALKEVI] in towns and *Halk Odaları* in large villages, serving the same purpose but under the tight control of the ruling Republican People's Party.

The predecessors of the *Türk Odjaghî* were the *Türk Derneghi* ("Turkish Association", 1908-11) founded by Yūsuf Akčura [*q.v.*], Nedjib ʿĀṣîm, Weled Čelebi and others; and *Türk Yurdu* ("Homeland of the Turks", 1911-12) founded by Meḥmed Emīn [*q.v.*] and Yūsuf Akčura, whose journal *Türk Yurdu* was inherited by the *Türk Odjaghî*. According to its records, the initiative for the Hearth came from the students of the military medical school in 1911, and the plan was put into action on 12 March 1912 by Hüseyin Fikret, Meḥmed Emīn, Aḥmed Ferīd, Yūsuf Akčura, Meḥmed ʿAlī Tewfīk and their colleagues. After the Balkan Wars, the organisation was chaired by Ḥamdullāh Ṣubḥī, a well-known literary figure.

The *Türk Odjaghî* played an important role in creating a group of young intellectuals who identified themselves with the Hearth and its ideology, as opposed to the troubled Ottomanist ideology of the Second Constitutional period. Although Pan-Turkism [*q.v.*] was not a common ideal among the members of the Hearth during its early days, following the Balkan Wars, its members began to stress Turkish nationalism. *Türk Yurdu* started to carry articles in support of Turkism, and promoting the use of Turkish language within the borders of the Empire. The Hearth was also keen to promote a more active and public role for Turkish women, which they believed had existed in previous Turkic history. After 1913, some members of the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAKKĪ DJEMʿIYYETI] joined the Hearth, and political figures such as Djemāl Pasha and Ṭalʿat Pasha attended its meetings, aiming to use it as an extension of their ruling party. However, after World War I broke out, they regarded the *Türk Odjaghî* as their political rival because of its influence in Anatolia through its many branches.

Until 1918, the Hearth had 2,000 members with 35 branches all over the Empire, and these functioned as cultural societies for the promotion of Turkish language, culture and arts; it opened libraries, as well as offering food and board for needy students. Among its members were well-known names like Khālide Edīb, Ḍiyā Gökalp, Aḥmed Aghaoghlu, and Fuʾād Köprülü.

Türk Odjaghî aimed to be a centre of culture, hence, one of its objectives was to unite with the "folk", and populism always played an important role in its activities. Several of its members were founders of the Peasants' Movement before the foundation of the Republic. After the War, it promoted Westernisation while continuing to have ties with the other Turkic groups in the world. It gave its support to the Kemālist reforms, and received the support of Muṣṭafā Kemāl.

Its headquarters were moved to Ankara in 1930, and its administration was controlled by the members of the Republican People's Party (RPP), who saw the Hearth as a "cultural affairs" organisation of the Party. However, very soon, its branches in Anatolia were regarded as political rivals to the RPP, and from 1928 onwards, the pro-government press began to publish articles stating that, since nationalism was a state policy, the *Türk Odjaghî* no longer had a mission. After 1930, its members were also criticised by Leftists for being nationalists, and the Hearth was fancifully compared with Italian Fascist organizations. The fact that some members of the Hearth were also members of the opposition *Serbest Cümhuriyet Fırkası* ("Free Republican Party"), and that Ḥamdullāh Ṣubḥī, the chairman of the Hearth, was a known supporter of pluralism and defender of freedom of thought, drew suspicion. Finally in 1931, the Hearth and its branches were closed, and their property taken over by the RPP in an effort to gather all civil organisations under the ideological umbrella of a single political party. Immediately afterwards, the *Halkevleri* were opened, which inherited the libraries, activities, and membership of the *Türk Odjaghî*. At the time when it was closed, the Hearth had 30,000 members in 267 branches, libraries, and an established programme of courses on different subjects and lectures.

Türk Ocağı was re-opened in 1986 in Ankara, but although its members were higher bureaucrats, it was not able to attain the popularity and the respected intellectual status it had in the 1920s. It remains in existence.

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(ÇİĞDEM BALIM)

TÜRK YURDU [see MAKĀLA. 3].

AL-**TURK, NIKŪLĀ** B. YŪSUF B. NĀṢĪF, (1176-*ca.* 1244/1763-*ca.* 1828), Syrian Melkite Christian chronicler, scribe and poet, of Greek extraction from Istanbul, born and died in Dayr al-Ḳamar, Lebanon. Sent to Egypt (1798-1804) by his employer, Bashīr Shihāb II [*q.v.*], Prince of the Druzes, he wrote a chronicle of the French occupation. Several versions have appeared: *Dhikr tamalluk djumhūr al-Fransāwiyya al-akṭār al-Miṣriyya wa 'l-bilād al-Shāmiyya (1792-1801)*, ed. Alix Desgranges aîné, Paris 1839, and ed. Dr. Yāsīn Suwayd, Beirut 1990, using the same text; Gaston Wiet (ed.), *Chronique d'Egypte, 1798-1804/Mudhakkirāt Nikūlā Turk*, Cairo 1950, from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque privée de Sa Majesté le roi Farouk, and *Taʾrīkh Nābulyūn al-Awwal (1792-1801)*, ed. Amal Bashshūr, Tripoli 1993, from a manuscript in the Ẓāhiriyya Library in Damascus. It is asserted that he left no issue.

A minor poet, he earnt his living flattering the rich and powerful: a dithyrambic ode glorifies Napoleon's military power in Egypt, *Ode arabe sur la conquête de l'Egypte, traduite par J.J. Marcel*, Paris 1830. His collected poetry, *Dīwān al-Muʿallim Nikūlā al-Turk*, ed. Dr. Fouad E. Boustany, Beirut 1949, repr. 1970, records

the principal contemporary events of private and official life in Lebanon.

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TÜRKÇÜLÜK [see PAN-TURKISM].

ṬURK̲H̲ĀN SULṬĀN, ṬURK̲H̲ĀN K̲H̲ĀDID̲J̲E SULṬĀN (*ca.* 1626-83), mother of the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed IV [*q.v.*].

Ṭurk̲h̲ān Sulṭān entered the Ottoman imperial harem as a slave of the *wālide sulṭān* Kösem Sulṭān [*q.v.*], mother of Murād IV (1623-40) and Ibrāhīm (1640-8) [*q.vv.*]. Nothing is known of her background, except that she had a brother, Yūsuf Ag̲h̲a, who died in Istanbul in 1100/1689. She gave birth to sultan Ibrāhīm's eldest son Meḥemmed in 1641; there may also have been a daughter, Fāṭima Sulṭān, 1642-57. On Ibrāhīm's deposition in 1648 and her seven-year-old son's accession as Meḥemmed IV, Ṭurk̲h̲ān acquired the rank of *wālide sulṭān* ("royal mother") [*q.v.*], but initially remained in the shadow of Meḥemmed's grandmother, the more politically-experienced and powerful Kösem Sulṭān, then known as *büyük* ("senior") *wālide sulṭān*. A threat by Kösem to dethrone Meḥemmed IV in favour of a younger brother resulted in Kösem's own assassination in 1651, probably at Ṭurk̲h̲ān's instigation, and the latter's assumption of the full regency for the ten-year-old Meḥemmed. The extreme political instability of the years immediately after 1651 led in 1656 to the appointment as Grand Vizier of Köprülü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see KÖPRÜLÜ. 1], to whom Ṭurk̲h̲ān Sulṭān surrendered much of her political authority as regent. Although Köprülü's appointment has been said to have ended the "sultanate of women", Ṭurk̲h̲ān's personal influence over Meḥemmed IV and her role as intermediary remained important (for her career generally, see L.P. Peirce, *The imperial harem: women and sovereignty in the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1993, *passim*).

Ṭurk̲h̲ān Sulṭān died in 1094/1683 and was buried in her own tomb at the Yeñi Wālide mosque in Istanbul, a foundation begun by Ṣāfiye Sulṭān [*q.v.*], mother of Meḥemmed III, in 1598 but completed only in 1663 by Ṭurk̲h̲ān herself. At least two minor mosques and other small endowments by her are known (Peirce, *op. cit.*, 206-12).

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TURKISTĀN, TURKESTAN, a Persian term meaning "land of the Turks".

1. As a designation for the Central Asian lands to the north of modern Persia and Afg̲h̲ānistān.

Tbis roughly corresponded to the older Transoxania or Mā warā' al-nahr [*q.v.*] and the steppe lands to its north, although these last were from Mongol times onwards (sc. the 13th century) often distinguished as Mog̲h̲olistān [*q.v.*]. To the Persians, of course, only the southern frontier of the land of the Turks, the frontier against Īrān, was of importance and this frontier naturally depended on political conditions. On their very first appearance in Central Asia in the 6th century A.D., the Turks reached the Oxus [see ĀMŪ-DARYĀ]. In the time of the Sāsānids, therefore, the land of the Turks began immediately north of the Oxus; according to the story given in al-Ṭabarī (i, 435-6) the Oxus was settled by an arrow-shot of Īras̲h̲ as the frontier between the Turks and the "territory (*'amal*) of the Persians". According to the Armenian Sebēos (7th century A.D.), the Vehrot, i.e. the Oxus, rises in the land of T'urk'astan (*Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évèque Sebèos*, tr. Fr. Macler, Paris 1904, 49; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 48); in another passage in the same work (43; Marquart, 73) T'urk'astan is associated with Delhastan, i.e. Dihistān (in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, north of the Atrek [*q.v.*]).

By the victories of the Arabs, the Turks were driven far back to the north; for the Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, Turkistān therefore began, not immediately north of the Oxus, but only north of the area of Arab culture known as "the lands beyond the river", Mā warā' al-nahr. Turkistān, the land of the Turks, was then regarded as the regions north and east of Mā warā' al-nahr. The town of Kāsān in Farg̲h̲āna [*q.v.*], north of the Sīr Daryā [*q.v.*], was "where the land of Turkistān begins" (Yāḳūt, iv, 227). The towns of D̲j̲and and S̲h̲ahrkand on the lower course of the same river were in Turkistān (ii, 127, iii, 344); in Turkistān lay the town of K̲h̲otan (ii, 403). From this use of the name, it has been held (especially by M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 1) that the name "Turkistan" was first applied by the Russian conquerors of Central Asia quite arbitrarily to the land of Mā warā' al-nahr. As a matter of fact, the name Turkistān had long regained its earlier significance as a result of the Turkish conquests, perhaps less in literature than in everyday usage. To the people of Persia and Afg̲h̲ānistān, the "Turks in Turkistān" were their immediate neighbours on the north; thus in a lullaby taken down in S̲h̲īrāz in 1886 we are told "Two Turks came from Turkistān, brought me to Hindūstān" (V. Žukovskiy, *Obrazcî persidskago narodnago tvorčestva*, St. Petersburg 1902, 169-70). Through the Özbeg conquests of the 10th/16th century, a new Turkistān arose south of the Oxus. The corresponding province of Afg̲h̲ānistān still bears the name of Turkistān; as the southern frontiers of this Turkistān some travellers (R. Burslem, *A peep in Toorkistan*, London 1846, 57-60) give the pass of Aḳ Rabat north of Bāmiyān [*q.v.*]; others (J. Wood, *A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, new ed. London 1872, 130), the pass of Had̲j̲ikak, a little farther south, where the watershed between the basins of the Helmand [*q.v.*] and the Oxus is; farther west, in the region between the Murg̲h̲āb and the Āb-i Maymana, the frontier of Turkistān is given as the range of Band (or Tīrband)-i Turkistān (see further, 2, below). The name Turkistān in this context was introduced into the scientific terminology of the 19th century, not by the Russians but by the British, probably under the influence of the Persian and Afg̲h̲ān usage.

In literature, especially in travellers' records, a distinction has usually been made between Russian, Chinese and Afg̲h̲ān Turkestan, although the word Turkestan (or Turkistān) had an administrative significance only in Russia and Afg̲h̲ānistān. Sometimes instead of these we find the terms West and East Turkestan. The Governorate-General (*guberniya*) of Turkestan was founded in 1867 by the Russians, with Tas̲h̲kent [*q.v.*] as its capital and General K.P. Kaufman as its first head. The frontiers of this

Governorate-General were sometimes contracted, sometimes extended. From 1882 to 1898 the province of Semiryečye, at one time included in Turkestan, belonged to the Governorate-General of the Steppes with Omsk as its capital. In 1898 Semiryečye and the Transcaspian province (Turkmenia) were incorporated in Turkestan. For the history of Semiryečye, see YETI SU.

In 1886, Prof. I. Mus̲h̲ketov attempted to give the name "Turkestan" a definite geographical significance, independent of administrative conditions. Under the influence of A. Petzhold's book *Umschau im Russischen Turkestan nebst einer allgemeinen Schilderung des Turkestanischen Beckens*, Leipzig 1877, he proposed to give the name Turkestan or the Turkestan basin to the lands between the central mountains of Central Asia and the basin of the Caspian Sea, the Iranian plateau and the Aral Sea; Mus̲h̲ketov had no doubt that the frontier between Russia and England in the not-too-distant future would be established on the Hindū Kus̲h̲ [*q.v.*]. He proposed to replace the term "Chinese Turkestan" (see below) by the Chinese one Han-hai (interpreted by European scholars since Richthofen as the "dry sea").

After the downfall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, a supra-ethnic Turkistan Autonomous Government (*Turkistan Äwtanam Hukumäti*, also known as the "Khokand Autonomy", *Qoqan Äwtanamiyäsi*) came into existence on 10-11 December 1917, founded by Reformist or D̲j̲adīdist elements [see D̲J̲ADĪD; and IṢLĀḤ. v. In Central Asia, in Suppl.] based on Khokand, as Central Asia's second (after Khiva) independent, indigenous state. This was replaced on 30 April 1918 by a Soviet régime, at first called the Autonomous Turkistan Republic (ATR) and based on Tashkent, but the Bolsheviks in Moscow were hostile to any ethnic, tribal or local groupings, and worked to destroy the ATR, e.g. by encouraging Kazaks to the north of the ATR to unite with Kazaks within it to form their own Kirgizistan (i.e. Kazakstan) ASSR to the east of the Caspian.

Nevertheless, a start had been made in nurturing a common feeling of Turkistan unity, and some people linked this with their language and literature, despite other views that, for language and literature, there were subordinate ethnicities such as Uzbeks, Kazaks, Turkmens, etc. But Moscow worked against all feelings for integration in the ATR, as also in the Bukharan and Khwarazmian People's Conciliar Republics (BPCR and KhwPCR), branding their local leaders as "bourgeois nationalists", fanning Kazak and Turkmen unwillingness to work with Uzbeks in common administrative-political units and playing off various groups with each other.

In autumn 1924 the various ethnic groups of Central Asia were encouraged by Moscow to form their own ethnic units; this led to the formal dismemberment of the Turkistan ASSR, decreed on 11 May 1925, and the abolition of the Khwarazmian and Bukharan SSRs, which had only just been set up in 1923 and 1924, respectively. The term "Turkistan" vanished from the press and for decades, Stalin's censors treated it as a forbidden name and concept; the name survived only for a small town in the Kazakhstan SSR (see 3, below). And, as Allworth has remarked, "The loss of the name *Turkistan* represented more than a change of designation—it deprived Central Asians of the prerogative to determine their own identity".

It should be noted that the vast mountain, desert and oasis region to the east and north of the Tien Shan Mountains and to the east and north of the Pamirs and Kun Lun Mountains, comprising the Tarim basin and the region of Džungaria to its north, has conventionally been known as Eastern Turkestan or, reflecting more recent political domination, Chinese Turkestan. For this, see KĀS̲H̲G̲H̲AR; K̲H̲OTAN; ḲULD̲J̲A; SINKIANG; TARIM; TURFAN; YARKAND.

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(W. BARTHOLD-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. As a designation for the largely Turkish part of northern Afg̲h̲ānistān lying to the south of the Oxus.

From early mediaeval times, the region around Balk̲h̲ and Mazār-i S̲h̲arīf, the early mediaeval Ṭuk̲h̲āristān [*q.v.*], known generally by the 18th century as the *wilāyat-i Balk̲h̲*, has become gradually Turkicised, mainly with Uzbeks and Turkmens at the present time, although significant minorities of Persian- and Pas̲h̲to-speakers, etc., are also to be found.

In the later 18th century, the Afg̲h̲ān court tended to refer to this *wilāya* as "Turkistān", and this was taken over in the first half of the 19th century into British and European usage. But after the Russian advance into Central Asia, official British usage felt that "Turkistān" *tout court* might give credence to Russian claims that the city-states of the *wilāya* were not necessarily part of the Afg̲h̲ān monarchy but could be considered as part of "Greater Turkistān". Hence in 1869 Sir Henry Rawlinson, in a *Memorandum on the Frontiers of Afghanistan*, recommended that, for political purposes, Britain should no longer use the term "Turkistan" but instead, "Afghan Turkistan", and this was adopted in official usage and publications to distinguish it from "Russian Turkistan" north of the Oxus. See for a thorough discussion of the question, J.R. Lee, *The "Ancient Supremacy". Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901*, Leiden 1996, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

3. The name of one of the oldest small towns of what is now southern Kazak̲h̲stān, situated in the region of Čimkent, on the Tashkent-Orenburg road, on the left bank of the Syr Darya, some 30 km/18 miles from the river. An oasis at the fringes of the Kizil-Kum, it is irrigated by watercourses emanating from the Karatau mountains (the site of ancient gold mines) and canals fed by the river Karaychik. Throughout its long history it has been disputed by conquerors either famous or obscure, all anxious to confirm their hegemony by possession of a strategic urban site at the confluence of the nomadic and sedentary zones of Central Asia.

Turkistān is identified with the ancient city of S̲h̲āwg̲h̲ar, of which no traces have ever been discovered (Le Strange, *Lands*, 485). The Arabo-Persian geographers of the 4th/10th century mention it in their

works, including al-Muḳaddasī and, in particular, Ibn Ḥawḳal, 340, who relates that a campaign was said to have been conducted against it by the Sāmānid prince Naṣr b. Aḥmad (303-30/914-43) with an army of "300,000 men"; this is not confirmed by other sources of the period (such as al-Iṣṭakhrī, 291). The victorious campaign conducted against the Turks in 290/903 in the neighbourhood of what is now Turkistān by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (278-94/892-907), founder of the Sāmānid dynasty, seems more plausible (Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 282). It is true that in the 6th/12th century al-Samʿānī, facs. ed. 228, describes it as the zone confronting the Turks, while Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 245, a century later, is already describing it as a "Turkish town", yet neither of the two alludes to the name of Yasī (Esī) by which it came to be known.

It is, however, as such that it appears in the 8th/14th century in Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Calcutta, ii, 9, a usage attested since the end of the 6th/12th century (Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 141, Russian tr. in *Sočineniya*, v, Moscow 1968, 117; idem, *EI*[1] art. *Turkistān*). Developing from a village (*karya*), Yasī enjoyed its greatest prosperity during the Mongol period, by virtue of the cult dedicated to the *shaykh* Aḥmad Yasawī, called Ata Yesevī by the Turks and founder of the Ṣūfī order of the Yasawiyya, who lived and died there in 562/1166-7 [see AḤMAD YASAWĪ]. Considered as the one who converted the Turks to Islam, he is buried there in the impressive mausoleum which Tīmūr built for him at the end of the 8th/14th century (M.E. Masson, *Mavzolei Khodža Ahmad Yasevi*, Tashkent 1930). It was in the 9th/15th century that Yasī took on the name of Turkistān, the mausoleum becoming known as *Ḥaḍrat-i Turkistān*. Henceforth, it attracted numerous pilgrims and became the preferred burial site of pious Muslims, and later, of the Özbeg/Uzbek princes of the Shaybānid dynasty, and of the Kazakh sultans. The mausoleum consists of a massive cube flanked by two towers surmounted by a huge entry-portal. In the interior, the principal hall contains the sacred cauldron (*kazanlïk*) which, previously used for preparing food for pilgrims and Ṣūfīs, serves today as a depository for coins. The tomb of the saint is located in a section facing the entrance. On the outside, a 19th century mosque, an older mosque, a library, a *ḥammām*, and the remains of the wall of the ancient fortress may be observed.

From the last quarter of the 9th/15th century onward, it was around the town of Turkistān that the principal events took place of a rivalry which was to continue for decades and even centuries. This involved the last Tīmūrids of Transoxiana, the Čaghatayid *khāns* of declining Mogolistān (Yūnus and his son sultan Maḥmūd), the Kazakh *khāns* and the Uzbek conqueror Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān. A series of battles between these two last took place during the 1470s, the prize being the principal towns of the Syr Darya basin which were besieged and captured in turn by the Kazakhs or the Uzbeks. By the end of the 15th century the situation had stabilised: the towns of Sighnāḳ, Sūzak and Sawrān were incorporated into the Kazakh khānate, whilst those of Utrār, Uzgend, Arkūk and Turkistān remained in Uzbek hands.

Thus in 893/1488, Maḥmūd, the Čaghatayid prince of Tashkent, appointed Muḥammad Shaybānī governor of Turkistān, and this marked the true starting-point of the latter's political career in Transoxiana (Bacqué-Grammont, *Une liste ottomane*, 438). The Uzbek sultans took refuge there in 915/1511, at the time of one of the last offensives of Bābur. The Kazakh *khān* Ṭāhir died there in the second quarter of the 16th century. After 1007/1598, it became part of the Uzbek state of the Ashtarkhānids, who replaced the Shaybānids when in the 11th/17th century the town passed once more under Kazakh domination, extending then as far as Tashkent. In 1062/1652, the Kazakh Djahāngīr Khān, who had perished in battle against the Kalmuks, was buried there close to the mausoleum of Aḥmad Yasawī (Klyastorniy and Sultanov, *Kazakhstan*, 304). The Kazakh *khān* Tawke (the famous legislator of the three tribes who, nominally at least, accepted Russian sovereignty in 1129/1717), received a Russian delegation there in 1105/1694 (led by the Cossacks Fedor Skibin and Matvey Tročin, sent from Tobolsk) and a Kalmuk delegation (representing the Oyrats of Džungaria) in 1110/1698, which did not, however, prevent the seizure of the town by the Oyrats in 1135/1723, a fate also suffered by Sayram and Tashkent. Turkistān was then one of the sensitive points in the confrontation between Kazakhs. Oyrats and Chinese which ultimately served the interests of the Russian power. It passed under the domination of the Kazakh sultan Yūnus Khōdja who ruled in Tashkent after 1194/1780. At this time, Turkistān constituted an independent principality, despite nominal subservience to Bukhārā. It was the Kazakh Tozay Khān who was governor there when the town was seized by ʿUmar, the Uzbek *khān* of Khoḳand, in 1814 or 1815.

Like other oasis towns of the Syr Darya basin in the 18th and 19th centuries, Turkistān experienced economic decline and a disintegration of sedentary life which cannot be attributed solely to the activities of the Uzbeks but is documented by Russian travellers, such as Burnasev, 141, and Meyendorff, 61. The town comprised 5,000 inhabitants when it was incorporated into the Russian empire in December 1864, after three days of conflict between a battalion of Cossacks from the Urals led by Lt. Verevkin and 10,000 soldiers from Khoḳand who "miraculously" spared the cupola of the mausoleum (*Entsiklopedičeskiy slovar'*, St. Petersburg 1909, 38). In 1910, the Tsarist administration recorded 13,514 inhabitants, 3,616 houses, 2 churches, 41 mosques, 24 educational establishments, one library and 57 workshops or factories (cotton processing, manufacturing, trading companies) (*Adres' spravočnik Turkestanskogo kraya*, Tashkent 1910, 116). The population of the town had reached 77,000 in 1987.

Since the independence of Kazakhstān, the town has been the object of close attention on the part of the Kazakh authorities. The Turkish Republic has contributed towards the refurbishment of the mausoleum, and has helped with the financing of a Turco-Kazakh university (also incorporating a hotel), one of the signs of the new state's resolve to combine reconstruction with the assertion of a distinctive identity.

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(CATHERINE POUJOL)

TÜRKMEN (T. Türkmän; A. al-Turkumān, al-Turkmāniyyūn, al-Tarākima; P. Turkmānān) a term used collectively for Turkic tribes distributed over much of the Near and Middle East and Central Asia from mediaeval to modern times.

Etymology

A number of modern studies have taken up this question, rejecting the Persian popular etymology of *Türk-mānand* "similar to the Türks", already proposed by al-Bīrūnī (cf. Golden 1992, 213) and al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] in his *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (tr. Dankoff 1984, ii, 363) and repeated by later authors including Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb. Similarly, Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān explains in his *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* that the Tādjīks first called the Türkmen who had settled in Mā warā' al-nahr Türks. With time, their features changed to resemble more those of the local (i.e. Iranian) population. Therefore the Tādjīks gave them the name *Türkmen*, with the meaning "resembling the Türks, Türk-like", but that the common people were unable to pronounce *Türk-mānand* and therefore said *Türkmen* (ed. Ölmez 1996, 170, tr. 251). G. Doerfer states that *türkmän* is obviously a derivation from *türk* "ruling people > Turk" with *män* as a kind of augmentative suffix (see *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 892, with further references). Golden (1992, 212-13) similarly views the term as "deriving from *Türk* + Turk. *-men* (a suffix of strengthening)".

The term Türkmen is used by Muslim historians, geographers and other authors writing within the sphere of the Saldjūḳid empire and its successor states for those of the tribal federation of the Oghuz/Ghuzz (*q.v.*, see also F. Sümer, art. *Oğuzlar*, in *İA*)—which included non-Oghuzic elements—that had become Muslims. However, by the Mongol period the appellation Türkmen had completely superseded that of Oghuz (W. Barthold, art. *Turkomans*, in *EI*[1]). More pointedly, Golden (1992, 212) suggests that, initially, the term Türkmen was possibly not an ethnonym but a technical term denoting Islamised Turkic populations, including the Oghuz. He draws attention to the possibility of a pre-Saldjūḳ history of the term referring to a Sogdian (8th century) and a Chinese (9th century, cf. also Barthold 1962, 79-80) source. The following citations from some of the earliest Muslim texts that refer to the Türkmen as Islamised Oghuz follow Golden (1992, 212-13, cf. also Barthold 1962, 77-120). The geographer al-Muḳaddasī (fl. 4th/10th century), who visited Khurāsān, is considered the first Muslim source to refer to "the Turkoman who have converted to Islam through fear" and to "the sovereign of the Turkoman" (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsim*, 274-5, tr. B.A. Collins and M.H. al-Tai, 274-5). The scientist al-Bīrūnī al-Khwārazmī (d. 440/1048), who knew the region well, mentions in his *K. al-Djamāhir fī ma'rifat al-djawāhir* (ed. Krenkow 1936, 205) that the Oghuz call "any Oghuz who converts to Islam" a Türkmen. Al-Marwazī (d. after 514/1120), a physician at the Saldjūḳ court, writes in his *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, which includes sections on human geography, that some of the Oghuz when they came into contact with Muslim countries converted to Islam, then being called Türkmen (ed. Minorsky 1942, 18/29). Al-Kāshgharī describes the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*] as a "tribe of the Turks. They are nomads, not Oghuz, but they are also Turkman" (tr. Dankoff 1982, i, 353), but also says "Oγuz—a tribe of the Turks; the Turkmän" (*ibid.*, i, 101) and "*türkmän*. They are the Oγuz" giving a long story about the encounter of their original 22 tribes (*ibid.*, i, 101-2) with Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn [*q.v.*], including the etymology mentioned above (*ibid.*, ii, 362-3).

History

1. Pre-Mongol period.

In the wake of the conquests of the Oghuz/Türkmen under the leadership of the Saldjūḳ family and during the period of its rule (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries), large numbers of Türkmen not only joined the Saldjūḳ armies but also migrated as tribal groups from their habitat in the periphery of the Islamic world (i.e. the area bordered by the Ural and Irtysh rivers, the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and the lower Syr-Darya valley) to northern Persia, Ādharbaydjān, Asia Minor, 'Irāḳ, Syria, the Ḥidjāz and even North Africa. Some of these groups became settled and merged with the local populations, while the majority continued a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life preserving tribal structures. (For details of these developments, see GHUZZ and SALDJŪḲIDS, with references.) Modern scholarship has underlined the enormous impact of these migrations on the political, economic, social and cultural structure of the central Islamic lands with their predominantly Iranian and Arab populations. A further effect was the beginning of the lasting Turkification of Ādharbaydjān and Anatolia. Attention is also drawn to the fact that, due to their historical role, we are better informed about the Türkmen than on any other Turkic people of the Middle Ages.

When central Saldjūḳ rule collapsed and regional successor states were established, in most cases by members of the Saldjūḳ family or its close associates [see ATABAK], Türkmen tribal groups continued to form their major reservoir of warriors, since the migration of Türkmen from Central Asia continued. Moreover, already during the height of Saldjūḳ power a number of principalities had emerged in the borderlands of the empire whose leaders were not members of the Saldjūḳ family but were Türkmen tribal chiefs, e.g. the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] in eastern Anatolia, who played an important role in the conflicts of the 6th/12th century between Crusaders, Byzantines and Saldjūḳs. The Mengüček [*q.v.*] principality to the east of the Dānishmendids and that of the Saltuḳ Oghullarî [*q.v.*] around Erzurum were each annexed by the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultan before the Mongol conquest. Of more consequence was the Salghurid [*q.v.*] dynasty, founded by members of the Salur [*q.v.*] tribe, in Fārs, and the ruling family of the Artuḳid [*q.v.*] principality which belonged to and derived its strength from the Döger [*q.v.*] tribe of the Bozoḳ branch (see below) of the Türkmen. It continued to hold its own in the Mārdīn and Āmid (Diyārbakr) region up to the beginning of the 9th/15th century.

No reliable information is available about the number and tribal composition of Türkmen who remained in Central Asia. In the early 5th/11th century the region of the Balkhān [*q.v.*] mountain ranges east of the Caspian sea became a place of retreat for the Oghuz and other Turkic tribes, while the Mangîshlak [*q.v.*] peninsula further north is already mentioned as such in the 4th/10th century. In the second half of the 6th/12th century, a certain number of Türkmen settled in eastern Khurāsān without, however, gaining any political importance, partly due to the rise of the Khwārazmshāhs [*q.v.*]. In the 7th/13th century, the Mongol conquests led to the large-scale expulsion into different directions, or incorporation into the Mongol army, of Türkmen living along the main route of military operations in Transoxania and Khurāsān. In this way, a second wave of Türkmen, uprooted from a nomadic, semi-nomadic or settled way of life, again reached the central Islamic lands, and this wave was to change their political, ethnic and socio-

economic structure even more thoroughly than the earlier one set into motion by the Saldjūḳ conquests.

2. Mongol and post-Mongol period.

Particularly successful politically were those Türkmen who made Anatolia, Armenia, Kurdistān and northern Syria their new home, soon to create small domains of semi-independent rule. While earlier studies based on Mamlūk, Persian, Ottoman and European sources furnished mainly political and socio-economic information concerning these Türkmen principalities (*beyliks*), more recent studies have also focused on their individual contribution to culture, particularly to the development of literature, art and architecture within the former territories of the Byzantine empire, now reduced to the northwestern part of Anatolia, that of the moribund Rūm Saldjūḳ state under the overlordship of the Il-Khans [*q.v.*] and of the northern borderlands of the Mamlūk empire. However, the history of the major Türkmen amīrates of Anatolia is still not very well explored. This is partly due to the complicated situation regarding sources, e.g. the loss or lack of written sources connected to the way of life of the ruling Türkmen élite and its supporting tribes, as opposed to the settled Muslim and Christian subjects, and to subsequent Ottoman rule, with its different state ideology, which superseded that of the Türkmen *beyliks*.

Among the more well-known Türkmen principalities of Anatolia are those of the Ṣarūkhān around Manisa and the Aydîn-Oghlu in the hinterland of Izmir, of the Menteshe Oghullarî on the southwestern coast, of the Germiyān Oghullarî with their centre in Kütahya, the Hamīd Oghullarî and Tekke Oghullarî around Eğridir and Antalya, the Ḳaramān-Oghullarî with their centre in Konya, the Djandar Oghullarî between Sinop and Kastamonu, of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr (Dulghadîr) Oghullarî and the Ramaḍān Oghullarî [*q.vv.*] in southeastern Anatolia (for an overview, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*[4], Ankara 1988). It should not be forgotten that the Ottoman empire had likewise its roots in a Türkmen principality founded by the eponymous ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*] in the northwestern corner of Anatolia.

Most of these principalities have in common the period of their origin as quasi-independent domains in the 1330s and 1340s, in the wake of the demise of the Rūm Saldjūḳ sultanate and the fact that they were finally incorporated into the Ottoman empire in the period of Sultans Murād II (824-55/1421-51) and Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81 [*q.vv.*]). In central Anatolia, the powerful Ḳaramān *beylik* constituted a serious threat to Meḥemmed II's bid for supremacy until 865/1461. In southeastern Anatolia, the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr Oghullarî with their centre in Marʿash, and the Ramaḍān Oghullarî around Adana, were able to resist the Ottomans, under Mamlūk protection, until Selīm I succeeded in defeating them in 921/1515. A large part of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr tribesmen entered Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī's [*q.v.*, see also SAFAWIDS and ĪLĀT] service and became one of the constituents of his Ḳîzîl-bāsh [*q.v.*] troops, along with other Türkmen tribes such as the Ustādjlū, Rūmlū, Shāmlū, Takkalū, Afshār, Ḳādjār, Warsāḳ and Bahārlū. However, beginning with Shāh ʿAbbās I (995-1038/1587-1629) the predominant role of the *ḳîzîl-bāsh* Türkmen in the Ṣafawid central administration and provincial government was more and more reduced. By conserving their traditional way of life, in particular their seasonal migrations, the Türkmen tribal federations continued to evade, even confront, state authority both in the Ottoman empire and in Persia down to the first half of the 20th century (for an overview, see Planhol 1993, *passim*). It must also be borne in mind that it was in this atmosphere of Ottoman-Ṣafawid confrontation (10th/16th century) that the religious syncretism which developed among the Türkmen in Saldjūḳ times on the basis of practices and beliefs brought from Central Asia, and entered Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam, led to the formation of a new heterodox creed in Anatolia, Alevism (cf. several studies in *Alevism in Turkey and comparable syncretistic religious communities in the Near East*, ed. K. Kehl-Bodrogi, B. Kellner-Heinkele and A. Otter-Beaujean, Leiden 1997).

Of more political consequence than the Anatolian Türkmen *beyliks* were the states founded by the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Türkmen tribal confederations respectively. At times even serious rivals of the Tīmūrids, Mamlūks and Ottomans, they gained momentum with the re-migration of Türkmen to the east, essentially to Persia, from the 8th/14th till the beginning of the 10th/16th centuries. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (*q.v.*; the best study on them is J.E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu. Clan, confederation, empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976) dominated eastern Anatolia and western Persia from the mid 8th/14th century until the conquest of these regions by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907-8/1501-3. Their leading clan was the Bayîndîr [*q.v.*], which claimed as its eponymous ancestor one of the 24 grandsons of Oghuz Khān, who were considered as the founders of the legendary 24 Oghuz tribes. Their most successful ruler, Uzun Ḥasan (871-83/1466-78 [*q.v.*]), made Tabrīz his capital after gaining the upper hand over the rival Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (*q.v.*; see also F. Sümer, *Kara-Koyunlular*[3], Ankara 1992). At the height of its power under Djihān Shāh (843-72/1439-67), the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire comprised eastern Anatolia, Armenia, ʿIrāḳ and most of Persia.

Central Asia

Owing to the lack of historical evidence, it is not possible to prove direct continuity from the Oghuz/Türkmen of Saldjūḳ times to the post-Mongol Türkmen. Very little information is also available for the Tīmūrid period. The history of the modern Türkmen tribes can only be traced from the 10th/16th century onwards, when they slowly moved from their retreat in the western fringes of modern Turkmenistan (Mangîshlak peninsula, Üst Yurt plateau, Balkhān mountains, Ḳaraḳum desert) in an eastern and southeastern direction to the agricultural oases (Khʷārazm, the Murghāb valley). This movement was probably caused by a growing desiccation of the steppe and the pressure exerted by stronger neighbours like the Ḳalmuḳs, the Ḳazakhs [*q.vv.*] and the Persians (cf. Bregel 1981). The rule of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (1054/1644-5 to 1074/1664), Shaybānid ruler of Khīwa and historian of the Türks and Türkmen, was likewise marked with frequent expeditions against the Türkmen tribes of Khʷārazm, the Ḳaraḳum desert and the Mangîshlak peninsula, leading to the temporary submission of some of them (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, *Shadjara-yi türk*, ed. and tr. P.I. Desmaisons as *Histoire des mongols et des tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Béhâdour Khân*, St. Petersburg 1871-4, ed. 297-372, tr. 318-50). According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī's own words, he composed his history of the Türkmen people, the *Shadjara-yi tarākima* ("The family tree of the Türkmen"), in 1071/1660-1, because Türkmen scholars, *sheykhs* and *beks* who had heard that he was an expert on history asked him to do so in replacement of the numerous *Oghuz-nāmas* which they considered as worthless (ed. Ölmez, 109, tr. 232). This history clearly mirrors the historical traditions and legends of the Oghuz that had earlier been recorded by

Rashīd al-Dīn in his *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* (see *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, tr. K. Jahn, Vienna 1969). In addition, Abu 'l-Ghāzī's work adds events that probably have to be placed mostly within the 9th/15th century.

According to Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Oghuz Khān divided his descendants into the senior Bozoḳ and the junior Üčoḳ division of tribes. He mentions in his work the Bayat, Bigdili, Dodurga, Döger, Ḳarḳîn and Ḳayî, which are traditionally considered as belonging to the Bozok (right wing) division, and the Ava, Bayîndîr, Bečene, Bügdüz, Čavuldur, Čepni, Eymür, Igdir, Ḳara Ivli, Ḳînîḳ, Salur and Üregir belonging to the Üčoḳ (left wing) division. The Teke as well as the Ersarî [*q.v.*] are represented as connected to the Salur, and the Yomut and Göklen [see GÖKLÄN] are not mentioned at all (ed. Ölmez, index). These tribes began to move into the oases of Khʷārazm and southern Turkmenia only by the middle of the 11th/17th century. The Ersarî and one part of the Yomut began to become sedentary farmers by the end of that century, as did the Čavuldur (Čawdor [*q.v.*]) and Teke from the beginning of the 12th/18th century onwards (Bregel 1981, 32-6).

The decline of the Khanate of Khīwa from the early 12th/18th century permitted to the Türkmen increased political interference in Khʷarazm. Under the Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*] dynasty, established in 1218/1804, the campaigns against various Türkmen tribes became one of the constants of Khīwan politics. Temporarily subdued militarily, or often out of sheer need for victuals which were only to be had in the sedentary areas, the Türkmen were forced to send auxiliary troops to participate in Khīwa's campaigns against the rival Bukhāran emīrate. Continuous raids into the neighbouring Persian provinces and Persian punitive expeditions into Türkmen territory exhausted both sides. Nevertheless, the tribes were able to preserve a certain amount of autonomy. After fighting victoriously with Khīwan and Persian armies between 1855 and 1861, they enjoyed for a short while independence. In the course of its colonial expansion into Central Asia, Russia first conquered Bukhārā, Khīwa, Khoḳand [*q.v.*] and the eastern coast of the Caspian sea (1281-93/1865-76). The Türkmen, however, offered strong resistance for several years. In 1289/1881 the Russians stormed the fortress of Göktepe [*q.v.*] and in 1302/1884 they occupied Marw [*q.v.*]. From 1897-1917, "Transcaspia" was administered as part of the governorate-general of Turkestan (a good overview of these events is given by Yu. Bregel in *EIr*, art. *Central Asia*. vii, in vol. V, 193-203).

While in the 13th/19th century the three Uzbek khanates Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khoḳand turned into despotic monarchies, with the Uzbek military caste adopting a more and more sedentary character, the social structure of the Türkmen tribes remained largely tribal. The authority of their elders (*aḳ saḳal*) rested not on dynastic power but on personal qualification (R. Meserve, *A description of the position of Turkmen tribal leaders according to 19th century Western travellers*, in *Altaica Berolinensia*, ed. B. Kellner-Heinkele, Wiesbaden 1993, 139-48; for an overview of the tribal composition and a non-conclusive estimate of population numbers for the 19th century on the basis of Western sources, see the art. *Türkmenler* by M. Saray in *İA*). However, the continuous process of breaking-up and reshaping of tribes (*uruk*) and subtribes (*oymak*) between the 17th and 19th centuries has not been sufficiently studied, although source materials are not lacking. The major chronicles for 13th/19th century Khīwa, e.g. the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and its continuations, by Mu'nis (1192-1244/1778-1829 [*q.v.*]) and Āgahī (1224-91/1809-74 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) contain large sections on the interrelationship between Khīwa and the neighbouring tribes (*Firdaws al-iḳbāl*, ed. Yu. Bregel, Leiden, etc. 1988; sections of the continuations tr. into Russian in *Materialî po istorii Turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii ed. V.V. Struve *et alii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1938). An example of how detailed a result can be achieved by using indigenous chronicles and archival documents, in addition to travel, diplomatic and military reports (particularly Russian), is given by Yu. Bregel' in his *Khorezmskie Turkmenî v XIX veke*, Moscow 1961.

3. Modern period.

Republic of Turkmenistan

In 1926 the Teke and Yomut formed more than 50% of the total Türkmen population (Bregel 1981, 35). Bregel puts forward a cautious estimate of population numbers for the various tribes in the 1920s (1981, 12-17). In 1989 the Türkmen constituted 72% of a population of 4.1 million inhabitants (R. Götz-U. Halbach, *Politisches Lexikon GUS*[3], 1996, 332 with further references to the most recent developments). The Republic of Turkmenistān [*q.v.*], founded in 1991, is the first independent state of the Central Asian Türkmen. It was established within the borders of the Turkmenskaya SSR, founded by the Soviet régime in 1925. Only during the Soviet period did a sense of national identity begin to emerge alongside tribal and local loyalties. Smaller communities of Türkmen are also to be found in the other Central Asian republics, particularly in Uzbekistan (cf. M. Durdîev and S. Kadîrov, *Dunyädäki Turkmenler*, Ashgabat 1991, 56-7).

Iran

The contemporary Türkmen population was estimated at several hundreds of thousands of *ca.* 2% of a population of 26.3 millions in 1967-9. Most of them are agriculturists settled close to the Iran-Turkmenistan border. They are predominantly the descendants of the Yomut and Göklen, related to the important tribal confederations of the southern Turkmenian plateau (Planhol 1993, 553-5).

Afghānistān

In the 1920s and 1930s, thousands of Türkmen immigrated into Afghānistān to avoid Sovietisation and collectivisation. Settling in the northernmost rural areas along the Soviet-Afghan border, they contributed an important new factor to Afghan economy as semi-nomadic karakul breeders and as carpet weavers. After 1978, the new régime recognised the languages of the larger minorities, among them the Türkmen, conceding publication and broadcasting in these languages. The Türkmen are considered the second largest group among the various Turkic ethnic groups (estimated at about 12% of a total population of *ca.* 14 millions in 1979) after the Uzbeks (E. Grötzbach, *Afghanistan*, Darmstadt 1990, 68, 73-5, 118/9; Planhol 1993, 596, 602).

Turkey

There are no estimates available on the number of Türkmen in the Republic of Turkey, since they speak Turkish. There are Sunnī Muslim and Alevi Türkmen. Among the Sunnīs, the Avşar, Çepni [*q.vv.*], Bekdik and Hotamış seem to be the more important groups. They are widespread in western Anatolia (Afyonkarahisar) and central Anatolia (Kayseri, Sivas, Konya, Niğde, Yozgat), and consider themselves as descendants of Oghuz Khān. They are endogamous and patrilinear. Among some Alevi Türkmen, group identity is rather based on religion than on common descent and origin in Central Asia. Again, the Çepni

are listed among them, the Sıraç, Barak, Nalcı and Tahtacı, but also tribal names derived from place names, like the Adalılar, Üsküdarlı. They are widespread in western Anatolia (Balıkesir, Manisa, İzmir, Muğla), but also to be found in the Gaziantep region. In the 1950s and 1980s, Türkmen families from Central Asia and Afghānistān emigrated to Turkey (see P.A. Andrews, *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, Wiesbaden 1989, 63-8, 265-95, 593, with further references).

Syria and Lebanon

The descendants of the Türkmen tribes that moved into the Fertile Crescent beginning with the 5th/11th century are well-documented in the historical sources down to the 20th century. Although the majority of the large confederations of eastern Anatolia that had had their winter pastures since mediaeval times in the north of the Syrian desert (al-Djazīra) had been resettled in the 12th/18th century by the Ottoman authorities to western and southwestern Anatolia (Planhol 1968, 235-40), European travellers in Greater Syria in the 19th century frequently report encounters with Türkmen. Areas with a compact Türkmen population or a strong minority existed in 1967, particularly south of the Turkish-Syrian border around Aʿzaz, Çoban Bey and Baer Bassit, and, as stock breeders, south of Kunaitra until 1967 (E. Wirth, *Syrien*, Darmstadt 1971, 179, 401, 417).

Next to nothing is known about Lebanon's Türkmen inhabitants. However, in 1994 the ethnologist A. Nippa visited a Türkmen settlement near Baʿlabakk. This community calls itself *ḳabīlat Suʿaydiyyīn* and preserves a narrative of its origin that relates it vaguely to the Saldjūḳs and Ottomans. They speak a Turkish idiom. Before the Syrian-Lebanese border was drawn in 1948 they circulated freely between the Biḳāʿ and the Aleppo, Ḥamāt, Ḥims and Palmyra regions, where they had relatives. When the German photographer Hermann Burchardt visited the Türkmen of Baʿlabakk between 1893 and 1903, they were still nomads (A. Nippa, *Lesen in alten Photographien aus Baalbek*, Zürich [1996], 146-89).

ʿIrāḳ

Like Syria, modern ʿIrāḳ has a Türkmen minority that descends partly from the mediaeval Türkmen invaders, the northern Mesopotamian basin, over centuries serving as the winter pastures for the eastern Anatolian confederations. Today's Türkmen settlements are to be found in the area with a Kurdish majority south of Kirkūk, Irbil and Mawṣil respectively. Population numbers are difficult to assess, since political interests are particularly complicated in regard to this area. According to official government statistics, Türkmen are estimated at somewhat less than 2% of a population of *ca.* 16.3 millions (1987). They speak a Turkish idiom, but are believed to be no longer tribally organised (see *Irak: a country study*, 'Washington D.C. 1990, 82, 85). Planhol (1993, 281, 766) mentions a Turkish estimate of 1.5 millions (1987) and an English one of 75,000 (1937).

Bibliography: There is no comprehensive work on the past and present of the Türkmen. Corresponding to the subject, the bibliography is extremely scattered. Apart from the references given in the arts. referred to above and in the text, only a few basic works can be mentioned here: Yu. Bregel, *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*, i-iii, Bloomington, Ind. 1995; a number of arts. in the recent *EIr* (1986-) are more comprehensive than those in *EI*; for the most recent bibliographies of the Türkmen *beylik*s in Anatolia, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi* (1988-); still a valuable outline of the history of the Central Asian Türkmen is W. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, Leiden 1962, 73-170, *A history of the Turkman People*; X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968; P.B. Golden, *An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples*, Wiesbaden 1992; H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit*, Beirut 1989; Yu. Bregel, *Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens*, in *CAJ*, xxv (1981), 5-37 (important critique of Soviet field research); Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime*, ed. and Turkish tr. by Z.K. Ölmez, Ankara 1996; de Planhol, *Les nations du Prophète*, Paris 1993.

(Barbara Kellner-Heinkele)

TÜRKMEN ČAY (İ), conventionally Turkomanchai, a village in the Persian province of Ādharbāydjān, famed as the site for the treaty which ended the Russo-Persian War of 1826-7.

The modern village of Turkamān (lat. 37° 35' N., long. 47°, 42' E.) is on the Tabrīz-Miyāna main road 40 km/25 miles to the west of Miyāna. In the 8th/14th century, Mustawfī calls the village Turkmān Kandī and says that it was once a town (*Nuzha*, 183, tr. 174). A few decades later, Clavijo calls it *Tucelar* and *Tunglar* (evidently a corruption of Türk-lär) and says that it is inhabited by Turkmens (*Travels*, ed. Sreznevski, St. Petersburg 1881, 172, 354).

The Russo-Persian peace treaty was signed there on 10/22 February 1828, from a position of Russian strength, the Russians having occupied the provincial capital Tabrīz; amongst those present at the negotiations as observers were British officers.

This diplomatic document consisted of two parts. 1. By virtue of the political treaty, which was to take the place of the Gulistān treaty of 1813, Russia annexed the khānates of Eriwān and Nakhičewān and received from Persia a contribution of 5,000,000 *tūmāns* = 20,000,000 roubles, but this was later reduced. 2. A special agreement fixed at 5% *ad valorem* the customs duties between the two countries and regulated the personal status of Russian subjects; in criminal cases, they were to be tried by Russian courts, civil cases concerning both nationalities were dealt with by Russo-Persian tribunals with the participation of the Russian consular representatives, etc. This particular agreement of 1828 is the historical origin of the Persian capitulations. By the most favoured nation clause, all the states of Europe in time secured similar rights. On its accession to power in 1917 the Soviet government renounced *sua sponte* all the old political and judicial privileges in Persia and this renunciation was sealed by the Persian-Soviet treaty of February 28, 1921. All foreign capitulations in Persia were eventually abolished by Riḍā Shāh in 1927-8 [see IMTIYĀZĀT. iii].

The Treaty of Türkmen Čay set the tone for Russo-Persian relations over the next 90 years, and it enshrined the new unequal status of the two powers. Persia lost further territory since the 1813 treaty and had to pay what was, for a country with a primitive economy, an enormous indemnity. The commercial section laid down the basis for Russian commercial penetration of northern Persia, so that Ādharbāydjān became the corridor for a flood of Russian imports, creating already in the 1830s and 1840s a trade imbalance heavily in Russia's favour (cf. Minorsky, in *BSOS*, xi [1943-6], 878-80; M. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations, 1828-1914*, Gainesville 1965).

Bibliography: Türkmen Čay is mentioned by all the travellers who have gone from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn, cf. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage*, Paris 1854-60, iii,

83-4 (the village has 200 houses) and the atlas, pl. lvi (room where the treaty was signed); Brugsch, *Reise*, Leipzig 1862-4, i, 181; Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, ii, 85; A.H. Schindler, *Reisen*, in *Zeitschr. Gesell. Erdk.*, 1883, 333 (100 houses, altitude 5,285 feet).
The text of the treaty of 1828 in F. Martens, *Nouveau recueil des traités*, vii/2 (1830), 564-72; Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 410-18; Yuzefovič, *Dogovorî Rossii s vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, 214-7; Hertslet, *Treaties concluded between Great Britain and Persia*, etc., London 1891. See also P.W. Avery, *Modern Iran*, ²London 1967, 37-9; F. Kazemzadeh, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, vii, Cambridge 1991, 337-8.
(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

TURKMENISTAN, a former Soviet republic in the southwestern part of Central Asia, now (since 1991) the Republic of Turkmenistan (Turkmenistan Respublikası).

It possesses an area of 488,100 km², and has a total of 3,736 km of land boundaries with Uzbekistan (1,621 km), Iran (992 km), Afghānistān (744 km), Kazakhstan (379 km), and 1,768 km sea boundaries with the Caspian Sea. The Ḳara Ḳum desert [*q.v.*] takes 90% of the total area. The latest official census of 1989 in the Soviet Union gave a population figure of 3,534,000 for the Turkmen SSR, whereas an early 1996 estimate suggests a population of 4,075,316 for Turkmenistan. The native Turkmen make up 77% of the total population, which includes Uzbeks (9.2%), Russians (6-7%), Kazakh (2%), Ukrainians (0.5%), and other ethnic groups of Tatars, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Balūč (0.8%). The capital city is Ashgabat (the former ʿAshḳābād [*q.v.*]) with a population of 544,700. Other major cities are Dashhawuz, Mary (the former Marw [see MARW AL-SHĀHIDJĀN]), Charjou, and Kerki. Turkmen has been the official language since 1990, and 95% of the population speak it; 38% are also Russian speakers. It is a secular state with a majority Sunnī Muslim population. The republic's currency is the manat, introduced on 1 November 1993. The territories of the present-day Turkmenistan were included partly in the Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1918-24), and partly in the two independent states of the Khorazmian People's Conciliar Republic (1920-4) and the Bukharan People's Conciliar Republic (1920-4). Soviet Russia, which had initially recognised the sovereignty of the republics of Khorazm and Bukhara, later succeeded in infiltrating the politics of these two states and removing the reformist national cadres, the so-called "Young Khivans" and "Young Bukharans", from power by 1923-4. On 19 September 1924, the names of these two states were changed from "People's Conciliar Republic" (Khalḳ Shūrālar Djumhūriyyeti) into "Socialist Soviet Republic" (Sotsialistik Sovet Respublikasî) by emphasising the change of state ideology to a Soviet-type socialism. On 27 October 1924, the national-state demarcation in Central Asia abolished the Turkestan ASSR, the Khorazmian SSR, and the Bukharan SSR and created five ethnic republics, one of which became the Turkmen SSR. An All-Turkmen Constituent Congress of Soviets was held in Ashgabat in February 1925 which led to the formation of the embryonic Turkmen Communist Party. The Turkmen SSR was formally incorporated into the USSR on 13 May 1925. Like other parts of Central Asia, Soviet Turkmenistan was also affected by the armed struggle of the nationalist Basmači bands [see BASMAČIS] through the 1920s and 1930s. The Soviet collectivisation policies were a disaster for the Turkmen, who formed traditionally a nomadic society. The forced settlement of nomads on collective farms (*sovkhoz, kolkhoz*) and other harsh Soviet policies resulted in open rebellion in 1928-32. Also, the Stalinist purges of 1937-8 took a heavy toll of the leading Turkmen party and government officials, intelligentsia and writers.

On 27 October 1991, the Turkmen Supreme Soviet (parliament) adopted a law on independence, declaring the Turkmen SSR as a sovereign and independent country, and changed its name to the Republic of Turkmenistan. This decision was based on a national referendum in the former Turkmen SSR, where 94.1% of the electorate voted for independence. On 21 December 1991 it joined other republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Turkmenistan became a member of the UN on 2 March 1992. The republic's new constitution was adopted by referendum on 8 May 1992. The current president of Turkmenistan is Saparmurad Niyazov "Turkmenbashi", who was the former first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet since 7 January 1990. He was elected president on 27 October 1990 and re-elected on 21 June 1992. In December 1993, the new Turkmen parliament or Majlis voted to extend Niyazov's presidency until 2002 without another re-election. Turkmenistan's economy is highly dependent on the production and processing of energy resources and cotton. Rich in mineral resources, it has *ca.* 4 trillion m³ of non-associated gas and 1.1 billion tons of oil reserves. Despite its mineral wealth, the major constraints of Turkmenistan are the old Soviet-type socialist economy, lack of transportation links to outside markets, scarcity of water, and an authoritarian rule which has little tolerance for democratic opposition parties.

Bibliography: *Handbook of major Soviet nationalities*, New York 1975; *Turkmen Sovyet Entsiklopediyası*, viii, Ashgabat 1978; M. Rywkin, *Moscow's Muslim challenge: Soviet Central Asia*, London 1982; E. Allworth, *Central Asia: 120 years of Russian rule*, New York 1989; B. Szajkowski, *Political parties of Eastern Europe, Russia and the successor states*, Stockton 1994; *Turkmenistan*, The World Bank, Washington, D.C. 1994; *Türkmenistan ülke raporu* (TIKA), Ankara 1995.
(TIMUR KOCAOĞLU)

TURKS

5. Modern Turkish literature
6. Literature in Turkic languages outside Turkey from 1400 to the present
   (a) Čaghatay literature in Central Asia and Uzbek literature
   (b) Čaghatay literature in Eastern Turkestan and New Uyghur literature
   (c) Literature in Ādharī
   (d) Turkmen literature
   (e) Kirgiz literature
   (f) Kazak literature
   (g) Tatar literature
   (h) Karakalpak literature
   (i) Bashkir literature
   (j) Čuwash literature
   (k) Yakut literature
   (l) Literature in other Turkic languages of Siberia

IV. Music

V. Folklore

I. History.

1. The pre-Islamic period: the first Turks in history and their languages.

Towards 540, on the northern fringes of China, the nomadic empire of the Zhouan-zhouan (proto-Mongols?) dominated the lands of Mongolia and some neighbouring zones. Its Ḳaghan or ruler had as his vassals notably the chiefs of two important tribal confederations, those of the Türks, in the northern Altai, and the equally Turkish-speaking one of the "High Waggons" (Chinese Kao-kiu) in the Selenga basin (the northern part of central Mongolia).

After an abortive revolt by these last, the Türks rose up in their turn and their chief Bumîn crushed the Zhouan-zhouan and became Ḳaghan of Mongolia in 552. He died shortly afterwards and his son succeeded him under the name of Mugan Ḳaghan (553-72). For his part, Istämi, the younger son of Bumîn with the title of Yabgu (552-75), after having defeated the main forces of the Hephthalites (whose origins, for long discussed, probably sprang from a strong Eastern Iranian element [see HAYĀṬILA]), conquered from them Soghdia, allying with the Sāsānid Persian emperor [see SĀSĀNIDS] who received as his share Bactria (565). But Istämi was to invade it four years later, having assured himself, through an exchange of ambassadors, of the benevolent neutrality of the Byzantines, hostile to the Persians (against whom they were soon to wage a lengthy war, 572-91). Istämi's death interrupted this Graeco-Turkish alliance; his successor Tardu, having an impulsive and adventurous temperament, did not hesitate to march against the Byzantine cities of the Chersonese (576-90) from his own base. This same Tardu, profiting from the internal struggles amongst the Türks of Mongolia after Mugan Ḳaghan's death, tried to impose his domination from 600-1 onwards, but failed, had to flee and disappeared in 603. The rupture between the western and eastern Türks, which he had provoked by his incursions from 581 onwards, became definite. Moreover, the western Türks themselves split into rival khānates and groups. The eastern Türks of Mongolia were much weakened by deadly struggles within the ruling family, with ephemeral Ḳaghans perpetually being attacked by rivals. From 616 to 621, the Chinese empire was itself the prey of civil warfare. The Sui dynasty foundered after 618, and the T'ang which succeeded it was only able to restore order under its second emperor, T'ai-tsung (627-49). Meanwhile, profiting from the enfeeblement of China (which the internal dissensions of the Türks had fuelled), a new ruler, El Ḳaghan (620-30), managed to almost restore the former power of the eastern Türks, and even went on to threaten the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. But T'ai-tsung, a great war leader, defeated him *ca.* 630 and took him prisoner.

Henceforth, for just over a half-century (630-82), the eastern Türks came under a vigilant Chinese protectorate. For their part, between 611 and 618 the western Türks had gradually recovered a certain unity. Thus their ruler Tong Yabgu extended his authority from the Altai to the Caspian and from the Aral Sea to the Hindū Kush, and his reign (618-30) was marked by successes in the Tarim [*q.v.*] basin. T'ai-tsung encouraged him as a counterweight to the eastern Türks. But once these were placed under Chinese tutelage, his policy changed. He allowed the Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*], an important tribe nomadising between Lake Balkhash and the Tarbagatay, to rebel against Tong Yabgu, who was then murdered. Deprived of a supreme chief, the tribes of the western Türks formed themselves into two factions which fell into mortal strife with each other, and never again did they form a unified khānate. As for the eastern Türks, fifty years later they were to shake off the Chinese yoke and create once more an independent state.

Under the impulse from a great military leader, Tonyukuk, a resistance movement took shape, based on a popular revolt against the Sinicised Begs and profiting from the dispersal of the Chinese in Central Asia. Tonyukuk had himself enthroned, under the name of El-tärish Ḳaghan, a distant relative of El Ḳaghan (682). The new Ḳaghan soon unified the majority of the Türk tribes of Mongolia. Carrying on warfare by turns against the Chinese, the Tokuz Oghuz (a group of nine clans grouped together and arising out of the old Kao-kiu), the Ḳîrḳîz (the later Ḳîrghîz) of the upper Yenisei and various Mongol-speaking tribes, conducted raids almost every year into China from 683. On his death in 691, his younger brother succeeded him as Kapgan Ḳaghan, and benefited from the rivalry between the Dowager Empress Wu-Hou and the legitimate heir of the T'ang, while continuing the incursions into China. In the west, he fought with the factions of the western Türks and the Türgesh of the Ili, and in the east, the Bayarku, who killed him in 716.

During a palace revolution in which Kapgan Ḳaghan's family perished, Köl Tegin, the younger son of El-tärish Ḳaghan, ensured the enthronement of his elder brother Bilgä Ḳaghan, who, on the advice of his father-in-law Tonyukuk, sought peace with the Chinese, while still keeping up the pressure on them by raids. He secured peace in 721-2, and his relations with the T'ang emperor Hiuan-tsang became, and remained, cordial. When Bilgä Ḳaghan died from poison in 734, his son and successor Tängri Ḳaghan reigned for hardly seven years before he, too, was murdered. All the tribes subject to the Türks rebelled, and it was finally the Uyghur who reigned in Mongolia 744-840. These Uyghur, themselves divided into ten clans (On Uyghur), were the royal tribe of the Toḳuz Oghuz or Nine Oghuz (the Toghuzghuz of Arab historians) and not a separate people, as has long been believed.

With the collapse of the state of the eastern Türks, there came to an end the first period, known historically, of the organisation within the Turkish-speaking world of a pastoral and militarily nomadic society, one which had a tribal basis but was relatively centralised, with communal institutions grouped round a monarchical power whose ideology, in its final expression, was affirmed in an official, written language,

türk, this being an innovation. In effect, if there were from the second half of the 6th century some Turkish translations of texts from the Buddhist canon, for missionary purposes, none of these has survived; but if they did exist, their writing system must have been a cursive one (one perhaps adapted, as with classical Uyghur, from the Sogdian alphabet). However, the oldest Turkish texts which have come down to us are funerary inscriptions, on stone stelae and written in original, geometric characters invented for the phonology of Turkish. They comprise epitaphs of high officials or rulers, composed under the dynasty of El-tärish Ḳaghan. The most important, those of Tonyukuk, Köl Tegin and Bilgä Ḳaghan, allow us to establish the official doctrine of Turkish power at around 700.

The Ḳaghan is instituted by the Great Sky God, Tängri [see TAÑRÎ], and he is his emanation; his wife, the Katun, is the emanation of the Mother-Goddess Umay, partner of Tängri. This Supreme God, the inspirer of power, is also the God of Armies who decides victories. Other divinities are the sacred Earth and Water of the Türks, Iduk Yer-Sub, who intervene at the side of Tängri. The ideal dwelling-place of the Ḳaghan is the Sacred Mountain of Ötükän [see ÖTÜKEN], near the Orkhon river [*q.v.*], where he sacrifices to the divinities, but his encampment, which makes up the "court" (with the princes, Tegins, and high officials), moves around according to the seasons and the military operations, with appropriately fitted-out tents. In the various regions of the "empire", the tribes have as chiefs their hereditary lords, the Bey or Bäg, who owes allegiance to the Ḳaghan. But the famous Orkhon funerary inscriptions, mentioned above, contain, in the mouth of Bilgä Ḳaghan, strong reproaches against the submission of the Beys to the Chinese protecting power, and praise the "people" (*bodun*), who led a patriotic resistance to them by rallying to El-tärish Ḳaghan.

Despite its short period of existence (682-744), the "empire" as restored by this ruler played an outstanding role in fixing the ideology of power ("heavenly" Ḳaghan, cf. the Chinese Emperor "Son of Heaven"), the institutions and, above all, the official language ("Orkhon Turkish") of the Turkish-speaking states. Thus the Uyghur, when they achieved power over the Türks of Mongolia, retained their titulature, organisation and written language, which became the *Uygur Türk tili*, with its epigraphic writing system. When they were chased out by the Ḳîrḳîz in 840, they would go on to found, in what was to become Eastern Turkestan, a new "empire", urbanised and largely sedentarised, and would retain this Türk language in their manuscripts (most of them in the cursive script of Sogdian origin), with Persian, Sogdian, Syriac, Sanskrit or Chinese connections depending on the religions (Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and, above all, Buddhism) which they were to adopt. It would be the same, with numerous borrowings from Arabic and Persian to add to the Türk-Uyghur vocabulary, amongst the various Turkish-speaking peoples of Central Asia who, from *ca.* 950 onwards, converted to Islam in increasing numbers. Finally, most of them, identifying themselves from the starting-point of their written language, would be called or would call themselves Türk. This was to be the case e.g. in the first Turkish-speaking Islamic-led state, that of the Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS]. Thus the name which originally denoted only a confederation of tribes in the Altai became extended to a whole linguistic group under the influence of the written language of the last eastern Türk dynasty.

To this linguistic grouping there belonged—as well as those elements of the Toḳuz Oghuz who left with the Uyghur, after the Ḳîrḳîz invasion, towards the Ti'en Shan and the Tarim basin (or, in lesser numbers, towards Kansu [*q.v.*])—other Oghuz who set out westwards across the Inner Asian steppes, became Islamicised and became the nucleus of the Saldjūḳ and then Ottoman empires. These linguistic ancestors of the Türkmens, the Turks of Ādharbāydjān and the Turks of Turkey, did not feel the influence of the phonologically conservative Türk-Uyghur literary language, so that their own language evolved separately and thus became differentiated from Ḳarakhānid Turkish and its descendant Čaghatay, the common literary language of Turkish-speaking Muslims of Central Asia. It is from Oghuz Turkish that Ottoman and the three modern written languages of Turkey, Ādharbāydjān and Turkmenistan derive, though from an Oghuz Turkish which has not escaped some influence from Orkhon Turkish.

The case of Ḳîrghîz (ancient Ḳîrḳîz) is, at first sight, enigmatic. On their funerary monuments carved between the 8th and 10th centuries, the Ḳîrḳîz of the upper Yenisei have left behind inscriptions in the same language, apart from a few minor details, as that of the eastern Türks and written in an alphabet very like their own, except for a small number of signs. One might therefore conclude that the language of the Ḳîrḳîz was at that time hardly different from that of the Türks. Yet the Ḳîrḳîz spoken language today presents many individual peculiarities, part of them to be found in Kazakh and the living languages which should be connected with the Kuman (Comans) and Ḳîpčak (two names for a single Turkish-speaking people, originally from the Irtysh-Obi region in south-western Siberia, who in the 11th century invaded the European steppes from the Volga to the Danube [see ḲANGHLÎ; ḲÎPČAḲ; ḲUMĀN]). Since these same peculiarities are to be found amongst the Tatars [*q.v.*], the Mongols of Čingiz Khān's empire who became Turkish-speaking, one is led to think that they stem from a relatively late influence from the phonology of Mongol consequent upon the great Mongol expansion of the 13th-14th centuries.

When the conversion to Islam of the Ḳarakhānids, two or three centuries earlier, gave birth to the first Muslim Turkish literature, its mode of expression, the direct ancestor of Čaghatay, was an evolved form of classical Uyghur (written in either the Uyghur or Arabic script), whence, ultimately, Orkhon Türk. Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Turkish, stemming from a western Oghuz dialect of the 11th-13th centuries, also profited in the creation and the writing of its literary language from the Ḳarakhānid experience.

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(L. BAZIN)

2. The tribal history of the Central Asian Turks.

The name *Türk* spread as a political designation during the period of Türk imperial hegemony to their subject Turkic and non-Turkic peoples. Subsequently, it was adopted as a generic ethnonym designating most if not all of the Turkic-speaking tribes in Central Asia by the Muslim peoples with whom they came into contact. The imperial era also provided a legacy of political and social organisation (with deep roots in pre-Türk Inner Asia) that in its Türk form became the common inheritance of the Turkic groupings of Central Asia.

In the aftermath of the Türk collapse, a number of Turkic tribal confederations appeared or re-emerged, many of which were or came to be associated with distinctive linguistic features. In Central Asia three units may be delineated: Southeastern/Turkī, Northwestern/Ḳîpčaḳ and Southwestern/Og͟huz. The Southeastern, which also predominated in the Uyg͟hur successor state (744-840) of the Türks in Inner Asia (and perhaps in the Ḳîrg͟hîz Ḳag͟hanate on the Yenisei which overran the Uyg͟hur realm in 840), was represented by the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*]. Formerly allies of the Uyg͟hurs, they had, *ca.* 745, migrated to the lands of the fading Western Türk/Türges͟h Ḳag͟hanate in Semireč'e/D̲j̲etisu. The Ḳarluḳ defection contributed to the Muslim victory at the Battle of the Talas/Aṭlak͟h (133/751) over China (Gibb, *Arab conquests*, 95-9; Beckwith, *Tibetan empire*, 136-42). As Chinese influence in Central Asia receded, due to civil war (755), the Ḳarluḳs became dominant in the Western Türk lands (766), controlling the region south of Lake Balk͟has͟h and extending across Îssîḳ Köl, the Ili, Ču and Talas rivers. Their original core appears to have consisted of three tribes (the *Üč Ḳarluḳ*): the Bulaḳ, the *Tas͟hlîg͟h and the Čigil. The latter, in turn, appear to have been a numerically large subconfederation led by a chieftain bearing the title *tügsin* (*Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. Bahār, 421; Gardīzī/Bart'old, Pers. 31/51) noted by Maḥmūd al-Kās͟hg͟harī (tr. Dankoff, i, 329-330) as that of a "commoner in the third rank from the king"). Like many of the other Ḳarluḳ tribes, they were shamanists, but had Christian (most probably Nestorian) elements among them. The Tuk͟hsi tribal grouping that had previously nomadised in the region of the Western Türk capital at Suyāb had also been absorbed by the Ḳarluḳs. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Sotoodeh, 81, tr. Minorsky, 97, describes the latter as primarily engaged in pastoral nomadism, "near to civilized people, pleasant tempered and sociable". After the collapse of the Uyg͟hur Ḳag͟hanate, the Ḳarluḳs may have put forward a claim to the pan-Turkic imperium. Ibn al-Faḳīh, Mas͟hhad ms., ed. Sezgin, 340, says that "the kingdom is with them" while al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 155, reports that "they had political power and from them came the Ḳag͟han of Ḳag͟hans". Closely associated with the Ḳarluḳs, to their east in the Lake Balk͟has͟h and Ala Köl region, were the Yag͟hma, a powerful and numerous tribal grouping ruled by the Bug͟hra K͟hān (*Mud̲j̲mal al-tawārīk͟h*, 421), whose royal house descended from the Toḳuz Og͟huz [see TOG͟HUZG͟HUZ]. Both the Ḳarluḳs and Yag͟hma played a role in the formation of the Ḳarak͟hānid state [see ILEK K͟HĀNS] which took shape in the latter half of the 10th century and is associated with further Turkic tribal movements westward, touched off by the Ḳîrg͟hîz and then Ḳitan takeover of Mongolia (early 10th century) and the large-scale conversions of Turkic tribes to Islam.

In the Ḳarak͟hānid realm, the resources of the Ḳarluḳ, Čigil, Yag͟hma, Tuk͟hsi and other nomadic unions were now formed into a powerful state extending from Eastern to Western Turkistan which grafted its traditional Turkic political superstructure on the already existing state institutions of Iranian (Sāmānid) Central Asia. The advance of Islam under the Ḳarak͟hānids was resisted by a number of Turkic tribal groups: the Uyg͟hur statelets, the Yabāḳu and the Basmîl being most prominent among their foes. The latter two spoke non-Turkic languages as well as Turkic and were in the process of Turkicisation. Bekeč/G͟hāzī Arslan Tegin, one of the Ḳarak͟hānid leaders, is credited with defeating a much more powerful pagan Turko-nomadic army led by the Yabāḳu chieftain Böke Bud̲h̲rač (Kās͟hg͟harī/Dankoff, i, 83, 163, 340, 344, ii, 268, 330). This has been associated with the Ḳarak͟hānid victory, recorded under the year 408/1017-18, over a force of "300,000 tents of the tribes of the Turks" coming from "al-Ṣīn," among whom were the K͟haṭāy (Ḳitan, Chin. Ch'itan) "who (subsequently) ruled over Transoxiana" (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 297-8; Dankoff, *Three Turkic verses*, 157). It may also be related to the disturbances caused by the Ḳūn and other migrating tribes from Inner Asia (see below). A generation later, this same source reports that in Ṣafar 435/Sept.-Oct. 1043, "10,000 tents of the infidel Turks who used to make nocturnal attacks on the Muslim towns in the region of Balasag͟hun and Kās͟hg͟har . . . embraced Islam" (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 520).

The other major tribal conglomeration that formed on the borders of the Central Asian Islamic world was that of the Og͟huz [see G͟HUZZ] whose speech, in al-Kās͟hg͟harī's day, was already viewed as different from "K͟hāḳānī" (i.e. Ḳarak͟hānid/Southeastern Turkic, Kās͟hg͟harī/Dankoff, i, 75-6). According to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 178, the Og͟huz, the western neighbours of the Ḳarluḳs, arrived in the Syr Darya region "from the most distant parts of the Turks" during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). Here, they established a polity of some 22-25 tribes or clans under their *yabg͟hu* [*q.v.*] (an ancient Inner Asian title of Tok͟harian or Iranian origin, indicating a high status in the hierarchy of tribal confederations of the Türk Empire), his deputy (*k͟halīfa*) the *kül erkin*, and numerous "kings" (*mulūk*) and chieftains (*ruʾasāʾ*, see Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Dahān, 91, 96, 97, 101, 103). Although the Yabg͟hu was the paramount political figure, the Og͟huz union never moved beyond the bounds of an advanced tribal confederation. Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, ed. Romaskevič *et al.*, i, 80-1, 119-24, ed. Raws͟han and Mūsāwī, i, 42, 58-61, reports that they were actually divided into two subconfederations, the senior *Bozoḳ* consisting of the Ḳayî, Bayat, Alḳa Evli, Ḳara Evli, Yazîr, Döger, Dudurg͟ha, Yaparlî, Avs͟har, Ḳîzîḳ, Begdili and Ḳarḳîn groupings, and the junior *Üčoḳ* composed of the Bayundur, Pečene, Čavuldur, Čepni, Yigdir, Bügdüz, Yîwa and Ḳînîḳ. Al-Kās͟hg͟harī/Dankoff, i, 101-2, has a slightly different listing. The Ḳînîḳ, from whom the Sald̲j̲ūḳs [*q.v.*] derived, are noted first, with the Bayundur (from whom the ruling clan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] later claimed descent) and Ḳayî (from whom the Ottomans derived their origins) just below them.

The Og͟huz displaced the Pečenegs [*q.v.*] westward, incorporating elements of that tribal union in a series of wars in which they secured the Volga-Ural, Syr

Darya and Khʷārazmian steppes. Their aggressiveness was soon felt in Khazaria and the neighbouring Islamic territories. In the early 10th century, the Khazars were able to gain their support against the Alans. In 965, however, they were allies of the Rus' in the devastating assaults that ended Khazar hegemony in the Volga-Caspian-Pontic steppes. The *Ḥudūd*, ed. Sotoodeh, 86, tr. Minorsky, 100, depicts them as typical nomadic raiders "with arrogant faces". Muslim merchants, as we know from Ibn Faḍlān, however, were soon making their way to them and establishing commercial relationships as well as ties of reciprocal hospitality. The *Ḥudūd* says that "among them merchants are very numerous". The Khʷārazmian city of Kāth [*q.v.*], "the emporium of the Turks", became particularly associated with trade with the Oghuz. With the further growth of trade, Oghuz towns such as Yangï Kent (Pers. Dih-i naw, Arab. al-Madīna al-Djadīda/al-Ḳarya al-Ḥadītha), the winter quarters of the Yabghu, Sabrān, Sïghnāḳ [*q.v.*] and others begin to develop along with groupings of sedentarised Oghuz (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 488; *Ḥudūd*, ed. Sotoodeh, 118, 122, 123, tr. Minorsky, 119, 121, 122; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, i, 116; Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 329, 333, 352, 362). This close relationship with Iranian Central Asia led to a significant Persian lexical influence on the Oghuz vocabulary (Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 51). This interaction entailed both peaceful, commerce-oriented relations and predatory raiding, the Khʷārazmians being compelled to engage in annual winter campaigns to drive back the Oghuz from their territories (al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, 236). The Oghuz enjoyed little peace within their own union. Islam had begun to penetrate various tribal groupings and soon became a source or pretext for internecine strife. Similar processes were occurring among the Ḳarluḳs. Those Oghuz and Ḳarluḳs who embraced Islam were called *Türkmen* (Kāshgharī/Dankoff, i, 353, ii, 362; Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djamāhir*, 205; Marwazī/Minorsky, 18/29). Why this term, which later became an ethnonym associated in particular with the Oghuz, developed this specific Muslim coloration is unclear. By the late 10th century, as the Oghuz union underwent further fragmentation aided, no doubt, by the economic and cultural impact of the Irano-Muslim cities on the Turkic tribes, Selčük (usually transcribed in Arabic as *sldjwk*), son of Toḳaḳ Temir Yalïgh, the *sü bashï* (army commander) of the Oghuz Yabghu (or Khazar Ḳaghan) converted to Islam and became a "fighter for the faith" against his still pagan fellow-tribesmen. Selčük's followers were soon caught up in the larger contests for power between the weakening Sāmānid state, the Ghaznawid *ghulām* offshoot of the latter and the now emerging Ḳarakhānids. This was the background to the rise of the Saldjūḳ empire [see SALDJŪḲIDS].

Somewhat less well known was the Northwestern Turkic-speaking Kimek confederation, a union of Turkic, Mongolic and perhaps other tribal elements located in Western Siberia, north of the Ḳarluḳ and Oghuz unions [see KIMÄK]. This name does not appear in the Türk-era Orkhon inscriptions. While some Muslim sources refer to their ruler as "king", the *Ḥudūd* (ed. Sotoodeh, 85, tr. Minorsky, 99-100) accords him the imperial title of Ḳaghan and suggests a governmental structure beyond that of a tribal union ("he has eleven lieutenants . . . and the fiefs (*aʿmāl*) are given by heritage to the children of the lieutenants"). The Kimeks were an important conduit in the fur trade with the Islamic lands and their more developed polity may derive from their commercial prominence. Among the tribes of the Kimek union were the Ḳïpčaḳs [*q.v.* and below] who are mentioned in a fragment of a mid-8th century Uyghur runic inscription (Moyun Čur/Selenge or Shine Usu, N4). It has been suggested that they are to be identified with the *Sir* people noted in the Orkhon inscriptions and Chinese sources (Klyashtornïy, *Kïpčaki*, 153-64). By the 10th century, if not earlier, the Ḳïpčaḳ subconfederation was located in the western sections of the Kimek state, in the Volga-Ural region. The Kimek appear to have remained largely pagan, although some "Madjūsī", Manichaean and perhaps Buddhist influences are noted (al-Idrīsī, 718-19; Kumekov, *Gosudarstvo*, 109-12; Arslanova and Klyashtornïy, 306-15).

In the western steppe (Volga-Ural and then Ponto-Caspian) zone were the camps of the Pečeneg union [*q.v.* and below].

In the course of the 11th century, this Turkic tribal world underwent considerable change. The Ḳarluḳ-Yaghma-based Ḳarakhānid and Oghuz-derived Saldjūḳ states had emerged, and the Kimek-dominated confederation had given way to the now amalgamated Ḳun (Ḳuman)-Ḳïpčaḳ confederation. The latter appear most frequently under the name Ḳïpčaḳ in the Islamic sources. In Western Eurasia they were better known as the Ḳumans (Cumans/Comans, or by various loan-translations, e.g. Rus. *Polovtsï*, Arm. *khartesh* "pale, sallow" and in the region around Khʷārazm as the Ḳanglï [*q.v.*]. The Ḳïpčaḳ union, which expanded from its core lands in Western Siberia to encompass the steppelands from Khʷārazm to the lower Danube, was politically much weaker than its predecessor and, while remaining a source of pressure on its steppe and sedentary neighbours (Rus', the Khʷārazmshāh state), never created a state.

By the eve of the Mongol conquests, all the Turkic states and tribal confederations of Central Asia were in decline and fragmenting. The Činggisid invasions of the early 13th century caused the migration of still more Oghuz groupings to the Near and Middle East and destroyed the traditional tribal and confederational patterns that had been inherited from the Türk era. The new imperial dispensation required a Činggisid ruler and personally dependent armies. The Mongol rulers deliberately broke up the large confederations, interrupting the process of ethnic consolidation and scattering the tribal armies according to their empire-wide needs. Thus the tribes of the Ḳarakhānid state (e.g. the Ḳarluḳs) briefly re-appear in locally prominent roles only to be eventually dispersed over the Činggisid holdings. Ḳïpčaḳs saw service in China and Inner Asia (and in the Mamlūk realm) and Uyghurs, with their literary skills, were to be found on the Volga and in the Near East. The Ḳïpčaḳs, most of whom remained in their steppe homelands, were, over time, re-organised into the armies of the Ulus of Djoči. Their language became the lingua franca of Činggisid Western Eurasia, much as it had been before.

As Činggisid rule weakened in the 14th century, the Turkic nomads became retribalised. The older tribal or confederational names (such as Ḳïpčaḳ) resurfaced as clan, sub-tribe or tribal component names, while newer names, often based on that of a charismatic leader, became the political and subsequently ethnic names of these groups, e.g. the Özbeks (< Özbek, r. 712-42/1312-41, the Mongol ruler who assured the victory of Islam among the Turkic and Mongol nomads of the Ulus of Djoči), Noghays (< Noghay, d. 699/1299, the famous political figure of Western Eurasia), etc. The process was furthered by Aḳsaḳ Temür/

Tīmūr-i Lang, who savaged the Djočid realm while attempting to create a personal army out of the fractious tribal groupings and denomadicising former tribesmen of the Ulus of Čaghatay. Thus tribes or clans bearing the names Ḳîpčaḳ and Ḳanglî can be found among the Özbeks, Ḳazaḳs, Ḳaraḳalpaḳs, Ḳîrghîz, Bashḳorts, Altay Turks, Noghays and Crimean Tatars. The different Ḳîpčaḳ armies, combined now with Eastern Turkic and Mongol (Djalayir, Ḳongḳirad, Manghid, etc.) elements have produced the Central Asian Turkic peoples (noted above) of today, as well as the Ḳaračay-Balḳars and Ḳumuḳs of the North Caucasus.

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3. The Turks of Western Eurasia and Central Europe.

Although it is generally believed that the ancient homeland of the Turkic peoples was located in Southern Siberia and Mongolia, the first clear references to Turkic peoples are found in reports dealing with Western Eurasia. The expansion and then decline of the Hsiung-nu (*Hünnü), an Inner Asian people of still undetermined ethno-linguistic affiliations, touched off a series of migrations of tribes in the first and second centuries A.D. that appear to have brought Turkic-speaking tribes to Kazakhstan and the trans-Volga region, areas hitherto dominated by Iranian nomads. It was here that the peoples known as the Khiyōn in Sāsānid Persia and the Chionitae/Οὖννοι/Hunni (names probably connected to Hsiung-nu) of the Greek and Latin authors took form. Pressured by the rise of the Jou-jan (Asian Avar) state, *ca.* 350 they began to approach the Volga region and by 375 had crossed into the Caspian-Pontic steppe zone, subjugating a number of Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Slavic and other peoples, including, perhaps, some Turkic groupings that had been driven westward before them and made their presence felt along the frontiers of Iran and Transcaucasia. The language of the European Huns and their relationship to the Asian Huns remain the subject of much debate. The Hunnic polity extending from the Pontic steppes into Pannonia reached the zenith of its power under Attila (d. 453), who raided but never seriously threatened the Eastern and Western Roman Empire. With his death, the Hunnic union quickly dissolved in a revolt of the subject peoples (454). In the aftermath of the Hunnic collapse we find our first firm data on Turkic peoples in this region. Priscus (ed. and tr. Blockley, ii, 352-5) reports the migration into the Pontic steppe zone and inauguration of diplomatic contacts with Constantinople, *ca.* 463, of the Oghur (= Common Turk. *oghuz*), Shara Oghur (Σαράγουροι) and On Oghur tribal groupings, who had been driven westward by the Sabirs who were, in turn, pushed to the Volga zone by the Asian Avars. These Oghuric tribes, speaking a form of Turkic distinct from the other Turkic languages and surviving today only in Čuvash, were a western grouping of the Ting-ling later called T'ieh-lê, a confederation, among whose eastern tribes were the Toḳuz Oghuz [see TOGHUZGHUZ]. By 480, the Bulghars (< Turk. *bulgha-* "to stir, confuse, disturb, produce disorder"), who would become the most prominent of the Oghuric peoples, were already being drawn into the Byzantine diplomatic web. They appear to have been closely related to the On Oghur, for 8th, 9th and 10th century Byzantine sources (cf. Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, 24; Theophanes, ed. de Boer, i, 356; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, ed. Pertusi, 85) link them. The later Balkan Bulghar ruling house would claim Attilid affiliations.

These and other Oghuric groupings were subjugated by the "European Avars", whose origins and relationship to the Inner Asian Avars/Jou-jan and Hephthalites (Arab. Hayṭal [see HAYĀṬILA] are unclear. They had arrived in the Pontic steppes *ca.* 557 in flight from the Türks, had by 568 established contact with Constantinople (Theoph. Sim., ed. de Boor, 257-8; Procopius, *De bello Goth.*, 84-95, 235-51; Agathias, ed. Keydall, 176-9, Menander, ed. and tr. Blockley, 42-5, 138-9) and were soon (567-8) forced to seek refuge, along with some of their Oghuric vassals, in Pannonia from the Türks, who extended their hegemony to Western Eurasia (Menander, ed. and tr. Blockley, 178-9). Avar predatory raiding combined with the steady Slavic pressure on the Byzantine Balkan holdings, leading, ultimately, to the Slavicisation of much of the region.

The Western branch of the Türk ḳaghanate established here by the *Yabghu Ḳaghan*, Ishtemi, brother of Bumîn, founder of the empire, after a short-lived alliance with Sāsānid Persia (leading to the crushing of the Hephthalites in 557), soon turned to Byzantium (568) as relations with Persia soured over commercial issues. Türk forces in Transcaucasia played an important role in Heraclius's victory over the Sāsānids in the Perso-Byzantine wars of 605-28. The Eastern Ḳaghanate, however, weakened by internecine strife, the revolt (582) of Tardu, Ishtemi's son, whose nearly successful bid for supreme rule was halted only by the revolt of the T'ieh-lê *ca.* 603, succumbed to T'ang China in 630. The Western ḳaghanate, itself splintering into rival factions (the Tu-lu and Nu-shih-pi), which formed the On Oḳ ("Ten Arrows") union, fell

to the T'ang in 659. This was the background for the emergence, *ca.* 650, of two rival successor ḳag͟hanates in Western Eurasia: the K͟hazar one [see K͟HAZAR], ruled by a dynasty of probable Western Türk (A-s͟hihna) origin, and the Bulg͟har one which, *ca.* 635, under the leadership of Ḳubrat and with Byzantine encouragement, appears to have freed itself from Avar overlordship. The K͟hazars won the contest for paramountcy, forcing the dispersal of the Bulg͟har tribes. One grouping, under Asparuk͟h, fled to the Balkans (*ca.* 679), founding there the Balkan Bulg͟har state. Others fled to Pannonia and Italy. Those tribes that remained came under K͟hazar rule, some of them subsequently migrating to the Middle Volga (8th-9th century) where they formed the Volga Bulg͟har state [see BULG͟HĀR]. The Balkan Bulg͟hars, in the course of the 8th century, were badly buffeted by internal disputes and warfare with Byzantium. They revived in the early 9th century and under Krum (d. 814), posed a serious threat to Constantinople. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 111, tr. Dodge, i, 254), the caliph al-Ma'mūn sent a lengthy letter to the "Burg͟har" ruler explaining Islam to him. In 864, however, their Ḳag͟han, Boris (*r.* 853-88), caught up in the Byzantino-Frankish struggle to dominate Slavic Central Europe, was forced to convert to Orthodox Christianity. Thereafter, the Balkan Bulg͟hars underwent Slavicisation.

The K͟hazars created one of the greatest political units of Eurasia, dominating the north-south and east-west trade arteries from their capital, Atīl/Itil [see ATIL], on the lower Volga. Their political borders extended from the North Caucasian steppelands (where they had fought the Arabs to a standstill in the course of protracted warfare (642-737) for control of the Caucasus) to the Middle Volga and from Kiev to the K͟hʷārazmian steppes. From the latter region, a special corps of professional soldiers, the *Ors/Urus* (الارسية) was recruited, and the chief minister of the state was also a K͟hʷārazmian Muslim. Formed out of the westernmost groupings of the Western Türk tribal confederations (among whom were Common Turkic and Og͟huric elements), and including Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Palaeo-Caucasian and Slavic peoples, the K͟hazar ḳag͟hanate was ruled by a dual kingship, the senior figure of which, the *Ḳag͟han*, was a sacralised monarch. Open to a variety of religious influences, the ruling house and the K͟hazars *per se* converted to Judaism (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Togan, 45/104; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 298). Ibn Rusta, 139, however, limits Judaisation to their "supreme chief" and members of the élite who "sympathise with his inclinations". Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd͟j*, ed. Pellat, i, 212, who places the conversion in the caliphate of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd (170-93/786-809), also localises the Judaised element to the king, his entourage and "the K͟hazars of his tribe". Islam was particularly prominent in the K͟hazar cities and Orthodox Christianity had adherents in the Crimea and other Byzantine-influenced regions. Each religious community had its own judges, as did also the pagans (al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, i, 213; al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, 221).

K͟hazaria declined in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries, and in 965, its core lands in the Volga-Don region were overrun by the Normano-Slavic Rus' [see RŪS] in alliance with the Western Og͟huz.

The Volga Bulg͟hars, who had been vassals of the K͟hazars, adopted Islam in the early 10th century, leading to the dispatch of a caliphal mission of which Ibn Faḍlān [*q.v.*], a participant, has left us a remarkable account. Volga Bulg͟haria, a major link in the trade of Northern Europe with the Islamic world via K͟hʷārazm, developed a sophisticated and urban-centred Islamic culture, while ruling over a complex grouping of Og͟huric and other Turkic groupings, as well as Finno-Ugric peoples. According to Rus' tradition, they sent a mission to Rus' in an unsuccessful attempt to convert Volodimir I (980-1015) to Islam (*PSRL*, i, 840-85). Periodic clashes with Rus', usually over local commercial advantage, had by the early 13th century led to serious conflict which was halted only by the Mongol invasions. The Volga Bulg͟hars, after offering valiant resistance, became part of the D͟jočid Ulus. Under Činggisid rule, they were Ḳïpčaḳicised linguistically, becoming one of the core elements of the Volga Tatar people. They played an important role in the Islamisation of the D͟jočid realm and in the development of Islamic institutions there.

In the Pontic steppelands, the K͟hazars were displaced by the Pečeneg tribal union [see PEČENEGS] which never formed a state. The Pečenegs raided and traded with their neighbours (especially Rus') and occasionally served as a source of Byzantine pressure on the latter. In 1036, however, the Rus' soundly defeated them and the weakened Pečenegs, pressured by the Og͟huz, drifted off to the Danubian frontiers where they were largely concentrated by the 1050s. Here, they were in closer contact with the Hungarians whom they had evicted from the Pontic steppes in 895. Hungarian tradition places Pečenegs in Hungarian service as early as the latter half of the 10th century. Muslim authors (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūd͟j*, i, 235; *Tanbīh*, 180; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ed. Beirut, i, 339, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 64 ff.) note the Pečenegs and Hungarians as allies in 322/934 in an attack on the Balkans. There were Pečeneg settlements, often as border guards and light cavalry, in Hungary in the course of the 11th century. The migration of the Western Og͟huz to the lower Danube after 1060, defeated by the Ḳïpčaḳs and Rus' and ravaged by disease, produced more chaos in the region. Remnants of these Og͟huz, Pečenegs and other steppe peoples took service with the princes of Kiev, forming by the mid-12th century the grouping called *Černii klobutsi* in Russian. The Pečenegs, as their neighbours well knew, were often fickle allies. Thus in 1071, Pečeneg forces, which had frequently raided Imperial lands, helped to relieve the Hungarian siege of Byzantine Belgrad. But, in 1073, allied with the Og͟huz, they raided as far as Constantinople and in 1078 joined a Ḳuman/Ḳïpčaḳ attack on Adrianople. In 1087 they inflicted a nearly fatal defeat on the Byzantine Emperor Alexis Comnenus. The latter, however, in 1091, in conjunction with the Ḳïpčaḳs, broke their remaining military power at Levunion. Pečeneg elements took service with István II of Hungary (1116-31), who sought to use them to counterbalance his nobles. Toponyms of Pečeneg origin (e.g. *Besenyö* "Pečeneg") are to be found in many parts of Hungary.

The Ḳuman-Ḳïpčaḳ confederation which supplanted the Pečenegs and Western Og͟huz as masters of the K͟hʷārazmian-Volga-Danubian steppe zone engaged in a complicated pattern of relations with their sedentary neighbours that involved both predatory raiding, alliances (often cemented by marital ties) and professional, mercenary soldiering. Thus the increasingly fragmenting Rus' princely factions had Ḳïpčaḳ allies and foes in their internecine struggles. The decline of Rus', sometimes attributed to Ḳïpčaḳ depredations, however, was more the product of Rus' disunity. The K͟hʷārazms͟hāhs, although bound by marital ties to some of their ruling clans (al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, i, 172), faced similar difficulties. The Georgian royal house, however, used its Ḳïpčaḳ kinsmen to fight off

the Sald̲j̲ūḳs, preserve their national independence and become a regional power. Frequently seen as raiders in the Balkans, Ḳîpčaḳ military forces played an important role in the creation of the Second Bulgarian empire (1188-1393). In short, they were able to integrate themselves into the regional political structure, exploiting the local weaknesses of often more powerful sedentary neighbours while retaining their independence. Although some groupings were, in time, converted to Islam (around K̲h^wārazm) or Christianity (from Rus', Byzantium, Georgia and Hungary), the majority of the Ḳîpčaḳs remained pagans in the pre-Mongol period.

The Mongol conquest of the Ḳîpčaḳs, completed in 1238-9, broke up the tribal union and scattered various elements throughout the Čing̲gisid world and beyond (see above, 2.). Some 17-20,000 Ḳîpčaḳ families, it is estimated, took refuge in Hungary whither, in 1239, under their chieftain Köten, they were invited by the crown seeking military reinforcements against the Mongols and domestic foes. Suspected of being Mongol spies (since their kinsmen were already under Čing̲gisid rule), they left Hungary on the eve of the Mongol invasion (spring, 1241), but were induced to return in 1246 by Béla IV and settled strategically around the country, especially in regions that had been devastated by the Mongols. The Hungarian kings attempted to use them as a counterbalance to the nobility. Ḳuman-Ḳîpčaḳ influence reached its zenith under Kun László ("László the Cuman", *r.* 1272-90), whose mother was a Ḳîpčaḳ. Under growing baronial and Church pressure, László was forced to begin the process of converting and sedentarising the pagan Ḳîpčaḳs. This led to a revolt which László, who had been dilatory in carrying out this policy, was compelled to suppress (1280). The "Cuman problem" largely subsided after his death, and by the mid-14th century they had been converted and were in the process of assimilation. During the Reformation, many Cumans became Calvinists.

Ḳîpčaḳs are associated with the origins of Rumanian statehood. In the 13th century, the Wallachian and Moldavian lands up to the Olt river were called "Cumania", and Ḳîpčaḳ-derived toponyms are common (see Lazarescu-Zobian, *Cumania*, 265-72). The 14th century Wallachian voevoda, Basaraba, founder of the Wallachian state, was of Cuman origin. Ḳîpčaḳs continued to play a significant role in the politics of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The Terterid (1280-1323) and Sis̲h̲manid (1323-98) dynasties which ruled Bulgaria until the Ottoman conquest were of Cuman origin. Pečeneg and Ḳîpčaḳ traces are also found in the toponymy of Bulgaria.

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(P.B. Golden)

4. The Turks in the Sald̲j̲ūḳ and Ottoman periods.

For these in the Asiatic lands, see ALANYA; ANADOLU, iii; AS̲H̲RAF OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; ATABAK; AYDÎN-OG̲H̲LU; DĀNIS̲H̲MENDIDS; DEÑIZLI; DHU 'L-ḲADR; ERETNA; GERMIYĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; ḤAMĪD or ḤAMĪD OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; ILDEÑIZIDS; ISFENDIYĀR OG̲H̲LU; ḲARAMĀN-OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; ḲARASÎ; ḲUBRUS; MENGÜČEK; MENTES̲H̲E OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; MUʿĪN AL-DĪN SULAYMĀN PARWĀNA; ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLÎ; RAMAḌĀN OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; RŪM. 2; ṢĀḤIB ATĀ OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; SALD̲J̲ŪḲS; SALG̲H̲URIDS; SALTUḲ OG̲H̲ULLARÎ; ṢARŪK̲H̲ĀN; S̲H̲ĀH-I ARMAN; TEKE-OG̲H̲ULLARÎ.

For those in eastern and southeastern Europe, see ARNAWUTLUḲ; BALKAN; BOSNA; BULGARIA; DOBRUD̲J̲A; IḲRĪTIS̲H̲. Ottoman period; LIPḲA; MAḲADŪNYĀ; MŌRA; ṢIRB; TESALYA; DALMATIA, in Suppl.

5. The modern Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*).

The Republic of Turkey was proclaimed by the Great National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Med̲j̲lisi*) in Ankara on 29 October 1923. For almost seventy years (until 1991) it was the only fully sovereign Turkic state in the world. The republic was the product of a successful struggle for self-determination waged by the Society for the Defence of the National Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (*Anāṭōlī Rūmīli Müdāfaʿa-i Ḥuḳūḳ-u Milliyye D̲j̲emʿiyyeti*) between November 1918 and August 1922. The latter's success was embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923, in which the victors of 1918 (and losers of 1922) recognised the complete independence of Turkey within the armistice lines of 30 October 1918 (with the exception of the oil-rich *wilāyet* or province of Mawṣil [*q.v.*], which was awarded to ʿIrāḳ in 1926 after arbitration by the League of Nations). The borders established at Lausanne have remained unchanged except for the addition of the province of Hatay, the former district of Alexandretta (İskenderun [see ISKANDARŪN]), which was handed to Turkey by the French mandatory power in Syria in 1939. After this addition, the surface within the borders was (and is) 779,452 km². Even before the proclamation of the Republic, Ankara, the small (pop. 30,000) Anatolian town which had

been the headquarters of the resistance, was proclaimed the new capital [see ANKARA], thus replacing Istanbul. The population within the new borders was very different from that of late-Ottoman Anatolia. At 13.5 million it was at least 25% smaller, and the almost total disappearance of the Greek and Armenian communities meant that it was now 98% as opposed to 80% Muslim. The majority consisted of Turkish speakers, but there were sizeable Kurdish, Arab and Circassian minorities, as well as numerous smaller communities. Almost a third of the population consisted of immigrants, or direct descendants of immigrants, from the Balkans, the Crimea and the Caucasus [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

The exact relationship between the Republic and its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, is problematical. The independence war had been waged for the independence of the Ottoman Muslims who wanted to remain attached to the empire, not for a new republic. The last sultan, Meḥemmed VI [*q.v.*], had fled the country in November 1922, but his cousin ʿAbd al-Medjīd had been proclaimed caliph and remained so until the abolition of the caliphate and the banning of the dynasty in March 1924. The Ottoman constitution remained in force until April 1924, but the Law on Fundamental Organisation (*Teshkīlāt-i Esasiyye Ḳanūnu*) of 1921 already allowed the national resistance movement to operate as a *de facto* republic within its framework. Of all the successor-states to the empire, Turkey was the only one which inherited its central state apparatus and army. It also inherited by far the largest part of the Ottoman debt.

Immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, the leader of the Defence of Rights movement, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (from 1934: Kemal Atatürk [see ATATÜRK]), was elected its first president. In the period 1923-6 he established complete control over the political system, changing the electoral law, transforming the Defence of Rights movement into the People's Party (*Khalḳ Firḳasi*, from the 1924 Republican People's Party, *Djümhūriyyet Khalḳ Firḳasi* [*q.v.*]) of which he was chairman, and banning all political opposition under the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sükūn Ḳanūnu*), which was passed on 3 March 1925 in the aftermath of an Islamist Kurdish insurrection in the south-east of the country. In July and August 1926 all potential competitors for political power, the former leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]) and most of the former leadership of the Defence of Rights movement, were purged in trials held after the discovery of a plot against Kemāl's life.

The power monopoly thus established, was used by Kemāl and his circle (often called "Kemalists") to launch a campaign of reforms to modernise Turkish society. Strongly influenced by positivist ideas, the Kemalists saw secularisation as a precondition for modernisation. The secularisation of the legal system, the educational system and the administration had, of course, already progressed a great deal since the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] reforms and, in particular, during the second constitutional period, but the Kemalists completed it with the introduction of secular (Swiss) civil law in 1926, the unification of education in 1924 and the scrapping of Islam as state religion in 1928. They went much further than their predecessors in their attempts to secularise society and culture. Partly, the secularisation drive took place on a symbolic level. In 1925, the traditional male headgear was banned and replaced with the European hat; the wearing of the veil was discouraged. Some measures had a practical *and* a symbolic aspect, such as the introduction of the European calendar and clock in 1926 and the replacement of the Arabic with the Latin alphabet in 1928. Popular religion was a particular target of the Kemalists, with the abolition of dervish orders [see ṬARĪḲA. II. 5] and the closing down of shrines in 1926. As a result, the dervish orders went underground until after World War II. Efforts to "Turkify" Islam by translating the Ḳurʾān and the call to prayer were made, but remained unpopular with the population at large. It should be emphasised that Kemalist secularisation did not so much mean separation of religion and state, as control over religion on the part of the state, through the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyānet Ishleri Bashkanlighi*), the direct successor to the Ottoman office of *Sheykh al-Islām* [see SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM. 2].

The Kemalists tried to create a popular base for their modernising programme through the activities of the People's Party, which, except for six months in 1924-5 and three in 1930, was the only legal party until 1946; and through the "People's Homes" (*Halk Evleri* [see KHALḲEVI]), educational centres linked to the party, which replaced the older "Turkish Hearths" (*Türk Odjaḳlari*) in 1932. These efforts were relatively successful in the towns, where a Kemalist middle class of civil servants, officers, teachers and students came into existence, and where middle-class women managed to take an active part in public life for the first time. The Kemalist modernisation drive hardly reached into the countryside, however, where 80% of the population continued to live.

The republic was fashioned after the model of the European nation-states, and this brought with it an intense effort at nation-building on the basis of a Turkish identity, which was meant to replace the Ottoman, or Muslim one and to submerge linguistic, ethnic and religious differences within the country. Expression of minority cultures, whose existence was officially denied, was strictly forbidden. A new Turkish identity was forged with the help of a nationalist reinterpretation of history. with emphasis on the pre-Islamic history of the Turks and of linguistic purism, which aimed at replacing Arabic and Persian vocabulary with Turkic material. The Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and the Turkish Linguistic Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*), founded in 1931 and 1932 respectively, carried the government's message in these fields. Until his death in 1938, Atatürk was personally very much involved in these movements, but under his successor, İsmet İnönü (who had already been Prime Minister 1923-37), the reform movement lost some of its impetus.

The Kemalist leadership was confronted with immense problems in the economic field. Anatolia had been devastated by ten years of almost continuous warfare. The agricultural sector recovered relatively quickly after 1923, as soon as an adequate supply of manpower became available. This was not true for commerce and industry, however. The disappearance of the Armenians and Greeks meant the loss of almost all commercial, financial, managerial and technological know-how, as well as of access to international trade networks. Until 1930, the Kemalists tried to reconstruct the economy with free market policies, although the state itself operated a number of monopolies taken over from the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. At the same time they tried to rear a "national bourgeoisie" to take the place of the Greeks and Armenians. When the world economic crisis struck, the People's Party decided in 1932 to

make "statism" (*devletçilik*) the basis of economic policy. This was a form of state capitalism, in which the state provided the investments which the private sector could not provide. At the same time, agriculture, which had been hit very hard by the fall of world grain prices, was supported by the creation of a state buying agency. The state sector grew into the dominant force in the Turkish economy. It also trained generations of engineers and managers. In the later thirties, the economy gradually recovered, but World War II again brought great hardship.

After World War II, the new hegemonic position of the United States (whose support Turkey needed badly) and the need to relieve internal pressures combined to persuade İnönü's government that Turkey should move from dictatorship to a degree of democratic pluralism. İnönü supported the founding of an opposition party in 1946, and in the first free and fair elections of the republican era, in May 1950, the opposition, the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*) won by a landslide. This party and its successors (the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) between 1961 and 1980 and the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*) and True Path Party (*Doğru Yol Partisi*) after 1983) were different from the People's Party in that they were not dominated by bureaucrats and (former) officers. They were coalitions representing the countryside, small-to-medium businesses and the emerging industrial sector. The dominant figures in this block were Adnan Menderes [*q.v.*] between 1950 and 1960, Süleyman Demirel between 1965 and 1980 and again after 1993, and Turgut Özal between 1980 and his death in 1993. These centre-right mass parties usually commanded between 40% and 50% of the vote, while Atatürk's old party, the RPP, and its offshoots (the Populist Party (*Halkçı Parti*), the Social Democrat Party (*Sosyal Demokrat Parti*), the Social Democrat Populist Party and the Party of the Democratic Left (*Demokrat Sol Partisi*), all after 1983) polled between 25% and 40%, thanks in part to the support of Turkey's Alevi minority. Before 1971, under İnönü, its programme was statist and represented the interests of the state bureaucracy; after 1971, under its new leader Bülent Ecevit, it moved left of centre.

The Democrats were strong believers in a free market economy and they encouraged the private sector. With American aid, Turkey witnessed an investment boom, primarily in the agricultural sector. Where the RPP before 1950 had invested in railways, the DP promoted the building of roads and the import of trucks and cars. Thanks to the road building programme, the villages of Turkey for the first time really came into contact with the outside world. This opened up new horizons and encouraged mobility. The economic policies of the DP were also reckless and uncoordinated, however, and this led to high inflation and economic dislocation in the later fifties. When this gave rise to opposition, the government of Menderes grew more and more authoritarian.

Menderes's successors between 1961 and 1980, mainly Süleyman Demirel's Justice Party, adopted a more cautious and planned approach to liberalism. In this period, the main economic policy was that of import-substitution industrialisation. The government promoted the development of oligopolies producing consumer goods (usually in the shape of joint ventures with European or American firms) in a market shielded from foreign competition. This protectionist policy also allowed high wages to be paid to the workers in the new industries.

Fierce anti-communism and anti-socialism, primarily inspired by fear of Turkey's traditional enemy Russia, was a feature of all mainstream Turkish parties of the republic. It had been so even when relations with the Soviet Union had been excellent (in the thirties), but it grew even stronger in the cold war environment. Trade unionism was regarded with suspicion in this context and suppressed until after World War II, when the apolitical trade union confederation *Türk-İş* was founded with American support. In 1967, a number of leftist unions broke away to form a rival confederation, *DİSK*. From then on, there was fierce competition between the two organisations.

The attitude of the Democrats and their successors vis-à-vis unofficial Islam was much more relaxed than that of their Kemalist predecessors. They gave room for expression of Islamic sentiments in public and accepted the support of dervish orders. From the sixties onwards, people with a rural background (exemplified by Demirel and later Özal) gradually took over political and commercial power and for these, religiosity and modernity were not irreconcilable. Although large parts of the secularist intelligentsia, the bureaucracy and the army felt threatened by what they saw as a "return to Islam", the basic secularist structures of the state remained in place.

Both the economic policies and the ideological position of the Democrats and their successors tended to raise suspicions within the army, which regarded itself as the keeper of Atatürk's heritage. Military officers intervened in political matters frequently and twice took over power themselves. In May 1960, Menderes was toppled by a coup by a group of relatively junior officers, some of whom had radical ideas about a new social order. After the coup, these radicals were sidelined, however, and there was a quick return to civilian rule. The military had a new constitution drawn up, which emphasised separation of powers and increased civil liberties. At the same time, the new constitution gave the military an official say in politics through the establishment of the National Security Council (*Millî Güvenlik Kurulu*), which advised the government on security matters. After 1961, the upper hierarchy of the army kept a wary eye both on the officer corps (to prevent new coup attempts) and on the civil politicians. It repeatedly warned the politicians about the limits to their freedom and power and one of these "memoranda", that of March 1971, actually resulted in two years of civil rule under military tutelage. During this period, the civil liberties enshrined in the constitution were curtailed.

The most dramatic development of the post-war era was the startling growth of the population, which began in the fifties when hygienic and medical conditions in the countryside started to improve. The population reached its prewar size in the late thirties (at about 17 million). It stood at 20.9 million in 1950, doubled to 40 million by 1975 and at the time of writing stands at about 60 million. Population pressure in the countryside and the attractions of the industrialisation in the cities have combined to bring about a massive urbanisation. The population of Istanbul grew tenfold between 1950 and 1990. From the early sixties onwards, this migration acquired an international dimension when Germany, and later other European countries, started to recruit Turkish workers. This continued until 1974, when official recruitment stopped. The result was the emergence of a Turkish community of over 2.5 million within Western Europe.

From 1974 onwards, Turkey entered a protracted economic and political crisis. The oil crisis quadrupled Turkey's energy bill, the attendant economic

downturn in Europe led to decreased money transfers from Turkish workers abroad, and Turkish industry and government had trouble finding the hard currency to pay for import of industrial raw materials. Inflation soared and led to large-scale labour unrest. The political crisis expressed itself in the inability of the political establishment to create stable ruling coalitions, primarily because of unwillingness on the part of Demirel and Ecevit to cooperate. Left-wing and right-wing terrorists, who had been active since the end of the sixties, used the increasing paralysis of the political system to start an armed struggle for control of the streets.

An economic stabilisation package, including austerity measures and a basic reorientation from import-substitution industrialisation to export-driven growth, was announced in January 1980, but political circumstances prevented its implementation.

After almost a year of preparations, the Turkish army took over power in a coup on 12 September 1980. A junta headed by the chief of the general staff, General Kenan Evren, ruthlessly established law and order and curtailed political freedom. A new and very restrictive constitution, which transferred power to the executive and limited civil rights, was enacted in 1983. Once order was re-established, the junta allowed the economic stabilisation package to be carried out by its architect, Turgut Özal. The liberalisation of the Turkish economy bore fruit with strong, export-led growth and a wave of foreign investment in the 1980s. Tourism and export earnings replaced workers' remittances as the main source of hard currencies. Özal himself reaped the rewards in political terms. His Motherland Party became by far the strongest force in the country and he himself was Prime Minister (1983-91) and President (1991-3). From 1987, the party leaders of the period before 1980 who had been banned from politics by the junta, were allowed to re-enter politics, and a struggle between the pre-1980 and post-1980 political élites began both on the right (between the Motherland Party and Demirel's True Path Party) and on the left (between the Social Democrat Populist Party led by İsmet İnönü's son, Erdal and the Democratic Left Party of Ecevit). This fragmentation led to political instability, precisely at a time when (from the late eighties) the economic and political problems mounted.

Although the industrial and commercial sector were basically strong, economic growth became highly erratic and inflation soared again to pre-1980 levels, because of the basic imbalances in government finances. These were caused by inefficient tax collection, a bloated bureaucracy and the slow pace of privatisation in the inefficient state economic enterprises.

The main political problem was that of the political and cultural rights of the Kurds. A Marxist Kurdish independence movement, the Kurdistan Workers Party (*Parti-ye Karkeran-e Kordestan* or PKK) started a guerrilla war for Kurdish independence (later changed to autonomy) in 1984, which between 1984 and 1996 cost over 20,000 lives. An army of 250,000 men fought the PKK. This further strained Turkey's state budget. The state reacted to the challenge with increasing repression and the resulting deterioration in the human rights situation damaged Turkey's relations with the West.

The inability of the established parties to solve the economic problems and the Kurdish questions, combined with their feuding amongst themselves brought to power the Islamists. The Islamist Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*), which became the largest party in the mid-nineties and whose leader Necmettin Erbakan took over as Prime Minister in 1996, had its roots in the late sixties, when the Islamist movement started as a protest of small traders and artisans who felt squeezed between the industrial sector and the emerging labour movement. Erbakan founded the National Order Party, later National Salvation Party (*Millî Selâmet Partisi*), in 1970. After 1983 the party re-emerged as the Welfare Party, but it was only in the nineties that it became more than a party of the conservative middle classes in provincial towns and developed into the voice of the poor migrants in the big cities.

The foreign policy of the early Republic was aimed at the preservation of the hard-won gains of the national independence war. During the twenties and thirties, good relations with the Soviet Union (which had supported the Kemalists in their independence struggle) formed the cornerstone of foreign policy. Relations with France and Britain slowly recovered from the traumas of World War I and its aftermath. From the mid-thirties onwards, the threat of Italian expansionism led to a rapprochement with these former enemies. In 1936 this made possible the conclusion of the Montreux Convention, which handed back full sovereignty over the straits to Turkey. In breach of a defensive alliance concluded with Britain and France in 1939, Turkey (whose leaders remembered the disasters World War I had brought upon the country) remained neutral during World War II, only declaring war on Germany in February 1945. After the war, Turkey looked for protection against Soviet claims on Turkish territory, which the Americans were prepared to give under the "Truman doctrine" formulated in 1947. From now on, the main trend in Turkish foreign policy was political, economic and military integration with the West, expressed in membership of NATO in 1952 and associate membership of the European Economic Community in 1963, two steps which seemed to seal a century of efforts on the part of the Turkish political élite to integrate with the West. Over the years, the security partnership with the United States grew very close, while at the same time the European Community became by far Turkey's most important trading partner. Full membership of the EC (later EU) which was the declared aim of the association agreement, remained elusive, however. When Turkey formally applied for membership in 1987, it was turned down and offered a customs union instead. This union, which integrated Turkey's market with that of the EU, but gave it no say in EU decision making, eventually took effect from January 1996.

In the thirties, Turkey became a member of regional formations: fear of Bulgarian aggression led to the conclusion of the Balkan Pact with Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania in 1934. The Saadabad Pact of 1937 linked Turkey to ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Afghānistān. After World War II, however, Turkey was politically rather isolated in the regions of which it formed a part. Relations with the Arab countries suffered from the traumatic heritage of World War I, from Turkey's early support for Israel (it was the first Muslim country to recognise the Jewish state) and from its emphatic membership of the Western bloc. In 1955, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Great Britain and Nūrī al-Saʿīd's ʿIrāḳ concluded a defensive alliance, the Baghdad Pact, but the rising tide of "Arab socialism" after the Suez crisis of 1956 further isolated Turkey. Relations with the Arab world remained cool, even after economic ties blossomed in the early eighties. The establishment of

the Islamic Republic in Iran on the one hand was frightening to Turkey, but on the other it gave Turkey the chance to replace Iran as the United States's foremost ally in the "northern tier" of the Middle East.

Turkey's relations in the Balkans and Black Sea region were determined by the cold war, in which Turkey was the foremost NATO bastion. The relationship with the NATO ally Greece after 1955 was marred by the Cyprus problem. In 1964 Turkey came very close to invading the island to protect the rights of the Turkish minority; in 1974 it actually invaded and occupied nearly 40% of the island.

In the nineties, the whole picture changed because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. On the one hand, this meant that Turkey lost its position as an anti-communist bulwark, but on the other that it regained its room for manoeuvre. The emergence of five new Turkic republics in Central-Asia created new possibilities, even when early expectations that Turkey could fill the political "vacuum" left by Moscow turned out to be vastly exaggerated. In 1991 Turkey itself took the initiative for the founding of the "Black Sea Economic Cooperation Council" and it developed good relations with Bulgaria, Macedonia, the Ukraine and Russia.

Bibliography: A bibliography of the history of the republic with any claim to provide adequate coverage, should include at least seventy titles—clearly an impossibility within the framework of a short article such as this. But there exist a number of historical overviews with bibliographies which constitute excellent starting points for further reading and research: B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, London 1961, 1968; S.J. Shaw and Ezel Kural-Shaw, *A history of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic. The rise of modern Turkey, 1808-1975*, Cambridge 1977; G. Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, London 1955 and many subsequent editions; R. Davison, *Turkey. A short history*, New York 1968, Huntington 1988; Feroz Ahmad, *The making of modern Turkey*, London 1993; and E.J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A modern history*, London 1993, 1997. (E.J. Zürcher)

6. The Turks outside Turkey to 1860.

See for these, BASHDJIRT; BUKHĀRĀ; GĪRAY; KASHKĀY; ĶAZAĶ; ĶĀZĀN; KHALADJ; KHĪWA; KHOĶAND; KIRGIZ; ĶIPČAĶ; ĶIRĪM; ĶUNGRĀT; MANGĪT; MANGĪTS; NOGHAY; ÖZBEG; SHĪBĀNIDS; SIBĪR; TÜRKMEN.

7. The Turks outside Turkey from the late 19th century to the present.

The presence of Turks or Turkish-speaking groups in Southeastern Europe is largely due to the Ottoman expansion and subsequent colonisation or assimilation of previous populations; a difficulty arises over definition, since in the Balkans there is a tendency, both etic and emic, to regard all Muslims as Turks, regardless of their language, to the extent of ignoring their real ethnic origin. A sense of nationality based on religion is thus dominant. At the same time, there are some groups which are Turkic in both language and ethnic origin. In certain cases the local designation of these two overlaps. Some religiously-defined groups remain as a result of flight or expulsion from the mainland of Anatolia. In the case of territories close to Turkey, such as ʿIrāķ, Syria, and Ādharbaydjān, Turks remain either as elements of the Türkmen expansion which did not coalesce with the main body in Anatolia, or as tribes which were removed by the Ottomans from Anatolia and resettled to countervail Arab dissidence on marches from which Turkey has subsequently withdrawn [for these see TÜRKMEN; YÖRÜK]. All of these groups are represented in the immigrant population of Turkey [see MUHĀDJIR. 2].

The Ķaraim (Ķaray, pl. Ķaraylar) [see KARAITES], the group of ethnic Turks settled furthest west, are non-Talmudic Jews in religion, speaking a modern Comanic language. They now occupy three areas in Lithuania around Panevežys, Trakai (Troki) and Vilnius, and two in the Ukraine around Halicz (Galič) on the Dniestr and Luck (Lutsk). Although they are first mentioned by Rabbi Petachia of Regensburg between Kiev and the Crimea in 1175, and they continued to live mainly in the south of Crimea, their origin is obscure. Attempts to link them with the Jewish Khazars have failed to produce conclusive evidence. In the 8th/14th century 483 families are said to have moved to greater Lithuania. In the 20th century some dispersed to Warsaw, St. Petersburg and Moscow. Parts of the population which remained in the Crimea were linguistically assimilated to the Crimean Tatars: they survived both the Nazi occupation, by arguing that they were ethnic Turks, and the Soviet deportation of Tatars. In 1970, 2,596 lived in the Crimea, and 1,975 elsewhere in the USSR. About 300 live near Yevpatoria on the west coast. Some emigrated to Istanbul where their community gave its name to Karaköy. Their rabbinical co-religionists, the Ķirīmčaķ, who lived in the Crimea around Karasubazar and Feodosiya, were possibly descendants of the Khazars: their Turkish is said variously to have been assimilated to Crimean Tatar and to differ from both that and Ķaraim. Although declining in numbers, there were still 6,383 in 1926, of whom 4,728 declared their own language as their mother tongue. They were nearly exterminated by the Nazis, though 1,800 survived and in 1979 were scattered throughout the former Soviet Union, with a few hundred in New York.

In former Yugoslavia, Muslims speaking Serbo-Croat, like the majority of Bosnians (*Boşnak*) and the Muslims of Herzegovina (*Hersek*) [see BOSNA; HERSEK], as well as those from Southern Serbia and Macedonia (*Čitak*, pl. *Čitaci*) speaking either Serbo-Croat, Macedonian or Albanian, are largely of South Slavonic stock converted to Islam under the Ottomans from the 9th/15th century onwards, from both peasants and nobility, though some ethnic Turks have been assimilated among them. The converted peasantry of Bosnia, dubbed *Potur* (< Serb. Cr. *po-turčiti* = Turkicised), retained some Christian practices in their religion. Such converts appear to have been accorded an intermediate status between *dhimmī* [*q.v.*] and full Muslims (Ménage, *op. cit.*, 209), at least in the earlier phase of the Empire *ca.* 1500. These largely autochthonous groups can be distinguished from immigrant Turkic elements of the population, mainly in the south of the country, who have retained both their identity and their language, like *Čitak* from Kosovo or Macedonia, who gain further definition from their adherence to the Bektāshī *ṭarīka* [see BEKTĀSHIYYA]. Serbian Muslims were known to the neighbouring Christian population in West Macedonia as *Torbeš* (pl. *Torbeši*) or *Poturi*, and occasionally as *Kurki*. *Torbeši* in the Reka region of Serbia were known as *Gorani*. In 1921 the census showed 150,139 Turks, and in 1953 254,000, of whom 200,000 were in Macedonia and 53,000 in Serbia. Between 1923-60, 269,101 Muslims left for Turkey. By 1984 the number of Turkish-speakers was *ca.* 130,000, forming nearly 7% of the population in Macedonia and 1% in Kosovo: they primarily inhabited towns, and formed a substantial part of the citizenry in Prizren, Skopje, Gostivar, Debar, Struga, Ohrid (Okhrī), Kruševo, Titov Veles, Štip and others,

mainly working as craftsmen. Peasantry lived in the valley of Vardar and eastern Macedonia around Radoviš. Although the Turkish-speaking population of western Macedonia was depleted by the exodus of 1955-6, it has been replaced by Albanian Muslims. Around Gostivar a remarkable interaction of languages has taken place (Jašar-Nasteva, *op. cit.*). At Prizren the Sinâniyye, Ḳādiriyye, Khalwetiyye and Melāmī *ṭuruḳ* are represented, and notably the Rifāʿiyye; at Ohrid the Ḥayātīs maintain a *tekke* as an important centre. In the Strumica region of southern Macedonia, *Čitak* was used to designate a settled farming population of Turkish-speaking Slavonic Muslims in distinction to the ethnically Turkish *Yörük* pastoralists. A distinct group of these *Čitak* in Svidovica, Banjsko, and Makrijevo, on the northern slopes of Mt. Belasica, as also at Zleovo in Radoviste, was Bektāshī, with records dating back to the 10th/16th century: they, too, preserved observances from their former Orthodox belief. Like others in the region they particularly revered Ṣarî Ṣalṭuḳ Dede [*q.v.*]. The prevalence of this order here and in Albania can be explained by the absence of central Ottoman authority, especially in Albania, after it was banned, and the Janissaries disposed of, in 1241/1826 [see YEÑIČERI]. The nearest large centre for the Svidovica Bektaşis was at Maya Dağ across the border from Gevgeli (Gevgelija), though the main *tekke* for the region was to the north at Štip. There are also Khalwetī and Melāmī dervishes in the same area.

An immigrant population of Turkish-speaking Yörük and Türkmen [*q.vv.*], transferred after the conquest of Rumeli, was established as a militia to keep the peace as well as for the benefits of their pastoral economy: thus Ḳara Timurtash Pasha moved nomads from Saruhan to Serez, Ertughrul, son of Bāyezīd I, took nomads from Menemen to Filibe (Plovdiv), and Lütfī Pasha relates how many Türkmen tribes were taken from West Anatolia to Rumeli. In particular, they were established in the east of the *eyālet* of Selānik and the part of Üsküp *eyālet* (Skopje) to its north. Their importance was recognised in special legislation in the *Selanik yörükler kanunnamesi* (see Truhelka, *op. cit.*). Although their descendants (*Juruci, Koniarides*) have largely withdrawn to Turkish Thrace or Anatolia in the migrations of 1923 or 1950-58, a few hundred remain in a handful of villages on Mt. Plačkovica in Macedonia, still working as tented shepherds (see Eggeling, *op. cit.*), with a dialect closer to that of Anatolian Yörük than West-Rumelian Turkish. As late as 1976 they still formed a distinct ethnos of former nomads in the Strumica region, where a group of villages on the southern slopes of Mt. Ogražden was known as Yörüklük, and in two villages on Mt. Belasica on the Macedonian-Greek-Bulgarian frontier, within the Doiran group (see Filipovič, *op. cit.*). Yörük were established as far south as Larisa in Thessaly, and in the Rhodope and Balkan ranges to the north, with the seats of their beys in mountainous localities such as Thessalonika, Plovdiv and Yambol.

Following the Ottoman occupation of Bulgaria [*q.v.*] from 795/1393, Turkish settlers were established in the eastern plains northward to the Dobrudja, where they rapidly became the majority, spreading up the Maritsa valley to Plovdiv, and the Danube to Vidin: immigration reached a maximum in the 12th/18th century. Extensive conversion of the local population took place in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. In addition, some 100,000 Tatars were settled in Bulgaria after the Crimean War. There had been about 600,000 Muslims of Turkish origin, and a further 200,000 converted Slavs before World War II, or 683,000 and 123,000 respectively, with 10,000 Tatars and Gagauz in 1950. Despite the very large numbers involved in the population exchange of 1925-28 and the subsequent expulsion of 1950-8, amounting in all to 374,478 from 1923-60, there were still 650,000 registered Turks spread widely over the country in 1965, concentrated most densely in the Rhodope massif. The attempts at forced assimilation in 1983-5, when with *ca.* 700,000 they formed 10% of the total population, culminated in the expulsion of 300,000 in 1989. Many of these returned once the government had fallen and conditions had eased. The term *Pomak* [*q.v.*] was used by their Christian compatriots for mainly Bulgarian-speaking Muslims of Slavonic origin, though some claimed Turkish ancestry, and called themselves *Turci* (Lory, *op. cit.*, 101): these lived principally in the Rhodope, and the mountains of eastern Macedonia around the Struma. Until the Turko-Russian War of 1293/1877, there were 100,000 more in 60 villages to the north of the Balkan massif in the Danube region west of Loveč and Pleven, of whom 5,000 remained in 1985. They began to leave the Rhodope after the revolution of 1302/1885. *Akhriyān* ~ *agaryān*, a term documented from 835/1432, and shown by Ménage (*op. cit.*, 1969) to be derived from mediaeval Greek *'agarīnós*, "Hagarene > Muslim", was adopted as a self-designation by the Muslim Bulgarians living in the central Rhodope between Nevrokop and Pazardžik, around the upper Arda and Kričim rivers. Although, like *Potur*, adopted by the Ottoman authorities to describe somewhat dubious converts in the Balkans in a pejorative sense, it fell out of use, to survive only as a specifically Rumelian term. *Čitak* (= "coarse") is used etically for village Turks in general, though they call themselves *Türk*. An alternative, *Gadjal*, was used less often, but also pejoratively: the Bulgars of Šumen and Razgrad referred to all Turkish villagers as *Gadjal* or *Čitak*, whereas the Turks of Deliorman, calling themselves *Türk* or *Tahtakülâh*, called the Dobrudja Turks *Gacal* (see Bobčev 1940, 138-9).

Substantial immigration of Alevis has led to the usual polarisation of the Muslim population, reflected in the terminology, though they did not necessarily live in separate villages. The Sunni population of Deliorman called itself *Türk* while referring to the Alevi among them as *Kizilbaş*, which they accepted, with *Alevi* and *Aliyân* as alternatives (*ibid.*, 139, 143-4). These Alevis are centred particularly around Dulovo (Ak Kadınlar). *Amuca* is another designation applied to Alevis who formerly lived in the villages of Belören, Gaipler, Ahmedler, Topçular and Kara Abalar, east of the Tundja and south of Burgas in the coastal area near the Turkish frontier, later expanding to found Dikence, Bokluca and Gündüzlü. They are claimed by Salci (*op. cit.*) to be descendants of followers of Sheykh Bedr ül-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN] who survived his overthrow in 1420: their location supports this possibility. Most are now resettled in Turkey near Kırklareli, where in 1943 they numbered 15,000 in 25 villages, and where they were locally identified as *Kızılbaş*.

Gagauz [*q.v.*] are represented in Bulgaria by about 5,000, mostly in distinct villages in the Dobrudja, and Deliorman, but partly in and around the towns of Varna, Kavarna, Balčik, Yambol and Topolovgrad: they appear to be pre-Ottoman Turkic immigrants converted to Orthodox Christianity. Their language, although closest to the Turkish of northeast Bulgaria, is heavily influenced by Slavonic, Romance, and Greek intrusions. They perceive the Turks of Deliorman as closely related, calling them *Amuca*. A substantial emi-

gration to Bessarabia occured between 1750-1846, as a result of local oppression (Hoppe, *op. cit.*, 1957, 127, 131) and especially 1807-12 as the region was ceded to Russia. The majority, 138,000 in 1979, still live there (now Moldavia), with others in the adjacent district of Odessa in the Ukraine, and a few in Central Asia. Some remain in the Romanian Dobrudja and at Iaşi. They are also found at Edirne and in small settlements near Alexandroupolis.

In Greece, the term Turk included such minorities as *Vallachades*, *Karadjiovalides* (Muslim Meglen-Vlachs), and *Surguç*, besides Sunnī Turkish settlers and *Koniarides* (Yörük). Vardarians (Oghuz, Pečenegs, Ḳumans) had already founded colonies in Macedonia and Thrace from 457/1065 under Byzantine rule. The Muslim population grew under the Ottoman administration from 795/1393, augmented by local converts, until it reached one-third of the total by 1800. Despite extensive massacres of Muslims during the War of Independence, 1,400,000 (25.2%) still remained Muslim a century later in 1920. In 1922, the population exchange was arranged on the basis of religion rather than race: between 1923-60, 407,788 left for Turkey, 61% in 1923-33. Thereafter, Muslims continued to live in three areas: Rhodes and Chios, which were then Italian, Western Thrace and Epeiros, which had a large Albanian community until 36,000 were massacred in 1945. Their total number has remained relatively constant, at 134,722 (1.8%) in 1940, and 130,000 in 1971 (1.5%). Of those who remained in 1971, 70,000 Turks lived in Thrace, especially in the neighbourhood of Xanthī, Komotīne, and Alexandroupolis (= İskeçe, Gümülcine, Dedeağaç), and 10,000 in the Aegean (Rhodes and Kos/İstanköy); 20,000 Pomaks were on the Bulgarian border (Rhodope, Xanthī) in Thrace and 10,000 in Greek Macedonia; 8,000 Albanians stayed on in Epeiros and 2,000 in Athens; a remnant of 2,000 others (Vlachs and Gypsies) is found in Thrace, with 8,000 (mainly new Egyptian Arab immigrants) in Athens. In Crete [see IḲRĪṬISH], which became Ottoman by 1080/1669, the Muslim population declined from 91,000 (70%) in 1836 to 27,852 (8.3%) in 1921: these left for the Turkish coast, Libya and Egypt in 1923. In Western Thrace, conquered by Greece in 1919, Muslim Turks between the Rivers Evros or Maritsa and Nestos were exempted from the exchange to compensate for the Greek community and Patriarchate remaining in Istanbul. Although the Turks constitute the only minority officially recognised in Greece, their guaranteed rights, ranging from inheritance to political representation and the maintenance of mosques, have been subject to considerable interference, and non-Muslims have been settled in confiscated lands, so that many emigrated (6,000 during the Cyprus crisis in 1974-5), and their presence fell to 27.2% in 1971. Popular demonstrations of hostility towards them in 1996-7 appear to have been condoned. Of the *Vallachades*, Greek-speaking Muslims in southwest Macedonia (Grevena) and Thessaly, some can now be found in Central Anatolia (see Svanberg, *op. cit.*, 1980). The Meglen-Vlachs, converts to Islam in the 12th/18th century, were also unable to remain after World War I, and withdrew to Eastern Thrace or Anatolia. The *Surguç*, an Orthodox Christian group in southeastern Macedonia, bilingual in Turkish and Greek, were claimed to have entered the Balkan peninsula before the Ottoman conquest, possibly as a remnant of the Ḳomans [*q.v.*]; in 1913 they were said to number 4,500 (see Meinhard 1899; Cvijić 1913, 115; Weigand 1924, 82). *Gagauz* in Greek Macedonia, in and around Neazichni (formerly Željahovo) numbered about 4,000 in 1900, over eight villages. Today they are said to number 10,000, still identifiable as a distinct group and still speaking Turkish.

The Dobrudja (Dobrogea) plateau south of the Danube delta was first settled by Turks in *ca.* 662/1263-4, when Türkmen from Anatolia led by Ṣarī Ṣalṭuḳ arrived with Byzantine acquiescence. Tatars entered it in the 8th/14th century as Batu's Horde disintegrated, followed by further contingents sent there by the Ottomans in the 14th-16th centuries. Some of the Horde's largest offshoot, the Noghay [*q.v.*] joined them in the 11th/17th century, after losing the eastern part of their territory to the Ḳalmaḳ, while further Anatolian Turks were brought there to complete the colonisation. As the Ottoman protectorate of the Pontic Steppe collapsed in 1773-4, and the Russians expanded southward, both the Noghay and the Crimean Tatars beyond them [see ḲIRĪM] began to emigrate to Ottoman territory, and especially Dobrudja. The Ottomans recorded the arrival of 300,000 in the seven years following the annexation of the Crimea in 1783. A further exodus took place after the Crimean War (1853-6), and another from the West Caspian Steppe in 1859-64 during the Russian conquest of the Caucasus. The Dobrudja thus became the only European region of the Empire with an almost entirely Turko-Tatar population: the exceptions were Romanian villages on the Volga, and a few of Vlachs. The Turks tended to live in towns, whereas the Tatars remained rural. Finally, an influx of 20,000 Circassians settled in the north in 1866. The Turko-Russian War of 1293/1877-8 caused 80-90,000 Turks and Tatars to leave for Turkey and Bulgaria; the Circassians were removed to Anatolia, or to found protective settlements on the marches of Palestine and the pilgrimage route. By 1880 the total Turko-Tatar population was estimated at 48,100. From 1878 new Romanian legislation, including sequestration of land, led to substantial movement of Turks into the countryside; despite this they were subjected for some thirty years to relentless restrictions intended to Romanise the region. In 1900 a total of 43,740 Muslims lived in Romania as a whole. In 1911 the Dobrudja population had declined to 10,836 Turks and 25,086 Tatars, and by 1930 these formed only 21.2% of the total, which by then included the southern part annexed from Bulgaria. In 1934-8, 80,092 Muslims left Romania for Turkey including 37,000 from Dobrudja, in connection with the exchange agreement of 1936. In all, 121,351 left between 1923-60. Among them were almost all the Alevis of northern Dobrudja, who were Çelebi Bektāshīs: in the south (Deliorman), which in 1940 reverted to Bulgaria, they continued to flourish. The official figures for 1977 showing 23,303 Turks and 23,107 Tatars in Romania are regarded as unreliable. The proportions of the two have fluctuated throughout this century, but at present the Tatars are in the majority: they still tend not to mix. Both are concentrated in the provinces of Constanta and Tulcea, but some are found as far north as Iaşi. In 1980 the state-appointed *müfti* and his staff were all Tatars, perhaps with the intention of dividing the Muslim community by alienating the Turks. In the 1980s some 5-6,000 Tatars, most of them of Crimean origin, remained in the Bulgarian Dobrudja, about a fifth still speaking Noghay.

About 2,000 Tatars from Belorussia live in Poland mainly around Bialystok, but they no longer speak their language. Mişär Tatars, a group of mixed Turkic and Finno-Ugric origin formed in the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, came to Finland from the Nižniy-Novgorod region of Russia after the 1918

revolution: some 1,000 live there, mainly in Helsinki, Tampere and Turku, where they retain their Sunnī religion and culture. Others emigrated to Stockholm.

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II. Languages.

(i) Introduction
(ii) Genetic position
(iii) Structural features
(iv) Turkic languages in the past
(v) Turkic languages today

(i) Introduction

The family of the genetically-related Turkic languages is represented today by about 120 million speakers and 21 literary idioms. The first written evidence (8th century) belongs to a people which emerged in the 6th century under the name Turk which, due to certain historical circumstances, has become the name of the entire language family. The hypothesis that these peoples and languages originate from areas close to Inner Asia is strongly supported by certain linguistic evidence.

The spread of Turkic languages also demonstrates the important role that these peoples played in the historical development of Eastern Eurasia. From the 6th century onwards, they began occupying a vast area of the Eurasian continent, the extent of which has always been changing. From remote periods of their prehistory until today, they have come into contact with many extinct and living languages in Eurasia.

The Turkic migrations led, in some areas, to a process of assimilation. At times, the Turkic conquerors successfully imposed their language upon conquered peoples, while sometimes they were absorbed by the conquered, local population. Because of this complex historical process, the history of Turkic languages contains a variety of abstract, superstrate and substrate phenomena.

The use of the term Turkic for the entire language family, while reserving the term Turkish for the idiom spoken in the area occupied by the Ottoman Empire [see ʿOTHMĀNLÎS] and Turkey, is a contemporary development (see the corresponding Russian and French terminology: *tyurkskiy/turetskiy; turcique/turque*).

In the interpretation of the terms *Türk dili/Türk dilleri* (Turkish language/Turkic languages) there is a significant difference between scholars in Turkey and other countries (including the Turkic-speaking political units of the CIS). This difference reflects the variety of perceptions regarding the historical and contemporary relations of these languages. According to the majority of modern Turkish scholars, these languages are territorial variants (*lehçe* or *şive*) of one language (without giving a clear geographic and linguistic definition of this possible central idiom). This view, which originates in the national movement of the Turks in Russia in the 19th century [see GASPRALI, ISMĀʿĪL], was inspired by the model of Arab linguists. Among all other scholars, there is consensus in the consideration of contemporary Turkic languages as independent idioms.

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Further introductions (restricted to Ottoman and Turkish linguistic studies, but taking into account the orientation needed on a wide basis). Hazai, *Kurze Einführung in das Studium der türkischen Sprache*, Budapest-Wiesbaden 1978; idem (ed.), *Handbuch der Türkischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Budapest-Wiesbaden 1990. Other reference books with linguistic interest are G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols. Berlin 1958; Sinor, *Inner Asia, history—civilization—languages. A syllabus*, Bloomington, Indiana 1969.

History of research work. Menges (1-10: *Sketch of the history of Turkic studies*), Poppe (100-24: *History of Chuwash and Turkic linguistics*). Additional works: Fr. Babinger, *Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls*, in *WI*, vii/3-4 (1919), 103-29; A.N. Kononov, *Očerk istorii izučeniya turetskogo yazïka*, Leningrad 1976; idem, *Istoriya izučeniya tyurkskikh yazïkov v Rossii. Dooktyabr'skiy period*, ²Leningrad 1982; idem, *Bibliografičeskiy slovar' otečestvennïkh tyurkologov, Dooktyabr'skiy period*, ²Moscow 1989; O. Pritsak, *Vorwort zum Nachdruck*, in W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, i, The Hague 1960, v-; A. Temir, *Türkoloji tarihinde Wilhelm Radloff devri. Hayatı—ilmî kişiliği—eserleri*, Ankara 1991.

(ii) Genetic position

Turkic languages, with regard to their genetic origin, form a language family which is closely related to the Mongol and Manchu-Tungus language families (see ALTAIANS; Hazai, *Altaic languages*, in *Enc. Brit.*; Menges, *Altaic*, in *EIr*, i, 909-12). They share common typological features (see below, iii) in their language structures, as well as a series of phonetic and other correspondences, which can be undoubtedly traced back to remote periods of history.

Many scholars consider this evidence as proof for the genetic relationship of these idioms, and regard them therefore as units of a common language family, namely, the Altaic (J.G. Ramstedt, N. Poppe, M. Räsänen, P. Aalto, T. Tekin, etc.). Other scholars consider this as evidence of linguistic borrowings which resulted from the historic contacts between these peoples, and are opponents of the so-called Altaic theory (J. Németh, L. Ligeti, Benzing, Sir G. Clauson, A.M. Shčerbak, Doerfer, etc.).

Although the idea of the Altaic language family emerged in the 18th century (cf. Poppe, 125-56), Ramstedt is considered the founder of this school, since he laid down a comprehensive synthesis in which all aspects of a possible genetic relationship are taken into account (see Aalto, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 161 ff.).

The posthumous publication of J.G. Ramstedt's synthesis opened a new chapter in the heated, but fruitful, debate regarding the validity of the Altaic theory (see Clauson, in *CAJ*, ii [1956], 181 ff.; idem, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962; Doerfer, *Elemente*, 5 ff.; idem, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, lxxi [1966], 81 ff.). Despite the continuation of this debate, it has helped clarify many relevant linguistic and historic details and, in parallel, has opened new fields of investigation.

Today, those who accept the relationship of Altaic or even Uralo-Altaic languages also include the Korean and Japanese languages which, previously, were considered only as hypothetical links in the genetic network (see Poppe, 149 ff.; Aalto, in *CAJ*, xix [1975], 175 ff.; R.A. Miller, in *UAJb*, li [1979], 1 ff.; J. Street, in *OLZ*, lxxv [1980], 101 ff.; Menges, in *CAJ*, xxviii [1984], 234 ff.).

The adherents of the "Nostratic school", which focuses on the reconstruction of the development of proto-languages which existed in the remote past of the Eurasian continent, consider the genetic unity of Altaic languages as an important element of their theory.

The opponents of the Altaic theory regard the ancient correspondences between the Turkic, Mongol and Manchu-Tungus languages as a result of borrowings which help reconstruct, especially in the case of Turkic languages, some features of structure in the historical period which preceded the first written linguistic records.

Despite the polarisation of views regarding the main issue, in some details of this debate (which are also relevant to the prehistory of Altaic peoples) we can observe a rapprochement of some ideas and explanations (see Doerfer, in *UAJb*, N.F. i [1981], 93 ff.; idem, in *CAJ*, xxviii [1984], 37-8).

In the new phase of discussion concerning the Altaic theory, there have been pointed out the requirements of the strict application of traditional approaches and criteria of historical and comparative linguistics (see Doerfer, in *Voprosi Yazïkoznaniya* [1972-3], 50 ff.; idem, in *ibid.* [1981-4], 35 ff.; idem, *The conditions for proving the genetic relationship of languages*, in *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University*, ii/4 [1981], 39 ff.). The application of methods and experiences which are mainly a product of Indo-European studies, has often led to an impasse due to the lack of sources concerning the earlier periods of Altaic languages (particularly in the case of Mongol and Manchu-Tungus, which are considered more "conservative" than Turkic languages).

It has become evident that a more comprehensive explanation of the "relationship-like primaeval relation" of these languages (a term used by Németh, in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, xlvii [1928], 63) must take into consideration many specific aspects of the development of these languages which relate to the geographic and historical circumstances of their original habitat and their later migrations (slow and rapid shifts and on-the-spot mixture of the population, bi- and multi-lingualism, language exchange, social strata factors, etc.).

Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned factors have deeply influenced the circumstances of formation and geographical distribution of correspondences which have completely reshaped the scope of the available linguistic evidence. This historical context, when compared to Indo-European languages, is distinctly different and requires a particular methodological approach for the explanation of these facts.

Bibliography: General works. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 vols. Helsinki 1952-7; Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, i, *Vergleichende Lautlehre*, Wiesbaden 1960; idem, *Introduction to Altaic linguistics*, Wiesbaden 1965; Miller, *Genetic connections among the Altaic languages*, in S.M. Lamb and E.D. Mitchell (eds.), *Sprung from the common source*, Stanford, Calif. 1991, 292-327 (with a critical survey of the discussions of the last decades); see furthermore Menges, 198-201.

Relations to other Eurasian languages. Ramstedt, *The relation of the Altaic languages to other language groups*, in *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, liii (1946-7), 15-26; Uralic languages. M. Räsänen, *Die Verwandtschaft der uralischen und altaischen Sprachen*, in *SO*, xv (1949), 9-19; B. Collinder, *Ural-Altaisch*, in *UAJb*, xxiv (1952), 1-26.

The Nostratic theory. V.M. Illič-Svitič, *Opït sravneniya nostratičeskikh yazïkov*, 3 vols. Moscow 1971-1984; A.M. Shčerbak, *O nostratičeskikh issledovaniyakh s pozicii Tyurkologa*, in *Voprosi Yazïkznaniya* (1984-6), 30-42; Doerfer, *Nostratismus. Illič-Svitič und die Folgen*, in *UAJb*, N.F. xii (1993), 17-34.

(iii) Structural features

The phonetic stock of Turkic languages is rich in vowels and relatively poor in consonants, clusters of which are rare. The phonetic systems of the single languages, with few exceptions, show great similarity.

Lacking exact experimental studies of a comparative nature, many controversial views have been expressed concerning the suprasegmental elements (stress and tone). However, it is generally accepted that "in most Turkic languages . . . the expiratory stress falls on the first syllable" (Poppe, 180); musical tone is independent of the stress and falls on the last syllable (*ibid.*; L. Bazin, in *PTF*, i, 11). On the other hand, shifts may occur due to the effects of some specific suffixes (*ibid.*; A. von Gabain, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, 10).

Vowel harmony, followed by the harmony of consonants, is one of the most characteristic features of Turkic languages. This morphonological rule (from a phonetic point of view, an assimilation with extensive effects), is essentially based on three oppositional dimensions of vowels (back/front; rounded/unrounded; high/low). Following strict rules, they determine vowel sequences, manifested in word construction. The harmony is not restricted to the basic morphemes, but also extends to bound morphemes (suffixes) which, in this way, accumulate more phonetic variants.

The best-known model of vowel harmony is palatal harmony, which means that in one word only back or front vowels may occur. This exists in all Turkic languages. In the sphere of rounded and unrounded vowels, various patterns exist. In this respect, there are two main variants: labial harmony, where high vowels, following the division of back versus front, are also divided in an opposition of rounded versus unrounded; and labial attraction, where low vowels are also involved in the dependence of the harmony of rounded vowels.

Due to the peculiarities of the given phonological system, the combination of these models, as well as other minor variants, are characteristic in every single language. Therefore, in various ancient and contemporary Turkic languages, the realisation of vowel harmony displays a degree of diversity because of the specific development of the given language.

In the application of all models of vowel harmony, there are many exceptions, particularly in the case of loanwords which may preserve, often to a great extent, their phonetic autonomy.

The agglutinative nature of Turkic languages is one of their striking characteristics. This often-criticised term mainly stresses the contrast with flexional idioms (e.g. Indo-European languages). This peculiarity points to the use of bound morphemes (suffixes) on the level of word derivation and of grammatical operation in an almost exclusive way.

Definite articles and grammatical gender are absent in Turkic languages. For numerals, the singular form of nouns is used. Prepositions are not used. The case system is relatively simple. Case suffixes are identical in singular and plural because the plural has an independent suffix.

The parts of speech show less diversity: essentially, nouns, verbs and particles can be differentiated. No grammatical means exists to distinguish between nouns and adjectives. Turkic languages are rich in verbal derivatives, in which nouns of action, participles and gerunds (converbs) have an important function in syntactical operations.

An essential feature in syntax is the modifier (attribute, apposition) which always precedes the modified word (e.g. a noun), while the noun in the genitive (possessive) case precedes the noun representing the possession.

With respect to sentence structure, the position of constituent elements (word order) is determinative. At times, the main operational principle is coordination. The subordinate clause, beginning with conjunctions or relative pronouns, appears in Turkic languages as a result of foreign influences.

It is important to note that most of these essential peculiarities, combined with other minor ones, are common to the Finno-Ugric, Mongol, Manchu-Tungus, Korean and Japanese languages, giving them a strikingly common character which sets them apart from other Eurasian languages.

Bibliography: Bazin, in *PTF*, i, 11-19; von Gabain, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, 3-26; Poppe, 177-96; Baskakov, *T̲yurk. y̲az.*, 7-90; Menges, 73-163.

(iv) Turkic languages in the past

1. *Preliminary remarks*

The history of the Turkic languages truly manifests the specific characteristics of the past of these peoples, particularly in the sense of their unique role and the proportions of territorial and cultural change as well as hiatuses and their efforts for stability.

The diffusion of Turkic peoples, their expansions and internal movements, was a long-lasting and gradual process combining frequent confrontations with the settled civilisations. This process had profound consequences with respect to the formation of these languages. On the one hand, it led to the constant change (enlargement or diminution) of the linguistic territory while, on the other hand, it caused important population redistributions in certain areas. This process, manifested is varying extents, steadily influenced the evolution of individual idioms, their dialectal divisions and their contacts with other languages.

The conquests of Turkic peoples often resulted in the imposition of their language upon their subjected peoples (e.g. Iranians in Central Asia), or even on their new sovereigns (the Mongol ruling classes in the West). In both cases, this led to either a slow or a rapid assimilation process. Quite often, they were obliged to accept the language of the majority (Bulgar, Mamlūk, Ḳipčaḳ, etc.). Also, cohabitation with other peoples led to a cultural-linguistic symbiosis which eventually expressed itself in the form of strong bi- and multilingualism (e.g. Turkic/Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Russian, etc.). This linguistic framework formulated the basis for mutual linguistic influence.

The available sources of the early history of Turkic peoples (scanty reports from the Byzantines, Chinese, Arabs, etc.) as well as evidence offered by linguistic monuments and linguistic traces in contemporary languages, cover a large chronological period in a vast geographic area. The nature of these sources displays a unique diversity which changes from area to area, and from epoch to epoch requiring, therefore, different methodological approaches in their analysis. However, the huge network of linguistic evidence is incomplete in many areas. Even in the case of well-documented peoples such as the K̲h̲azars [*q.v.*], the Pečenegs [*q.v.*], etc., we have no coherent linguistic records. Therefore, there is only indirect evidence which leads us to believe that these idioms belong to the Turkic language family. Furthermore, there are certain cases in which there is a lack of any clear proof for the connection between the linguistic evidence and the supposed users of this language (e.g. the case of the Ḳarluḳs [*q.v.*]).

2. *Prehistory*

Comparative evidence. A comparative study of

Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus languages provides us with a variety of evidence regarding their prehistory. The common loanwords that exist in this very early period, undoubtedly prove the close contacts and relations that existed among these groups. At the same time, these linguistic data assist us in the localisation of the original habitat and subsequent migrations of Turkic peoples.

From the accepted, but differently interpreted, linguistic correspondences, there are two which are particularly important for the prehistory of Altaic languages. The first one is the Turkic initial *h-/ø-* ~ Mongolian *f-* ~ Manchu-Tungus *f-* ~ *p-*, which allows a reconstruction **h-* < **f-* < **p-*. (It is necessary to add that the Turkic initial *h-* has been, only recently, attested in the newly-discovered archaic dialect: see Doerfer, in *UAJb*, N.F., i [1981], 93 ff.) At the same time, the possible links of this correspondence with Uralic languages underline its historical importance (see Poppe, 151-2).

The second one is the so-called rhotacism and lambdacism, which is the essential element of controversy between the "pro" and "anti" Altaists.

T. Tekin, an adherent of the genetic relationship of Altaic languages, calls these correspondences "the main pillar of the Altaic theory" (*CAJ*, xxx [1986], 141 ff.) and explains that "It has long been established that Common Turkic *z* and *š* correspond to *r* and *l* in Chuvash, e.g. Com. Turk. *toḳuz* "nine": Chuv. *tăχăr*, *tăχχăr* "id." Com. Turk. *tāš* "stone": Chuv. *čul* "id." These sound correspondences were first called and are still referred to as "rhotacism" and "lambdacism", because, at the beginning, it was generally believed that Chuvash *r* and *l* had originated from Turkic *z* and *š* respectively. Later on, when it was discovered that Common Turkic *z* and *š* are represented by *r* and *l* also in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus, an exactly opposite theory on the priority problem was put forward by Ramstedt, the founder of Altaic comparative linguistics. According to Ramstedt, Chuvash and Mongolian *r* and *l* were older than Turkic *z* and *š*, and the latter had developed from *r* and *l*. In support of this theory, which may better be called "zetacism" and "sigmatism", cf. T. Tekin, in *AO Hung.*, xxii (1969), 51. Opponents of the Altaic theory regard the vocabulary material (which reflects these phenomena) as borrowings which resulted from very old contacts, probably between "proto-languages".

The endless debates over this problem have brought about a consensus on one point only: both sides agree that the phonetic issuing-point in the reconstruction, which was originally supposed as **r'* or **ř* > *r* ~ *z*; **l'* or **ľ* > *l* ~ *š* (see Ramstedt, in *JSFOu*, xxxiii/1 [1922-3], 26 ff.; Poppe, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vi [1926], 107 ff.) should be *ri̯*, instead of *r'*, and *li̯*, instead of *l'*, respectively. The isoglosses of this correspondence divide the old and contemporary Turkic languages into two groups. This division, which was attested at a very early stage of research, has given scholars the opportunity to trace back an important event in the history of Turkic peoples and to try to link it with concrete events of history.

First linguistic traces. Chinese historical works have given special attention to nomadic peoples, who were a constant threat to the northern parts of the Chinese Empire. Nevertheless, the linguistic evidence of these sources is very scant and does not therefore allow for an exact identification of languages used by these peoples.

From an investigation of a Hiung-nu distich (4th century) and some T'o-pa (Tabgač) words (4th-5th centuries), both recorded in Chinese script, there arise specific problems in phonetic reconstruction, since they are considered as traces of a Turkic language (Bazin, in *Oriens*, i/2 [1948], 208 ff.; idem, in *T'oung Pao*, xxxix [1950], 228 ff.). The objections against these interpretations underline the fact that research on this subject cannot be regarded as satisfactorily closed (von Gabain, in *Isl.*, xxix/2 [1949], 244 ff.; Doerfer, *Elemente*, i, 96; idem, in *CAJ*, xvii [1973], 4).

Other approaches to the problem of linguistic relations, with respect to the nomadic empires of the Sien-pi (4th century) and the Juan-juan (5th-6th centuries), such as that of P. Pelliot, have remained in a stage of hypothesis (W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 19).

Nomadic peoples from Asia, who moved in an early period westwards and eventually settled in an area around the North Caucasus and Black Sea and in Pannonia, were in close contact with various neighbouring civilisations (Byzantium, the Roman and Frankish Empires). Yet the sources relating to these peoples contain only some incoherent data for linguistic analysis. The interpretation of this material (names, titles and single words) presents many difficulties. As far as the names and titles are concerned, it is generally viewed that they cannot be accepted as indisputable proof for linguistic identification.

With regard to linguistic material from the Huns, a nomadic group which settled in Pannonia (4th-5th centuries), this has been interpreted several times. The opinions are very diverse. Scholars such as Németh (in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1991], 179-87) and O. Pritsak (in *ZDMG*, civ [1954], 124 ff.) consider the data on the Hunnic language as proof of the Turkic origin of this group. On the other hand, Doerfer argues that the available data is completely insufficient and ambiguous, and categorically refuses to accept the former hypothesis (*CAJ*, xvii [1973], 1 ff.).

With regard to linguistic material from the Avars, a nomadic group which also settled in Pannonia (5th-8th centuries), analysis has also been extensive. Németh represents the opinion that Turkic linguistic traces can be attested to the language of the Avars. A recent analysis of a runiform inscription found in Hungary, dating from the 8th century, attributes this text to the Avars (J. Harmatta, *Avarların dili sorununa dair*, Ankara 1988). Further validation may transform this discovery into a major breakthrough in the linguistic identification of nomadic groups living in this area and at this period.

The investigation of language relations in nomadic empires of a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual character, and the attempts to clarify the attested language relics which probably represent the language of the ruling clan, have come to a consensus on one point: although there is no direct evidence which proves the Turkic linguistic presence in the above-mentioned areas and periods, it is safe to say that Turkic elements were present during the large-scale migrations of nomadic peoples in the greater area between Inner Asia and Central Europe (Menges, 16 ff.).

3. *Emergence*

According to historical evidence, the Turkic-speaking peoples are attested for the first time in the 6th century A.D. Their presence is related to two geographical areas, namely Inner Asia (the region of the Orkhon river [*q.v.*]) and Eastern Europe (the Pontic region).

In Inner Asia, a new nomadic power emerges in the middle of the 6th century. The ruling clan bears the name Türk, which is later used with reference to

the whole of the rapidly-growing empire. The rulers of this state have bequeathed to us the first coherent texts (inscriptions on funeral steles written in an ancient Turkic idiom), which clearly display the character of a *z-/š*-language.

In Eastern Europe, the presence is manifested in a larger geographic triangle (Pontic, Balkan and Volga regions), which is represented by the Bulgars [see BULGHĀR]. This tribe, being one of the so-called Og͟huric peoples, is manifestly present in the Pontic region in the 5th-7th centuries. Later, due to a historical separation in the 7th century, they moved to the north-east of the Balkans, near the Danube river (after the end of the 7th century) and, at an unknown date, also to the Volga region (Moravcsik, i, 66-7). The language of the Bulgars in the north-east of the Balkans is the so-called Danube Bulgarian. This language is attested only from sporadic relics, words, titles and names as well as from loan-words borrowed by local Slavonic, an ancient form of contemporary (Slavic) Bulgarian. The language of the Bulgar ruling clan was absorbed by the surrounding population, resulting in the rapid loss of the original Turkic language. The most important linguistic record of this language is the "list of Bulgarian princes" ("Bulgarische Fürstenliste"). The language of the Volga Bulgars has been preserved in funeral inscriptions, written in the Arabic script (14th-15th centuries). These short but coherent texts are extremely important linguistic monuments for the investigation of the history of this idiom.

Early Turkic loan-words in the language of the Hungarians (who lived in the vicinity of Og͟huric peoples, following their gradual migration between the 6th and 9th centuries), display an organic connection with the first two groups of linguistic evidences.

Despite the facts that all these records have been discovered in regions far from each other, are diverse in nature, and represent different eras, they have a common character with regard to the main characteristic feature *r-/l-* versus *z-/š-*. This element manifests the linguistic unity of the various Bulgar groups. The extinct language of the Volga Bulgars represents a link between the old dialects of the *r-/l*-type and the Chuvash language, the only contemporary Turkic idiom which possesses this phonetic feature.

The earliest unambiguous evidence pointing to the history of the Turkic languages exhibits two distinct types of languages from a phonetic point of view, which were present in two remote areas of the Eurasian continent. The split of the Turkic languages into two groups is clear evidence of the early move of Turkic tribes bearing the *r-/l*-idiom towards the West. It is worth mentioning that at this same time (i.e. in a very early period) the *r-/l*-language type has not been attested in the East, and vice versa, the *z-/š-* type in the West, a fact probably mainly due to the lack of sources in this early historical period.

Many attempts have been made to link the early division of Turkic languages with the migrations of nomadic peoples known from historical sources. Since the generally-accepted view, which connects the appearance of the *r-/l*-language type in Eastern Europe with the historical migration into and presence of the Huns in the same area, lacks completely convincing evidence, it should only be regarded as a hypothesis. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the move of the Huns from the East to the West, and the migrations of other significant nomadic peoples, caused important changes in the geographical distribution of languages in the area.

However, in this context, we have to take into consideration the fact that the *r-/l*-language type (as shown by Németh, in L. Ligeti (ed.), *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Körös dicata*, Budapest 1942-7, i, 57 ff., and Menges, 55 ff., and recently underlined by M. Erdal, *Die Sprache der wolgabolgarischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1993, 162) might have had important links with the Siberian area which was not the main scene of the migration of the Huns (see O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*; Ligeti, *A propos des éléments "altaiques" de la langue hongroise*, in *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, xi [1961], 15-42; Erdal, *op. cit.*).

4. *The historical formation of language territories*

Contemporary Turkic languages are spread over a large part of the Eurasian continent, extending from North China to the Balkans, and from north-eastern Siberia to the Arabic Near East. The majority of the larger languages (Uyg͟hur, Uzbek, Ḳirg͟hiz, Kazakh, Turkmen, Ād͟harī and Turkish) form almost a coherent linguistic block, whereas some other widely-spoken languages (Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash) and minor idioms, (Yakut, Altai, Khakas, Tuvinian, Kumuk, Nogai, Karaim and Karachai-Balkar) are, to a certain extent, in a marginal or even insular position in relation to the nucleus of the language territory.

This historical formation of the geographical extension of Turkic languages is documented by written sources dating from the 6th century, but lack of sources makes the exact linguistic background of migrations prior to this period unknown to us. The present extension and stabilisation of the immense Turkic language territory is the result of migrations and conquests which took place throughout the 6th-12th centuries. Hence tables of the distribution of Turkic languages recorded in historical sources of the 11th-12th centuries essentially correspond to the contemporary situation. The main linguistic groups occupy the same geographical areas: the "Uyg͟hur group" occupies the southeast, the "Oyg͟huz group" the southwest, and the "Ḳipčaḳ group" the northwest of the language territory. This distribution survived the upheaval of the Mongol invasion (13th century) which, on the one hand, caused significant migrations, especially in the Ḳipčaḳ area, while on the other hand, it consolidated existing linguistic relations in Central Eurasia (see A. Samoilovitch, *EI*[1], art. *Turks. II. The Turkish languages*. 3, at IV, 912; T. Halasi-Kun, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexander Csoma de Körös dicata*, 140; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürk. Gramm.*, 5; Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 31-33, 47).

The origin of geographically marginal or linguistically incoherent areas are the product of either ancient or relatively recent migrations (Chuvash, Yellow Uyg͟hurs, Salars, and Yakuts) or the expansion of other languages (Russian in the Eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia) resulting in the ethnic-political transformation of Central-Eurasia.

In the central area, after the 14th century, only a few migrations contributed to the formation of language territories (e.g. the eastward movements of the Turkmens; the Ḳipčaḳ-Uzbek migration to south-Central Asia; the re-settlement of the Ḳirg͟hiz and Taranchis; the move of the so-called Truhmens, i.e. Türkmens, to the north, the westward and southward Ottoman colonisation; the northward migration of the Gagauz, etc.).

In the 20th century, certain historical developments (population exchanges, deportations, etc.), in certain language districts have resulted in the re-formation of the distribution of Turkic speakers (Turkey, Greece, the Crimea, the Caucasus and Cyprus). Massive immigration of Turkish workers in Western Europe in

recent decades has resulted in the extension of the sphere of influence of this idiom.

Today, Turkic languages are spoken in China, Mongolia, the CIS (either in independent or autonomous political units), in Afghānistān, Iran, 'Irāḳ, Jordan, in some Balkan countries, in Cyprus and in certain West European countries (Germany in particular).

5. *The written and literary idioms*

Preliminary remarks

The emergence of Turkic written and literary languages is related to different geographical-cultural areas and ages which, from a chronological perspective, clearly reflect a process of the historical diffusion of Turkic peoples from Inner Asia towards the West. The cultural centres of various areas, which in certain epochs existed and had an effect simultaneously, often reflected the interrelation of each other. Consequently, they were open to influences beyond their own political boundaries and dialectal backgrounds. This was manifested in the structure of idioms in use. Generally speaking, we can observe the "open" character of these literary idioms. This is true since, in the same period, different dialectal factors affected, in parallel, the development of language.

The structure of the writing systems used during these centuries, certainly strengthened this trend, even in the frequently-used Uyghur and Arabic scripts. In other words, the lack of exactness of these alphabets, given their phonetic realities, created a degree of flexibility in the dialectal realisation of literary idioms. This resulted in the easy recognition of written products which would originate from other dialectal spheres and ultimately, the mutual acquaintance of languages which extended beyond standard dialectal borders. These unique historical circumstances led therefore to strong linguistic interrelations as a result of language intermingling. Not surprising, a certain dialectal "overlapping" in the given literary idiom was very often observed.

The emergence and development of different literary languages was closely related to the religion accepted and used by the given community. The historico-cultural background widely influenced the formation of language. The acceptance of a particular religion also led to the acceptance of loanwords, while offering new options for their writing systems. The literary idioms which emerged after the 8th century in the immense area of Eurasia, corresponded to the needs of peoples who used Turkic languages for many centuries. In the Turkic linguistic territory one may observe the development of linguistic-literary norms which continued well into the 19th and 20th centuries: in the southeast, the Uyghur-Ḳarakhānid-Čaghatay, in the northwest, the Ḳïpčaḳ, and in the southwest the Oghuz. Despite the geographic shift of political and cultural centres in the southeast (Inner and Central Asia), the literary idioms which emerged display a chronological continuity which is evidence for their close linguistic relationship (particularly in structure). The northeast and related areas display a diversity in the available sources due, to a large extent, to historical circumstances which failed to produce a common line of development. The literary language of the southwest, associated with the most significant political power in the history of Turkic peoples (sc. the Ottoman Empire), manifests strong normalisation and clear continuity. In the Caucasian-Caspian region (on the fringes of the Ottoman Empire and incorporated in other political units) a separation took place at the level of the literary languages. The immense bulk of linguistic records, inscriptions, manuscripts and documents, which have reached us from different areas and epochs of the Turkic languages, present very specific problems. Many texts are not dated or exist only in later copies, and this fact has burdened the clarification of the chronological components of their language history.

Turkic languages came into contact with many writing systems during their history. The first one was the so-called runic script (of Semitic, Aramaic origin), which was of a semi-syllabic character. The available monuments reveal that its diffusion area stretched from Inner Asia to Eastern Europe, also probably involving non-Turkic idioms. The use of Sogdian, Estrangelo, Manichaean, Brahmi, Tibetan and Syrian scripts remained restricted to Inner Asia. The Uyghur script, which emerged from speed writing used in Sogdia, was used mainly in Inner Asia but was also known in Central Asia. The few documents written in the Uyghur script and found in West Asia (Ottoman Anatolia) do not prove its widespread use. The Arabic script came into use after the 7th century in all major areas of Turkic languages (the first attestation dates to the 11th century). In addition, the Greek and Armenian alphabets were used in the Western sphere of the Turkic languages. Finally, many texts from the same area, written by foreigners, often for missionary purposes, appear in Latin, Cyrillic and Georgian alphabets (14th-19th centuries). All these writing systems require specific methods for their linguistic evaluation. In the 1920s, due to state-guided language policies, Latin and Cyrillic scripts dominated Turkic languages and marginalised the Arabic script. The big political changes in the Turkic world in the 1990s have also signalled the first steps toward the reformation of the present set-up (the content of which remains vague).

The Turkic peoples, originally followers of shamanism and "Tanriism" (Doerfer [see TAÑRÏ]), became associated with Manichaism, Buddhism, Taoism, Judaism, Islam and Christianity. The religious-cultural background of a given group of written texts substantially determines the scope and method of linguistic research necessary for their study.

Bibliography: Unfortunately, there is no general survey regarding the vast number of Turkic linguistic remains, but the available studies offer good overviews of these sources. Since they deal with this material either from a geographical, chronological or linguistic point of view, they often overlap, but this is nevertheless useful for the assessment of individual monuments.

The best comprehensive survey about the whole of the Turkic language monuments is offered by the relevant chapters in the two volumes of *PTF*, by now, however, sometimes obsolete due to the rapid progress of research. A very selective, but useful short list includes: M. Räsänen, *Ein Überblick über die ältesten Denkmäler der türkischen Sprachen*, in *SO*, xiii/1 (1946); M. Mansuroğlu, *Turkish literature through the ages*, in *CAJ*, ix (1964), 81-112; S. Tezcan, *En eski Türk dili ve yazını*, in *Bilim, kültür ve öğretim dili olarak Türkçe*, Ankara 1994, 271-323. Bibliographies supplying introductions to the pre-Islamic period: A. von Gabain, *Einführung in Zentralasienkunde*, Darmstadt 1979; W.E. Scharlipp, *Die frühen Türken in Zentralasien. Eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte und Kultur*, Darmstadt 1992. Grammars: von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis*, 3rd ed. Wiesbaden 1974 (Turkish ed. *Eski Türkçenin grameri*, Ankara 1988); V.G. Kondrat'ev, *Grammatičeskiy stroy pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti viii-xv vv.*, Leningrad 1981. Dictionaries: V.M. Nadelyaev *et alii*, *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969 (pp. xxi-xxxviii:

Spisok istočnikov = list of sources); Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972 (authorities quoted: pp. xiii-xxxi); K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, 5 fascs., Wiesbaden 1977-94 (pp. 17-28: *Bibliographie*; successive supplement in each fascicle).

Inner Asia (1). The region of the Orkhon, Talas and Yenisei rivers.

The epigraphic monuments of these areas, which date from the 7th to the 10th centuries and have a diverse geographical-political background, are the most ancient records of Turkic languages. Some of them, especially the long and coherent inscriptions of the Orkhon [*q.v.*] Turks, enable us to analyse the structure of the language in detail. The majority of these texts are written in the so-called runic scripts (some scholars prefer to use the equally ambiguous term runiform). Although they display a degree of structural unity, minor differences have been established. Based mainly on these pieces of evidence, attempts have been made to define various trends which influenced the formation of the language.

Surveys of the linguistic texts. The above-mentioned dictionnaries offer a comprehensive register of sources, which may be completed, especially with regard to new publications by G. Doerfer, *Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte*, Wiesbaden 1993. Anthology: S.E. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti. Tekstî i perevodî*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952. The Runic monuments. Survey: D.D. Vasil'iev, *Pamyatniki tyurkskoy runičeskoy pis'mennosti aziatskogo areala*, i-ii, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1976/1, 71-81, 1978/5, 92-5, Editions: V. Thomsen, *Les inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsinki 1896; Malov, *Eniseyskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov. Tekstî i perevodî*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952; D.D. Vasil'ev, *Korpus tyurkskikh runičeskikh pamyatnikov baseyna Eniseya*, Leningrad 1983; Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1959. Grammars: T. Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968; A.N. Kononov, *Grammatika yazîka tyurkskikh runičeskikh pamyatnikov VII-IX vv.* Leningrad 1980; I.A. Batmanov, *Yazîk eniseyskikh pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, Frunze 1959; The runic script and its diffusion: Clauson, *The origins of the Turkish runic alphabet*, in *AO*, xxxii (1970), 51-76; O. Pritsak, *Turkology and the comparative study of Altaic languages: the system of the old Turkic runic script*, in *Jnal. of Tkish Studies*, iv (1980), 83-100; E. Tryjarski, *Die alttürkischen Runen-Inschriften in den Arbeiten der letzten Jahre. Befunde und kritische Übersicht*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, viii (1981), 339-52; Vasil'ev, *Grafičeskiy fond pamyatnikov tyurskoy runičeskoy pis'mennosti aziatskogo areala*, Moscow 1983; K. Röhborn and W. Veenker (eds.), *Runen, Tamgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa*, Wiesbaden 1985; Tryjarski, *Altes und Neues zur Entstehung der türkischen Runenschrift*, in *RO*, xlv/1 (1986), 59-77; idem, *Anonymity, adaptation and diffusion of the Asian and European runic script*, in *RO*, xlix (1994), 89-96; I.L. Kyzlasov, *Drevnetyurkskaya runičeskaya pis'mennost' Evrazii. Opît paleografičeskogo analiza*, Moscow 1990.

Inner Asia (2). The region of the Tarim Basin (Turfan) and Kansu (Dunhuang).

The Uyghurs, under the pressure of the Ķîrghîz [*q.v.*], left their former habitat in the north (9th century), and moved to northern China (the present province of Kansu) and to the Tarim basin. In both regions, they established independent political units and created a culture which integrated different religions. Due to chance, a great number of manuscripts and wooden block prints, mostly of a religious character, have survived and form therefore a solid basis for the investigation of this ancient idiom of the Turkic languages. The Mongol invasions put an end to the flowering of the Uyghur culture. However, the literary language was in use to a certain extent up to *ca.* the 18th century. The language of the Uyghur texts can be regarded as an organic continuation of the former idiom as represented by the epigraphic monuments. Despite a relative unity and stability in structure, over the centuries we find certain cases in which some features underwent a slow, successive change.

It has been long accepted that Manichaean texts written in this script represent the oldest layer within this group of monuments. The Buddhist texts in Uyghur script (translations of well-known religious-literary works) belong to the middle layer. The youngest group, formed mostly by juridical documents and wooden block prints (also of a Buddhist content) belong to the Mongol period. Recent research, which has integrated a series of criteria including external and internal linguistic features, has offered a more detailed chronology of these linguistic monuments.

Surveys of the language monuments. J.P. Laut, *Der frühe Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1986; idem and Röhrborn, *Der türkische Buddhismus in der japanischen Forschung*, Wiesbaden 1988; P. Zieme, *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo*, Opladen 1992 (pp. 16-45, *Buddhistische Schrifttum der Uiguren*). Problems of structure, of dialectal differences and of chronology: E.R. Tenišev, *Otraženie dialektov v tyurkskikh runičeskikh i uygurskikh pamyatnikakh*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1976/1, 27-33; idem, *Otrazhenie dialektov v tyurkskikh runičeskikh i uygurskikh pamyatnikakh*, in *SovT*, 1976/1, 27-33; M. Erdal, *The chronological classification of Old Turkish texts*, in *CAJ*, xxiii (1979), 151-75; L. Johanson, *Alttürkische als "dissimilierende Sprache"*, Wiesbaden 1979; Röhrborn, *Zu einem dialekt-differenzierenden Lautübergang im Alttürkischen*, in *Mat.Turc.*, vii-viii (1981-2), 295-305; A.S. Amanzholov, *V voprosu o dialektnoy klassifikatsii pamyatnikov drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, in *Voprosi Yazîkoznaniya*, xxxv/1 (1986), 75-81; Erdal, *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1991; L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*, Budapest-Paris 1991; Doerfer, *Bemerkungen zur chronologischen Klassifikation des älteren Türkischen*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, xviii (1991), 170-86; Doerfer, *Versuch* (see above).

Inner Asia (3). The region of Kāshghar.

The Kingdom of the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*] (in Turkological literature, the Ķarakhānids, 9th-12th centuries), was founded by tribes which formerly lived in the West Turk Empire but later moved to the area of Kāshghar. The conversion of the dynasty to Islam (10th century) created new conditions for the future development of Turkic languages. The literary idiom which emerged in the next century followed the Uyghur language tradition but experienced the consequences of new religious-cultural circumstances. The first literary works (the *Ķutadghu bilig* [*q.v.*], and the linguistic compendium *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk* of Kāshgharī [*q.v.*]), were written in the Arabic script. The latter one, which contains extensive word material, includes texts (proverbs and samples of folk poetry) which give a detailed account of Turkic languages in the 11th century and is, therefore, a source of immense linguistic value. The *ʿAtabet al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, a didactic work of Aḥmed Yüknekī (11th or 12th century [see AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ]), also belongs to this literary idiom, the so-called Kāshgharī or Khāḳānī one. The structure of this language illustrates organic ties to the former Turkic literary idiom which was established in Inner

Asia and manifests the clear continuity of linguistic development (Poppe, 67; Doerfer, *Versuch*, 219 ff.).

General works (some of them concern also the following periods): A.N. Samoylovič, *K istorii literaturnogo sredne-aziatskogo-turetskogo yazïka*, in *Sbornik Mir-Ali-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, 1-23; C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954; J. Eckmann, *Zur Charakteristik der islamischen mittelaltaisch-türkischen Literatursprache*, in *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe*, Wiesbaden 1957, 51-9; A.M. Shčerbak, *Grammatičeskiy očerk yazïka tyurkskikh tekstov X.-XIII. vv. iz Vostočnogo Turkestana*, Moscow 1961; Z.V. Togan, *Zentralasiatische türkische Literaturen*, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, Leiden 1963, 229-49; É.N. Nadžip, *Issledovaniya po istorii tyurkskikh yazïkov XI-XIV vv.*, Moscow 1989; Kh.G. Nigmatov, *Funktsional'naya morfologiya tyurkoyazïčnïkh pamyatnikov XI-XII vv.*, Tashkent 1989; Doerfer, *Chaghatay language and literature*, in *EIr*, v, 1992, 339-43. For the language monuments, see the arts. AḤMAD YUKNAKĪ; AL-KĀSHGHARĪ and ḲUTADGHU BILIG, and also R. Dankoff, *Wisdom of royal glory* (*Kutadgu bilig*), Chicago-London 1982; idem and J. Kelly, *Mahmūd el-Kāşgarī, Compendium of the Turkic dialects. Türk şiveleri lügati (Dīvanü Luġāt-it-Türk), Inceleme. Tenkidi metin. Ingilizce tercüme. Dizinler*, 3 vols. Duxbury, Mass. 1982-5; Kâşgarlı Mahmud, *Dîvânü lûgati't-türk*, Ankara 1990.

Central Asia (1). The region of Khʷārazm. Khʷārazm [*q.v.*] is considered as a crucial region in the history of Turkic peoples since it was a crossroad of different Turkic elements (Uyghur, Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ). The literary idiom which emerged in this area (14th century) clearly reflects the intermingling and merging of these languages. The Khʷārazmian literary language, which was also used in the *Dasht-i Ḳïpčaḳ* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the lands of the Golden Horde, was a clear continuation of the literary idiom of the former period with respect to its structure.

General works: see above (Inner Asia 3). Editions and analysis of language monuments: J. Eckmann, *Nehcü 'l-feradis*, i, facs. Ankara 1956; A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husräv u Šīrīn Qutba*, 3 vols. Warsaw 1958-61; A.M. Shčerbak, *Oġuz-nāme—Mukhabbat-nāme*, Moscow 1959; É. Nadžip, *Khorezmi, Mukhabat-nāme*, Moscow 1961; A.K. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira XII-XIII c vv.*, Moscow 1963; K.H. Menges, *Zum Türkistanischen Tafsīr des 12./13. Jhdts.*, in *UAJb*, xxxvi (1965), 348-59; E. Fazïlov, *Starouzbekskiy yazïk, Khorezmskie pamyatniki XIV veka*, 2 vols. Tashkent 1966; M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri*, Istanbul 1968; A. Bodrogligeti, *A fourteenth century Turkic translation of Sa'dī's Gulistān* (*Sayf-i Sarāyī's Gulistān bi t-Turkī*), Budapest 1969; Nadžip, *Tyurkoyazïtsnïy pamyatnik XIV veka "Gulistan" Seyfa Sarai i ege yazïk*, 2 vols., Alma-Ata 1975; J. Eckmann, *Middle Turkic glosses on the Rylands interlinear Koran translation*, Budapest 1976; É.I. Khodžandi, *Latafat-name. Kniga o krasote. Vvedenie, transkriptsiya teksta, perevod, glossariy, grammatičeskiy ukazatel'*, Tashkent 1976; Nadžip, *Istoriko-sravnitel'nïy slovar' tyurkskikh yazïkov 14. veka (na materiale "Khosrau i Širin")*, i, Moscow 1979; R. Dankoff, *The Turkic vocabulary in the Farhang-i Zafân-Gûyâ* (*8th/14th century*). Bloomington, Ind. 1987; A.F. Karamanlioğlu, *Seyf-i Sarâyî, Gülistan tercümesi* (*Kitâb Gülistan bi't-Türkî*), Ankara 1989; H.E. Boeschoten *et alii*, *Al-Rabghūzī, The stories of the prophets, Qiṣas al-Anbiya'. An Eastern Turkish version*, Leiden 1995; idem, *Chwaresmtürkisch als z-Türkisch*, in *Jnal. of Turkology*, i/2 (1993), 183-201.

Central Asia (2). The region of the Tīmūrid cultural centres.

The Čaghatay language, which emerged in the Tīmūrid empire and flourished in the cultural centres of Bukhārā and Samarḳand, is an Islamic Central Asiatic literary language which reached a high stage of development. It was used over the centuries in a vast geographic area which stretched from Inner Asia to the Crimea and the Volga region. This sophisticated literary language also met the needs of the Ḳïpčaḳ and Oghuz peoples. Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [*q.v.*], who is considered the most outstanding figure of Čaghatay literature (if not its founder), contributed to the standardisation and the strengthening of its Turkic components, although it has remained (to a certain extent) open to other Turkic literary idioms and has tolerated their impact.

Eckmann (in *Studia altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe*, 51 ff.), who emphasised the organic links of this language with former literary idioms, suggested the following stages of its history: (1) Pre-classical period (from the beginning of the 15th century to the composition of Nawā'ī's first *dīwān* in 1465); (2) Classical period (1465-1600) with such representatives as Ḥusayn Bayḳara, Nawā'ī, Bābur, Bayram Khān, etc.; and (3) Post-classical period (1600-1921), characterised on the one hand by the careful imitation of Nawā'ī's language and, on the other hand, by the penetration of Uzbek elements.

See M.F. Köprülü, *Çagatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, iii (1945), 270-323; A.K. Borovkov, *Alisher Navoy kak osnovopolozhnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka*, in *Alisher Navoy*, Moscow-Leningrad 1946, 92-120 (Turkish tr. in *TDAYB* [1954], 59-96); K.H. Menges, *Das Čaγatajische in der persischen Darstellung von Mīrzā Mahdī Xān*, Wiesbaden 1956; A.K. Borovkov, *Leksikografičeskaya traditsiya v slovaryakh čagatayskogo yazïka*, in *Leksikografičeskiy Sbornik*, vi (1960), 151-60; É.N. Nadžip, *Tyursksiy yazïk deliyskogo sultanata XIV veka*, in *SovT*, 1982/2, 75-85; A.M. Shčerbak, *Grammatica starouzbekskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1962; J. Eckmann, *Chagatay manual*, Bloomington, Ind.-The Hague 1966; Kh. Nazarova, *Osobennosti sintaksičeskogo stroya uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka*, Tashkent 1979; A.K. Borovlov, *Badā'i' al-luγat. Slovar' Tāli' Imānī Geratskogo k sočineniyam Alishera Navoi*, Moscow 1961; Sir Gerard Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian guide to the Turkish language by Muhammad Mahdī Xān*, facs. text with an introduction and indices, London 1960; Eckmann, *The Dīvān of Gadā'ī*, Bloomington, Ind.-The Hague 1971; A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, *Ḥāliṣ's story of Ibrāhīm. A Central Asian Islamic work in Late Chagatay Turkic*, Leiden 1975; A. Ibrahimova, *M. Ya. Čingi, Kelurname (starouzbeksko-tadžiksko-persidskii slovar' xvii v.), Vvedenie, transkriptsiya i perevod teksta, glossarii, leksiko-grammatičeskii očerk, grammatičeskii ukazatel'*, Tashkent 1982.

Eastern Europe and its diffusion areas

The first monument representing the language of this area is the *Codex Cumanicus*, appearing at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. It is a compendium of specimens (some of them translations of religious texts), grammatical examples and glossaries, composed for missionary purposes. In the notes of the texts, the language is referred to as *comanicum* and *chomaniche*, while in the texts themselves, we find the terms *tatarče* and *tatar til*. It represents dialects spoken in the area of the Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*; see also DASHT-I ḲÏPČAḲ and ḲUMAN). Texts from the Crimea, despite Ottoman influences, also reflect Ḳïpčaḳ influences, explaining the formation of the mixed language characteristic of the local population. The sources are mostly official documents which originate from the successor khānate of the Golden Horde; this link is also reflected in the emerging Tatar literary language.

The Armenians of south-western Ukraine (originating from the Crimean community) were in permanent

contact with Ḳîpčaḳ Turks through their trading activities. As a result, they accepted this linguistic idiom as their administrative and religious language. Of this we possess many 16th-17th century records (official documents, language manuals, religious texts, etc.) which reflect a specific dialect of the Ḳîpčaḳ languages.

Under the rule of the Mamlūks [*q.v.*] in Egypt and Syria (13th-16th centuries), we witness the emergence of a Turkic literary idiom which in structure resembles the literary idiom of Kh^w^ārazm, reflecting the mixed Ḳîpčaḳ-Oghuz provenance of the ruling class which emerged from slaves purchased by the Ayyūbid [*q.v.*] sultans and *amīrs* from the Pontic and north Caspian areas. The linguistic records can be divided into three groups: (a) Mamlūk-Ḳîpčaḳ proper (structurally very close to the literary idiom of Kh^w^ārazm); and (b) a mixed Oghuz-Ḳîpčaḳ dialect with two sub-groups: (1) a dialect with prevailing Ḳîpčaḳ elements, and (2) a dialect with prevailing Ottoman Turkish elements.

On the other hand, the literary activity of the Mamlūk period displays close ties to other Turkic areas, mainly to Kh^w^ārazm and to Istanbul (also attested by linguistic evidence). Daily contact between the ruling class and the Arab population created the need for compiling grammars and dictionaries; these used Arabic linguistic models, and likewise reflect the mixed character of the language used in the Mamlūk-Ḳîpčaḳ area.

See *The Codex Cumanicus*: Vl. Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, Bucharest 1973; D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung*, Bochum 1978. Among studies concerning the interpretation of the work, a series of articles by Drimba has special importance (see bibliographic data in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* xxxii (1994), 388-90). Also G. Györffy, *Autour du Codex Cumanicus*, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri de Körös dicata*, i, 110-37; Ligeti, *Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus*, in *AO Hung*, xxxv (1981), 1-54; Ya. R. Dashkevič, *Codex Cumanicus. Voprosî vozniknoveniya*, in *Voprosî Yazîkoznaniya*, xxiv/4 (1985), 72-83; idem, *Codex Cumanicus—deystvitel'no li Cumanicus*, in *ibid.*, xxxvii/2 (1988), 62-74; M. Mollova, *Codex Cumanicus: le bouddhisme et le turk oriental*, in *WZKM*, lxxx (1990), 143-65; P.B. Golden, *The Codex Cumanicus*, in H.B. Paksoy, *Central Asian monuments*, Istanbul 1992.

Mamlūk-Ḳîpčaḳ. General surveys (containing lists of the language monuments): T. Halasi-Kun, *Die mameluk-kiptschakischen Sprachstudien und die Handschriften in Stambul*, in *KCsA*, iii/1 (1940), 77-83; A. Inan, *XIII.-XIV. yüzyıllarda Mısır'da Oğuz-Türkmen ve Kıpçak lehçeleri ve "Halis Türkçe"*, in *TDAYB* (1953), 53-71; A.F. Karamanlıoğlu, *Kıpçaklar ve Kıpçak Türkçesi*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xii (1962), 174-84; Eckmann, The *Mamluk-Kipchak literature*, in *CAJ*, viii (1963), 304-19; A.N. Garkavets, *Kîpčakskie yazîki: kumanskii i armyano-kîpčakskii*, Alma-Ata 1987; Karamanlıoğlu, *Kıpçak Türkçesi grameri*, Ankara 1994; R.J.H.M. Ermers, *Turkic forms in Arabic structures. The description of Turkic by Arabic grammarians*, Nijmegen 1995.

Armenian Ḳîpčaḳ. A comprehensive bibliography is Dashkevič, *Armyano-kîpčakskii yazîk. Bibliografiya literaturî 1802-1978*, in *RO*, xl/2 (1979), 79-86. Studies which appeared after the above-mentioned bibliography: Garkavets, *Konvergentsiya armyano-kîpčakskogo yazîka k slavyanskim v XVI-XVII vv.*, Kiev 1979; A.A. Garkavets, *Armyano-kîpčakskie pis'mennîe pamyatniki XVI-XVII vv.*, in G.F. Girs *et alii* (eds.), *Srednevekovîy Vostok. Istoriya kul'tura, istočnikovedenie*, Moscow 1980; Dashkevič, *Armyano-kîpčakskii yazîk XV-XVII vv. v osveshčenii sovremennikov* (*Ob ispol'zovanii ékstralingvističeskikh dannîkh dlya istorii tyurkskikh yazîkov*), in *Voprosî Yazîkoznaniya*, 1981/5, 79-92; idem, *Armyano-kîpčakskiy yazîk: étapi istorii*, in *ibid.*, 1983/1, 91-107; E. Tryjarski, *Die Armeno-kiptschakische Sprache und Literatur—ein Beispiel für kulturellen Synkretismus*, in *UAJb*, N.F., v (1985), 209-24; idem, *O dialektnoy differentsiatsii armyano-kîpčakskogo yazîka*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*, 1987/4, 23-9; idem, *Religious terminology in Armeno-Kipchak*, in *Jnal. of Turkology*, i/1 (1993), 59-111. Studies concerning the relation between the Ḳîpčaḳ literary tradition and the Tatar language: T. Halasi-Kun, *Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan*, in *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri de Körös dicata*, i, 138-55; M.Z. *et alii*, *Istoki tatarskogo literaturnogo yazîka*, Kazan' 1988.

West Asia (1). Anatolia.

Although Anatolia was conquered by the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] of Oghuz [see GHUZZ] origin at the end of the 11th century, it is not until the end of the 13th century that we find the first written literary works which attest this idiom. The first works exhibit strong influence from the Turkic language tradition of the east (orthography and grammar), which disappears with the gradual standardisation of the norm of the literary language. Literary activity in the first period arose in various politico-cultural centres in Anatolia, following the collapse of the Rūm Saldjūḳ state, and because of this, the richness of documentation is not comparable with other Turkic languages. Because of strong Arabic-Persian influences, careful analysis is necessary in order to discern the Turkish core of this language material. The language of this period tends now to be called Old Anatolian Turkish instead of the former Old Ottoman, a term which lacks historical validity. The emergence of the centralising Ottoman rule created entirely new conditions for the development of this literary idiom. The written language experienced enormous Arabic and Persian influences, effectively creating a gap between the written and spoken tongues, and it was the task of language reform in Turkey in the 20th century to deal with this linguistic gap.

In the sphere of historical phonetics, a large group of records written in non-Arabic tongues (Latin, Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Cyrillic, Hebrew and Syriac), including grammars and dictionaries (composed mostly by Europeans), present source material of immense value for their investigation; first attempts at periodisation have made it clear that the final solution to the problem will arise from systematic and statistically-based linguistic search.

A survey of literature concerning the history of the idiom is given in the related chapters in Hazai, *Kurze Einf.*, and *Handb. d. t. Sprachw.*

The Oghuz background: Z. Korkmanz, *Das Oghusische im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert als Schriftsprache*, in *CAJ*, xvii (1973), 294-303; M.I. Yusifov, *Oğuz grupu türk dillärinin mügayisäli fonetikasî*, Baku 1984; G. Guliev *et alii*, *Oğuz grupu türk dillärinin mügayisäli grammatikasî*, ii, *Morfologiya*, Baku 1986. Surveys of the language monuments: Korkmaz, *Ṣadru'd-dīn Şeyhoğlu, Marzubān-nāme tercümesi. İnceleme, metin, sözlük, tıpkıbasım*, Ankara 1973 (58-66); G. Doerfer, Zum *Vokalismus nichterster Silben in altosmanischen Originaltexten*, Stuttgart 1985 (10-16: *Unsere Quellen*); M. Adamović, *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1985 (8-26: *Die Quellen*). History of the literary language and historical grammar: A.S. Levend, *Türk dilinde gelişme ve sadeleşme evreleri*, [3]Ankara 1972; A.N. Kononov, *Osnovnîe étapî formirovaniya turetskogo pis'mennogo-literaturnogo yazîka*, in *Voprosî Yazîkoznaniya*, 1977/4, 21-36; F.K. Timurtaş, *Eski Türkiye türkçesi, XV. yüzyıl. Gramer—metin—sözlük*, Istanbul 1977; V.G. Guzev, *Staroosmanskiy yazîk*, Moscow 1979; Doerfer, *Das Vorosmanische.* (*Die Entwicklung der oghusischen Sprachen*

von den Orchonischriften bis zu Sultan Veled), in *Türk dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* (1975-6), 81-131; Adamović, *Konjugationsgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Leiden 1985; É.A. Grunina, *Istoričeskaya grammatika turetskogo yazïka*, Moscow 1991; see also L. Johanson, *Die westoghusische Labialharmonie*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxvii-xxviii (1978-9), 63-107; idem, *Pluralsuffixen im Südwesttürkischen*, Wiesbaden 1981; Guzev, *Očerki po teorii tyurkskogo slovoizmeniya, imya, na materiale staroanatoliysko-tyurkskogo yazïka*, Leningrad 1987.

West Asia (2). The South-Caucasian region. In Ādharbāydjān, widespread literary activity has been attested over centuries. Nevertheless, the literary language was not "able to make progress against the influence on the one hand of Persian culture and on the other of the Ottoman Turkish. The rehabilitation of Ādharbāydjānī or Ādharī [*q.v.*], which is closely related to the spoken dialect, began in the middle of the 19th century in Transcaucasia (Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Akhundov). It became strongly influenced by Ottoman Turkish at the beginning of the 20th century..." (A. Samoilovitch, *EI*[1], art. *Turks*). Even though the local dialect left many traces in certain literary works, its development was concealed by the written idiom, which was dominated by the Ottoman norm. It is accordingly difficult to ascertain purely through language texts the historical separation of the local dialect and its emergence in the literary language (probably during the Ṣafawid period (see G. Doerfer, in *EIr*, v/3, 226).

A thoroughly selected informative survey is offered by I. Bellér-Hann, *A history of Cathay. A translation and linguistic analysis of a fifteenth-century Turkic manuscript*, Bloomington, Ind. 1995 (Bibliography: 188-200). See also Doerfer, *Azeri (Ādarī) Turkish (= Azerbaijan. viii)*, in *EIr*, iii/3, 245-8.

West Asia (3). The East Caspian region. It is generally accepted that the Turkmens played a significant role in the early (Khʷarazmian) period of Islamic Central Asian Turkic literature, but they later came under the influence of the Čaghatay language (Samoilovitch). Poets who lived in the 18th-19th centuries essentially used this language (Z.V. Togan, in Spuler (ed.), *Altaistik*, 244), and traces of the local idiom can be attested in selected manuscripts of their works. The modern Turkmen literary language emerged only in the Soviet period (Baskakov, *Tyurk. yaz.*, 91).

See M.N. Khïdïrov, *Nekotorïe voprosï po istorii turkmenskogo yazïka*, Ashkhabad 1975; Z.B. Mukhammedova, *Issledovaniya po istorii turkmenskogo yazïka XI-XIV vekov*, Ashkhabad 1973; S. Ataniyazov (ed.), *Türkmen dilinin tarïkhï grammatikasïnïn problemalarï*, Ashkhabad 1980.

The emergence of contemporary literary languages

The second half of the 19th century is considered a turning point in the history of Turkic literary languages. During this period, we have two main idioms: Čaghatay (in its late "post-classical" version) in the east and Ottoman in the west which, in both cases, were used by Turkic peoples. Čaghatay was used by Turkic peoples of Central Asia, the North Caucasus and the Volga region; historically, it belongs in the Uyghur-Ḳïpčaḳ linguistic area and includes many versions due to strong influences from local idioms. Ottoman, beyond the borders of its empire, broadly influenced the linguistic development of the Crimea and Ādharbāydjān (the so-called West Oghuz area).

The economic, political and cultural challenges of this period created a completely new socio-cultural situation which included both integrating and separating tendencies. Language, being one of the most important factors of self-identification, and at the same time, an important instrument of economic-cultural development and modernisation, partook of these trends in the realm of Ottoman socio-political life. On the other hand, the Turkic world further east was confronted with similar challenges but under very different circumstances. Its geographic isolation and fragmentation, and its lack of a common political centre, was in sharp contradiction with the situation in the west, where the Ottoman Empire was a strong and centralised power.

Following the Russian conquest and integration of Central Asia, one may observe two opposing trends: nationalist and local. The first one emerged in the Crimea and is closely associated with the name of Gasprali [*q.v.*], who represented the idea of language unity (*dilde birlik*) and was actively involved in the creation of a new common language for all Turkic peoples. The second one was expressed by strong efforts to create literary languages on the basis of local idioms. This trend coincided with the ambitions of Imperial Russia which followed a policy of "divide and rule" and favoured tendencies of separation. The appearance and rapid unfolding of regional written idioms of Tatar and Bashkir (based on the Ḳïpčaḳ tradition), of Uzbek and (New-) Uyghur (based on the Čaghatay tradition, but also assimilating Ḳïpčaḳ elements), and of Ādharbāydjānī (based on the Ādharī variant of the common Oghuz tradition), was the result of the abovementioned tendencies.

The results of this linguistic evolution became clear in the 20th century, with the creation of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey. This new political set-up was bound to strengthen and even seal the linguistic fragmentation of the Turkic peoples. The creation of new literary languages, Moscow's policy of Russification and Sovietisation, the changes in the writing systems of both countries, and finally, the language reform of Turkey, completed a process which had begun at the end of the 19th century.

The immense political changes of the Turkic world which have resulted from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, have not left untouched the issue of language. We are currently witnessing the emergence of old and new options for the formulation of language policy in the newly-independent Turkic republics. For example, preliminary steps have been taken in the direction of the introduction of the Latin alphabet at the expense of Cyrillic. Such steps demonstrate a tendency of linguistic rapprochement, the ultimate results of which remain to be seen.

General surveys with extensive bibliographies: A. Bennigsen-Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920*, Paris-The Hague 1964; E.A. Allworth, *Central Asian publishing and the rise of nationalism*, New York 1965; I. Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Russland- und Sowjettürken (1850-1937). Ein Symptom ideengeschichtlicher und kulturpolitischer Entwicklungen*, Budapest 1993.

6. *Alphabets used in the course of history*

The oldest writing system of Turkic peoples is the so-called runic alphabet, which was used mostly for inscriptions on stone discovered in the Yenisei, Talas and Orkhon regions; the name reflects a certain resemblance to the Old Norse inscriptions, but the more precise term runiform is preferred. It is widely believed that the Turks became acquainted with this script through Sogdian-speaking Nestorian Christians (Menges, 67). The inscriptions of the Orkhon region

(8th century) illustrate, in comparison to other areas, a degree of normalisation. The script has also been attested in a number of manuscripts.

In Inner Asia, which in early Turkic history was a crossroad of different cultures and religions, Turkic peoples were exposed to a large number of alphabets. The well-documented Manichaean script has been traced back to the Syriac Estrangelo, being "only its slightly modified form" (Menges, 69). One form of the Sogdian alphabet, which is also traced to another variant of the Aramaic script, was the source for the development of the Uyghur script (which appears in texts of the Tarim Basin and in Dun-Huang). Syriac script was also used in texts by Nestorian Christians. The Brahmi script, introduced by Buddhist missionaries in Inner Asia, was also adopted in Turkic texts, and the clear rendition of vowels by this script is of great value for the history of phonetics. Certain texts also reveal the use of Tibetan.

In a relatively short period, the Uyghur script attained a dominating role in Inner Asia and effectively overshadowed parallel writing systems; this role lasted up to the transition to the Mongol script, which was later also inherited by the Manchus. The Uyghur script was also able to influence the parallel development of Islamic literary activities in Inner Asia.

The Arabic script was first adopted by Turks in Inner Asia (following essentially the Uyghur writing tradition) and expanded in the following centuries, the Oghuz literary usage of Anatolia being the second area of adoption of the Arabic script. In the initial period of adaptation, the script was infused with the eastern heritage, but local innovations quickly phased out this influence. The Hebrew alphabet was used by the Khazars (attested only in historical sources) and later, by the Karaims (which is still in use). A Ķïpčaķ group in the 16th century adopted the Armenian alphabet. The same alphabet was also used for Turkish spoken by Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, thus leaving behind a large amount of written and printed material. The Greek alphabet was used by the Karamanlis (Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians) in the Ottoman Empire, and its use is documented by literature, mostly of a religious character, which flourished over centuries. In the Ottoman period, we further find texts in the Latin, Syriac, Cyrillic and Georgian scripts written by Europeans, and these, which include grammars and dictionaries, are of great value for language history.

In the early 18th century, Russian missionaries introduced the Cyrillic script to a variety of Turkic-speaking peoples (Chuvashs, Tatars, Kazakhs, Yakuts, etc.). Among the Altai Turks and Tuvinians, the Mongolian script was used to "a very limited degree" (Samoilovitch, in *EI*[1], IV, 914). The Gagauz, who officially obtained in 1947 a writing system based on Cyrillic in 1947, used an amalgam of Cyrillic and Latin based on the Romanian alphabet (L.A. Pokrovskaya, in *Tyurk. yaz.*, 112-13). For Tatars living in Romania, the Latin script was introduced after World War II. Turkey introduced the Latin script in 1928-9. At the same time, the Soviet Union also introduced the Latin script, later replaced (in the 1940s) by the Cyrillic alphabet. Recent political changes have paved the way for a re-latinisation of Turkic languages.

Despite these revolutionary changes, which have affected the great majority of Turkic speakers in China, Turkic speakers in Afghānistān, Iran and ʿIrāķ continue to use the Arabic script. The Cyrillic alphabet introduced into Mongolia was also used by local Turkic languages. Finally, Turkish speakers in the Balkans and Cyprus adopted the new Latin script soon after the language reform of Turkey.

Bibliography: Poppe, 37-57; Menges, 67-71. For the alphabet changes in the Soviet Union, see Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Russland- und Sowjet-Turken 1850-1937* (with extensive bibl. and a useful chronological survey).

7. *General characteristics of their historical development*

Structure. It is generally accepted that Turkic languages "show considerable conservatism in the whole extent of their known history" (Samoilovitch, *loc. cit.*). With regard to their phonetic stocks and phonological systems, a comparison can be made between older and contemporary idioms. Such a comparison has illustrated considerable differences only in limited cases (mainly in marginal languages). On the other hand, the comparison of the Western Oghuz idioms with those of Central Asia, illustrates a certain "shift" in the articulation basis, which manifests a certain develarisation. Clearly, this has probably resulted from strong Indo-European, Iranian, influences (see A. Vambery). Sound harmony, the main element of morphological structure, has remained characteristic of almost all languages thus demonstrating a rather wide variety of realisation (Poppe, 181-4). Rupture or aberration was caused by foreign influences (i.e. the Iranisation of the sedentary Uzbek population; the Slavic influences on the Karaim, etc.; see Menges[2], 182).

While the morphological structure "is extremely resistant to both internal and external changes, the syntax is more vulnerable to influences and consequently changes" (*ibid.*). Introduction of subordinative conjunctions in Turkic languages, the original syntax-pattern of which is based on clause coordination, is the result of their long-standing contacts with foreign languages. The result of this influence varies according to the individual languages and may show a different picture at the level of the literary idiom and the spoken dialects.

Interrelations with other languages. Contact of Turkic languages with other idioms is reflected in evidence of linguistic interaction. The borrowings in their vocabulary clearly illustrate the extensive contact of Turkic peoples with other Eurasian civilisations and languages. At the same time, we find traces of Turkic loans in other Eurasian languages. The original word-stock of Turkic languages clearly displays influences from Paleoasiatic, Mongol, Uralic, Semitic and Dravidian languages. The diffusion of Turkic peoples in the south and west, and the creation of their successive literary languages through a process of cultural interaction, left their vocabularies exposed to foreign borrowings. The literary idioms of the east display clear Chinese, Iranian, Tokharian, Syriac, Sanskrit, Tibetan and, later, Mongol influences, together with a constant alteration of their character and intensity. The literary idioms of the west experienced Arabic and Persian influences. All Turkic literary languages in the CIS display strong Russian influences.

Due to the historical distribution of Turkic peoples, their languages came in close loan-contacts with many other local idioms, the input of which has remained regionally limited. The main source-languages of the south-east are Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu and Tādjīk; in the north-east, Mongolian; in the north-west, Uralic; and in the south-west, Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian, Armenian, Greek and Balkan Slavic. In addition, Russian is an important source language for Turkic idioms of the CIS. The influence of West European languages on Turkish has been very strong for a long time. At a later stage, similar influences

appeared in other Turkic languages, often via Russian. Today, we are witnessing a strong and direct West European influence on Turkic languages. In turn, these protracted contacts also resulted in the substantial influence of many neighbouring languages (from China to the Balkans) by Turkic idioms.

8. *Genetic connections of idioms: classification*

The purpose of this approach is to codify, on the basis of concrete linguistic features and feature combinations, those idioms which exhibit a historical connection and common development. The resulting table will demonstrate the relationship of the given idiom to former stages of its linguistic development.

Traditional linguistic classification of Turkic languages is based exclusively on phonetic features. This classification reflects their inner development and complex differentiation process. The division between "central languages" and "marginal languages" (Chuvash, Yakut and K͟halad͟j), is generally accepted due to their significant linguistic divergence. However, the position of the later ones, especially of Chuvash, is debated since it reflects the position of the Altaic theory. Its followers regard it as an independent link in the Altaic language family. Its opponents do not recognise this specific role and regard it as one member of the Turkic language family.

The Central Turkic languages are divided into the following groups: Uyg͟hur (or Čag͟hatay) languages (Uzbek, New Uyg͟hur, Salar); Ḳîpčaḳ languages (Ḳîrg͟hîz, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Kumuk, Karachai-Balkar, Nogai, Crimean Tatar, Tatar, Bashkir); Og͟huz languages (Turkmenian, Ād͟harbāyd͟jānī or Ād͟harī, Turkish, Gagauz); the Altai, Khakas and Tuvinian languages. Within the Ḳîpčaḳ language group, according to the terminology of Menges (60), the following subgroups can be stated: 1. Ponto-Caspian languages (Karaim, Karachai-Balkar, Crimean Tatar, Kumuk); 2. Volga-Kama-West-Siberian languages (Tatar and Bashkir); 3. Uralo-Caspian languages (Kazakh, Karakalpak, non-Iranised or Ḳîpčaḳ Uzbek, Nogay, Ḳîrg͟hîz).

The marginal status of Yakut is explained by the late migration of these people to the north between the 13th and 18th centuries (Menges, 52). Khalad͟j, spoken in northern Iran, forms a very small and extremely conservative language island, which preserves a series of striking archaisms.

New attempts at classification, which deal with transitional features that link these languages in an organic continuum, focus on the position of individual languages and their relation to each other (Menges, 60-1; Doerfer, in *MT*, xi [1985], 1-34; Tekin, in *Erdem*, v/13 [1990], 129-39). Finally, the introduction of mathematical methods has given a new dimension to linguistic analysis, the results of which remain to be seen.

9. *Periodisation of language history*

The history of the majority of contemporary Turkic languages cannot easily be traced back to the origins. In contrast to Indo-European languages, there are no written linguistic monuments which form an uninterrupted continuum. Their development was concealed by the commonly-used Islamic literary languages (see above, iv, 5). Nevertheless, there are notable exceptions to this rule: Uzbek, New Uyg͟hur, Tatar, Turkish and Ād͟harbāyd͟jānī or Ād͟harī, respectively. The organic continuity of these languages and their former literary idioms are attested by extensive linguistic documentation. On the other hand, the simultaneous use of these languages by speakers of other idioms contributed, to a certain extent (at least in an abstract way), to their formation. Remarkable is the case of the Turkmens, whose role was more significant in an earlier rather than a later period (see Samoilovitch, in *EI*[1], Vol. IV, 912).

The use of the terms Old and Middle Turkic for pre-Islamic and Islamic Turkic languages, attested by many linguistic monuments, and the use of New Turkic for modern languages, is an old tradition. The exact content and scope of these terms have never been defined; this also explains their varying and complex interpretations of these terms (see *PTF*, i, pp. vii-viii; Poppe, 73). The boundary between Old and Middle Turkic is based not only on external linguistic factors, which by themselves may support such a distinction due to their organic regional-historical vicinity, but is also based on internal ones (see Eckmann, in *Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1957, 51-9; Poppe, 67-8). In reality, this borderline between the Middle and New Turkic is represented by a period of transition: the disappearance of common literary languages and the emergence of new, independent idioms. In the case of West Og͟huz languages (Turkish and Ād͟harbāyd͟jānī or Ād͟harī), such a transition probably occurred in the 18th-19th centuries; but for other languages, it occurred in the 19th-20th centuries.

v. Turkic languages today

1. *Preliminary remarks*

The 19th century is considered a turning point in the history of the Turkic languages. It is the period of their discovery and the beginning of a new era in their development. Systematic scholarly research has revealed a large network of living local idioms and their varying structures. Also, extensive research and discoveries have brought to light many historical perspectives of the Turkic language family. In parallel, the second half of the 19th century witnessed a break with the old literary languages. This event prepared the ground for the birth of new literary languages in the 1920s and 1930s. These languages, based on living idioms, did not have their phonetic particularities concealed by conservative writing systems (a characteristic feature of the old literary languages). Finally, the new period signals the beginning of a state-guided language policy.

2. *General survey*

The following survey, based on established literary idioms, gives information with respect to their geographic extension and number of speakers. Explanations concerning their dialectal background and recent past available in the separate columns. For census problems, see G. Hazai, in *Cahiers d'études sur la Mediterranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, xiv [1992], 5 ff.

Compass points, relating strictly to language territory, take Kās͟hg͟har as their centre.

A. South-west (East Caspian and South-Caucasian area, Near East, Balkan):

Ād͟harbāyd͟jānī
- Iran
- CIS
- Afg͟hānistān

Gagauz
- CIS
- Bulgaria

Turkish*
- Turkey
- Balkan countries
- West European countries
- ʿIrāḳ
- Cyprus
- Syria
- Jordan

Turkmenian
CIS
Iran
Afghānistān
ʿIrāḳ
* Genetically the "Crimean Osmanli" belongs to Turkish (see Doerfer, in *PTF*, i, 272-80).
B. South-east (Central and Inner Asia, North China*):
(New) Uyghur
China
CIS
Uzbek**
CIS
Afghānistān
* There are two small Turkic languages which do not have a literary tradition and are spoken in the province of Kansu (northwestern China). Salar is close to New Uyghur; literate persons use this language, together with the Arabic alphabet (Poppe, 49). The Yellow Uyghurs have no literary language. Some phonetic features link the languages to the Khakas (Poppe, 40). However, these isolated languages share certain common features (K. Thomsen, in *PTF*, i, 566).
** The present Uzbek literary language has a very large heterogeneous dialectal background. According to St. Wurm (in *PTF*, i, 489), we have the Ḳîpčaḳ-Uzbek dialects (close to Kazakh), the semi-Iranised and Iranised dialects (losing partially or fully their vowel harmony), and the Turkmenised dialects (called by G. Doerfer *Oghuz-Kipchak*, see *EIr*, v, 227). The dialectal conditions greatly influenced the foundation of the new literary language, which initially, was based on Ḳîpčaḳ dialects (1929-30). Some years later, the Iranised dialect of Tashkent was chosen as the dialectal basis (1937) of the literary idiom.
C. North-west (Lithuania, Ukraine, Crimea, Siberia, Central Asia):
Bashkir (CIS)
Chuvash (CIS)
Crimean Tatar (CIS)*
Karachai-Balkar (CIS)
Karaim (CIS)
Karakalpak (CIS)
Kazakh
CIS
China
Mongolia
Afghānistān
Kirghiz
CIS
China
Afghānistān
Kumük (CIS)
Nogai (CIS)
Tatar
CIS
Romania
Turkey
China
Bulgaria
* The present status and future of Crimean Tatar is unclear. At the end of the World War II, the entire population was deported from the Crimean peninsula to Central Asia, where they used, as documented by printed material, their literary language. This fact clearly contradicts the position that their language "can be regarded as practically extinct" (Poppe, 44). In recent years, they have been allowed to return to the Crimea but, so far, only a small number has chosen to do so.
D. North-east:
Altai (CIS)*
Khakas (CIS)**
Tuvan***
CIS
Mongolia
Yakut (CIS)****
* Altai is a literary language, created for the small ethnic groups of the Altai Kray territory of the Russian Federation. It unites the Altai, Telengit and Teleut dialects, which are very similar, and the dialect group of Tuba (Kumandins and Lebed Tatars) which has transitory links to the Shor (Menges, 60) and Ḳîpčaḳ languages (Poppe, 41). Until 1947 it was called Oirat, a name selected in 1917 (see Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 569).
** Khakas is the name of the literary language created for the Sagai and Kacha peoples, which live in a district of the town Abakan and form the main population of the Autonomous Republic of Khakassia of the Russian Federation. The name itself was chosen after 1917, borrowed from Chinese historical sources. Prior to 1924, when the Latin alphabet was introduced, they had no script. The Latin script was replaced in 1939 by the Cyrillic one (Poppe, 40). The literary language is also used by the Shors, who speak a similar dialect but who lived during the years 1925-39 in a separate political unit and had their own literary language (Pritsak, in *PTF*, i, 630; Poppe, 40).
*** Tuvan (Tuva, Sojot, or Uriankhai) is spoken in the Autonomous Republic of Tuva of the Russian Federation (prior to 1944, it was a semi-independent republic). Before the introduction of the Latin alphabet (1931), which was replaced in 1941 by Cyrillic, they used the written Mongolian language (Poppe, 39). The language of the Karagas is close to Tuvan. According to Baskakov (*Tyurk. yaz.*, 12), they use Tuvan while, according to Poppe (39), "they have no script of their own and can read and write only Russian".
**** Yakut is also used by the Dolgans, who are Yakutised Samoyeds.

As the preceding survey illustrates, huge masses of Turkic-speaking groups live outside the borders of established literary languages, in addition to the exceptional case of the Azerbaijanis, most of whom reside outside the borders of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The intercourse of the speakers with other parts of a language territory varies from country to country. Certain countries which are very sensitive to minority issues (e.g. Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Afghānistān), prefer to limit cross-border contacts of ethnic kin.

The establishment of the exact setting of genetic groupings, and their relations in the conglomerate of the Turkic dialects, require further study. Research among the Ḳîrghîz and Uzbek populations of Afghānistān, and especially, among the Oghuz-speaking groups of Iran, has greatly enriched our knowledge concerning language relations in these areas. In the latter case, there have been some initial attempts to genetically classify these idioms. The fact that Turkic languages, with the exception of the marginal languages (see above, iv. 8), are very similar at the structural level, does predicate the mutual comprehension of different Turkic speakers, but this is, to a certain extent, possible only within the smaller genetic groups, i.e. Oghuz, Ḳîpčaḳ and Uyghur (see L. Bazin, in *Hérodote*, xlii [1986], 106-7; Hazai, *loc. laud.*).

General surveys about Turkic peoples and languages: Sh. Akiner, *Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union, with an appendix of the non-Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union*, London 1983; J. Faensen, *Sprachen in der USSR. Verzeichnis der Namen mit Angaben zu Verbreitung, Sprecherzahl, Schrift und Publikationsstatistik*, Osnabrück 1983; L. Bazin,

Les peuples turcophones en Eurasie. Un cas majeur d'expansion ethnolinguistique, in *Hérodote*, xlii (1986), 75-108; L. Johanson, *Grenzen der Turcia. Verbendendes und Trennendes in der Entwicklung der Türkvölker*, in *Turcica et Orientalia. Studies in honour of Gunnar Jarring on his eightieth birthday 12 October 1987*, Istanbul 1987, 51-61; J. Kornflit, *Turkish and Turkic languages*, in C. Bernard (ed.), *The world's major languages*, New York and Oxford 1987, 619-44; V. Kozlov, *The peoples of the Soviet Union*, London-Bloomington-Indianapolis 1988; M. Ruhlen, *A guide to the world languages. 1. Classification*, Stanford 1991; Hazai, *La question linguistique dans le monde turc actuel*, in *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*, xiv (1992), 5-15.

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Bashkir. T.M. Garipov, M.L. Rafikov and Z.G. Uraksin, *Bibliografiya po bashkirskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1917-1967)*, Ufa 1969; A. Valeeva, *Bashkirskoe yazîkoznanie (1967-1977 g.g.). Ukazatel' literaturi*, Ufa 1979; Garipov *et alii, Bashkirskoe yazîkoznanie. Ukazatel' literaturi*, Ufa 1980.

Chuvash. N.P. Petrov, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî po čuvashskomu yazîku*, Čeboksarî 1931.

Karaim. A. Dubinskiy (= A. Dubiński), *Bibliografiya trudov po karaimskomu yazîku i literature i pečatnikh tekstov na karaimskom yazîke*, in A.N. Baskakov *et alii, Karaimsko-russko-pol'skiy slovar'*, Moscow 1974, 14-28.

Karakalpak. D.S. Nasirov *et alii, Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' po karakalpakskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1925-1976 gg.)*, Nukus 1978.

Kazakh. Sh. Sh. Saribaev, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' po kazakhskomu yazîkoznaniyu*, i, Alma-Ata 1960, ii, Alma Ata 1971.

Ḳirghiz. V.P. Zvoleva, *Yazîkoznanie, iskusstvo (1956-1960). Ukazatel' literaturî*, Frunze 1970; Sh. O. Sadîkova, *Yazîkoznanie (1956-1960). Ukazatel' literaturî*, Frunze 1970; N. Beyshekeev, *Kîrgîzskiy yazîk (Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî), 1929-1959 gg.*, Frunze 1961; idem, *Kîrgîzskiy yazîk. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' 1960-1970 gg.*, Frunze 1985.

Tatar. A.G. Karamullin, *Bibliografiya literaturî po tatarskomu yazîkoznaniyu*, Kazan' 1958; G.K. Yakupova, *Bibliografiya po tatarskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1778-1980)*, Kazan' 1988.

Turkish. In the absence of comprehensive bibliographies, see the respective introductions, and also R. Underhill, *Bibliography of modern linguistic work on Turkish*, in D.I. Slobin and K. Zimmer (eds.), *Studies in Turkish linguistics*, Amsterdam 1987, 23-51; H. Boeschoten and L. Verhoeven (eds.), *Turkish linguistics today*, Leiden 1991.

Turkmen. N.A. Voronina, *Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel' literaturî po turkmenskomu yazîkoznaniyu (1924-1964 gg.), A (1924-1964 gg.)*, Ashkhabad 1966.

Uyghur. A. Kaydarov, *Uygurskiy yazîk i literatura. Annotirovannîy ukazatel'*, i, Alma Ata 1962; K. Öztopçu, *Modern Uygurca ile ilgili açıklamalı bir kaynakça*, in *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, iv (1992), 155-70; C. Wei, *An introduction to the modern Uygur literary language and its dialects*, in *WZKM*, lxxix (1989), 235-49; idem, *An historical survey of modern Uyghur writing since the 1950s in Xinjiang, China*, in *CAJ*, xxvii (1993), 249-322.

Uzbek. M. Gulyamova, *Uzbekskoe yazîkoznanie. Ukazatel' literaturi*, 4 vols., Tashkent 1973-6; A. Sh. Shukurov and D. Bazarova, *Uzbekskoe sovetskoe yazîkoznanie. Bibliografičeskie očerki (po 1982 g.)*, Tashkent 1986.

Yakut. N.E. Petrov, *Yakutskiy yazîk (Ukazatel' literaturî)*, Yakutsk 1958.

Fortunately, we possess two excellent bibliographic surveys about dictionaries of Turkic languages: A. Tietze, *Die Lexikographie der Turksprachen*, i, *Osmanisch-Türkisch*, in Fr. J. Hausmann *et alii, Wörterbücher, dictionaries, dictionnaires*, Berlin and New York 1991, 2399-2407; G. Doerfer, *Die Lexikographie der Türksprachen*, ii, *Sonstige Türksprachen*, in *ibid.*, 2407-15.

3. *Contemporary developments*

The emergence and subsequent establishment of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey after World War I inaugurates the era of state-guided language reform. This policy, fuelled by the opposing, but equally strong, ideological perceptions of the two states, was the determining force in the future development of Turkic languages.

Concerning the Soviet Union, see the remarks in section iv. 5, above. Concerning Turkey, after the rapid reform of the written script (in effect, in 1929), the purification of the vocabulary from Arabic-Persian elements came on the agenda. After some initial social tension (due to lack of experience of those involved), a new literary language was born. This new language has also been responsible for the standardisation of its oral format. In the early 1950s, the language issue gradually became a political affair; as B. Brendemoen points out, *dil dâvâsı* (the language affair) gradually developed into a *parti dâvâsı* (party affair) (in Hazai, *Hb. türk. Sprachw.*, i, 457). Today, instead of one central language policy, various opposing social and political forces are determining the drive for linguistic reform. In turn, this drive has resulted in the permanent change of the language norm. The linguistic revision (if not translation) of Ottoman literature, and even literary works of the first period of the Republican era, manifests the rapidity and intensity of this process.

In contrast to nationalist and Pan-Turkic movements, which espoused the linguistic unity of the Turkic world, historical developments of the 20th century have favoured the separation and stabilisation of Turkic idioms. This trend has been particularly acute for dialects which were left outside of the sphere of the established literary languages. The language territory, especially in the central area, exhibits at the level of dialects a strong standardising influence of 21 literary languages. This creates the danger of disappearance of the territorial language variants, which are particularly important in the investigation of language history. The insular position of dialects or languages also involves a specific danger-factor for their future existence. The disappearance of dialects (e.g. Litovian Tatar, Krimčak, etc.), and the endangered position of the Karaim language, are clear results of this development.

The enormous political changes of the early 1990s have created completely new conditions for the future development of Turkic languages. Nevertheless, the re-latinisation of alphabets in the CIS, combined with certain efforts to initiate a common language policy with Turkey are, for the time being, vague trends with no clear agenda. The opening of the formerly isolated areas of the CIS has placed the Turkish language in a privileged position. Turkish attempts at "cultural expansion" in these areas, particularly in the educational field, may result in the widespread use of the language within the Turkic world.

Works representing the Soviet language policy: *Mladopis'mennîe yazîki narodov SSSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1959; Yu. D. Desheriev and I.F. Protčenko, *Razvitie yazîkov narodov SSSR v sovetskuyu épokhu*, Moscow 1968; Deshe-

riev, *Zakonomernosti razvitiya literaturnïkh yazïkov narodov SSSR v sovetskuyu épokhu. Razvitie obshčestvennïkh funktsiy literaturnïkh yazïkov*, Moscow 1976. Problems of the emergence of the Turkic literary languages in Russia and the two alphabet reforms in the Soviet Union are exhaustively treated in the monograph of J. Baldauf (see above, iv. 6), which offers an excellent bibliography and a calendar of these events. Concerning language reform in Turkey, its different stages and political background, see Brendemoen, in *Hdb. d. türk. Sprachenwiss.*, i, 454-93 (with a comprehensive bibl.); J.M. Landau, *Language policy and political development in Israel and Turkey*, in idem, *Jews, Arab, Turks*, Jerusalem 1993, 133-49.

Concerning recent developments in the Turkic world, see A.B. Ercilasun, *Lâtin alfabesi konuşunda gelişmeler*, in *Türk Dili*, no. 523 (1995), 738-78. (G. HAZAI)

III. LITERATURE.

1. Pre-Islamic literature of the Türks.

The information on oral literature of the early Turks is scarce. The first written records in Turkic languages are known from the inscriptions in Mongolia and Siberia. While the existence of pre-6th-century texts is highly debated, the first dated inscriptions are from the first half of the 8th century. These inscriptions are lamentations as well as praises of the deceased ḳaghans or other noble persons. The script is called runic and was deciphered only in 1893 by V. Thomsen. Later, W. Radloff edited the bulk of these inscriptions. The research on these monuments as well as the discussion on their literary form is continuing. In general, these are prosaic accounts containing passages in poetical form (cf. Bazin; Klyashtornïy).

From several regions of Central Asia, mainly from the Turfan region and Dunhuang, texts have came to light through the numerous expeditions from various countries since the end of the 19th century. These texts written in a variety of scripts, but mainly in the so-called Uyghur script (which is in principle another variant of the Sogdian script), are mostly of religious content, and are dated between the 9th and 17th centuries. The Central Asian regions were influenced by merchants and ideas passing through the region. Thus the world religions of Manichaeism, Christendom and Buddhism found here shelter and/or supporters in the Central Asian oases along the Silk Road.

The Manichaean literature is written in Manichaean as well as in runic and Uyghur scripts. The texts are confessions, doctrinal works, hymns of many kinds, prayers, letters, etc. Some of them are written poems using strophic alliteration (cf. Clark).

The Christian literature, written not only in Uyghur but also in Syriac script, is rather limited, but the story of the Magi is a precious piece amongst it (cf. Asmussen).

The Buddhist literature is rich, but it is not clear to what extent one can speak of a "canon". Texts were translated from Tokharian, Sogdian, Sanskrit and Tibetan, but mainly from Chinese. Not only were many works of the Hīnayāna deciphered, but also, even to a greater extent, works of the Mahāyāna and Tantrism. Among the Mahāyāna sūtras we find the most famous ones, such as the *Lotos Sūtra* or the *Golden Light Sūtra*. But new compositions were also produced, e.g. a poetical version of the **Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* which is known only from its Chinese prose form. The *Samantabhadracaryāpranidhāna* was taken as a model for making similar verses. In addition to the Amitābha belief, Maitreyanism developed and was widespread, as shown by the early translation of a famous work called *Maitrisimit* which exposes the career of the future Buddha Maitreya in a way like that of the historical Buddha. Recently, some Chan texts have also been found. Altogether, by the increasingly prolific editions of new texts we get a fuller picture of what can be called Uyghur Buddhism. Only a few translators are known by name; Šingqo Šäli Tutung worked as the most prominent at the turn of the 10th to the 11th centuries (cf. Elverskog, with full bibl.).

Non-religious literature is little known (cf. Zieme). In addition to letters, which are not literature in the true sense, there are some poems and benediction texts which were in use for some rites. Adaptations of Greek (e.g. fables of Aesop, the *Alexander Romance*), Indian (e.g. *Pañcatantra, Rāmāyana*) and Chinese (e.g. *Yijing*) themes became known, and show us Central Asia as a transitory region between West and East.

Islam slowly penetrated into the Turfan region, where even in the 15th century, Buddhism was still alive. Besides showing the adoption of Islam, there are also some literary traces of opposition to Islam (cf. Tezcan/Zieme).

Bibliography: *İA*, art. *Türkler*, J.P. Asmussen, *The Sogdian and Uygur-Turkish Christian literature in Central Asia before the real rise of Islam: a survey*, in *Indological and Buddhist studies. Volume in honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his sixtieth birthday*, Delhi 1982, 11-29; L. Bazin, *La littérature épigraphique turque ancienne*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964-5, 192-211; L.V. Clark, *The Turkic Manichaean literature*, in *Emerging from darkness: studies in the recovery of Manichaean sources*, ed. P. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, Leiden, etc. 1997 (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies XLIII), 89-141; J. Elverskog, *Uyghur Buddhist literature*, Turnhout 1997; A. von Gabain, *Die alttürkische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 211-43; S.G. Klyashtornïy, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti*, in *Vostočnoy Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e*, Moscow 1992, 326-69; S. Tezcan and P. Zieme, *Antiislamische Polemik in einem alttürkischen buddhistischen Gedicht aus Turfan*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, xvii (1990), 165-70; Zieme, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Profanliteratur der Uiguren* (*Uygurların dindışı edebiyatı üzerine birkaç not*), in *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi, Istanbul 23-28 Eylül 1985*, Istanbul 1985, *1. Türk dili*, 277-88. (P. ZIEME)

2. Early Turkish Islamic literature up to the Ottomans.

The migration of ever growing numbers of Turkish speakers, belonging predominantly to the Oghuz branch, into Western Asia from the late 4th/10th century onwards, especially in the wake of the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] in 463/1071 and later of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century, and the subsequent formation of Turkish Islamic polities in Western Persia and Asia Minor during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries led to the development of a Western Turkish Islamic literature distinct from its Eastern counterparts, notably Ḳarakhānid and Čaghatay literatures. Because the post-8th/14th century development of this vast corpus of Islamic Turkish literature until the early 14th/20th century took place under Ottoman rule, it is normally referred to as "Ottoman Turkish literature". We will here be concerned only with the pre-Ottoman period.

Although the earliest extant specimens of Western Turkish literature date back to the second half of the 7th/13th century and the first half of the 8th/14th century, it has been argued, on the basis of several early works that bear the imprints of both Eastern and Western Turkish, that this written literature had begun to take shape earlier (for a recent summary, see Zeynep Korkmaz, *Eski Türk yazı dilinden yeni yazı*

dillerine geçiş devri özellikleri, in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* [1991], 55-64). It seems, however, safer to assume that the emergence of a high literary culture in Western Turkish occurred under the patronage of Turkish *beylik*s in Asia Minor which proliferated concomitantly with the decline of Saldjūḳ rule in Anatolia after the defeat inflicted upon them by the Mongols at Köse Dagh (641/1243 [*q.v.*]) (Ş. Tekin, *Meḥemmed bin Bālī'nin eski Anadolu Türkçesine aktardığı Güzīde adlı eserin Harezm Türkçesindeki aslı ve "olabolğa" meselesi hakkında*, in *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, xv [1991], 408-13). In this context, the often-cited decree of the Ḳaramānid Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg, said to have been issued after his capture of Ḳonya in 675/1277, that only Turkish should be used in the chancery assumes special significance [see KARAMĀN-OGHULLARÎ, at Vol. IV, 620a].

The great bulk of the earliest layer of Western Turkish literature was religious, especially mystical, in tone and content. The main representatives of this trend in verse were: Sulṭān Walad (623-712/1226-1312 [*q.v.*]), the son of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], whose Persian works *Ibtidā-nāma* and *Rabāb-nama* as well as his *dīwān* contain 367 couplets in Turkish; Yūnus Emre (possibly d. 720/1320 [*q.v.*]), the renowned mystical poet whose posthumously collected *dīwān* holds the distinction of being the first *dīwān* in Western Turkish literature and who also composed a *mathnawī* of 562 couplets entitled *Risālet al-nuṣḥiyye*; Gülshehrī (d. after 717/1317 [*q.v.*]), whose Turkish works include a free adaptation of ʿAṭṭār's *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* with the same title and a sacred biography of Akhī Ewrān [*q.v.*], both in *mathnawī* form, as well as a number of *ghazals*; ʿĀshıḳ Pasha (d. 733/1333 [*q.v.*]), who is best known for his monumental mystical *mathnawī* of around 12,000 verses called *Gharīb-nāme* but who also composed smaller *mathnawīs* as well as self-standing poems; Aḥmed Faḳīh, most likely the name of several—possibly as many as five—figures who lived in Anatolia during this period, to whom is attributed a *ḳaṣīda* of 83 verses called the *Čarkh-nāme*, as well as a *mathnawī* of 339 couplets called *Kitāb-i ewṣāf-i mesādjid al-sherīfe*; and the great Ḥurūfī poet Nesīmī (d. *ca.* 820/1417-8 [*q.v.*]), whose Turkish *dīwān* played a pivotal role in the development of Ādharī poetry. On the profane side, the important figures were: Khodja Dehhānī [*q.v.*], a poet of the 7th/13th century generally viewed as the earliest representative of Ottoman *dīwān* poetry, only ten of whose poems have been recovered; Sheyyād Ḥamza [*q.v.*], an obscure figure who appears to have lived during the first half of the 8th/14th century and who is best known for his 1,529-couplet *mathnawī Yūsuf u Zelīkhā*; Mesʿūd b. Aḥmed, another obscure poet who is known for his long *mathnawī Süheyl ü New-bahār*, an adaptation from an unknown Persian work, and his selective verse translation of Saʿdī's [*q.v.*] *Bustān*; Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn (d. 800/1398 [*q.v.*]), the remarkable scholar and statesman who holds the distinction of being the first Western Turkish poet to collect and arrange his own *dīwān*; Fakhrī, who translated Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in 758/1367; Yūsuf Meddāḥ, the author of *Warḳa we Gülshāh*, which he composed in 770/1368-9; and a certain Kemāl-oghlu, who compiled a romance entitled *Ferah-nāme* in 789/1387. Well-known poets of the turn of the 8th/14th century not mentioned here, such as Sheykh-oghlu (d. *ca.* 812/1340) and Aḥmedī (d. 815/1413 [*q.v.*]), were transitional figures who ended their careers under Ottoman patronage.

The most important prose writers of this period are Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr (d. after 796/1392-3 [*q.v.*]), best known for his moving translation of a late version of the *sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ in five volumes but who was also an accomplished poet with a short *Yūsuf u Züleykhā* to his credit; and Ḳul Mesʿūd, the earliest translator of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Turkish. There are numerous other extant prose works of translation from Arabic and Persian, often of unknown provenance and mostly on religious/ethical topics. In this context, special mention should be made of religious epics, which originated as popular oral epics after the conquest of much of Asia Minor by the Turks in the late 5th/11th century. Written versions were composed as early as the 7th/13th century: the *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, celebrating the exploits of Sīdī Baṭṭāl Ghāzī [*q.v.*], and the *Dānishmend-nāme*, devoted to Melik Dānishmend [see DĀNISHMENDIDS] and designed as a sequel to the *Baṭṭāl-nāme*, were first committed to writing in the mid-7th/13th century, though the *Dānishmend-nāme* survives only in the later version by ʿĀrif ʿAlī (761/1360). The emergence of a closely related genre, hagiography, can possibly be also dated back to the 8th/14th century, though written versions begin to surface only towards the end of the 9th/15th century.

The prominent and striking feature of this corpus is the clear, though not unchallenged, predominance of Arabic and especially Persian literary norms and conventions in both poetry and prose. Continuities with earlier Turkish literary traditions, for instance the use of alliteration as an organising principle in poetry, can still be traced (M.S. Fomkin, *Sultan Veled i ego tiurkskaya poeziya*, Moscow 1994), though the supremacy of the new Islamic literary horizons is not contested. The significance of the Arabic and Persian legacy should not, however, conceal from view the real and momentous literary event of this period, namely, the emergence of an Islamic Western Turkish literature at all cultural levels, folk, popular and élite.

Bibliography: G. Kut *et alii*, *Başlangıcından günümüze kadar büyük Türk klâsikleri: tarih, antoloji, ansiklopedi*, i, Istanbul 1985 (with essential references); *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten*, Ankara 1989 and 1991 (special issues on the emergence of Turkish as a literary language and on pre-8th/14th century Turkish poetry, respectively); B. Flemming, four articles on Turkish literature in W. Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, v, *Orientalisches Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1990, 258-64, 278-83, 319-25, 475-81; relevant articles in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1988-. A new ed. of the *Baṭṭāl-nāme* is that of Y. Dedes, *Battalname*, introd., Eng. tr., Tkish. transcription, comm. and facs. text, 2 parts, Cambridge, Mass. 1996.

(A.T. KARAMUSTAFA)

3. Turkish literature of the Golden Horde and of the Mamlūks.

The subject population of the Golden Horde (the Mongol rulers of which were Muslim by 1260) in the Volga Delta consisted of largely nomadic Ḳîpčaḳ Turks, who although partially Islamicised, were considered pagan for the purposes of the slave trade; Ḳîpčaḳ slaves provided the manpower of the Mamlūk armies in Egypt and Syria, whereas some of their compatriots, Muslim scholars from the Ḳîpčaḳ, such as Berke Faḳīh, and Sayf from Saray, migrated to Egypt and Syria. This may have been the case with Ḳuṭb, the author of the oldest Turkish *mathnawī* version of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*. He composed this work probably in Khʷārazm in what is called Khʷārazmian Turkish. It has been assigned to the Golden Horde because it was dedicated to its Prince Tînîbek, who campaigned in Khʷarazm when he became Khān in 741/1341, and

to Melek Khatun of the White Horde. Ḳuṭb kept himself strictly to Niẓāmī's [q.v.] work, reproducing its motif structure and metre [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. A governor of the Golden Horde, Muḥammad Khwādja Beg, was in 754/1353 the dedicatee of a *mathnawī* entitled the *Maḥabbat-nāma*, comprising 440 *bayts* in the *hazadj* metre, written by Khwārazmī on the banks of the Syr Darya.

"Mamlūk Turkish literature", when J. Eckmann published his surveys, was generally known as "Ḳîpčaḳ literature". Much of the material Eckmann discussed consists of manuals which he himself regarded as "of little value, consisting merely of translations of Arabic or Persian books". From the 1960s onwards, the attention of scholars, notably A. Zajączkowski and A. Bodrogligeti, has been increasingly directed towards works of literary value produced under the Mamlūks. The ethnic consciousness in the Mamlūk ruling class persisted through its two periods of rule in Egypt and Syria (al-Ghawrī had fond memories of his native Caucasus). It showed itself in the Mamlūks' names and their interest for the history and legends of their peoples. Thanks to them, two of the oldest monuments of Islamic Turkish literature, the *Ḳutadghu bilig* [q.v.] and the *Dīwān lughāt at-Turk* [see AL-KĀSHGHARĪ], with prime data on mediaeval Turkdom, were preserved continuously in Mamlūk libraries. This interest often continued into the second generation who wrote in Arabic, such as Ibn al-Dawādārī [q.v.], and Ibn Taghrībirdī [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN], historians who retold legends on the Turkish and Mongol tribes, and al-ʿAynī [q.v.], who included excerpts from al-Kāshgharī in his world history. If the Ḳîpčaḳ-speaking Mamlūks of the *Dawlat at-Turk* [see AL-BAḤRIYYA], cherished the earliest Turkic classics, the Turkish-speaking Mamlūk élite of the *Dawlat al-Djarkas* [see BURDJIYYA], of Circassian and Anatolian (*Rūmī*) origin, valued Yūnus Emre, ʿĀshîḳ Pasha and Gülshehrī [q.vv.], who wrote in old Anatolian Turkish akin to the Turkoman (or Oghuz, sometimes dismissed as a less "pure" form of Turkic) of the Arabic glossaries. Political and literary ties with Rūm had existed from the beginning of the Mamlūk state (the *sheykh* Mukhliṣ Pasha, ʿĀshîḳ Pasha's father, a refugee from Saldjūḳ Rūm, spent years in Egypt). All the preserved Turkish works written for the education, edification and amusement of the Mamlūk class are from this later period. This literature has not yet been adequately evaluated, and very little of the material has been published; this is partly due to an anachronistic dismissal as "Ottoman" by linguists concentrating excessively on the Ḳîpčaḳ remains, and partly to their absence from the Ottoman *tadhkira* literature [cf. MUKHTĀRĀT. 3. In Turkish]. The works in Ḳîpčaḳ are mostly non-artistic; manuals on archery and the equestrian arts [see BAYṬĀR], such as the *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-nushshāb, Munyat al-ghuzāt, Bayṭarāt al-wāḍiḥ* and *Kitāb al-Khayl*; on *fiḳh*, such as Berke Faḳīh's *Irshād al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭīn* (written in Alexandria in 789/1387); Muḳbil b. ʿAbd Allāh's commentary on al-Nasafī, *Sharḥ al-Manār* (1402), is in Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish, too, as A. Mertol Tulum (*Şerhu 'l-Menâr hakkında*, in *TDED*, xvi [1968]) has shown; to these can be added three books entitled *Kitāb fi 'l-fiḳh* and a translation of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī's [q.v.] *Muḳaddimat al-ṣalāt*). Under Īnāl [q.v.], six volumes of a sumptuous Ḳur'ān with interlinear Old Anatolian Turkish translation were completed in Shaʿbān 863/June 1459 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. or. 6163). Muṣṭafā Ḍarīr [q.v.], the blind Mawlawī author, came from Arzan al-Rūm (Erzurum) to Cairo to compose his *Tardjamat al-ḍarīr wa-taḳdimat al-Ẓāhir*. In this vast and complex work in Old Anatolian Turkish prose and verse, begun *ca.* 779/1377, completed after the accession in 784/1382 of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ [q.v.], the miracles surrounding the Prophet's birth and life are woven into a single developing narrative down to the life of his community and the deeds of the early heroes of Islam. His *Tardjama-i futūḥ al-Shām*, a free translation of al-Wāḳidī's work (partly printed in F. İz, *Türk edebiyatında nesir*, i, 245-6), was completed in 795/1392 for the governor of Aleppo. He also wrote a *Yūsuf u Ẓulaykhā* and a *Yüz ḥadīth terdjemesi* partly published in İz, *op. cit.*, 27-33). Berke Faḳīh's rhymed epilogue on his sole extant copy of *Khusraw u Shīrīn* is dated 1383. Kemāloghlu Ismāʿīl in his *Feraḥ-nāme* adapted an Arabic prose story in a Turkish *mathnawī* in 789/1387 for the governor of Syrian Tripoli. Sayf-i Sarāyī translated Saʿdī's *Gulistān* into Ḳîpčaḳ Turkish under the title *Gulistān bi 'l-turkī*, a work dedicated in 793/1391 to the powerful Mamlūk Batkhaṣ al-Sudūnī. In an appended small anthology comprising poems, mostly in Khwārazmian Turkish, by Mawlā Ḳāḍī Muḥsin, Mawlānā Isḥāḳ, Mawlānā ʿImād Mawlawī, Aḥmad Khwādja al-Sarāyī, Khwārazmī, ʿAbd al-Madjīd, Ṭoghlî Khwādja, Ḥasanoghlî and himself, Sayf laid down his prosodic principles. Al-ʿAynī [q.v.] enjoyed a high reputation as an Arabic and Turkish scholar. He lectured for Barsbāy [q.v.] on history and related subjects, and occasionally translated into Turkish for him. For the Anatolian aspects of his universal history (in Arabic, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn), he relies to a great extent on the accounts of eyewitnesses and on his own knowledge of the country. He translated the Ḥanafī *faḳīh* al-Ḳudūrī's [q.v.] legal treatise into Turkish for Ṭaṭar. Sultan Ḳā'itbay [q.v.] left behind a *madjmūʿa* of poetry (Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2047); for his library, a finely illuminated copy was made in 886/1481-2 of the collection of poems, mostly *ghazals*, *Āyat al-baṣā'ir wa-ghāyat al-sarā'ir* by Rūḥī al-Mamlūk, whose personal name, according to the colophon of the ms. Or. 4128 in the British Library, appears to have been Ḳaradja (G.M. Meredith-Owens, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix [1967], 497). For the library of the same sultan, the sumptuous copy (in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Koğuşlar 883, Karatay, *Türkçe yazmalar*, i, 164 no. 489) of Muḥammad b. Adjā's (1417-76) translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* by al-Wāḳidī into 12,000 Turkish verses was made. The translator, a judge under Ḳā'itbay, also composed a biography in Arabic (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt, Cairo 1974) of his protector, the *Amīr* Yashbek min Mahdī (d. 885/1480). ʿAbd Allāh from Diwrīgī [q.v.], a *ḳāḍī* in Cairo, composed an *ʿarūḍ* manual in *mathnawī* form in 849/1445 (ed. T. Gandjeï, *The Baḥr-i dürer: an early Turkish treatise on prosody*, in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples 1982). In 893/1487-8 Ibrāhīm b. Bālī from ʿAyntāb composed a *mathnawī* on geographical matters, the *Ḥikmet-nāme*, for Ḳā'itbay. A Turkish quatrain by Ḳā'itbay's son Meḥmed is in the universal history *K. ʿUḳūd al-djawhariyya* (vol. ii, Istanbul, Ayasofya 3313). Ḳānṣawh II al-Ghawrī [q.v.] left behind a small anthology of Turkish poems by himself and others, including Ottoman court poetry, called his *dīwān* (B. Flemming, *Notes on ʿArūż in Turkish collections*, in B. Utas and L. Johanson (eds.), *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry*, Uppsala 1994, 61-80). The Turkish *K. al-Miʿrādj* (Koguşlar 989) was copied for al-Ghawrī. A small *Risāle-yi deste-gül fī keyfiyyet-i khilḳat* written for this same ruler, possibly by a student *mamlūk*, is preserved in the Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 1390. Implicit in Ḳā'itbay's, and especially Ghawrī's,

court poetry was both oral and written poetic proficiency in the three Islamic languages of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. The *Dawādar* Ya<u>sh</u>bek min Mahdī al-Ẓāhirī, who wrote some Turkish poetry himself, was a great patron of Arabic and Turkish letters [see MIṢR]. Ḳipčaḳ-speakers mingled with Turkoman-speakers from the Mamlūk cities of Āmid [see DIYĀR BAKR] and ʿAyntāb [*q.v.*], from Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-ruled Arzan al-Rūm [see ERZURUM], or from other parts of Anatolia. Some of these non-Arabs were sent with embassies to Turkish rulers (al-ʿAynī to Ḳaramān [see ĪNĀL]; and Ibn A<u>dj</u>ā to Tabrīz and to Rūm). After the introduction of Imāmī <u>Sh</u>īʿism as the official religion in Persia, turcophone poets from Persia and Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān went to live in Egypt and Syria under Mamlūk protection, whilst others went to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman princes <u>Dj</u>em and Ḳorḳud [*q.vv.*] visited Cairo in 1481 and 1509 respectively. For Ḳay<u>gh</u>usuz Abdāl [*q.v.*], who spent several years in Egypt, a Bektā<u>sh</u>ī [*q.v.*] *tekke* was built on the Muḳaṭṭam hills [*q.v.*]; Gul<u>sh</u>anī [*q.v.*] settled in Cairo. Sarî Gürz's [*q.v.*] disputations in that city (914/1509) are documented by a member of al-<u>Gh</u>awrī's circle in *al-Kawkab al-durrī fī masāʾil (a<u>dj</u>wibāt) al-<u>Gh</u>awrī* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, III. Ahmet 1377), containing answers which al-<u>Gh</u>awrī gave to various religious questions and some Turkish poetry. Al-<u>Gh</u>awrī appreciated the "dervish" style cultivated by the Turkish poet and Ṣūfī <u>sheykh</u> <u>Sh</u>arīf from Āmid, whose full name was Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan. His is the oldest known Turkish verse translation of Firdawsī's *<u>Sh</u>āh-nāma*, begun in 906/1501 and finished within ten years; it comprises two large volumes containing about 60,000 *bayts*. The earliest partial edition was undertaken by A. Zajączkowski, *Turecka wersja Šāh-nāme z Egiptu Mameluckiego*, Warsaw 1965, and in *RO* (reviewed in *Isl.*, xlv [1969]). The published parts can be briefly summarised as follows. The Prologue includes doxologies of God and the Prophet, praise of al-<u>Gh</u>awrī and his predecessors, the reason for writing the book, the reigns of Gayūmar<u>th</u>, Hū<u>sh</u>ang, Tahmūra<u>th</u> and <u>Dj</u>am<u>sh</u>īd. Fols. 616a-640b: colophon of vol. i and reign of Luhrasp (= beginning of vol. ii). Fols. 672-677b: five of the seven deeds of Isfandiyār. In *RO*, xxviii/1 (1964). Fols. 874a-883: Iskandar's death and the lament of the philosophers. In *RO*, xxviii/2 (1965). Fols. 1096a-1124b: Excerpts from the stories of <u>Kh</u>usraw Parvīz and <u>Sh</u>īrīn, <u>Kh</u>usraw's treasures and <u>Sh</u>īrūya's ascension. Fols. 1152-1170a on Firdawsī's *<u>Sh</u>āh-nāma* (in prose), epilogue with praise of al-<u>Gh</u>awrī, his scholarly, literary, and musical sessions, and his buildings. <u>Sh</u>arīf deviates from Firdawsī in using the *haza<u>dj</u>* metre and in re-adapting themes from Niẓāmī. His work is preserved in the autograph presentation copy (Hazine 1519, dated 1511) which has 62 miniatures (vol. i was completed in 1507 in the Dome of Ya<u>sh</u>bek, vol. ii in 1511 in the Mu'ayyad Mosque) and in other mss. such as Uppsala 147; Hazine 1520-1522; British Library, Or. 1126 and Or. 7208; and Vienna, Austrian National Library, A.F. 307 (519).

Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī wrote the minutes of al-<u>Gh</u>awrī's *ma<u>dj</u>ālis* in the Arabic *Nafāʾis al-ma<u>dj</u>ālis al-sulṭāniyya fī ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-asrār al-ḳurʾāniyya*, including a Turkish poem.

Ḍarīr's and <u>Sh</u>arīf's works have been highly influential in Anatolian Turkish writing (the indebtedness of Süleymān Čelebi to Ḍarīr is known). Whereas the few literary works in Ḳipčaḳ Turkish produced in the Mamlūk lands, such as Sayf's *Gulistān* translation, are preserved in unique copies and had no traceable influence on other Turkish literatures, the importance of the much-copied Turkmen-O<u>gh</u>uz works produced in the Mamlūk state was considerable for Ottoman literature. The momentous events which led to the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate and the removal of the Mamlūk libraries to Istanbul soon after the Ottoman conquest (possibly by <u>Kh</u>ādim Süleymān Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*]), combined to make Mamlūk Turkmen-O<u>gh</u>uz literature shortlived in its country of origin, but a matter of widespread interest throughout the western Turkish world from the 15th century onwards.

Bibliography: Pioneer works in critical research are the studies of T. Halasi-Kun, Zajączkowski, Eckmann and Bodrogligeti. These writings are mentioned in J. Eckmann, *The Mamlūk-Kipchak literature*, in *CAJ*, viii, 304-19, and B. Flemming, *Zum Stand der mamlūk-türkischen Forschung*, in W. Voigt (ed.), *ZDMG. Supplement III, 2. XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975*, Wiesbaden 1977, 1156-64; A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja Turecka Ḫusräv u Šīrīn Quṭba*, Warsaw 1958; M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri*, Istanbul 1968; <u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī's *Maḥabbat-nāma*, ed. T. Gandjeï, *Il "Muhabbat-nāma" di Ḫōrazmī*, in *AIUON*, N.S., vi (1957); Osman F. Sertkaya, *Horezmî'nin Muhabbet-nâme'sinin iki yeni yazma nüshası üzerine*, Istanbul 1972; Recep Toparlı (ed.), Berke Faḳīh, *Ir<u>sh</u>ād al-mulūk wa 'l-salāṭin*, Ankara 1992. For the contents of Ḍarīr's *Siyer* and its being illustrated under Sultan Murād III, see Z. Tanındı, *Siyer-i nebî. İslâm tasvir sanatında Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı*, Istanbul 1984; a modern Turkish version is M.F. Gürtunca, *Erzurumlu Mustafa Darir (Gözsüz). Kitabü siyeri'n Nebi*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1977. See also Zająckowski, *Poezje stroficzne ʿĀšiq-paša*, Warsaw 1967; idem, *Sto sentencyj i apoftegmatów Arabskich Kalifa ʿAliego w parafrazie Mamelucko-Tureckiej*, Warsaw 1968; Mohammad Awad, *Sultan al-Ghawrī. His place in literature and learning (three books written under his patronage)*, in *Actes du XXe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Brussels, September 1938*, Leuven 1940, 321 ff.; N. Atasoy, *1510 tarihli Memlûk Şâhnamesinin minyatürleri*, in *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları*, ii (1969), 49-69; B. Flemming, *Šerīf, Sultan Ġavrī und die "Perser"*, in *Isl.*, xlv (1969), 81-93; eadem, *Literary activities in Mamlūk halls and barracks*, in M. Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 249-60; B. Radtke, *Das Wirklichkeitsverständnis islamischer Universalhistoriker*, in *Isl.*, lxii (1985); J.M. Rogers, *The uses of anachronism. On cultural and methodological diversity in Islamic art*, London 1994. (BARBARA FLEMMING)

4. Turkish literature under the Ottomans.

In general, see ʿO<u>TH</u>MĀNLĪ. III. Literature; and for the *<u>gh</u>azel* specifically, see below.

The *<u>gh</u>azel* (literally "flirtation"), a lyrical form with the rhyme scheme *aa xa xa xa*, etc., is the most frequently used poetic form in Ottoman *dīwān* literature (which is consequently also called "*<u>gh</u>azel* literature"). Its formal conventions are those of the Persian *<u>gh</u>azal* [see <u>GH</u>AZAL. II], as are its aesthetic norms and rhetorical devices. What elements of Turkic folk poetry may have been blended into the assimilation process of the Persian model and what interaction between folk and *dīwān* poetry may have taken place during the approximately five hundred years of the Ottoman *<u>gh</u>azel*'s popularity is open to conjecture. Some such interaction is documented by certain folk poems by *dīwān* poets (e.g. by Me'ālī [*q.v.*] in the 10th/16th century) and *<u>gh</u>azels* (or forms derived therefrom) written by folk poets from the 11th/17th century onward.

The classical Ottoman *<u>gh</u>azel* has five to 15 verses (*<u>gh</u>azels* of only four verses occur too rarely to permit the conclusion that this was also an accepted length,

these possibly being fragments). *Ghazels* of more than 15 verses (*ghazel-i muṭawwel*) occur, though primarily in the early period (for example, by Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] in the 8th/14th century). A tendency to write *ghazels* containing an uneven number of verses can be observed, five and seven verses being the marked favourites. The length of five verses had become the general favourite by the 10th/16th century (cf. E.G. Ambros, *Osmanlı gazelinin uzunluğunda görülen gelişmeler. 16. yüzyılda durum*, in *Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, xx [1996], 1-8).

The *ghazel* is composed in accordance with the rules of the Arabo-Persian metrical system (*ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]). However, not all Arabic metres were used in the Ottoman *ghazel* and among those that were used, certain variants of *ramal, hazadj*, and *muḍāriʿ* occur by far most frequently. Each verse of a *ghazel* is usually a complete semantic entity by itself; more often than not the verses of a *ghazel* appear, at least at first glance, to be linked to each other mainly by the metre and the rhyme. The relatively rare *ghazels* with a pronounced thematic focus are called *ghazel-i yek āheng* (whereas *ghazels* deemed to be of equal quality from beginning to end are known as *ghazel-i yek āwāz*). The best verse of the *ghazel* is termed *beyt el-ghazel* or *shāh-beyt*.

Sometimes one of the hemistichs of the *maṭlaʿ* (the first verse, the two hemistichs of which rhyme with each other) is repeated in the last verse of the *ghazel* (*redd-i maṭlaʿ*). A few *ghazels* of later date even have two *maṭlaʿ*s. The pen-name (*makhlaṣ* [see TAKHALLUṢ. 2.]) of the poet occurs generally in the last verse (*maḳṭaʿ*), rarely in the penultimate verse (*ḥüsn-i maḳṭaʿ*) or not at all. In some *ghazels* one or more verses in praise of a person follow the verse containing the *makhlaṣ* of the poet (*ghazel-i müdheyyel*). Another variant is the *ghazel-i mülemmaʿ* that is written in alternating Turkish and Persian and/or Arabic hemistichs.

The occasional *ghazel-i musammaṭ* is a *ghazel* the verses of which, with the exception of the *maṭlaʿ*, have "inner rhyme" in that the middle and end of their first hemistich rhymes with the middle of their second hemistich (1st verse: *aa*; 2nd verse: *bbba*; 3rd verse: *ccca*; etc., which corresponds to the strophic form of the *murabbaʿ*). Such *ghazels* naturally require metres that can be divided into two equal sections, as for example the *aṣlī hezedj* metre of four *mefāʿīlün*.

Throughout the centuries, writing "parallels" to already existing *ghazels* was a very popular excercise. Such a "parallel", *naẓīre*, had to have the same metre and rhyme as its model. By means of it the poet tried to prove his equal or even greater excellence. However, due to the preponderance of some metres and to the fact that some rhymes are easy to apply and very hackneyed, determining whether a poem is a *naẓīre* or not in the absence of corroborative evidence is often fraught with uncertainty (cf. E.G. Ambros, *Naẓīre, the will-o'-the-wisp of Ottoman Dīvān poetry*, in *WZKM*, lxxix [1989], 57-83).

In an ordered (*müretteb*) collection of poetry (*dīwān*), the *ghazels* are arranged alphabetically according to the last letter of their rhyme and, as a rule the poet composes at least one *ghazel* using each letter of the Arabic alphabet as final rhyme letter.

The traditional subject matter of the Ottoman *ghazel* is love, of either mystical or profane nature (though the latter is often mystically inspired and generally couched in the mystical idiom), with concomitant elements such as wine and spring, personae such as the derwish and the cup-bearer, in settings such as the garden in spring, the tavern, etc. (all aspects to be found in the Persian model). Only from the 11th/17th century onward, was the thematic scope of the Ottoman *ghazel* progressively broadened to include other topics such as philosophic or didactic thoughts, laments on fate, etc. (Prior to this there were, however, some *ghazels* by sultans and princes expressing their feelings about events of the day quite clearly.)

The *dīwān* idiom, which over the centuries became saturated with Arabic and Persian vocabulary, was, of course, also that of the *ghazel*. The *ghazels* which Naẓmī of Edirne (d. 961/1554) wrote in pure simple Turkish (*türkī-yi basīṭ*) are the most notable exception to this rule.

The lyricism of the *ghazel* was not put to the service of pecuniary aims or personal advancement as was the *ḳaṣīde* [see ḲAṢĪDA. 3], but sometimes *ghazels* were set to music and sung.

The forerunners of the Ottoman *ghazel* go back to the 11th century in Central Asia. In Anatolia in the 7th/13th century, Djalāl al-Din Rūmī's [*q.v.*] Persian *ghazels* were very influential in preparing the ground for the Turkish *ghazels* of mystical purport. The first Turkic samples of this variety of *ghazel* were written by Rūmī's son Sulṭān Walad [*q.v.*]. Some also were written by the great mystic Yūnus Emre (d. 720/1320 [*q.v.*]). In the sphere of worldly love, the first *ghazels* are by Dehhānī in 7th/13th century Anatolia.

In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Aḥmedī [*q.v.*] followed by Sheykhī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], played an important role in the further development of the *ghazel*. The 9th/15th century then saw the maturity of the Ottoman *ghazel*, with Nedjātī Beg [*q.v.*] regarded as its grand master. Sultan Meḥemmed II and his son Djem were also reputed for their accomplishments in this field (as were so many of the Ottoman sultans and princes and one princess, namely, ʿĀdile Sulṭān, 1826-99, daughter of Sultan Maḥmūd II and authoress of a *dīwān*).

In the 10th/16th century, the apogee of the art of *ghazel*-writing was reached with masters like Dhātī [*q.v.*], Khayālī Beg [*q.v.*], Yaḥyā Beg (Ṭashlīdjalī [*q.v.*]), Baghdādlī Rūḥī [*q.v.*], Newʿī [*q.v.*] and Bāḳī [*q.v.*]. Fuḍūlī's [*q.v.*] *ghazels*, though reflecting his Ādharī origin, influenced the strictly Ottoman *ghazel* and enjoyed lasting popularity due to their sincere emotions. This, too, is the century that saw the production of the largest collection of Ottoman *ghazels* ever written, namely, that by Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent (his *dīwān* contains 2,801 *ghazels*, the next largest collection of "only" 1,825 being by Dhātī).

The popularity of the *ghazel* continued unabated in the 11th/17th century, flourishing with poets like Nefʿī [*q.v.*] (even though this poet is primarily renowned for his *ḳaṣīdes*), Nāʾilī-yi Ḳadīm [*q.v.*], the Sheykh el-Islām Yaḥyā Efendi [*q.v.*] and Nābi [*q.v.*].

In the 12th/18th century the *ghazel* continued to flourish, the luminaries of this century being Nedīm [*q.v.*], famous not only for his *ghazels* but also, and perhaps even more, for his *sharḳīs* [*q.v.*], and Sheykh Ghālib [*q.v.*].

The *ghazels* written in the 19th century no longer attained the former level of excellence. Finally, after the turn of the century the writing of *ghazels* fell into desuetude.

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(Edith G. Ambros)

5. Modern Turkish literature.

The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 may be taken as the beginning of modern Turkish literature because it is the beginning of a new era not only politically and historically but also culturally. The cultural policy introduced by the Republic aimed to cut the ties with the past and build a new culture which would be nationalist (in Kemalist terms), populist and "progressive". Language reform (1928) and various social and educational reforms were steps towards the realisation of this ideal. In a remarkably short time, the literature of the Turkish Republic became one of the most diverse literatures both in form and content, reflecting a variety of ideological and political stances, artistic beliefs and practices. It is possible to look at modern Turkish literature in four periods which are by no means sharply divided.

(a) 1923-38. The most prominent features of the period are nationalism, optimism and the pride of having won the War of Liberation. With the literacy campaign which followed the alphabet reform (1928) and the purification of the Turkish language, the opening of *Halkevleri* "People's Houses" [see KHALKEVI] whose activities included exhibitions, drama clubs, library services, community courses, and the import of new technologies for printing, the number of published materials and literacy increased dramatically. The state policy of forming and shaping a new culture was in full speed. In poetry, numerous revered poets such as Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1852-1937), Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944 [see MEHMED EMĪN]), Ahmet Haşim (1885-1933), Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936 [see MEHMED ʿĀKIF]), Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958), who had emerged during the Ottoman empire, continued to write, usually with *ʿarūḍ*. But there was also a new generation of poets who sometimes formed literary circles. For example, Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (1898-1973 [see ČAMLIBEL, in Suppl.]), Yusuf Ziya Ortaç (1913-75 [*q.v.*]), Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890-1972), Halit Fahri Ozansoy (1891-1971), and Enis Behiç Koryürek (1891-1949 [*q.v.*]) are known as *Hece'nin beş şairi* "Five poets of the syllable". They divorced themselves from *ʿarūḍ* and promoted the syllabic metre. They were populists and romantic nationalists at heart. They wrote about nature, and in praise of Anatolia and its people. Another group, the *Yedi meşaleciler* "Seven torches", was composed of young poets in search of novelty as a reaction to the romantic nationalism of their aforementioned colleagues. Among them were Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil (1907-68), Ziya Osman Saba (1910-57), Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1908-81), and Cevdet Kudret Solok (1907-). They, too, wrote in syllabic metre but more under the influence of the French Parnassian school. During the same period, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62), Ahmet Muhip Dıranas (1909-80), Ahmet Kutsi Tecer (1901-67) and Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı (1910-56) also became well-known names. The real revolutionary and modernising poet was Nazım Hikmet (1902-63 [*q.v.*]), who did away with the conventional moulds and wrote poems full of lyricism which damned social injustice. In fiction, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), Refik Halit Karay (1888-1965 [*q.v.*]), Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964 [see KHĀLIDE EDĪB]), Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956 [see RESHĀD NŪRĪ]), Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944), Peyami Safa (1899-1961), Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1866-1945 [see KHĀLID ḌIYĀʾ]) and Memduh Şevket Esendal (1883-1952 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) depicted the disintegration of the Ottoman society, the immoral lives of religious sectarians, conflicts between urban and rural Anatolia, and also wrote sagas of the recent war.

(b) 1940-60. By the 1940s, the romantic nationalism of the previous era turned to social realism. Turkish intellectuals responded to diverse political and social trends and ideas. Meanwhile, the state encouraged and invested in the translation of literary works from the leading outside languages into Turkish. In poetry, with the *Garip* "Strange" or *Birinci yeni* "The First new ones" movement in the early 1940s, Orhan Veli Kanık (1914-50 [*q.v.*]), Oktay Rifat Horozcu (1914-88 [*q.v.*]), and Melih Cevdet Anday (1915-) launched poetic realism. They did away with rigid forms, metres and rhyme, and moved away from lyricism. In their poems they championed the little man as hero. During the same period, Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca (1914-), Behçet Necatigil (1916-79), Cahit Külebi (1917-) and others wrote on a variety of themes, developing their own styles. During the late 1950s, a strong reaction against realism in poetry emerged from a group of poets who called themselves *İkinci yeniler* "The Second new ones" and advocated "art for innovation's sake". Salah Birsel (1919-), İlhan Berk (1916-), Cevdet Süreyya (1931-), Tahir Uyar (1927-85) and Edip Cansever (1928-86) practised obscurantism and neo-surrealism. Their wild imaginations and dreams were expressed with distortions of language. More than anything, they tried to depict the experiences of the alienated individual in urban centres. In fiction, Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906-54) combined in his short stories local colour with scenes from the everyday life of the little man. Harsh and not-so-happy realities of the Anatolian peasants and rural life found expression first in the writings of Sabahatin Ali (1906-48 [*q.v.*]) and then Mahmut Makal (1933-) in the 1940s. In the mid-1950s, the genre of the *Village novel* emerged, represented at its best by Yaşar Kemal (1922-), Orhan Kemal (1914-70) and Fakir Baykurt (1929-), and in drama by Cahit Atay (1925-) and Necati Cumalı (1921-). Tarık Buğra (1918-94) and Kemal Tahir (1910-73) reflected the interest of the literati in history through their novels, as did A. Turan Oflazoğlu (1932-) and Orhan Asena (1922-) through their plays. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-62) combined occidental and oriental values in his novels. During the same period, Nurullah Ataç (1898-1957) wrote belles-lettres and left a lasting impression with his innovative usage of Turkish syntax and lexicon. The search for something different to replace the *Village novel* genre is seen in the works of authors like Leyla Erbil (1931-), Vüs'at O. Bener (1922-) and Ferid Edgü (1936-), while Aziz Nesin (1915-95) began to excel as the most prolific satirist of modern times.

(c) 1960 onwards. During the 1960s and the 1970s, "art is for society" became the prominent approach. Thinking of the past and trying to come to terms with it was usually expressed in revolutionary themes. Social problems and different ideological and political solutions to them were reflected in literature, so much so that politics and literature became at times inseparable. In poetry, Ahmet Arif (1926-91), Ataol Behramoğlu (1942-) and İsmet Özel (1944-) called themselves the revolutionary young poets against the bourgeois writers. Later, Özel was to turn to Islam and Behramoğlu abandoned crude propaganda and his didactic style. Atilla İlhan (1925-) combined elements of classical and folk poetry, whilst Can Yücel (1926-) excelled as the lyrical satirist. Village poets continued to provide enlightenment and live entertain-

ment to their provinces, but at the same time most of the minstrels made appearances in the urban centres. While the poems of the blind minstrel Aşık Veysel (1894-1973) came to be known by everyone, new and old folk ballads became songs of protest in the 1970s. The village genre continued with Fakir Baykurt, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976), and Yaşar Kemal in novel and short story, but the majority of the authors began to shift to themes concerning the life of the individual and to more urban settings. Turkish workers and the problems associated with immigration, and the individual's alienation also became popular subjects. While Yusuf Atılgan (1921-89), Tahsin Yücel (1933-), Enis Batur (1952-), Orhan Pamuk (1952-), Nedim Gürsel (1951-), Selim İleri (1949-), Bilge Karasu (1930-95), Murathan Mungan (1955-), Füsun Akatlı (1944-) are among the prominent names of the era, a group of women writers such as Nezihe Meriç (1925-), Leyla Erbil, Adalet Ağaoğlu (1929-), Sevgi Soysal (1936-76), Füruzan (1935-), Tomris Uyar (1941-), Aysel Özakın (1942-), Pınar Kür (1943-), Nazlı Eray (1945-), Ayla Kutlu (1938-), Latife Tekin (1957-) and Erendüz Atasü (1947-), who emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, continue their success through the 1990s. In drama, Cahit Atay and Sermet Çağan (1929-70) are known for their plays which use Turkish themes and traditional forms with absurdist influences. The late 1980s saw the advent of "writers in prison", following the coup in 1980, and a group of "Islamic poets" such as Sezai Karakoç (1933-) and İsmet Özel (1944-) who write in the forms of current innovative Turkish poetry. Meanwhile, a Turkish diaspora literature is emerging with the works of second-generation Turkish settlers in Europe.

Turkish literature of the 1990s is more diversified and pluralistic than ever with a range of beliefs, settings, situations and ideologies; it is no longer a literature of the "type", but of the individual.

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6. Literature in Turkic languages outside Turkey from 1400 to the present.

(a) Čag͟hatay literature in Central Asia and Uzbek literature

Poetry in Čag͟hatay, called also *Türkī*, had its climax in the 15th century with the works of Mīr ʿAlī S͟hīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. Back in history, continuity of Turkic written literature presented itself in a different light than today. Towns and libraries were destroyed as the Mongols were advancing. The cultural centres had little time to flourish and consolidate, either before destruction, like Kās͟hg͟har, or after destruction, like Saray in the territory of the Golden Horde. Books were only very sporadically preserved and handed down. A great deal was lost for ever, and just by chance did this or that emerge centuries later.

Nawāʾī obviously did not know the *Ḳutadg͟hu bilig* by Yūsuf K͟hāṣṣ Ḥād͟jib [*q.v.*] of the 11th century. He knew the name of Aḥmad Yuknakī [*q.v.*], but had not read his *ʿAtabāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*. Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*], of whose poems he may have heard though it is very unlikely that they had been written down at that early time, was a holy man to him whom he mentioned in his *Nasāʾim al-maḥabba*. We know from his *tad͟hkira*, the *Mad͟jālis al-nafāʾis*, that he must have been very familiar both with the Persian and the Čag͟hatay literatures of the 9th/15th century.

Čag͟hatay poets living in Harāt were Luṭfī [*q.v.*] (*Lutfī s͟heʿriyātidan*, Tashkent 1985); Yūsuf Amīrī (first half 15th century), known as the author of the *mat͟hnawī Dah-nāma* (833/1429-30), a *dīwān*, and the *munāẓara Bang u čag͟hir*; and Yaḳīnī (first half 15th century), who wrote the *munāẓara Oḳ yayniñ munāẓarasi*. Ḥusayn Bāyḳara [*q.v.*], ruler of Harāt, contributed to the flourishing of literature, and he even wrote a *dīwān* himself under the *tak͟hallus* Ḥusaynī (K. Eraslan, *Hüseyn-i Baykara divânı'ndan seçmeler*, Ankara 1987; idem, *D͟jamāliñdin küzim rawshan*, Tas͟hkent 1991). The author of *g͟hazals* and *ḳaṣīdas*, Sakkākī (d. before 853/1449), lived in Samarḳand, and perhaps in Sawrān, since he wrote a *ḳaṣīda* for Amīr Arslan K͟hʷād͟ja Tark͟hān, military commander and governor of Ulug͟h Beg in Sawrān. The latter had a reputation as a friend of poetry: he had the *ʿAtabāt al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* copied, writing some verses himself to complement it. Nawāʾī did not find Sakkākī's poems in Samarḳand around 872/1467, which may also be an indication that Sakkākī actually did not live in Samarḳand to the end of his life. (*Tanlangan at͟harlar*, Tashkent 1960; Russian tr., *Izbrannoe*, Tashkent 1961). Atāʾī was also one of the Samarḳand *g͟hazal* poets, though he came from Balk͟h and died in his home town in the middle of the 15th century. The Tīmūrid Sayyid Aḥmad, author of the *mat͟hnawī Taʿas͟hs͟huḳ-nāma* (839/1435-6), lived as governor in K͟hurāsān. K͟hud͟jandī, who around 802/1400 wrote the *mat͟hnawī Laṭafat-nāma* (ed. E.I. Fazilov, *K͟hodžandi. Latafat-name. Kniga o krasote*, Tashkent 1976), is likely to have written his works in K͟hʷārazm. It is, however, not yet known where Gadāʾī (*ca.* 807/1405-after 897/1491-2) lived, writer of *g͟hazals*, or Aḥmadī, author of the *munāẓara* about string instruments (Gadāʾī's poetry was edited in Tashkent on the basis of J. Eckmann's edition in *TDEY*, x [1960], 65-110: Gadāʾī, *S͟heʿrlar* 1965; further János Eckmann, *The Dīvān of Gadāʾī*, Bloomington 1971.) Neither do we know where Sayyid Ḳāsimī lived, of whom four *mat͟hnawīs* were found in the library of Rampur in the 1970s: *Mad͟jmaʿ al-ak͟hbār* dedicated to Tīmūr's grandson Abū Saʿīd, *Guls͟han-i rāz, Ḥaḳīḳāt-nāma, Ilāhī-nāma* (ed. B. Ḳāsimk͟hānov: *Sayyid Ḳāsimīniñ adabī-didaktik dāstānlari*, Tashkent 1987; idem, *Sayyid Ḳāsimī. Mat͟hnawīlar mad͟jmūʿasi*, Tashkent 1992).

S͟hīrāz should also be mentioned among the places where Čag͟hatay poetry evolved in the time of the Tīmūrids. Ḥāfiẓ K͟hʷārazmī, whose real name was probably ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, presumably lived here at the turn of the 14th to the 15th centuries. The only manuscript found of his voluminous *dīwān* is kept in the library of the Sālār D͟jang Museum in Ḥaydarābād,

ms. no. 4298 (ed. Ḥ. Sulaymān, *Ḥāfiẓ Khʷārazmī sheʿriyatidan*, Tashkent 1980; idem, *Dīwān*, 2 vols. Tashkent 1981; Russian tr. S. Ivanov, *Izbrannoe*, Tashkent 1981). Ḥaydar Khʷārazmī (d. after 850/1447) also found his new home in Shīrāz; he was the first Turkic poet who, stimulated by Niẓāmī's [*q.v.*] *Makhzan al-asrār*, wrote a brief *mathnawī* of the same title and metre (*sarīʿ*) (on him, cf. N. ʿAbdullaev, *Ḥaydar Khʷārazmī wa uniñ Makhzan al-asrār*, Tashkent 1976).

Balkh was the home of Ḥāmidī or Durbek, the author of the *mathnawī Yūsuf u Ẓalīkhā*, composed in 812/1409-10 or 874/1469-70 (cf. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, *Üzbek adabiyāti namūnalari*, Tashkent-Samarḳand 1928, 124-39).

Hence in the 15th century, Čaghatay literature was not only flourishing in Harāt and Samarḳand, widely known as cultural centres of the Tīmūrid era, but also in the southwest and in the northern regions bordering on the steppe. Well-known genres were *ghazal* and *ḳaṣīda*, *rubāʿī*, *tuyugh*, *muʿammā* and *mathnawī*, as well as *munāẓara*, the latter in verse or in prose interspersed with verses.

Though Nawāʾī himself had created an outstanding example, he feared for the further existence and development of Čaghatay poetry at the end of his life. In *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*, he called upon the poets who spoke *Türkī* as their mother tongue, to write not only in Persian but also in *Türkī*. Actually, none of the poets in the centuries to come left behind such an extensive œuvre as Nawāʾī did, and none succeeded in arousing such a great interest among the Turkic poets of all regions and even among the Persian poets. But even though Čaghatay literature was never again as rich as in Nawāʾī's day, it did not die until the end of the 19th century. Then came the time when literatures started to be written in those languages which had, until that time, only existed in dialects and which therefore had been considered inappropriate for high-level literature.

Bibliography for the 15th century: The most important survey with references about manuscripts and editions of texts is J. Eckmann, *Die tschaghataische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 304-61. Other works of a general character are: M. Fuad Köprülü, *Çağatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, iii, 270-323; *Üzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 5 vols., vols. i and ii, Tashkent 1978; *Istoriya uzbekskoy literaturî s drevneyshikh vremen do Velikoy Oktyabʾrskoy Sotsialističeskoy Revolyutsii*, 2 vols., Tashkent 1987-9. Further, a new edition of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's works should be mentioned: *Mukammal atharlar tüplami*, 20 vols., started in 1987. Trs. of his works: Alisher Navoï, *Gazels et autres poèmes. Trad. du turc et présenté par Hamid Ismaïlov*, Paris 1991; Russian tr. *Yazîk ptic, Izd. podgotovil S.N. Ivanov*, Petersburg 1993.—The texts of the 15th century were given in a number of anthologies in the 1980s.

Among the poets of the 10th/16th century are the two founders of states, Bābur [*q.v.*] and Shaybānī or Shībānī Khān [*q.v.*]. Only one manuscript each exists of Shaybānī Khān's *dīwān*, of his text *Baḥr al-hudā* and of his *risāla*, whereas Bābur's *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs* and *tuyughs* were widely spread, and his memoirs, *Waḳāʾiʿ* (the *Bābur-nāma*), were translated into Persian more than once, encouraged by his successors who were anxious to preserve them. For Shaybānī Khān, see A. Bodroligeti, *Muhammad Shaybānīs "Baḥru 'l-hudâ"*, in *UAJb*, liv (1982), 1-56; idem, *Muhammad Shaybānī Khān's apology to the Muslim clergy*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, xiii (1993-4), 85-100. For Bābur, see *Atharlar*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1965-6; S.A. Azimdžanova, *Indiyskiy divan Babura*, Tashkent 1966; *Baburname*, Istanbul 1970; Z.M. Bābur. *Traktat ob aruze*, ed. I.V. Stebleva, Moscow 1972; I.V. Stebleva, *Semantika gazeley Babura*, Moscow 1982; *Bābir sheʿriyātidan*, Tashkent 1982; P. Šamsiev, *Bābur-nāma*, Tashkent 1989; G.F. Blagova, *"Baburname"—yazîk, pragmatika teksta, stilʾ*, Moscow 1994; Bilâl Yücel, *Bâbür Dîvânı*, Ankara 1995; *The Baburnama, memoirs of Babur, prince and emperor*, tr., ed. and annot. by W.M. Thackston, New York 1996.

Bābur's poetry was a model for other Turkic poets living in India in the 16th century. Bābur's son Kāmrān (1509-57) was one of them (ed. Saʿīdbek Ḥasan, Tashkent 1993), as was Bayram Khān (1504-61), a descendant of the Turkmen *Bakhor* (*Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1970; *Dīwān of Bayram Khān*, Karachi 1971; G.Y. Aliev, *Bayramkhan-turkmenskiy poét*, Ashkhabad 1969). Čaghatay poetry did not, however, survive, compared with Persian poetry in India in the following centuries.

In the 16th century another genre was added to the existing ones, sc. historiographies, which had traditionally been written in Persian only. A first attempt to write briefer historical texts in the Čaghatay language was made by Nawāʾī (*Tārīkh-i mulūk-i ʿAdjam* and *Tārīkh-i anbiyāʾ wa ḥukamāʾ*), and the structure of Bābur's memoirs was already similar to that of a chronicle. Extensive chronicles were written in the time of the Shaybānids. Furthermore, translation from Persian into Čaghatay became popular and was to develop over the centuries to come. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1455-1534 or 1535) wrote a chronicle in verse called *Shaybānī-nāme* arousing the interest of the European scholars in the 19th century and repeatedly published ever since (recent ed. N. Dawrān, Tashkent 1961; E. Shādīev, Tashkent 1989). At the demand of Shaybānī Khān and the Shaybānids, a number of historical works were written in prose about their descent and their deeds, among them the anonymous *Tawārīkh-i guzīda nuṣrat-nāma* (908-9/1502-4, ed. A.M. Akramov, Tashkent 1967). In the 16th century, the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī [*q.v.*] was twice translated into Čaghatay and the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* once (from Persian). Apart from the historical texts that were written in Čaghatay following the example of Persian historiography, a type of historical literature characterised by strong mythological elements developed from the genealogies of the nomads dating as far back as Čingiz Khān and Oghuz Kaghan, especially in the distinguished families. Examples are Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān's [*q.v.*] *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* (1070/1659) and *Shadjara-yi Türk* (1076/1665, finished by Anusha), which aroused great interest in Russia and Europe already in the 18th century (recent ed. Ḳ. Munīrov and Ḳ. Maḥmūdov, *Shadjara-yi Turk*, Tashkent 1992).

Among the poets of the 16th century the Khān of Bukhārā ʿUbayd Allāh, whose pen-names were ʿUbaydī and Ḳul ʿUbaydī (d. 1539), should be mentioned (selected poems: Ḳul ʿUbaydī, *Wafā ḳilsañ*, Tashkent 1994). While many of the poems which the Persian-writing *tadhkira* author Ḥasan Nithārī makes mention of seem to be lost, some *mathnawīs* of the 16th century have enjoyed great popularity almost continuously, e.g. Madjlīsī's *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Sayf al-mulūk*, the material of which was taken from the tales of *Thousand and One Nights*. Since 1807 it has been printed several times in Kazan (cf. *Üzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, iii, Tashkent 1978, 105-17; Gönül Tekin, *XVI yüzyıl Çağatay şairi Meclisî'nin Seyfelmülük adlı mesnevisi hakkında*, in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, xi [1987], 133-200). Of the *mathnawīs* by Pādshāh Khʷādja (1480-after 1565), the father of Nithārī, the *Maḳṣad al-aṭwār* has been handed down (extract in *ʿAṣrlar nidāsi*, Tashkent 1982, 93-117). His

didactic prose, following the example of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*, is entitled *Gulzār* (extracts ed. W. Zāhidov and S. Ghanīeva, *"Miftāḥ al-ʿadl" wa "Gulzar" dan*, Tashkent 1962; for the author, cf. M. Mirzaahmedova, *Khwādjā: ḥayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1975). *Ṭāhir u Ẓuhra* by Ṣayyādī, in which the *mathnawī* verses alternate with four-line strophes, was probably composed in the 17th century (ed. Tashkent 1960).

Poetry of Central Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries was first of all religious poetry. It developed in two different directions. Bābā Raḥīm Mashrab (b. in the middle of the 17th century in Namangan, hanged 1711 in Balkh) represents the rebellious type of poetry that was bold enough to challenge all traditions and customs referring to God and to tell of passionate love, which recipients, depending on their individual views, were free to interpret either as love of God, or of the love of a woman or of a man. His *ghazals* and *mukhammas* were much read, and set to music they are also sympathetically received (recent ed. in Tashkent: *Tanlangan atharlar*, 1971; *Mashrab sheʿriyātidan*, 1979; *Shāh Mashrab ḳiṣṣasi*, n.p. n.d. [1991]; *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mashrab*, 1992; *Mabdāʾ-i nūr*, 1994; Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 1980; new ed. of Russian tr. by N.S. Lykoshin (1910), *Dīwāna-yi Mashrab*, 1992). A quite different aim was followed by Ṣūfī Allāh Yār (*ca.* 1616-*ca.* 1706) from Yangi Ḳurghan, who intended to pass on the fundamental values of Islam by narrating vivid *mathnawīs* to the less educated people. Both his *Sirādj al-ʿādjizīn* and his *Thabāt al-ʿādjizīn* were very popular (*Thabāt al-ʿādjizīn*, Tashkent 1991). Also, the works of Ṣayḳalī from Ḥiṣār have been widely read since the 18th century: the *mathnawī Amīr-i Akhtam* (new ed. in *Ibrāhim Adham ḳiṣṣasi*, Tashkent 1991, 89-147), the *mathnawī Bahrām u Gulandām* (ed. Tashkent 1960), and *Wafāt-nāma-yi payghambar*, which is a translation of Ḥusayn Wāʾiẓ Kāshifī's *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* and which is often cited under the titles *dīwān-i Ṣayḳalī* or *kitāb-i Ṣayḳalī*. Khwādja Naẓar from Osh, with the *takhalluṣ* Huwayda, who died *ca.* 1780-1, lived near Marghalān (Čimyān). The poems of his *dīwān* and his *mathnawī Rāḥat-i dil* (new ed. Tashkent 1994) also found him many readers. None of these religious poets sank into oblivion. Even in the 20th century, when only Mashrab, whose poems allowed a non-religious interpretation, was integrated into the official canon of literature, the poetry of his contemporaries was also transmitted because their texts provided a reservoir of material for arranging funeral rites, which play a great role in Uzbek life.

A poet outside religious poetry is Turdī, who lived until 1699 or 1700, at first near Bukhārā, later in Khudjand. In critical poems and in a syntax close to the language of the people, he expressed his disillusionment over all the struggles for the throne of Bukhārā and the battles devastating the country among the Beks, in which he was involved himself (*Sheʿrlar*, Tashkent 1971).

Though some of the poets changed their places of residence in the 18th and 19th centuries, hoping to find a Maecenas in one or the other khānate, relative stable circles of poets became established at the courts of the Khāns and outside them. For Čaghatay literature, it was first of all the courts in Khīwa and in Khoḳand that were of great importance. Most poets at the latter were bilingual.

Information of unique value about the Khoḳand poets is contained in the *tadhkira Madjmūʿa-i shāʿirān* (lith. Tashkent 1902), whose composition was headed by Faḍlī Namangānī (real name ʿAbd al-Karīm) and given to ʿUmar Khān in 1821. Yet in the 20th century, in many cases, Faḍlī's evaluation of the texts was no longer shared, so that poets he had criticised or disparaged were greatly acclaimed. The *tadhkira* in the *mutaḳārib* metre provides biographical details about 101 poets from Samarḳand to Kāshghar, including examples of poems in Čaghatay and Persian. Highly appreciated are the traditional *taṣawwuf* poets and those who praise ʿUmar Khān and his administration. Faḍlī, too, wrote a *dīwān*, the poems of which were set to music, a dialogue in verse (*mushāʿira*) together with the poetess Maḥzūna, and two so far unlocated historical works about the age of ʿUmar Khān, one in verse and one in prose. Muḥammad ʿUmar Khān (ruler of Khoḳand 1812-22) himself, under the pseudonyms Amīr and Amīrī, wrote a *dīwān* with Persian and Čaghatay poems, which was widely known. Also, his wife Māhilar (1792-1842) was a well-known poetess writing under the pseudonyms Nādira and Kāmila. Her poems are still read in the 20th century (ed. *Dīwān*, Tashkent 1963; the Persian poems alone, *Dīwān*, Dushanba 1967; *Atharlar*, 2 vols., Tashkent 1968-71; *Nādira sheʿriyatidan*, Tashkent 1979; *Ey sarw-i rawān*, Tashkent 1992, Russian tr. Tashkent 1979). Her poetess-friend Uwaysī (*ca.* 1780-*ca.* 1845) (her real name was Djahān ātin) enjoys the reputation of being not less talented. Besides her poems in the diverse classical forms, it is her riddles in verse, very likely created for her female disciples, that are notable, as are three *mathnawīs* with interspersed *ghazals* and *musaddas*, two of them dedicated to the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and one historical text (unfinished) dealing with Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān's (ruler of Khoḳand 1822-42) campaign to Kāshghar (ed. in Tashkent, *Dīwān*, 1959; *Uwaysī sheʿriyatidan*, 1980; *Uwaysī, Kūngil gulzāri*, 1983; *Uwaysī, Nādira*, 1993).

Whether the poet Ghāzī (d. between 1811 and 1821), who wrote poems in the traditional style and poems in which he fiercely criticised the morals of his contemporaries, and who was highly appreciated by Faḍlī, belonged to the court himself for a certain time, is not known (on him, see A. Ḳayūmov, *Ghāzī*, Tashkent 1959).

The critical line in poetry that began with Turdī was continued by the bilingual poets Makhmūr (d. 1844), Gulkhanī (b. *ca.* 1770), Muḳīmī (1850-1903) and Dhawḳī (1853-1921) in the 19th century in the Khoḳand Khānate, reaching as far as Ḥamza at the beginning of the 20th century. Makhmūr wrote narrative poems in the *mukhammas* and *tardjīʿ-band* forms, often interspersed with dialogues and occasionally close to the language of the people; in them he gave satirical portraits of his contemporaries. He liked alternating between Čaghatay and Persian within one poem. Faḍlī expressed his disdain for him in verses, and Makhmūr replied in the same way (Ḳayūmov, *Makhmūr*, Tashkent 1956). Gulkhanī was renowned for his animal tales in rhyming prose and verse called *Ḍarb al-mathal*, with critical allusions to his time. He partly referred to tales from *Kalila wa-Dimna*, but modified them. Already in the early years of the 20th century the poems of Muḥammad Amīn Muḳīmī were often included in anthologies and appeared in separate lithographies and prints. Both his love poetry and his socio-critical satirical verses were popular. Thanks to the latter type of poems and to the fact that a group of like-minded poets had gathered around him, Muḳīmī's poetry met with a great response in the 20th century (Gh. Karimov, *Muḳīmī. Hayāti wa idjādi*, Tashkent 1970; ʿA. ʿAbdughafurov, *Muḳīmī satirasi*, Tashkent 1976). The circle of poets included, among others, Nādim (1844-1910) from Namangan (*Tanlangan*

a<u>th</u>arlar, Tashkent 1964), <u>Dh</u>awḳī and <u>Dh</u>ākird<u>j</u>ān Furḳat (1859-1909), who integrated his ideas of popular education and of a Europeanised way of life into poetry and prose, sometimes in a journalistic style (ʿA. ʿAbdu<u>gh</u>afurov, *<u>Dh</u>ākird<u>j</u>ān Furḳat. Ḥayāti wa id<u>j</u>ādi*, Tashkent 1977; Russian tr. Muḳīmī, *Furḳat. Izbrannïe proizvedeniya*, Leningrad 1972.) The *<u>gh</u>azals* by Ḥazīnī (b. 1867), set to music by the author, were widely popular (cf. Ḥazīnī, *Taṣadduḳ yā rasūl Allāh*, Tashkent 1992).

To the historical literature on the <u>Kh</u>ānate of <u>Kh</u>oḳand belongs the *Muntak<u>h</u>ab al-tawārī<u>kh</u>* by Muḥammad Ḥakīm <u>Kh</u>ān (b. *ca.* 1802), written in Persian and translated into Čag<u>h</u>atay in the 19th century, which among other things, contains the author's impressions of his journey through Russia and the Middle East (cf. B. Amedov, *Istoriko-geografieskaya literatura Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv.*, Tashkent 1985, 126-7; A. <u>Kh</u>ur<u>sh</u>ut, *Ḥakīm <u>Kh</u>ānniñ ḥayāti wa sayāḥatlari*, Tashkent 1987). Another historical work from this region is the *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i Far<u>gh</u>āna* by Isḥāḳ <u>Kh</u>ān ʿIbrat (1862-1937).

Two poets were closely connected with the court of <u>Kh</u>īwa for a certain time: Pahlawān Ḳuli Rawnaḳ (*ca.* 1725-*ca.* 1805), whose *<u>gh</u>azals* were taken as bases for *mu<u>kh</u>ammas* already in his lifetime, and Na<u>sh</u>āṭī (also Ni<u>sh</u>āṭī), who renewed the genre of disputes (*munāẓara*) and wrote the *ma<u>th</u>nawī Ḥusn u Dil* (1778) and a *dīwān* (M. Ḳāsimova, *Muḥammadnaẓar Ni<u>sh</u>āṭī. Ḥayāti wa id<u>j</u>ādi*, Tashkent 1987). <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm was also the home of Rāḳim (*ca.* 1742-*ca.* 1814), whose striking abundance of *mar<u>th</u>iya*s may be an indication that he used to make a living by writing commissioned texts of this kind. The poet ʿAndalīb (*ca.* 1710-*ca.* 1770), popular among the Uzbeks and Turkmens in <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, wrote his works (*Yūsuf u Ẓelī<u>kh</u>ā, Layla u Ma<u>dj</u>nūn, Ẓayn al-ʿarab, Saʿd Waḳḳāṣ*) in a form similar to anonymous *ḳiṣṣa* with its typical alternation between prose and verse, though he used the varying metres of the *ʿarūḍ*.

The <u>Kh</u>āns of <u>Kh</u>iwa promoted Čag<u>h</u>atay historiography in the 19th century and initiated the translation from Persian into Čag<u>h</u>atay of narrative works (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, ed. Tashkent 1992; *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif* by ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Kā<u>sh</u>ifī; *Badaʾiʿ al-waḳaʾiʿ* by Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī; etc.) and of historical texts. The best known historians were active as translators. Muʾnis (1778-1829) wrote the *Firdaws al-iḳbāl* and translated the *Ẓafar-nāma* of <u>Sh</u>araf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, as well as several chapters of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* by Mīr<u>kh</u>ʷānd [*q.v.*]. His nephew Āgahī (1809-74) finished the *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, continued the translation of *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, created a five-volume history of <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm, translated the *Tārī<u>kh</u>-i Nādirī* by Mīrzā Mahdī <u>Kh</u>ān [*q.v.*], the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī [*q.v.*] and *Yūsuf wa Ẓelī<u>kh</u>ā* by <u>Dj</u>āmī [*q.v.*]. Both authors also wrote poems and compiled them into a *dīwān*. In Tashkent were published Muʾnis, *Tanlangan a<u>th</u>arlar*, 1957; *Saylanma*, 1980; Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 1981; Āgahī: *Taʿwīḍ al-ʿā<u>sh</u>iḳīn*, 1960; *A<u>th</u>arlar*, 6 vols. 1971-80; on Āgahī, see Ḳ. Munīrov, *Āgahī ʿilmī wa adabī faʿāliyati*, 1959; R. Ma<u>dj</u>īdī, *Āgahī lirikasi*, Tashkent 1963; *Āgahī. A<u>th</u>arlariniñ tawṣīfi*, Tashkent 1986. See further *<u>Sh</u>īr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Riżā Mīrāb Āgahī, Firdaws al-Iqbāl, History of Khorezm*, ed. Y. Bregel, Leiden 1988.

The physician <u>Dj</u>unayd Allāh Ḥā<u>dh</u>iḳ (d. 1843), whose Persian *dīwān* contained a few Čag<u>h</u>atay verses, was also involved in the translation of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*. A successor to Āgahī in historiography was Muḥammad Yūsuf Bayānī (d. 1923), whose *<u>Sh</u>a<u>dj</u>ara-yi <u>Kh</u>ʷārazm<u>sh</u>āhī* included events until the year 1913 (partial ed. Tashkent 1994). His *<u>Kh</u>ʷārazm tārī<u>kh</u>i* is only partially preserved. Muḥammad Raḥīm <u>Kh</u>ān (1844-1910, reigning since 1863), a poet himself with the pen-name Fīrūz, gathered a great number of poets and musicians at his court (ed. *Ne bŭldi, yārim kelmadi*, Tashkent 1991; *Elga <u>sh</u>āh u i<u>sh</u>ḳka ḳul. Dīwān*, Tashkent 1994). He prompted the physician and poet Aḥmad Ṭabībī (1868-1910) to make up a collection of *<u>gh</u>azals* by 30 living poets (*Ma<u>dj</u>mūʿa-yi sī <u>sh</u>uʿarā-yi Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āhī*, 1908) and of *mu<u>kh</u>ammas* and *musaddas*, whose basis was the *<u>gh</u>azals* by Fīrūz himself and by Āgahī (*Mu<u>kh</u>ammasāt-i ma<u>dj</u>mūʿat al-<u>sh</u>uʿarā-yi Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āhī*, 1909). Ṭabībī dissociated himself from his disciple ʿIwaḍ (Awaz) Ŭtaru<u>gh</u>li (1884-1919), who introduced traits of a stronger social criticism into poetry, thus breaking with tradition (ʿAwaḍ Ŭtaru<u>gh</u>li, *Tanlangan a<u>th</u>arlar*, Tashkent 1951, 1956; W. Mīrzāev, *ʿAwaḍ Ŭtaru<u>gh</u>li: maʿrifatparwar wa revol<u>y</u>utsion-demokrat kuyči*, Tashkent 1961). Muḥammad Niyāz Kāmil (1825-99) is known as a poet, translator and a musical expert, applying European musical notation to the music of Central Asia. His *dīwān* appeared several times by lithography (<u>Kh</u>īwa 1881, 1895, Tashkent 1909), and in prints in Tashkent (*Tanlangan a<u>th</u>arlar*, 1961; *Dīwān*, 1975. On him, see M. Yunusov, *Kāmil <u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī*, 1960).

For literature from the 16th to 19th century, cf. Eckmann, *op. cit.*, 361-402.

In the second decade of the 20th century, the <u>Dj</u>adīdīs [see IṢLĀḤ. 5, in Suppl.] striving for the modernisation of life, profoundly renewed the canon of literature both thematically and formally. Their socio-political programme of overcoming the isolation of Central Asia, reducing the gap with Europe, putting an end to extravagancies and, instead, orientating life towards useful things and the establishment of new schools with modern teaching methods, found its expression in theatre plays, prose and poetry. The most important representatives were Maḥmūd <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a Behbūdī (1875-1919), ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat (1886-1938 [*q.v.*]), ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sulaymān, pseudonym Čŭlpān (1897-1938), ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī (1894-1938) and Ḥamza Ḥakīmzāda Niyāzī (1889-1929). Some of them joined up in the *Čig<u>h</u>ātāy gurungi* (1918-22), supporting a reform of the Arabic alphabet and discussing the creation of a common standard language. None of them died a natural death. They were killed by opponents to any renewal who saw tradition in danger, or later by political figures to whom socialism meant terror. Behbūdī published the journal *Āyna*, wrote schoolbooks and the first theatrical play in Central Asia, *Padarku<u>sh</u>* (1913). ʿAbd Allāh Awlānī (1878-1934) between 1912 and 1917 wrote textbooks for new schools, poems in which he advocated the idea of renewal and a number of theatrical plays (*Advokatlik āsānmi?*, 1914; *Biz wa siz*, 1923, and others). In his fascination for European ways of life and in the biting criticism of his satires, Ḥamza resembled the poet Furḳat. He wrote poems that were easy to sing when set to folk-song tunes (*Millī a<u>sh</u>ulalar učun millī <u>sh</u>iʿrlar ma<u>dj</u>mūʿasi*, 1915-17) and theatrical plays that he put on stage directed by himself, for instance *Ẓaharli ḥayāt*, 1915, *Bāy ila <u>kh</u>i<u>dh</u>matči*, around 1917, and *Maysaraniñ i<u>sh</u>i*, 1926. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, the most important scholar and writer in his day, side-by-side with his activities in cultural politics (Minister of Education and Economics of the People's Republic of Bu<u>kh</u>ārā 1921-3) and his scholarly work on literature (e.g. about Bīdil [*q.v.*] and ʿUmar <u>Kh</u>ayyām [*q.v.*]), wrote disputative stories in which he addressed issues of the time (*Munāẓara*, 1909 in Persian, 1911 in Čag<u>h</u>atay; *Ḳiyāmat*, 1923), and plays (*Hind iḥtilālčilari*, 1923, *Şaytānniñ tañriga ʿiṣyāni*, 1924, and *Abu ʾl-Fayḍ <u>Kh</u>ān*, 1924). Čŭlpān was

actively involved in creating a theatre of Central Asia and wrote several plays, e.g. *Yārḳināy* (1926), remarkable stories and a novel (*Keča wa kunduz*, 1936) [see further, MASRAḤ. 5]. First of all, however, he should be recognised for his contribution to the renewal of poetry, bringing to it more individual forms of expression. His most important books of poetry are *Uyghānish* (1922), *Bulāḳlar* (1923) and *Tāñ sirlari* (1926). ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī with his *Ūtgan kunlar* (1923-6; German tr. *Die Liebenden von Taschkent*, Berlin 1968) and *Meḥrābdan Čayān* (1929), created the first much-read novels. The literary and political life of the 1920s and 1930s was also influenced by the writers Mashriḳ Yūnusuv, pseudonym Elbek (1898-1939), and Maḥmūd Hādiev, pseudonym Batu (1904-*ca.* 1940), who preferred both the syllabic verse and Mayakovski's free verse.

Bibliography for authors before 1940: On ʿAbd al-Raʾuf Fiṭrat: I. Baldauf, *Der Aufstand Satans gegen Gott*, in *Türkische Sprachen und Literaturen. Materialien der ersten deutschen Turkologenkonferenz*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, xxix, 1991, 39-74. ʿAbd Allāh Awlānī: *Tāshkent tāngi*, Tashkent 1979. Ḥamza Ḥakīmzāda Niyāzī: *Mukammal atharlar tūplami*, 4 vols., Tashkent 1979-81. ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī: *Kičik atharlar*, Tashkent 1969; *Ghirwānlik Mallawāy*, Tashkent 1987; on him, see Ḥabilulla Ḳādirī, *Ātam ḥakida*, Tashkent 1974, 1983. Čūlpān: *Yana āldim sāzimni. Roman, p'esa, sheʿrlar*, Tashkent 1991; *Atharlar*, 3 vols. Tashkent (i, *Sheʿrlar, dramalar, tardjima*, 1994, ii, *Roman, ḥikāyalar, safarnāma, tardjimalar*, 1993); on him, see O. Sharafiddīnov, *Čūlpān, shāʿir ḥakidagi riwāyatlar, wa ḥaḳiḳatlar*, Tashkent 1991; N. Karīmov, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sulaymān ūghli Čūlpān*, Tashkent 1991; *Čūlpān. Adabiyāt nādir. Adabī-tanḳidī maḳālalar, Čūlpān haḳida khātiralar*, Tashkent 1994. Elbek: *Māmaguldurak*, Tashkent 1993. Bātu: *Yāz kuni*, Tashkent 1980.

The efforts made to shape socialist ways of life in the 1930s were at first joined with enthusiasm by many writers (Ghafūr Ghulām, 1903-66; Ḥamīd ʿĀlimdjān, 1909-44; Zulfiya, 1915-96) but later looked at with critical distance and responded to in an amazing diversity of forms: humorous folk-song-like poems besides *ghazals* in *ʿarūḍ* by Erkin Wāhidov (b. 1936), short epigram-like poems together with moving texts by ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀripov (b. 1941), sonnets by Raʾūf Parfī (b. 1943), poems which combine personal confessions with original metaphors by Ḥalīma Khudāyberdieva (b. 1948), and the succinct poems by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ which deliberately provoke the reader.

Beginning in the 1930s, great emphasis was placed on the development of prose. For one, there was the anecdotal form as derived from oral narration, e.g. that cultivated by Ghafūr Ghulām in *Shūm Bāla*, 1936. There were also the historical novels dedicated to personalities of the political and cultural life and aimed at marking off the borders of their cultural traditions, e.g. Mūsā Tāsh Muḥammadov, pseudonym Āybek (1905-68), *Nawāʾī*, 1944; ʿĀdil Yaʿḳūbov (b. 1926), *Ulughbek khazīnasi*, 1974; and Pīrimḳul Ḳādirov (b. 1928), *Yulduzli tunlar* (*Bābur*), 1978, *Awlādlar dīwāni* (*Humāyun wa Akbar*), 1988. In the 1980s, some writers began directly to address present-day social problems in their novels and stories, including Murād Muḥammad Dūst (b. 1949); Nūr ʿAlī Ḳābul (b. 1950); and Tāghay Murād (b. 1948), whose novels are remarkable for their song-like language.

Editions of the 20th century writers (especially the second half): Āybek: *Atharlar*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1968-75; *Mukammal atharlar tūplami*, 20 vols., Tashkent 1975-85; Ḥamīd ʿĀlimdjān: *Atharlar madjmūʿasi*, 5 vols., Tashkent 1970-2; *Mukammal atharlar tūplami*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1979-84; Ghafūr Ghulām: *Atharlar*, 10 vols., Tashkent 1970-8; *Mukammal atharlar tūplami*, 12 vols., Tashkent 1983-90; Zulfiya: *Atharlar*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1985-6; and Pīrimul Ḳādirov: *Saylanma*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1987-8.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, a few works of a general character should be listed here: E. Allworth, *Uzbek literary politics*, The Hague 1964; *Ūzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 3 vols. Tashkent 1964-6; *Pisateli sovetskogo Uzbekistana*, Tashkent 1977; *Ūzbek adabiyāti taʾrīkhi*, 5 vols., vols. iii-v, Tashkent 1978-80; *Istoriya uzbekskoy sovetskoy literaturî 1917-85*, 3 vols., Tashkent 1987-8; S. Mirwaliev, *Ūzbek adiblari*, Tashkent 1993.

(b) Čaghatay literature in Eastern Turkestan and New Uyghur literature

Though knowledge about culture in Eastern Turkestan (Moghulistan) in the 15th and 16th centuries is scarce, the existence of literary fiction in Čaghatay at that time is certain, especially in the towns Yarkand and Kāshghar, but also in Aḳsu, Ghuldja or Ḳuldja, Khotan and Turfan. Today it is seen as part of the heritage of the New Uyghur literature.

Saʿīd Khān of Yarkand (d. 1533) and his successor ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khān (*r.* 1533-69) are assumed to have been poets. Poetry and music were cultivated at the court of ʿAbd al-Rashīd. His wife Amān Nisāʾ Khān wrote poems under the pseudonym Nafasī, composed several *risāla*s and contributed, like Yūsuf Khidir Khān Yarkandī, to the refinement of the musical system of the *maḳām*. However, no *dīwān* has been transmitted, and ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khān is first of all known for the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* written in Persian by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt (905-58/1500-51 [*q.v.*]).

The literature of the 17th century is better documented; many manuscripts have been preserved, though their study has only just begun. From the works by Muḥammad Amīn Khirḳatī, also known as Gumnām (1634-*ca.* 1724), the *mathnawī Muḥabbat-nāma wa maḥnatkāma* has been transmitted (ed. Urumqi 1982), but his *dīwān* seems to be lost; it was written—as some preserved *ghazal*s demonstrate—in the style of Mashrab, whom the author met at Apaḳ Khʷādja. In the 18th century, Muḥammad Abū Ṣalāḥī from Kāshghar, following the example of Khirḳatī, created the *mathnawī Gul u Bulbul*, whose symbolic figures were taken from his predecessor. The *mathnawī* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Kharabātī (1638-1730) from Aḳsu, completed in 1726, has been transmitted in several manuscripts (ed. ʿAzīz Ṣawut, Kāshghar 1985).

Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Dhalīlī (*ca.* 1676-*ca.* 1746) from Yarkand, a devout travelling poet, wrote the *mathnawī Safar-nāma* and *Tadhkira-i Khʷādja Muḥammad Sharīf Buzrukwār*, and a *dīwān*. Khʷādja Djahān ʿArshī (1685-1756) from Khudjand, reigning in Yarkand 1736-56, encouraged translations from Persian, which had been much prized since the beginning of the century. In 1709 Mullā Muḥammad Tīmūr Kāshgharī translated into Čaghatay the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī* of Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī [*q.v.*], and in 1717-18 the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* by the same author, entitled *Athar-i Imāmiyya* in the translated version (ed. by Niʿmat Allāh ʿAbd Allāh, Urumqi 1985). Khʷādja Djahān ʿArshī had the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] translated into Čaghatay prose and wrote himself a *dīwān* (ed. Muḥammad Tursun Bahāʾ al-Dīn, Urumqi 1995). Among his disciples was Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Kāshgharī (1740-1849), a prolific writer in the didactic genre and author of the *Tadhkira-yi ʿazīzān* (ed. Kāshghar 1988). He produced one of the translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Čaghatay, although the name of the translator from 1747 is not

known (cf. L.V. Dmitrieva *et alii*, *Opisanie tyurkskikh rukopisey instituta narodov Azii*, i, Moscow 1965, nos. 87-93). The *ghazals* of the *dīwān* completed in 1747 by Nawbatī (b. *ca.* 1697), who lived in Khotan, were widely spread, also as songs (the *dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Tursun Bahā' al-Dīn, Urumqi 1995).

Like Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the historian Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras, who lived in the 17th century, wrote both his works, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī zeyli* (1686) and the *Tārīkh-i Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras*, in Persian (ed. and Russian tr. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, New Uyghur tr. Ḥabīb Allāh ʿAlī: *Saʿīdiyya Khānlik tārīkhiga dā'ir materyallar*, Kāshghar 1988). The great interest of the *Tārīkh-i Shāh Maḥmūd Čuras* is reflected in its Čaghatay translation at the end of the 18th century under the title *Alti Shahar khānlariniñ tārīkhi*.

In the second half of the 19th century, the potentates Ẓuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākim Beg of Kāshghar and Afrīdūn Wañ of Turfan, did a lot to preserve and promote Čaghatay literature and they were apparently interested in a great diversity of forms and themes. From 1841 to 1843, the local ruler of Turfan had three poets from the chancellery of the Beg of Kāshghar at his court to establish and refine a collection of *mathnawīs*: ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nizārī (1776-1848 or 1849), Nawrūz Ākhūn Ḍiyā'ī and Turdī Gharībī (1802-62). The result of their work was a collection of 18 *mathnawīs* and four tales in prose. In their own literary contributions they followed ʿAlī Shīr Nawā'ī. Nizārī's work *Dahr al-nadjāt*, written in 1843 in the form of a dialogue alternating between verse and prose, is dedicated to the art of ruling a state. His writer-friend Nawrūz Ākhūn Ḍiyā'ī created two pieces of love poetry in the form of *mathnawīs* and the didactic work *Maḥzūn al-waʿẓīn* (1843) about human virtues. The Čaghatay translation of *Čahār darwīsh* in verse is supposed to be from the pen of the two friends. From Turdī Gharībī, a love poem and a didactic *mathnawī* with numerous dialogues, entitled *Kitāb-i Gharīb* (1840-1), have come down; the latter is devoted to the arts and crafts established in the country (editions: *Nizārī dastānlari*, Urumqi 1985; ʿA. Nizārī, *Dahr al-nadjāt*, Kāshghar 1988).

Other genres seem to have evolved mainly thanks to Russian influence, and comprise epic poems about real events of the time and stories in prose. Examples are the works by Mulla Bilāl Nāẓim (1823-1900) from Ghuldja: *Ghazāt dar mulūk-i Čīn* in verse and prose (1875, ed. N.N. Pantusov 1880 at Kazan), the fictional satire *Čañmurza Yūsuf Khān* (1881) and the narration *Nuzugum* (about the woman singer of the same name in the uprising of 1826). Bilāl Nāẓim also wrote traditional *ghazals* (ed. *Ghazaliyyāt*, Urumqi 1987, Russian tr. of his works Tashkent 1982, Kazak tr. Alma Ata 1985).

In the 1920s and 1930s, educated people engaged in public activities in a number of towns that were comparable to what the Djadīdīs did in the western parts of Turkestan. They advocated a reform of general education; established theatres, being themselves actors and directors; wrote political poetry and socio-critical dramas, and engaged in journalism. Some of them died violently, such as ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur (1901-33), Luṭf Allāh Muṭallib (1922-45) and ʿAbd Allāh (Ablay) Rūzī (1920-45). Editions: Luṭf Allāh Muṭallib: *Muhabbat wa nafrat*, 1956; *Atharlari*, Urumqi 1982. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur: *Shiʿrlari*, Urumqi 1986; see on him, *ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Uyghur wa uniñ adabiyātimizdagi urni*, Urumqi 1988.

Writers of prose and drama were Dhu 'l-Nūn Ḳādirī (b. 1911) and Sayf al-Dīn ʿAzīzī (b. 1915). While the authors were at first devoted to social questions such as the need for education and the oppression of women, they later wrote historical dramas and novels, e.g. the musical drama *Amān Nisā' Khān* in 1980 and the historical novel *Satuḳ Bughra Khān* in 1987 by Sayf al-Dīn ʿAzīzī. Among prose writers of the following generation, the names Zordun Ṣābir (b. 1938) and Muḥammad Baghrash (b. 1952) should be mentioned.

The poets Alḳam Akhtam (b. 1922) and Turghun Almās (b. 1924) preferred writing syllabic verse, while Nīm Shahīd (1906-72), Aḥmad Ḍiyā'ī (b. 1913), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Tilashev Ötkür (1923-95), and Tayibdjān ʿAlīev (Eliyop) (1930-89) wrote in *ʿarūḍ* as well. Editions: *Aḥmad Ḍiyā'ī atharlari*, Urumqi 1988; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Tilashev Ötkür, *Tarim boylari*, 2 vols. Urumqi 1948.

While the Uyghurs of Eastern Turkestan after a short interim period (the Latin alphabet from 1965 to 1984) have gone back to using a (reformed) form of Arabic script, the Uyghurs in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, exiles or native-born, write their literary works in Cyrillic. Uyghur literature in Kazakhstan (still in Arabic script) began with ʿÖmür Muḥammadī (1906-31). In the second half of the 20th century this development was continued by the prose writers Ḍiyā' Ṣamadī (b. 1914) (*Tallanma atharlar*, Alma Ata 1975, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, 2 vols. Alma Ata 1986) and Djamāl al-Dīn Bosaḳov (b. 1918), and by the poets Khidhmat ʿAbdullin (b. 1925), Khalīl Hamrāev (b. 1928) and others.

Bibliography: ʿU. Muḥammad Ākhūn (Mamatākhunov), *Uyghur adabiyāti klassiklari*, Tashkent 1960; M.K. Khamraev, *Vekov neumirayushčee slovo*, Alma Ata 1969; *Uyghur klassik adabiyātidin namūnalar*, Urumqi 1980; Sharīf al-Dīn ʿÖmür, *Uyghur klassik adabiyāti tārīkhidin očerkler*, Urumqi 1981; *Uyghur adabiyātiniñ kiskiče tārīkhi*, Alma Ata 1983; *Ḳadīm uyghur yazma yādigārlikliridin tallanma*, Urumqi 1983; Nūr Muḥammad Zamān, *Uyghur ḥādirki zamān adabiyātidin lekciyalar*, Urumqi 1983; Muḥammad Pūlād, *Uyghur adabiyātida proza*, Urumqi 1985; *Uyghur sovet adabiyātiniñ tārīkhi*, Alma Ata 1986; Nūr Muḥammad Zamān, *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhi*, iv, *Uyghur ḥādirki zamān adabiyāti kismi*, Urumqi 1988; Sharīf al-Dīn ʿÖmür, *Uyghurlarda klassik adabiyāt*, Urumqi 1988; S. Mollaudov, *XVIII ʿaṣir uyghur poéziyasi*, Alma Ata 1990; *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhi*, ii-iii, Urumqi 1993; Amīndjān Aḥmadī, *Uyghur adabiyāti tārīkhidaki namāyandalar*, Urumqi 1996.

(c) Literature in Ādharī (second half of the 20th century; for its previous development, see ĀDHARĪ. ii. Literature)

The intensive debates in literature in the 19th and early 20th centuries about the social and intellectual development of Ādharbāydjān had come to an end by the late 1920s. Most of the issues that were now under discussion in all genres of literature had been raised earlier (educational problems, predominance of a conservative clergy, lack of rights for women, etc.). But now discussions were narrowed to an almost one-dimensional perspective without admitting any alternative. Literature undertook to explain, justify and illustrate the changes that were taking place in the society. Other representatives were anxious to visualise history by depicting outstanding personalities: Samed Wurgun, real name Wekīlov (1906-56), wrote a drama *Wāḳif* (1938) on the 18th century Ādharī poet Mulla Panāh Wāḳif. The renaissance of Shāmil (1798-1871 [*q.v.*]), who had become famous in the Caucasian wars, allowed Mehdī Ḥüseyn (1909-65) to write a historical drama about him in 1941. The 800th anniversary of the Persian poet Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] from Gandja prompted Mehdī Ḥüseyn to write the

drama *Niẓāmī* (1940), and S. Wurgun the drama *Ferhād we Shīrīn* (1941). Further examples are the verse drama *Khāḳānī* (1955) about the highly controversial 12th century Persian poet of the same name from Shirwān [*q.v.*] by Meḥemmed Raḥīm, real name Ḥüseynov (1907-77), or the epic poem *Nātewān* (1962) on the 19th century poetess by the same author. Ilyas Efendiyev (b. 1914), known for his lyrical prose and dramas, wrote *Khūrshīdbānū Nātewān*, a drama about the poetess (1982). The 14th century religious rebel-poet Nesīmī [*q.v.*] became an object of admiration in the 1970s. The writer Ḳābil (Gabil), real name Imāmwerdiyev (b. 1926), published a three-volume verse novel entitled *Nesīmī* (1970-4), and the prose writer ʿĪsā Ḥüseynov (b. 1928) dedicated his novel *Maḥsher* as well as a film script to the poet. Prose and drama of the famous literary reformer Feth ʿAlī Ākhūndzāde [*q.v.*] had never ceased being alive in the memory of the Ādharī intellectuals, who chose different ways of approaching him (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḥaḳwerdiyev in the drama *Fantaziya* 1912, ʿAbd Allāh Shāʾiḳ in the drama *Aldanmish ulduzlar*). Chances and limits in history, the ruling powers and the poet's farsightedness, were the themes that in the 1970s aroused the authors' interest in Ākhūndzāde's fate and in his works, as e.g. in the long drama *Ulduzlar görüshünde* (1979) by Altay Memmedov (b. 1930) or in the novel *Feth ʿAlī (Feteli) fethi* (1986, German tr. 1986) by Čingiz Ḥüseynov (b. 1929).

Reception of the epic *Kitāb-i Dedem Ḳorḳud* was made difficult by the arguments that were raised against it in the highly-politicised discussion about epics of the 1950s. Interest in the epic figures was great in the 1970s and 1980s when the cultural-political climate allowed more liberal discussions. Nebī Khezrī, real name Babayev (b. 1924), composed a verse drama with the figures from *Kitāb-i Dedem Ḳorḳud*, and Altay Memmedov (b. 1930) wrote the comedy *Deli Domrul* (1981). In dramatic art, contemporary comedies, besides the historical theatre plays, were particularly popular, e.g. those by Thābit Raḥmān, real name Maḥmūdov (1910-70), and by Mīrzā Ibrāhīmov (b. 1911).

Nebī Khezrī dedicated his long poem *Heykelsiz abīde* (1980) to the problem of the original texts by the Ādharī poet Mīrzā Shafīʿ Wāḍiḥ (Wazeh), who gained renown as a poet through Friedrich Bodenstedt's free adaptations, being missing.

In the 1970s, prose in Ādharī was beginning to adopt various novelistic techniques of world literature and writers gradually took to choosing their themes freely. The inclusion of ancient, repeatedly-treated legendary materials in modern prose gives those stories and novels a deeper dimension. An example is the novel *Mahmud we Meryem* (1983, German tr. 1988) by Elčin, real name Efendiyev (b. 1942), about the love between a Christian woman and a Muslim man, a theme that is very often topicalised in Ādharī literature. Čingiz Ḥüseynov writes socio-critical novels in which the technique of interior monologues is used to regard things from different perspectives. Well-known story writers are Ekrem Eylisli, real name Nāʾibov (b. 1937), and Anar, real name Riḍāʾev (Rzayev, b. 1938).

Bibliography: M.F. Köprülü, art. *Azeri edebiyatinin tekâmülü*, in *İA*, ii, 129-51; A. Caferoğlu, *Die aserbeidschanische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 635-99; *Ādharbāydjān edebiyyāti tārīkhi*, 3 vols., Baku 1960; *Očerk istorii azerbaydžanskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1963; M. Arif, *Istoriya azerbaydžanskoy literaturï. Kratkiy očerk*, Baku 1971; F. Kočerli, *Ādharbāydjān edebiyyāti*, 2 vols. Baku 1978-81; M.A. Dadash-zade, *Azerbaydžanskaya literatura*, Moscow 1979; A. Memmedov, *Ādharbāydjān bedīʿī nesri*, Baku 1983; *Ādharbāydjān sovet edebiyyāt shünāslïghï 1920-1975. Bibliografiya*, Baku 1983; *Ādharbāydjān sovet yazučïlarï*, Baku 1987; *Ādharbāydjān sovet edebiyyātï*, Baku 1988. Anthology of poetry and mythological texts: *Poétï Azerbaydžana*, Leningrad 1970; *Ādharbaydjan mifoloži matnleri*, Baku 1988.

On Āzerī in Iran. A. Billuri, *Razvitie realističeskoy demokratičeskoy poézii iranskogo Azerbaydžana*, Baku 1972; *XX asr Djanūbī Ādharbaydjan edebiyyātïnda demokratik ideyalar (1900-1985-dji iller)*, Baku 1990.

(d) Turkmen literature

The first texts which the Turkmen claim as part of their tradition are written in Čaghatay and date back to the 15th century. In 1464 Wafāʾī (Wepāʾī) from the Yomud tribe put his poems together in the book *Rawnaḳ al-islām*. Yet the literary tradition was not extensive and continuous until the 18th century. Most poets of that time had enjoyed a *madrasa* education (at Khīwa and, more rarely, Bukhārā), but they were also familiar with popular poetry, so that they were in command of both the *ʿarūḍ* and the syllabic verse and created poetry in both manners. Many used to recite their poems singing to the *dutar*. Their works were partly handed down orally and partly as recently written manuscripts. Up to the 20th century, bibliographical data for the authors can only be taken as approximate.

The didactic poems by Āzādī, whose real name was Dawlat Muḥammad (Dövletmammet, 1700-60), were compiled in the volume *Waʿẓ-i āzād* (ed. Ashkhabad 1962, and more recently, *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1982). His son Makhdūmḳulī [*q.v.*] (Magtïmgulï), pseudonym Firāḳī (Pïragï, 1733-82), whom the Turkmen see as one of the founders of their literature, wrote eschatological and socio-critical poems as well as love poems (recent ed., *Saylanan eserler*, 2 vols., Ashkhabad 1983; *Baghïshla bizni*, Ashkhabad 1990). Makhdūmḳulī's disciple Sayyidī (Seydī, 1775-1836, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, Moscow 1976), and his nephew Dhalīlī (Dhelīlī, 1795-1850, *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1982), followed the kind of poetry of their teacher. In the eyes of the Turkmen, ʿAndalīb belongs to their literature as well (see section (a), above). In the 18th and 19th centuries some of the singers of epic poems (*dastān*), which until then were considered as anonymous, made themselves known as authors. The most famous among them are Shāhbende, real name ʿAbd Allāh (1720-1800) with *Shāh Bahrām* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1966, 1978), *Gul u bulbul* (ed. Ashkhabad 1940, 1948), *Ṣayyād wa Hamrāh*; Maʿrūfī (Magrupī), real name Ḳurbān ʿAlī (1735-95), with *Yūsuf wa Aḥmad* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1995), *Sayf al-Mulūk wa Madḥ al-Djamāl* (ed. Ashkhabad 1943, 1979) and other epic poems; Shaydāʾī (1730-1800) with *Gul u Ṣanawbar* (ed. 1943, 1978); Molla Nafas (Nepes, 1810-62) with *Ẓuhra wa Ṭāhir* (ed. Ashkhabad 1963). Strong satirical elements are contained in the poems by Kemīne, real name Maḥmūd Walī (1770-1840), who, in the course of time, became surrounded with anecdotes comparable to those about Khʷādja Naṣr al-Dīn (ed. *Eserler yïgïndïsï*, Ashkhabad 1971; *Saylanan eserler*, Ashkhabad 1991). His style was followed by Körmolla (1872-1934) and Mollamurd (1879-1930, ed. *Shïgïrlar*, Ashkhabad 1967, *Goshgular*, Ashkhabad 1986). At times, poets rose above the tribal feuds mourning the sacrifice of life, among them Makhdūmḳulī, Sayyidī and Miskīn Ḳïlïč (Misgingïlïč) (1850-1906).

Forms of literary reception remained for many decades in the 20th century almost the same as in the past, though attempts were made to find new

genres. For instance, authors continued to recite their poems themselves to the listeners, being even ready to modify their poems to meet the demands of their audiences for a "happy ending" instead of a sad one. Of the novel in verse *Söygi* (3 vols. 1945-61) by the poet Āmān Kekilov (1912-74), audiences are said to have learnt lengthy sections of the text by heart. The first stories and plays were written in the 1920s, and the first novels in the 1930s. The themes were related to those tasks that politicians declared as being acute and significant. Berdi Kerbabayev (1894-1974) and Khîḍîr Deryāyev (b. 1905) are among the first prose writers, Ata Gawshudov (1903-53) among the first playwrights. Both new and traditional materials were dealt with in the dramas, though the mythological elements tended to be weakened and what was open to realistic interpretation tended to be enhanced, because simplicity and educational effects were sought. The writers responded to the politically-minded literary standard by modifying their works, just as they used to respond to the demands from the audience. Thus Deryāyev worked on his novel *Ikbāl*, modifying and expanding it, from 1937 to 1970, and Kerbabayev on *Aygîtlî edim* during the years 1940 to 1954. In the 1940s, authors began to revive the figure of Makhdūmkulî and his poetry, like Nūr Murād Sarîkhānov (1906-44) in the story *Kitāb*, Kerbabayev in the drama *Khalk shā'iri* (*shakhîri*) (1943), and Kîlîč Kulîyev (Gîlîč Gulîyev, b. 1913) in the novel *Yowuz günleri* (1964). The writer Kemīne is the central figure of the story *Kîrk teñne* (1961) by Kurbāndurdî Kurbānṣaḥḥatov (Gurbandurdî Gurbansekhetov, b. 1919). It was only towards the end of the century that 'Andalīb, who used to write about religious subjects, became the central figure of the novel *'Andalīb* by Nūrî Altyev. A new figure is the peaceful singer, solely convincing by his art, in the stories *Shukūr Bakhshî* (1940) by Sarîkhānov and *Salančak mukāmî* (1978) by Atadjān Tagan (b. 1940).

In the literature of the 1970s, the short lyrical poem became popular, side-by-side with the epic poems full of action of the past decades.

Bibliography (A. = Ashkhabad): J. Benzing, *Die türkmenische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 721-41. Since the 1960s, the following reference books have been published in Ashkhabad and Moscow: *Türkmen sovet edebiyātînîñ tārîkhî boyunča očerk*, 2 vols. A. 1958-62; *XVIII-XIX 'aṣîr türkmen edebiyatînîñ tārîkhî boyunča očerkler*, A. 1967; *IX-XVII 'aṣîr türkmen edebiyatînîñ shā'irlarî. Spravočnik*, A. 1967; *Türkmen edebiyatînîñ tārîkhî*, 6 vols. A. 1975-84; *Očerk istorii turkmenskoy literaturî*, Moscow 1980; Sh. Geldieva, *Türkmen sovet edebiyātînda povest' žanrînîñ döreyshi hem ösüshi*, A. 1985; K. Djum'aev, *Türkmen sovet prozasînîñ döreyshi we ösüshi*, A. 1986; Sh. Geldieva, *Ḥādirki zamān türkmen povestleri*, A. 1989; M. Kurbānṣaḥḥadov (Gurbansekhedov), *Türkmen romanînîñ kemāla gelmegi*, A. 1990.

(e) Kirgiz literature

Until the 20th century, Kirgiz literature was orally narrated literature. In the 19th century, the types of poet *akîn* and *îrčî* composed laments about the loss of their free life, e.g. *Ẓār zamān* by Mulla (Moldo) Kîlîč (1866-1917); historical songs about the uprising in 1916 and its consequences were composed by Isḥāk (Isak) Shaybekov (1860-1957); songs about an earthquake, interpreted as sent by God, by Shaybekov and Khalk (Kalîk) Akîyev (1883-1953); laments of young women married against their will, and fables in verse by Togolok Moldo (1860-1942); didactic poems by Toktogul Satîlganov (1864-1933), and antiphones (*aytîsh*) about diverse themes. The texts of some of the singers were edited in Frunze: Togolok Moldo, *Čîgarmalar*, 2 vols. 1954-5, 1970; K. Akîyev, *Tandalgan îrlar*, 1954, 1958, *Tandalgan Čîgarmalar*, 1972; Isḥāk Shaybekov, *Isaktîn îrlarî*, 1955; Toktogul Satîlganov, *Toktogul, Čîgarmalar*, 2 vols. 1968.

Besides shorter epics, the long epic *Manas* [*q.v.*] plays a great role. It was recorded and published by W. Radloff (*Obraztsî narodnoy literaturî severnîkh tyurkskikh plemen, čast' v*, St. Petersburg 1985) and republished and commented by A. Hatto (*The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, Wiesbaden 1990). In the new versions by the *manasčîs* Sagîmbay Orozbakuulu (1867-1930), Sayakbay Karalayev (1894-1971) and others, the epic is said to consist of up to 500,000 lines.

In the 1920s and 1930s, many writers preferred those genres whose medium is the spoken word or singing, like poems, dramas and operas; among them was Kāsîm Tînîstanov (1901-38), poet and writer of textbooks, whose poems (*Kāsîm îrlarînîn djîynagî*, 1925) and dramatic scenes were never again published or staged in the 20th century after his execution. The poems and epics by 'Alī (Aalî) Tokombayev (1904-88) were closely associated with the political issues of the day. A prominent figure in his works is the old man, who was to play a great part in the prose of the coming years. Together with K. Malikov, Tokombayev wrote the libretto for the opera *Manas*, 1946. Kubanîčbek Malikov (1911-78) wrote poems and epics, and wrote libretti for several operas on the basis of the *Manas* epic: *Ayčürök*, 1939, in co-authorship with Djūmard (Djoomart) Bökönbayev (1910-44) and Yūsuf (Djusup) Turusbekov (1910-43); and *Seytek*, 1941. In 1958, on the basis of a previous version by Bökönbayev, he wrote a libretto about the well-known singer Toktogul. Episodes from the life of the singer are the material for the drama by K. Malikov, *Aylangan toonun bürkütü*, 1964.

Compared to epics, prose was seen as relatively open in content and style, hence authors began in the late 1920s to reflect in it the political and social changes of the century. Russian (Gorky, Sholokhov) and Kazak literatures were undeniable models, yet writers were trying to combine the familiar motivations and figures from the traditional oral literature with the new kind of narration. Ethnographic details were woven in a more or less artful manner. In a paradigmatic way, the story *Adjar* (1928) by Kāsim 'Alī (Kasîmalî) Bayalinov (1902-80) tells the destiny of those Kirgiz who took flight to Sinkiang (Xinjiang) when the uprising of 1916 was crushed, a topic that was later repeatedly dealt with (in the story *Azamattar* by K. Malikov, 1938 and in a new version of 1977, in the verse novel *Tañ aldinda* by 'A. Tokombayev, 1935-47 and in a new version of 1962). Notable as authors of prose are also Kāsim 'Alī Djāntöshev (1904-68), with the story *Eki djash* (1938) and the novel *Kanîbek* (ed. 4 vols. 1939-58), as well as Tügölbay Sîdîkbekov (b. 1912) with several novels, including *Bizdin zamandîn kishileri* (1952), *Too arasînda* (1955), *Ẓayptar* (1962-66) and the autobiographic novel *Djol* (1982). In the 1960s, new themes were adopted, to be shaped into historical stories. Kāsim Kā'imov (1926-89) wrote the novel *Atay* (1961) about the musician of the same name, and Tölögön Kāsimbekov (b. 1931), in the novel *Sîngan kîlîč* (1966), treated of the relationship between the Kirgiz and the Khānate of Khokand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century. The stories and novels by Čîñgîz Aytmatov (b. 1928), first in Kirgiz and later in Russian, were translated into many languages of the world. He had the power to win readers over because he abandoned the friend-enemy political cliché, daring to set

forth a critical view of fundamental decisions taken in the recent past, and creating strong poetical pictures of the ordinary and the extraordinary in everyday life, which he took from Kirgiz traditions, interpreting them in his own individual style. The best known are *Djamīla*, 1959; *Gülsarat*, 1966; *Ak keme*, 1970; *I dol'she veka dlitsya den'* ("The day lasts more than a hundred years"), 1982; and *Plakha*, 1986.

Following Aytmatov and building on experiences in film production, writers in the 1960s and 1970s put ordinary people, their histories and psychological motivations, at the centre of their tales, e.g. Ḳāsim Ḳā'imov, Āsānbek Stamov (b. 1938) and Mūsā Murād 'Alīyev (Murataliev) (b. 1940). Poetry freed itself only very slowly from the long monopoly of the forms of traditional oral poetry, which had been used to express a new content. When 'Alī Ḳul 'Uthmānov (Alikul Osmonov, 1915-1950, *Čigarmalar žiynagi*, 3 vols., Frunze 1964-7), trained by his studies of Russian poetry, created examples of free verse with previously unknown rhythms in his vernacular, the spectrum of poetical forms was clearly widening, as can be seen in works by Süyümbay Er 'Alīyev (Eraliyev, b. 1921), Sooronbay Djusuyev (b. 1925), Ramis Rïskulov (b. 1934), and others.

Bibliography: The following reference books have been published in Frunze: *Ḳïrgïz sovet adabiyāt tārīkhïnïn očerki*, 1960; Dj. Samaganov, *Pisateli sovetskogo Kirgizstana. Spravočnik*, 1969; Ḳ. Artïkbayev, *Ḳïrgïz sovet adabiyātïnïn tārīkhï*, 1982; Dj. Aysarakunova, *Ḳïrgïzstan körköm adabiyātta sunush ḳïlïngan bibliyografiyalïk körsötküč*, 1983; *Ḳïrgïz sovet adabiyātïnïn tārīkhï*, 2 vols. 1987-90; *Aḳïndar čigarmačïlïggïnïn tārīkhïnïn očerkteri*, 1988; *Pisateli sovetskogo Kirgizstana*, 1969.

(f) Kazak literature

The epics of the Kazaks, written down in the 19th century, have their prose parts mostly in Čaghatay and the verse ones in Kazak. Moreover, the popular tales and anecdotes published at the end of the 19th century had the character of a hybrid language, since the editors were Tatars or had enjoyed a Tatar education. The same happened to the books written at that time by Tatars and Kazaks, in which the customs of the nomadised and not completely-Islamised Kazaks were criticised from the view of the settled population. Some of the historical songs of the Kazaks, e.g. by Bukhar Zhirau (*ca.* 1693-*ca.* 1787) and Nïsanbay (first half of the 19th century), were published in Kazan and Moscow. Simultaneously, a multitude of texts of popular religion in verse and prose, as well as fairy tales, were translated from Čaghatay and partly from Ottoman into Kazak and published in Kazan, Astrakhan, Orenbourg and Tashkent. The most prolific translators and freely-adapting poets were Sheykh al-Islāmulï Yūsuf Bek and Aḳïl Bek Molla Sabalulï (d. 1919).

A great number of poets (*aḳïn*) of the 19th century are still known today. Most of them were illiterate, yet their poetry was not devoid of an individual style and it was often recorded after decades of spreading by word of mouth. Few *aḳïn* had received a *medrese* education, as had for instance Akhan Seri Ḳoramsaulï (1843-1913). The intellectual development of other *aḳïn* is not known, though some of them hold a firm position in Kazak literature, like Shortanbay Ḳanayulï (*ca.* 1818-81), whose poem *Žār zamān* gave the name to a literary tendency of pessimism. This type of *aḳïn* continued to exist in the 20th century. The poets, like Zhambïl Zhumabay-ulï (1846-1945), sang the well-known verse epics, produced poems themselves and presented improvised poems (*aytïsu*) in poetical contests; scribes or scholars, however, wrote their texts down.

The same period saw poets who had both a good oriental and a Russian-European education. One of them was Ibrāhim (Ibray) Altïnsarin (1841-89), who designed a programme for school education where the language was Kazak and the alphabet Russian, and composed a text book that included translations from Russian, his own poems as well as didactic narrations (*Tañdamalï shïgharmalar*, Alma Ata 1955).

Abay Ḳunanbay-ulï (1845-1904) is seen as the great national poet of the Kazaks on account of his philosophical prose and poetry, in which he did not shrink from expressing individual emotions, this being new in Kazak poetry (Abay Ḳunanbayev, *Bibliografiyalïḳ körsetkish*, Alma Ata 1965; *Abay tili sözdigi*, Alma Ata 1968; *Shïgharmalarnïñ tolïḳ zhinaghï*, 2 vols., Alma Ata 1977; *Abay. Éntsiklopediya*, Alma Ata 1995).

The next generation educated in this way translated Krïlov, Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy from Russian, edited Kazak epics, started up newspapers and targeted their political endeavours at the foundation of a national state of Kazaks. Among them were Shāh Kerīm (Shekerim, 1858-1931, *Shïgharmalar*, Alma Ata 1988), 'Alī Khān Bükeykhān-ulï (1869-1932), Aḥmad Baytursun-ulï (1873-1937), who also wrote a Kazak grammar, and Mīr Ya'ḳūb Dawlat (Mirzhaḳïp Dulat, 1885-1937). Two excellent poets of the first half of the 20th century are Maghzhān Zhumābayulï (1896-1937) and Ilyas Zhansügür-ulï (1894-1938). The European-born idea that literature could not exist without prose instigated particular efforts in this field. Without giving up the values of their own culture, the writers of literary prose looked very critically at the prevailing ways of life. Beyimbet Maylin (1894-1938) wrote socially-committed stories creating remarkable characters (*Shïgharmalar*, 2 vols., Alma Ata 1960; 5 vols., 1986-8), and Mukhtar Auezov (1897-1961) in his stories, plays and novels, turned to the conflicts of the nomads as they were faced with other cultures in 20th century (ed. *Shïgharmalar*, 12 vols., Alma Ata 1967-9, *Shïgharmalar žinaghï*, 20 vols., 1979-).

Auezov's experiences were quite legitimately exploited by the younger prose writers. Some of them, e.g. 'Abdizhamīl Nurpeisov (b. 1924), Mukhtar Magauin (b. 1940) and Dükenbay Doszhanov (b. 1942), preferred the historical genre because they found that the supposedly scientific description of their history was biassed. Others, e.g. Oralkhān Bökeyev (b. 1944), utilised the genre of animal stories to describe the harsh transition from a nomad's life to the socialist civilisation. Abish Kekilbayev (b. 1939) keeps showing the complicated nature of the human individual both in historical and in present-day circumstances.

In the second half of the century, Kazak poetry has related itself explicitly to world culture: Mukhaghali Maḳatayev (1931-76) did that in Kazak, and Olzhas Süleymenov (b. 1936) in Russian.

Bibliography (A. = Alma Ata): *PTF*, ii, 741-60; Th. G. Winner, *The oral art and literature of the Kazakhs*, Durham 1958; *Očerk istorii kazakhskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1960, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetiniñ tarikhï*, 3 vols., A. 1960-7; Kh. Süyinshaliyev, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetiniñ ḳalïptasu kezeñderi*, A. 1967; *Istoriya kazakhskoy literaturï*, 3 vols., A. 1968-79; V.M. Sidel'nikov, *Ustnoe poétičeskoe tvorčestvo kazakhskogo naroda*, A. 1969; E. Narïmbetov, *Ḳazaḳ sovet edebiyeti, edebiyettanu men sïnnïñ bibliografiyalïḳ körsetkishi, i, 1917-1940*, A. 1970, ii, *1941-1955*, A. 1986; *Ḳazaḳ teatrïnïñ tarikhï*, 2 vols., A. 1975-8; *XIX ghasïrdaghï ḳazaḳ poéziyasï*, A. 1985; *XIX ghasïrdaghï ḳazaḳ aḳïndarï*, A. 1988; *Ḳazaḳ folkloristikasïnïñ*

tarikhi, A. 1988; E. Ḳoñiratbayev, *Ḳazaḳ edebiyetiniñ tārikhi*, A. 1994.

(g) Tatar literature

Twentieth-century scholars of culture and literature re-interpreted the Tatar heritage. They relate the origin of their literature to the Khwārazm-Turkic and Mamlūk-Ḳipčaḳ literatures of the 14th century. As the predecessor of present-day Tatar literature they acknowledge Muḥammad Yār (16th century), who wrote three *mathnawīs*; likewise Ḳādir ʿAlī Bek Djalayirī (1530-*ca.* 1605), who *ca.* 1602 translated parts of the *Djamiʿ al-tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] into Čaghatay, adding to it data from the history of the Khānate of Ḳāsimov [*q.v.*], the writers Mawlā Ḳolī as well as ʿAbdī (17th century) and others. In the 18th and 19th centuries, a number of Tatar writers and scholars displayed a certain independence from the religious dignitaries of Bukhārā, who had been dominating the spiritual life of the Muslims in Central Asia and Russia. Without denying Islam, they represented rationalistic positions. Among them was ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Gabderæhim) Utiz Imānī (1754-1834), and ʿAbd al-Naṣīr (Gabdennasiyr) Ḳūrṣāwī (1776-1812), author of religious works, as well as the historian Shihāb al-Dīn Mardjānī (1818-89), who wrote most of his works in Arabic. Miftāḥ al-Dīn Aḳmulla (1820 or 1831-95), who wrote in Čaghatay, was a perceptive poet whom the Tatars, Bashkirs and Kazaks claim as one of their first literary representatives. In the 19th century, several authors, among them the prose writer Musa Akyegetzāde (1865-1923) and Fātih Kerimī (1870-1937), tended to write in a pure Ottoman Turkish or in a mixed language strongly influenced by Ottoman. On the basis of Ottoman Turkish, the Crimean Tatar Ismāʿīl Gasprali [*q.v.*], also known by the Russian form of his name Gasprinskiy, elaborated his programme of modernisation intended for all Turkic peoples. Ḳayyum Naṣīrī [*q.v.*] argued for the use of Tatar as the language of literature, but it was only as late as the 1930s that his intentions at last became true, and then in the context of the socialist literature.

For Ḳūrṣāwī, cf. Mahmud Tahır, *Abunnasir Qursavi*, in *CAS*, viii/2 [1989], 155-8; M. Kemper, *Entre Boukhara et la Moyenne-Volga: ʿAbd an-Naṣîr al-Qûrṣâwî (1776-1812) en conflit avec les oulémas traditionnalistes*, in *Le réformisme musulman en Asie Centrale. Du "premier renouveau" à la soviétisation 1788-1937*, Paris 1996, 41-52. For Mardjānī: Kemper, *Šihābaddīn al-Marǧānī als Religionsgelehrter*, in *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, Berlin 1996, 129-65. Recent ed. of Aḳmulla: *Shighirzar*, Ufa 1981; *Shighirlar*, Kazan 1981; on him, see E. Vildanov, *Akmulla, yaktilik yirsihi*, Ufa 1981. On Ismāʿīl Gasprali: E.J. Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim modernism in Russia, 1878-1914*, diss. University of Washington 1973; idem, *From Bakhchisarai to Bukhara in 1893: Ismail Bey Gasprinskii's journey to Central Asia*, in *CAS*, iii/4 [1984], 77-88. On Ḳayyum Naṣīrī: Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Abdul Kayum Al-Nasyri: a Tatar reformer of the 19th century*, in *CAS*, i/4 [1983], 109-32.

The Tatar dramas written at the beginning of the 20th century became widely known throughout Central Asia. They included works by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Gabdrahman) Ilyāsī (1856-95), ʿAyāḍ (Gayaz) Isḥāḳī (1878-1954), ʿAlī Askar (Galiæsgar) Kamāl (1879-1933), Saʿīd (Sægiyt) Ramīyev (1880-1926), Sharīf Kamāl (1884-1942) and Karīm Tinčurin (1887-1938). Since 1898, ʿAyāḍ Isḥāḳī had also been writing realistic stories. Living as an emigrant, he was active as a politician and a journalist in addition to his literary activities (ed. *Ul æle öylenmægæn idæ*, Kazan 1993; on him, see *Muhammad Ayaz Ishaki. Hayati ve faaliyeti*, Ankara 1979; M. Gosmanov, *Gayaz Ishakiy: "Ike yöz yeldan soñ inkiyraz" hæm patsha tsenzurasi*, in *Kazan utlari*, x [1995], 152-81). ʿAlī Askar Kamāl was also a committed journalist, editing journals and translating Ottoman-Turkish dramas, e.g. those of Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*] and Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha (*Æsærlær*, 3 vols. 1978-82). Sharīf Kamāl is also known as prose writer (*Saylanma æsærlær*, 3 vols., Kazan 1974-6). Many dramatists were simultaneously active in the genres of prose, stories and novels intended for a wide audience which, like drama, were new in Tatar literature at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries. ʿĀlimdjān (Galimdjan) Ibrāhimov (1887-1938) was a prose writer, whose intellectual contribution to the development of the Tatar language and its writing system is also noteworthy (*Æsærlær*, 8 vols., Kazan 1974-87).

An outstanding literary representative at the turn of the century was the poet Dhākir Ramīyev (1859-1921), pseudonym Dærdmænd (*Æsærlære*, Kazan 1929, *Saylanma æsærlær*, Kazan 1959, *Isæ žillær*, Kazan 1980). Socio-critical poems were written by ʿAbd Allāh Tuḳay (1886-1913, *Æsærlær*, 5 vols., 1985-6; on him see R. Nafigov, *Tukay i ego okruženie*, Kazan 1986), esteemed in the 20th century as a classic of Tatar literature. Beginning in the 1920s, political poems expounding socialism were written by Hādī Taḳtash (1901-31), Ḥasan Tufan (1900-80), who turned to issues of man and nature in his poems written in the 1970s, and Aḥmad Fayḍī (Fayzī, 1903-58), who later wrote a drama about Tuḳay and an opera libretto on the poet Musā Djalīl (1906-44), who was executed in Germany. In the 1960s, epic poems and poem-cycles were the most preferred form of fiction, with their possibilities of expressing the controversial phenomena of life in a well balanced way. The increasingly open contrast between urban life and rural life was expressed in the poems by Ṣibghat Ḥakīm (1911-86), Anwār Dāwidov (1919-68) and Ildār Yuziyev (b. 1933). Towards the end of this decade, some authors succeeded in expanding themes and forms of literature by adopting and by resuming traditions of Tatar poetry from the beginning of the 20th century which had not been published for decades. Zākī Nūrī (b. 1921), Maḥmūd Ḥusayin (Khösæyen, b. 1923) and Renat Ḥāris (b. 1941) were distinguished in this respect.

Prose writers in the 1960s started to deal with historical issues, by depicting the life of their Tatar ancestors, in order to affirm the national consciousness of the Tatars under the geographical and political conditions as they had developed in the 20th century, e.g. Nūrīkhān Fattāḥ (b. 1928) with his novel *Etil suwi aka turur* (1969). The literary prose of some authors, among them Amīrkhān Yeniki (b. 1909) and ʿAyāḍ ʿIlādjev (Giylædjev, b. 1928), is characterised by a critical view of the world.

Bibliography: A. Battal-Taymas, *La littérature des Tatars de Kazan*, in *PTF*, ii, 762-79; Zs. Kakuk, *Kasantatarische Volkslieder, auf Grund der Sammlung von Ignácz Kúnos*, Budapest 1980. In addition to these, the following reference works and important articles have been published (K. = Kazan and M. = Moscow): M. Gajnullin, *Tatar ædæbiyāti, 19 jöz*, K. 1957, 1968; *Tatar sovet ædæbiyāti*, K. 1960; *Boringi tatar ædæbiyāti*, K. 1963; I. Nurullin, *20 jöz bashi tatar ædæbiyāti*, K. 1966; A. Giniyatullina, *Pisateli sovetskogo Tatarstana. Biobibliografičeskij spravočnik*, K. 1970; M.A. Usmānov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII-XVIII vv.*, K. 1972; M. Gaynullin, *Tatarskaya literatura XIX veka*, K. 1975; idem, *Tatar ædiplære idjāt portretlari*, K. 1978; Æ. Khisamova, *Tatar kitaplari*,

K. 1979; *Urta ʿaṣr (gasîr) tatar ædæbiyatî tārîkhînan*, K. 1981; Kh. Miñnegülov and Sh. Ṣadretdīnov, *XIX jöz tatar ædæbiyātî yadkærlære*, K. 1982; A. Achmadullin, *Tatarskaya dramaturgiya*, M. 1983; *Tatar ædæbiyātî tarîkhî*, 5 vols., K. 1984-9; M. Gosmānov (ʿUthmanov), *Ütkænnæn-kilæčækkæ*, Kazan 1990; Kh. Miñnegülov, *Tatarskaya literatura i vostočnaya klassika*, K. 1993; I. Baldauf, *Prometheismus in der circumrevolutionären tatarischen Lyrik*, in *Bamberger Mittelasienstudien, Konferenzakten*, Berlin 1994, 25-66; M.A. Usmanov, *Zur Geschichte der tatarischen Handschriften*, in *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, Berlin 1996, 49-68.

In the 20th century, the literature of the Crimean Tatars has been regarded as a relatively independent one. ʿĀshik ʿUmar (Ömer, d. 1707), who may be Crimean by descent and who is among the best-known Ottoman-Turkish singers (*sāz shāʿiri*), is referred to by the Crimean Tatars as one of the initiators of their poetry (Āshîk Umer, *Shiʿirler, ghazeller*, Tashkent 1988). The concept of a common cultural ground shared by all Turkic peoples, which Ismāʿīl Gasprali, editor of *Tardjumān*, had elaborated, was adopted in the first decades of the 20th century by some intellectuals of the European and Asian Turkic peoples.

The poet and literary savant Bekir Čobanzāde (1893-1938) belonged to the first generation of authors in the 20th century. Some dramatists founded theatres in the Crimea in the 1920s, including ʿUmar Ipči (1897-1944, see on him I. Kerimov, *Terenlik*, Tashkent 1988). As a consequence of the deportations and relocation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944, the writers of the following generations spent most of their lives outside Crimea, many of them in Uzbekistan, whilst others were born in Central Asia. Prose writers were Yūsuf Bolat (b. 1909), Shāmil ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (Aladin, b. 1912), who was chairman of the association of the writers of the Crimean Tatars in 1939, Čerkez-ʿAlī (real name Aḥmetov, b. 1925), Riḍāʾ Fāḍil (b. 1929) and Erwin ʿUmarov (b. 1940). Among the poets, mention should be made of Anwār Salāmat (1917-80), Saʿīd-ʿUmar Amīn (b. 1921) and Bilāl Mambet (b. 1935).

Bibliography: A. Battal-Taymas, *La littérature des Tatars de Crimée*, in *PTF*, ii, 785-92; Ghanī Murād, *Teatr sanʿatimîznîn ṣaḥîfelerinden*, Tashkent 1990; Safter Nagayev, *Yîlnāmelerdeki izler. Ḳrîmtatar edebiyātî akḳînda etyudlar*, Tashkent 1991; *Ḳrîmtatar ḫalk aghîz yaratîdjîlighî. Khrestomatiya*, Tashkent 1991.

(h) Karakalpak literature

The Karakalpaks esteem their singers (*zhîrau* and *baksî*) of epics, genealogies (*shadjara*, or *shezhire*) and songs of various kinds. The most famous epics are *Ḳîrk ḳîz* and *Maspatsha*. Besides these, there are the names of poets (*shayîr*) whose works used to be spread orally, and have only been printed since the late 1940s. Their names are: Zhiyen zhîrau from the 18th century, Ötesh Alshînbay-ulî (*ca.* 1788-1875), Kün Khʷādja (1799-1880), Ḥādjī Niyāz (Azhiniyaz, *ca.* 1824-78), Berdak (1827-1900) and ʿUmar Sügirimbet-ulî (1879-1922).

Editions of the works of the *shayîrs* at Nökis: Zhiyen zhîrau: *Poskan yel*, 1959, 1981, 1990; Ötesh Alshînbay-ulî: *Tañlamalî shîgharmalar*, 1962, 1978; *Kök özek* (*kosîklar*), 1989; Kün Khʷādja: *Tañlaulî kosîklar toplamî*, 1949; *Kosîklar*, 1960; *Yel menen*, 1975, 1984, 1989; Ḥādjī Niyāz: *Tañlaulî kosîklar toplamî*, 1949, *Tañlamalî shîgharmalarî*, 1960; Berdak: *Tañlamalî shîgharmalarî*, 1956, 2 vols., 1977; and ʿUmar Sügirimbet-ulî: *Tañlaulî shîgharmalar*, 1960.

Historical events of the 19th century, first of all the uprisings of the Karakalpaks against the Khānate of Khīwa, as well as episodes from the lives of the singers, provide a great deal of the material from which poetry and prose have been shaped in the 20th century. Karāmat al-Dīn (Karamatdin) Sulṭānov (b. 1924) wrote the novel *Azhiniyāz* (1967) about the famous singer of that name. Ṭālib Bergen Ghayb Bergen (Tölepbergen Ḳaypbergenov, b. 1929) wrote the novel *Maman Biy epsānasî* (1968), which he later extended to the work *Ḳaraḳalpaḳ destānî* (3 vols., 1973). Zhol Mirza Ay Mirza (Zholmurza Aymurzaev, b. 1910) wrote a novel in the style of orally-spread humorous adventure stories.

In the 1930s, Karakalpaks began to write theatrical pieces and, later, plays in several acts about the past which they had rejected. Epics were used as sources of material for theatrical plays, which were usually conceived and performed as musical dramas. Nadjim Dauḳaraev (1905-53) wrote the drama *Alpamîs* (1940). A very popular source is *Gharîb ʿĀshîk*. In the early 1930s, Mīrzā ʿAlī (Mîrzagali) Daribayev, 1909-42, wrote a drama called *Gharîb ʿĀshîk*. After various adaptations, it has been on the stage since 1954 in a version by T. Allah Naẓar (Allanazarov) and Āsān Begimov (1907-58), who is also known as a novelist. The 50th anniversary of the death of the singer Berdak was an occasion for Sadîḳ Nūrîmbetov (1900-72) to write an epic poem, and for Aymurzaev to write a drama (1958) of the same title.

Bibliography (N. stands for Nökis): In addition to N.A. Baskakov, *Karakalpakskiy yazîk I: Materialî po dialektologii (tekstî i slovarʾ)*, Moscow 1951, the following recent works should be mentioned: N. Zhapakov, *Revolyutsiyaga shekelgi karakalpak ædebiyātînda realizm mæselesi*, N. 1972; Ž. Narîmbetov, *Karakalpakskiy roman*, Tashkent 1974; M. Nurmukhamedov, *Karakalpakskaya poéziya*, Tashkent 1977; *Ḳaraḳalpaḳ sovet ædebiyātî*, Nökis 1979; *Istoriya karakalpakskoy sovetskoy literaturî*, Tashkent 1981; S. Aḥmetov and K. Khudaybergenov, *Pisateli sovetskoy Karakalpakii*, N. 1983.

(i) Bashkir literature

From the 1920s onwards, literature was also written in the Bashkir language. Among the first Bashkir writers were Madjīd Ghafūrī (1880-1934, ed. *Æsærzær*, 4 vols., Ufa 1978-9), Dāūd Yultîy (1893-1938) and Shaykhzāda Babič (1895-1919), who continued the socially-committed literature claimed to have been initiated by the Tatar poet Tuḳay. The resultant dissociation from the more intimate poetry of the Tatar Dærdmænd was maintained for decades after the death of the first Bashkir poets. None of the authors of the first novels in Bashkir who depicted the revolutionary events as a positive development survived the year 1938, or saw it in freedom: Dāūd Yultîy, Afḍal Ṭāhirov (1890-1938), Imay Naṣīrī (1898-1942) and Ghæynan Khayrī (1903-38).

From the 1920s until the 1970s, a theme of lasting attraction to literature was Pugatčev's rebellion in 1773-4 and the role played in it by the singer and leader Ṣalawāt (b. 1752, d. after 1797), for this was a chance to demonstrate what Bashkirs and Russians supposedly had in common or, by contrast, what was controversial. There are numerous dramas, epic poems and stories dealing with this event. Some writers travelled the path from direct political literature via novels in verse to pure prose fiction, which was not only a special challenge to the authors but also to the recipients. Sæyfī Ḳudash (1894-1993) succeeded in writing stories and memoirs (*Khaṭirda kalghan miuttar*, 1957). Mostay Kærīm (b. 1919) wrote a cycle of fairy-tale poems for adults, a number of dramas and the short novel *Ozon-ozaḳ balasaḳ* (1976).

Bibliography: *La literature Bašqort*, in *PTF*, ii, 778-9. Since the 1960s the following reference books have been published in Ufa and Moscow (U. = Ufa, M. = Moscow): R. Timergælina, *Bashkortostan yazïusïlarï*, U. 1968; R. Bikbaev and A. Kudasheva, *Bashkort æzæbiæte hæm æzæbiyæt ghileme buyïnsha bibliografiya*, U. 1969; M. Gaynullin and G. Khusainov, *Pisateli sovetskoy Bashkirii*, U. 1969; *Istoriya bashkirskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, M. 1977; A. Vahitov, *Bashkirskiy sovetskiy roman*, M. 1978; R. Timergelina, *Pisateli sovetskoy Bashkirii. Ukazatel' literaturï (1917-1978 gg.)*, U. 1980; G. Khusainov, *Bashkirskaya sovetskaya poéziya 1917-1980*, M. 1983; Gaynullin and Khusainov, *Sovet Bashkortostanï yazïusïlarï*, U. 1988.

(j) Čuwash literature

At the end of the 19th century, Čuwash writers started to collect popular poetry, and its motifs became the material for their own poems: M. Fedorov (1849-1904) with *Arsuri* (1908), Ya. Turkhan (1874-1938) with *Warussi* (1905), N. Polurussov-Shelepi (1881-1945) with *Saramsanna Khantarsa* (1915), K. Ivanov (1890-1915) with *Narspi* (1908). Poetry including stories and novels in verse used to be popular, e.g. *Khen-khur ayenče* (1931) by S. Elker (1894-1966, ed. *Sïrmsene pukhsa kalami*, 5 vols., Čeboksarï 1960-64), *Tu urla sul* (1952) by Ja. Ukhsay (1911-86), *Aptraman tawrash* (1946) by Peter Khusankay (1907-70), *Khamar'yalsem* (1956, 1983) by A. Alga (1913-77). Prose writers are V. Alager (1906-88), S. Aslan (1917-80), A. Artem'ev (b. 1924) and A. Emel'yanov (b. 1932).

Theatrical plays were often written on the basis of poetry, with its pictures of popular life and beliefs. The poet Mishshi Sespel (1899-1922), who introduced syllabic-tonic verse into Čuwash, and the poet Vasley Mitta (1908-57), who placed great value on the national characteristics in everyday life, were the declared examples, besides some European poets, for G. Aygi (b. 1934), whose poems have also been published in Europe (*Beginn der Lichtung*, Frankfurt/Main 1971; *Ditya i roza*, Paris 1990).

Bibliography (all works appeared in Čeboksarï/Shupashkar): G.Ja. Khlebnikov, *Sovremennaya čuvashskaya literatura*, 1971; *Čuwash sovet literaturi*, 1972; M. Jur'ev, *Pisateli sovetskoy Čuvashii*, 1975; *Čuvashskaya literatura*, 1983; *Aktual'nïe Problemï čuvashskoy literaturï*, 1983, P.N. Metin, *Čuvashskiy fol'klor*, 1986; M. Jur'ev and Z. Romanova, *Pisateli sovetskoy Čuvashii*, 1988; *Čuvashskoe literaturovedenie i kritika. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, 1993.

(k) Yakut literature

The first poets of Yakut written literature developed around the turn of the 20th century and were either singers of the epic *Oloñkho*, called *oloñkhosut*, like P. Oyunuskay, also Oyunskiy, real name Sleptsov (1893-1939, ed. *Ayïmn'ïlar*, 7 vols., 1958-62, Russian tr. *Izbrannoe*, Moscow 1963) and Künnük Urastïrov, real name V. Novikov (b. 1907), or they were collectors of popular poetry like A. Kulakovskay (1877-1926). Oyunuskay became known as a poet and dramatist. He introduced syllabic verse into Yakut poetry, which brought about a tremendous extension of the stylistic inventory for Yakut poetry, with its previous strict principle of alliteration. Further dramatists and comedy writers were A. Sofronov (1886-1935) and D. Neustroev (1895-1929). In the 1960s, the dramas by I. Gogolev (b. 1930), were remarkable because their figures combined concepts from popular poetry with those from 20th-century life.

The first pieces in prose were sketches and stories, e.g. by Erilik Eristin, real name S. Yakovlev (1892-1942), Oyunuskay and Afanasiy Fedorov (1926-59, ed. *Talïllïbït ayïmn'ïlar*, 2 vols. Yakutsk 1961-2). Novellists include Amma Aččïgïya, real name N. Mordinov (1906-94), N. Zolotarev-Yakutskay (b. 1908), A. Sïromyatnikova (b. 1915) writing about women's lives, Sofron Danilov (b. 1922) and V. Yakovlev (b. 1934) both of the latter looking critically at their own times.

Bibliography: St. Kałużyński, *Die jakutische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 886-95; *Očerk istorii yakutskoy sovetskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1970; V. Protod'yakonov *et al.*, *Pisateli Yakutii*, Yakutsk 1972; A. Egorov *et al.*, *Pisateli Yakutii, Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Yakutsk 1981; A.A. Bilyukin, *Yakutskaya sovetskaya dramaturgiya*, Moscow 1988.

(l) Literature in other Turkic languages of Siberia

In the 1940s, written literature was born in some other Turkic languages of Siberia. With the very low population density in these regions (1979: 166,000 Tuvans; 70,800 Khakass; 60,000 Altaians) one cannot expect full-fledged and continuously-developing literatures there. Pavel Kučiyak (1897-1943) is recognised as one of the initiators of Altaic literature. Himself a poet, dramatist and story writer, he collected popular poetry and fairy tales (ed. *Yuunadïlgan sočinenieler*, Gornoaltaysk 1967). The poems and stories by Boris Ukačin (b. 1936), who published his first book of poems in 1961, e.g. *Eelü tuular* (1971), have aroused the interest of other peoples of Siberia, Central Asia and Russia.

The first author in the Khakass language was V. Kobyakov (1906-37); N. Domožakov (1916-76) is known as a novelist.

Stepan Sarïġ-ool (1908-83) and Sergey Pürbü (1913-75) are the authors of the first Tuvan poems to be written down. In Tuvan prose, autobiographical elements have been of major importance since the 1950s, as seen e.g. in the trilogy *Arattïñ sözü* by Salčak Toka (1901-73), composed between 1950 and 1954, and in the novel *Angïr-oola* (2 vols., 1961-6) by Sarïġ-ool. Other notable poets and story writers are Mongush Kenin-Lopsan (b. 1925), Juriy Künzegesh (b. 1927) and Kïzïl Enik Kudadjï (b. 1929).

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Die Literatur der Türken Südsibiriens*, in *PTF*, ii, 862-85. Altaian literature: *Altay literatura kereginde stat'yalar*, Gornoaltaysk 1962; *Pisateli Altaja. Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Barnaul 1967, *Očerki po istorii altayskoy literaturï*, Gornoaltaysk 1969; *Poétï gornogo Altaya*, Novosibirsk 1972; M.G. Vokhrïševa, *Pisateli Altaja. Bibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Barnaul 1974; *Pisateli Gornogo Altaja. Biobibliografičeskiy spravočnik*, Gornualtaysk 1988. Khakass literature: *Literatura sovetskoy Khakassii*, Abakan 1962, P.A. Troyakov, *Očerki razvitiya khakasskoy literaturï*, Abakan 1963. Tuvan literature: Maria Chadachanie, *Tuvinskaya proza*, Kïzïl 1968; Dorzhu Kuular, *Tuvinskaya poéziya, očerk istorii*, Kïzïl 1970; *Pisateli Tuvï*, Kïzïl 1970, 1982.

Others: For literatures in the Gagauz, Karačay-Balkar and Kumuk languages, see *PTF*, ii, 779-85, 835-40.

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For the cultural background of the reforms in writing systems and their effects on literature, see W. Fiermann, *Language planning and national development. The Uzbek experience*, Berlin and New York 1991; I. Baldauf, *Schriftreform und Schriftwechsel bei den muslimischen Rußland- und Sowjettürken (1850-1937)*, Budapest 1993.

Scholars from most Turkic peoples, consistently in co-operation with Russian scholars, have compiled three types of general works about their literatures: 1. histories of literature; 2. encyclopaedias of authors, often as bio-bibliographical sketch; 3. special bibliographies about literature and studies of literature besides the national bibliographies of the Turkic republics (for previous years, cf. especially Hazai and Kellner-Heinkele, 345-409). The recent editions are cited, in chronological order, in the respective sections.

Folk literature in several languages has been edited since the 1950s and 1960s in series with or without volume numbers. It includes fairy tales, epics, folk songs, riddles and others. The following should be mentioned: *Altay baatïrlar*, 6 vols., 1958-68; *Azarbāydjān edebiyyāti indjileri*, beginning in 1985; *Bashkort khalïk idjādï*, beginning in 1981; *Bashkirskoe narodnoe tvorčestvo*, beginning in 1987; *Čawas halah samahlahe*, 6 vols., 1976-87; *Karakalpak folklorï, köp tomlïk*, beginning in 1977; *Kazak khalïk edebiyeti, köp tomdïk*, beginning in 1988; *Bes ghasïr žïrlaydï*, 3 vols., 1984-5; 2 vols., 1989 (Kazak); *Tatar khalïk idjātï*, 13 vols., 1974-94; *Üzbek khalk idjādi*.

Some Turkic epics rendered into Russian and in vernaculars and with commentary are included in the serie *Épos narodov SSSR* (Moscow) beginning from 1971.

(Sigrid Kleinmichel)

IV. Music.

In order to appreciate the musical traditions of the Turkish world from a very general perspective, it is appropriate to start with the separation between the nomadic cultural base and the sedentary urban milieu. It could be said that the Turkish peoples of Siberia (Yakuts) and the Altaians, the Kïrghïz, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and Turkmens, as well as the last nomadic tribes of Anatolia, represent various states of an original "Turkicity", associated with the wide expanses of the steppe, the history of which has not been studied since the 19th century; on the other hand the Uyghurs, the Özbegs and the Ottomans, long organised into small kingdoms or as an empire, were in contact with the major sedentary traditions—Persian, Arab, Mediterranean, etc.—which had long been familiar with an apparatus of state and/or an imperial structure. This separation is more important than that between oral and written, since in both cases oral transmission remains predominant, except in the context of musical theory, which developed within "imperial" cultures.

1. *The music of the nomads*

It is perhaps among the Altaian Turks, or the Yakuts, that Turkish music is to be observed in its original state: calls and imitation of animals, playing on the jew's-harp, and techniques of diphonic chant. It may also be assumed that viols with horsehair strings (cf. *kil kobi* in Kazakh, *kil kiak* in Kïrghïz) were used for accompaniment by the Turko-Mongolian peoples from the earliest times (certainly since the domestication of the horse), as were certain lutes (known as *kopuz* in the epic of Dede Korkut [*q.v.*]).

(i) Bards and the shamanistic heritage

The bard is an essential figure in all the nomadic musical traditions of the Turks: his origin dates back to his pre-Islamic ancestor, the shaman, after whom he is known in some places by the name of *bakhshï*, and from whom he has inherited certain functions. Among the Kazakhs and the Karakalpaks, the *zhiraw* (*zhyr* = epic poetry) was always at the Khān's side, since the spirits revealed the future to him. The term *bakhshï*, which still denotes "shaman" for the Kazakhs, Kïrghïz, Özbegs and Tādjīks, signifies a professional singer among the Turkmens of the former USSR and of Persia. While he no longer has the role of a healer, he remains no less a "man of knowledge", an inspired repository of the memory and spiritual values of the people; in fact, the *bakhshï* master is called *khalīpe*, like the Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, which certainly suggests a religious authority, preserved *mutatis mutandis* in the framework of Islam. Finally, this shamanistic heritage is perceptible as far away as Anatolia, where the *ʿāshïks*, like the *dedes* of the Alevi communities, maintain this tradition of the Central Asian bard, in the sense that his specifically musical role is never devoid of a strong moral and sapiential, if not religious, aura. In all cases, the bard must attain a very high level of inspiration: the *zhiraw* should "boil" (*kaynamak*) and the *akïn* (see below) should have spirits "in his back".

It is usual to distinguish between two categories of bards, according to whether they sing epics (*destān, zhir*) or lyric pieces. Thus the Turkmen *bakhshï* are subdivided into two groups, namely, *destāndjï*, relater of epics, and *tirmedji*, who sing poems (*tirme*) on various themes. The Kazakh *zhiraw*, suppressed by Soviet ideology as symbolic of a feudal culture, has been replaced by the *zhirshi* who creates only minor epics, and by the *akïn* who, as in Kirghizia also, sings for his clan, and whose repertoire consists of extracts from epics arranged as songs, or poems adapted to the social circumstances of the performance.

(ii) Vocal techniques and instruments

An incontestable trait of the nomadic music of Central Asia is the use of a raucous, guttural voice, very rich in harmonics, sometimes approaching diphony, like the Mongolian *khöömei*, or the fundamental, heavy and "strangled" resonance in the phonetic apparatus when a narrow harmonic sound is produced. In Uzbekistan the voice of the *bakhshï* is called "interior", as opposed to the "exterior" (high-pitched) voices of learned and popular urban traditions.

Instruments accompanying the bards are lutes with two or three strings: *dombra* (Kaz.), *kopuz* and *komuz* (Kir.), *dotar* (Turkm.), *saz* in its various rural forms (Turkey) [see ṬUNBŪR]; viols: *kil kobuz* (Kaz.) *ghidjak, kiak*; and finally, flutes: *sibizghi* (Uzbek) or *tüdük* (Turkm.), are remarkable for their technique, related to that of the Persian *nay* or the Turkish *kaval*.

(iii) Performance and musical forms

Traditionally, the music of the bards is the art of soloists in the context of private invitations such as the *konakasi* (Kaz.), the *gap* (Uzb.), or the *söhbet* (Turkm.). At the collective level, it is the *toy*, festival of marriage or of circumcision throughout the Türk world (*düğün* in Turkey). Bardic contests are widespread throughout Central Asia, such as the contests of *ʿāshïks* in Azerbaijan and in Anatolia.

Alongside the major epic cycles, the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz have developed the principle of instrumental pieces called *kü*, inspired by the circumstances of the performance, and dependent on interaction with the audience. These may be of a descriptive or narrative nature; the *kü* evoke nature, according to a denotative function of the music which constitutes a distinctive trait of these cultures.

Can a case be made for speaking of a "nomadic" music at the level even of syntax? Certain traits common to the Turkmens and the Kazakhs, such as rhythms which are additive, not divisive, to the linear

development, through the combination of various metres, are to be found as far afield as the east of Turkey, among the *ʿās̲h̲iḳs*.

2. *"Imperial" music*

(i) The elaboration of classical traditions

The existence of learned musical systems in Central Asia from ancient times has been demonstrated by archaeology, in Sogdia and Bactria, which were inhabited by Indo-Iranian peoples before the waves of the Turco-Mongolian conquest. As a result of Islamisation, a vast area of cultural exchange was opened up, from Eastern Turkestan to the Middle East. Formal music was studied by numerous theoreticians of Central Asian origin, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā [*q.vv.*]; in the 15th century, Samarḳand and Harāt were major musical centres, to be superseded by Buk̲h̲ārā which has retained its pre-eminence to the present day. Finally, Azerbaijan and Constantinople-Istanbul were to be other major crucibles of oriental musical learning. In this context, the same movement which led the nomadic Turks to adopt the imperial structures of the sedentary civilisations led them also to appropriate, appreciate and develop their musical traditions, from Central Asia to the Middle East—as was further the case in India under the Mug̲h̲als. As to the specifically Turkish contribution to these sedentary cultures, this is not easily defined, since such exchanges invariably operate in both directions: for example, the Chinese adopted the instruments of Eastern Turkestan, such as the *surnāy* (hautboy), and the *pipa* (Uyg̲h̲ur *barbap*) and *rabāb* lutes. Chinese sources also mention that the melodies of the "barbarians" of Turkestan were integrated, after adaptation, into the courtly music of the Han.

(ii) The concept of *maḳām* [*q.v.*]

Among the Uyg̲h̲urs and the Uzbeks, *maḳām* signifies "process of compositions" and has the related sense of "mode". Thus classical repertoires are found comprising *on iki maḳām* ("twelve *maḳāms*") from the region of Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar and of Yarkand, of the Tād̲j̲īk-Uzbek *s̲h̲as̲h̲ maḳām* ("six *maḳāms*") of the *altî yarîm maḳām* ("six and a half *maḳāms*") of K̲h̲īva. In each case, what is involved is a combination of processes codified from a modal as from a rhythmic point of view, according to a structure which may be likened to the Arab-Andalusian *nawba*.

In Azerbaijan and in Ottoman Turkey, *maḳām* specifically denotes the "mode" in its Middle Eastern sense. The modes themselves, whilst known by the same names in all these erudite traditions, nevertheless display numerous local idioms within the great Arab-Turkish-Persian system.

(iii) Instruments and conditions of performance of formal music

Among the instruments here, first to be noted is the lute, *dutār*, with two silk strings, played without a plectrum, using very elaborate techniques of the right hand; the *ṭunbūr*, strings of metal, played with plectrum or with bow, and its variants, the Uyg̲h̲ur *satār*, Uzbek *satā*, and finally, the Ottoman *ṭunbūr* [*q.v.*], played with bow or with plectrum, particularly suited to reproducing delicate inflections of the voice and endowed with a range of harmonics created by the resonances of the sympathetic strings (this is the preferred instrument of the masters of *maḳām*); the *g̲h̲id̲j̲ak*, pointed viol and its *kemand̲j̲i* variant; and citherns *ḳalūn* (Uyg̲h̲ur), *ḳanūn* (Turkish), or cembalo (*čang*). Percussion was provided by drums (*dap, def* or *doyra*). All these constitute a vast family, with connections and relationships, well understood by the audience.

While these forms of music were linked to the courtly circles where they were protected, the 20th century, with the Sovietisation of Central Asia, with the imposition of Maoist China on the Uyg̲h̲urs and the installation of the Turkish Republic, has produced a profound upheaval in their conditions of composition and performance. The creation of "orchestral" ensembles in all these states has led to a loss of authenticity and tradition. However, in the Central Asian states of the former USSR, an intense revivalist movement has been visible since the early 1990s, both in the performance of ancient, "nomadic" forms of music and in the interpretation of the learned and formal tradition.

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V. Folklore.

Now a scholarly study, founded on popular oral and written traditions, the genesis and evolution of folklore in Turkey closely follows the major stages of the mutation of Turkish culture and society since the mid-19th century, from the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] onwards.

The folklore of Turkey does not depend on a simple contrast between oral and written tradition, each register being divided in turn between the erudite and the popular. Certain items of folklore are rooted in the scholarly written tradition, such as the *manāḳib-nāme*; a substantial number are popular written versions of the scholarly genre, such as the lyrical epics (*ḥikāye*) *Leylā and Med̲j̲nūn, Kerem and Aṣlī*, and *ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ G̲h̲arīb*; or epics in the technical sense (*destān*): *Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī* and the *Book of Dede Ḳorḳut* [*q.v.*]. For the oral scholarly tradition, consideration may be given to the practice of the *meddāḥ* [see maddāḥ] or the *orta oyunu* [*q.v.*] theatre, which may be compared with the *commedia dell'arte*. All these forms of traditional expression of culture belong to folklore and were recognised as such throughout the 19th century.

The transition from the Ottoman Empire to a Turkish Republic in search of a national identity took place on the territory of Anatolia. This space was an area of transit and of immigration and a melting-pot for all the cultural diversity of the empire. Such a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-faith population basis favoured an abundance of practices, beliefs and forms of cultural expression, the genealogy of which is practically impossible to establish: those of Greeks, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Arabs, Caucasians, South Slavs and Russia, Gypsies, etc.

Historically, Ziyā (Ḍiyā) Gökalp (1875-1924 [*q.v.*]) may be credited with the systematic effort to distinguish Turkish culture from Islamic civilisation on the one hand and with ethnography (*ḳawmiyyāt* = study of ethnic groups) from folklore (*k̲h̲alḳiyyāt* = studies at the popular level) on the other. Recourse to the term "folklore" is owed (1918) to Riza Tevfik Bölükbaşi (1869-1949 [*q.v.*]) who proposed the fact of the anonymity of authors as a legitimising condition for the objects and practices belonging to folklore, conceived as a collective creation.

The Turkish term which was rapidly adopted as the equivalent of "folklore" is *halk bilgisi* = science of the people, corresponding to *Volkskunde*. Folkloric studies and practices have been developed since 1928 with the creation of the Folklore Society = *Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (*HBD*). They have been pursued in two directions which have persisted to the present day.

First to be considered are the institutional, political and ideological paths which envisage the authentification of the Turkish national idea by means of researching its roots through the evidence and proofs supplied by folklore. Another path has emerged, initially with the genesis of a national literature which, as in the work of the poet Nâzim Hikmet [*q.v.*], integrates and reinterprets the themes of popular traditions, as well as their forms of expression. This literary action was to be relayed via the emergence of a national-progressive ideology of the Left, primarily derived from the experience of educational innovation of the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*).

Simplifying considerably, these two tendencies may be contrasted, in their objectives and their methods, as two different strategies: on the one hand there is an *instrumental* approach followed in institutions created by the State (e.g. the *HBD*), the epigones of this association, and departments of Turkish Studies or Folklore in the Universities; on the other, there is a *functional* approach which assigns a predominant role to the peasantry in the alleged class struggle and which seeks to endow this peasantry with an authentic and vivid popular culture.

As regards institutional studies and research into folklore, from 1927 the Folklore Society (*HBD*), the majority of whose members were Kemalist innovators, was based in Ankara, before opening agencies in Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri and Erzurum. It undertook to publish an annual volume of research in progress and a monthly journal (*Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* = *Folklore News*), as well as guides and compilations of folkloric data based on the work of authors such as Van Gennep and Hoffman Krayer. With the creation, in 1932, of "Peoples' Houses" or *Halk evleri* [see KHALḲEVI] under the aegis of the Republican People's Party, which was to install a single-party régime, this new institution incorporated the Folklore Society, its archives and its journal until 1952, the year after the closing down of the *Halk evleri*. A total of 143 issues of the journal, as well as some 500 thematic publications, today constitute an important corpus of work, of uneven quality, on the folklore of the country. The network of Peoples' Houses was to be revived in 1960.

One of the most successful aspects of these voluntary and charitable campaigns, aimed at the compilation of data of the folkloric heritage by teachers and other employees of the state, has been the inauguration of a major survey of lexicography and of popular speech throughout the country. The corpus compiled is immense and has been published under the title *Anadoluda halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi* "Collection of the popular speech of Anatolia". A document of incomparable wealth, this collection has been in the charge of the Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) since 1932. Constituted between 1932 and 1952, constantly re-issued, this body of six volumes makes it possible to establish the link with pre-Islamic and pre-Anatolian Turkish, using this repository of linguistic archaisms which were the rural and nomadic speech patterns of Anatolia. In the domain of musical traditions, it is the Municipal Conservatoire of Istanbul which has undertaken, since 1927, the compilation of data regarding musical folklore, through campaigns of enquiry on the ground (see IV. above). The composer Béla Bartok also participated in these efforts at research into musical folklore, subsequently exerting considerable influence on musical creativity in the country. Thirteen pamphlets of collected musical traditions were published in 1939. The Ankara Conservatoire has also established an important archive of popular musical traditions.

In museology, it was the Ankara Museum of Ethnography (1925) which accepted the role of collector of the objects of popular culture. Elsewhere, almost throughout the whole country, professional technical academies and institutes for girls generally included the traditional crafts of textiles, fabrics, etc. in their syllabi.

This "institutional folklorism" was the reflection of the political régime of the single party, and of the nationalist and secular populism of the state which characterised the reign of the People's Republican Party under Atatürk, then under İsmet Inönü. The Second World War, the Marshall Plan (1947) and the transition to multi-partyism with the accession to power of the Democratic Party, as well as the massive rural exodus, changed the scene completely. The élitist and secular Jacobinism of the state yielded its place to the traditionalist localism of the Democratic Party, which pledged to undertake the re-Islamisation of the country. Henceforward the identifying folklorism of the state largely lost its reason for being and its objective, and for this reason the domain of folklorism was devolved to local associations and to the universities. An Institute for Research into Turkish Culture (*Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü*) was created in 1961 and charged with supervision of this field.

One review, however, took on the task of perpetuating the spirit of the years 1930-40: *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları Dergisi* = *Turkish Review of Folkloric Studies*, taking the place of the *Folklor Postası* = *Folklore Courier* (1945). This was the fruit of private initiative which, despite very limited means and the lack of subsidies, continued to operate until 1972, the date of the death of its founding director.

As a counterweight to the state institutions, the approach which could be described as "functional" ascribed a determinant role to folklore and especially to rural traditions as the motive forces behind a popular culture in the context of what was viewed as a Marxist class struggle which, in pre-industrial Turkey, was necessary for mobilising the rural masses. The Anatolian peasant and peasant virtues had been celebrated by Atatürk as the foundation of national identity; they were to be revived and reinterpreted in a Marxist perspective by the intellectual and progressive élite of the nation. This peasant-based ideology was put into effect by the very active but short-lived Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*), the educational doctrine of which was inspired essentially by the work of the Swiss philanthropist Pestalozzi. What was involved in this functional approach was the re-appropriation, diffusion and re-interpretation of the popular traditions of the rural world by the *soi-disant* avant-garde of the social struggle: the peasantry first, then the wider masses, then the entire nation. Story-tellers, artisans and popular musicians were to see themselves as having an active instructional role in these institutions. A literary trend of peasant-based neo-realism was to be born from this experience; the same was to apply to the plastic arts, which were broadly inspired by Anatolian and rural themes, and especially to popular traditional music. The tradition of wandering bards (*âşık*) which is included in the specifically Turkish

genre of the *türkü* [*q.v.*] as opposed to the orientalising scholarly genre (*şarkı*, from *shark* "Orient") deriving from Ottoman classical music, was to be strongly encouraged. Aşık Veysel, a blind member of the Alevi community, was the figurehead of this tendency which was to develop in particular alongside the political and social conflicts of the years 1970-80 in an evolution comparable to that of the *rebetika* genre in Greece.

Caught in a vice between the folklorism of the state, instrumental and identificatory, and the political peasant folklorism of progressive ideology, ethnography and ethnology have not found favourable ground for endogenous development in Turkey. Worth noting, however, is the long career of a folklorist of the school of Arnold van Gennep, namely, Pertev Nâili Boratav, who was the holder of the first Chair of Popular Literary Traditions created in the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography of Ankara University (1942). This chair sponsored intense activity in theses and in lecturing on folklore, and an archive of popular literature was created, but being judged subversive, Boratav's teaching and the chair itself were suppressed in 1948.

Paradoxically, it was from France, where he had then settled and in the context of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, that Boratav was to produce a work, without equivalent in Turkey, on the folklore of this country. Field notes and archives—including those salvaged from the abolished University chair—were to constitute in some 6,000 pages, divided into around 100 "dossiers", the basis of an archive of Turkish folklore. Collected since 1927 (especially between 1939-51), the texts of oral tradition (tales, songs, fables, proverbs) are the nucleus of this corpus, which also includes information on diverse rituals and customs, popular magic, divination, popular medicine, etc.

This corpus is divided by Boratav into fourteen categories: 1. Various; 2. Works of popular poets (signed texts); 3. Epics and tales; 4. Tales and anecdotes; 5. Legends; 6. Proverbs, riddles, formulae; 7. Popular poetry (songs, quatrains, canticles); 8. Popular music, popular dance; 9. Games (including sport, theatre); 10. Beliefs; 11. Rituals (from cradle to tomb); 12. Material traditions (popular art, craft, dress, customs); 13. Religious institutions; and 14. Popular sciences (magic, folk medicine, ethnobotany, astronomy). Within these categories, documents are classified according to the places where the information was collected; and the date and the name of the collector are specified.

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TÜRKÜ (< *türkī*), designates in Ottoman Turkish (a) the folksong in general (sometimes more explicitly *khalk türküsü*) as opposed to the song belonging to Turkish art music, *sharkī* [*q.v.*], and (b) a genre of folksong, primarily identified by the melodies proper to it, with heterogeneous formal characteristics and a very broad thematic scope.

I. The majority of the folksongs of the *türkü* genre are anonymous, the rest have lyrics by folk poets (*ʿāshik, sāz shāʿiri*) whose names occur in the text. Formally there are two groups of differing importance:

A. The main corpus of the *türkü* genre is composed according to the original Turkic method of versification *parmak hisābī* (*hedje wezni*) based on the number of syllables. The range is 5 to 16 syllables per line, the most common lengths being 7, 8, and 11 syllables. Frequently there is a refrain (*kavushtak, baghlama*) of one to six lines (sometimes consisting of two parts differing in syllabic lengths); the length of the refrain's lines need not be identical with that of the main lines. A feature of the syllabic metrical system is the caesura (*ölčüm, durak*), which is not placed at random (predominantly 4 + 3; 4 + 4; 6 + 5; 4 + 4 + 3) and may vary from line to line (e.g. 6 + 5 then 4 + 4 + 3). The rhyme (*kāfiye, ayak, uyak*) is generally constituted by suffixes (and therefore often polysyllabic) and frequently assonantal (*yarîm kāfiye*). The majority of these folksongs with a minimum of two and no specific maximum number of strophes fall into three main groups according to their rhyme patterns and the number of lines per strophe.

(1) Quatrains of the type *māni* [*q.v.*]: A "composition" may be a stringing-together of already existing *mānis* (resulting in the rhyme scheme aaxa, bbxb, ccxc, etc.) that are thematically linked to each other by means of a word or words at the beginning of each component and frequently by the addition of a refrain (-b, -bb, -bbb, -bbxb, -bbbxb, etc.) or it may be an original composition of the same form.

(2) Quatrains that are basically of the poetic type *koshma* (*q.v.*; not the folksong type called *koshma* which need not have the formal characteristics of the poetic type of the same name, the determining factor in naming a song *koshma* being the use of specific melodies) with the rhyme schemes aaab (abab; xaxa), cccb, dddb, etc., or other less common patterns. *Türküs* of this type also occur with a refrain or with their every fourth line being a refrain: aaab (abab; xaxa), cccb, dddb, etc.

(3) *Türküs* with strophes of three lines (aaa, bbb, ccc, etc.) and, less commonly, of two lines (aa, bb, cc, etc.), both types also occurring with refrains as in (1); these, or part of these, may be truncated quatrains.

B. The remaining *türküs* comply, albeit often imperfectly, with the rules of the quantitative Arabo-Persian metrical system *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*]. These make use of only very few metres. As a large number of these *türküs* are at the same time in accordance with syllabic metres, and as folk poets generally cannot be supposed to have been familiar with the *ʿarūḍ* rules, doubts have been raised as to whether they should be placed within this category. The forms used are those of *dīwān* poetry (*ghazel, murabbaʿ*, etc.) or adaptations of such. The various types are classified according to their specific metre and their individual melody and are mainly the *dīwān* (or *dīwānī*), *selīs, semāʿī, kalenderī, saṭrandj*, and *wezn-i ākher*.

II. The *sine qua non* of the *türkü* is the use of a *türkü* melody, as lyrics of various forms and content sung on a *türkü* melody are all given this name. These are anonymous melodies with characteristics pointing to a Turkic origin. Musically, the *türkü* genre can be divided into two main categories usually referred to (after Béla Bartók) as:

A. *Parlando* melodies (*uṣūlsüz türküler, uzun hawā*): Rhythmically free melodies of various types such as *kayabashî, khoyrat (khoryat), koshma (sic), bozlak, maya, aghît* (part of the last have characteristics which place them in-between these two main categories), etc. These melodies are also differentiated according to regional characteristics, e.g. *Eghin aghzî, Urfa aghzî*, etc.

B. *Tempo giusto* melodies (*uṣūllü türküler*, sometimes referred to as *ḳirïḳ hawā*, as in Urfa; *oṭuraḳ* in Konya): Melodies with fixed rhythms, mostly folkdance songs (*oyun hawālarï*) of various types such as *zeybek* (Aegean region), *horon* (Black Sea region), *shïḳïltïm* (Harput), etc.

There are certain correspondences between melody and form, such as the fact that almost only *uzun hawā* melodies are used for hendecasyllabic lyrics, whilst heptasyllablic lyrics are always sung to *ḳirïḳ hawā* melodies (and octosyllabic lyrics use both). Of the various musical instruments that may be used to accompany *türküs*, the lute, *baghlama*, is the instrument of preference for the *uzun hawā*.

III. The *türkü* genre encompasses all fields of common interest with the exception of religion (popular religious songs being referred to as *ilāhī*, *ḳaṣīde*, etc.). Thematically-defined subdivisions with special names are, e.g. *ninni* (lullaby), *ṭashlama* (satirical song), *düghün türküsü* (wedding song), *aghït* (mourning song), etc. Through adaptations to changing circumstances, some of the most popular *türküs* exist in many variants.

IV. The language of the *türküs* is generally popular Turkish, thus remarkably free of Arabic and Persian loanwords, and exhibits characteristics of the vernacular such as elision, apocope, contraction, etc., as well as dialectal traits and expressions. The diction is rich in stereotyped metaphors and symbolic images, the style strongly expressive. That the musical element is especially important is shown by the frequent inclusion of unessential words and interjections such as *aman, yār, bir dānem* to allow for melodic expansions, making the lyric more expressive at the same time.

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(Edith G. Ambros)

TURS [see rank; silāḥ, in Suppl.].

ṬURSHĪZ (vars. Ṭurshīsh, Ṭurthīth, Ṭuraythīth), a town of the mediaeval region of Busht of Ḳuhistān [*q.v.*] in northeastern Persia. It lay to the southwest of Nīshāpūr. Its site was probably to the west of the present town of Kashmar.

The 4th/10th century geographers describe it as a flourishing town, and al-Muḳaddasī, 318, says that its Friday mosque recalled that of Damascus in its splendour, and that it was "the emporium of Fārs and Iṣfahān and the storehouse of Khurasan". At the end of the 5th/11th century, with Tūn [*q.v.*] and other places it became one of the centres for Ismāʿīlism in Ḳuhistān. It accordingly attracted punitive expeditions by the Saldjūḳ sultans, and counter-raids by the Ismāʿīlīs, who in 498/1104-5 penetrated from Ṭurshīz as far as al-Rayy (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, x, 392-3). It was destroyed in 530/1136; its hereditary governor at that time was al-ʿAmīd Manṣūr (or Masʿūd) b. Manṣūr; an enemy to the Bāṭiniyya or Ismaʿīlīs, he summoned the Turks to aid him to defend his lands, bu the latter behaved with their usual greed so that, not being able to continue the struggle, he submitted to the Ismāʿīlīs. His son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd recognised the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in 545/1150; but receiving no support from them, he fled to Nīshāpūr and the Ismāʿīlīs established their authority in this region. In 596/1200 the army of the Khwārazm Shāh Tekish attacked Ṭurshīz; the siege was cut short by the Shāh's death, but the town eventually agreed to pay tribute of over 100,000 dīnārs (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 314-15).

The town was besieged and taken by Tīmūr (784/1382); it was regarded as impregnable on account of its deep moat and high walls, but the water of the moat was pumped out and a mine made a breach in the wall. The garrison was spared and served in Turkestan under the conqueror. Here Tīmūr received an embassy from Shāh Shudjāʿ, the Muẓaffarid ruler of Fārs, from whom he asked a daughter in marriage for his grandson Pīr Muḥammad. During the campaign of the Ḳādjār ʿAbbās Mīrzā against Harāt, Ṭurshīz was taken by Khusraw Mīrzā in 1248/1832.

Celebrated natives were the poets Kātibī of Nīshāpūr, born in a village in the vicinity, Ahlī (d. 934/1527-8) and Ẓuhūrī (d. 1024/1615). In the vicinity was the village of Kashmar where, according to tradition, Zoroaster planted a cypress tree which became famous and was ordered to be destroyed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Turner Macan, 1068, 6, ed. and tr. J. Mohl, iv, 364; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērān. Alterthumskunde*, i, 54 n. 2, 703; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 143, tr. 141-2).

Bibliography: See also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. and tr. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, i, 177; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 354-5; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 186, 487-8, iv, 233-4, 253.

(C.L. Huart-[C.E. Bosworth])

ṬŪRSŪN BEG, 9th/15th-century Ottoman historian.

What little is known about Ṭūrsūn Beg derives mainly from incidental references in his *History*. He was born probably in Bursa in the mid-1420s, to an already prominent *ümerāʾ* family. His uncle Djübbe ʿAlī had served as governor in Bursa, and his grandfather Fīrūz Beg in Iznik. Ṭūrsūn Beg was, while relatively young, the holder of a *tīmār* [*q.v.*], probably inherited from his father Ḥamza Beg (cf. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-feth*, ed. M. Tulum, Istanbul 1977, pp. xi-xii; H. İnalcik and R. Murphey, *The history of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Chicago 1978, 11). He was present at the siege of Istanbul in 1453 and was subsequently employed as secretary on several survey tasks. Promoted to *dīwān kātibi* by 865/1461, he acquired an intimate knowledge of government affairs and participated in most major military campaigns of Meḥemmed II's [*q.v.*] reign, especially those involving his principal patron, the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 879/1474 [*q.v.*]). A specialist in the financial bureaucracy, Ṭūrsūn Beg may have risen to the post of *defterdār* [*q.v.*] of Anatolia. He retired sometime after 885/1480 and settled in Bursa. His date of death is unknown, but it was certainly after 896/1491 (İnalcik and Murphey, *op. cit.*, 16).

Ṭūrsūn Beg wrote poetry under the *makhlaṣ* Lebībī, but is best known as an historian and prose stylist. His only known work, the *Taʾrīkh-i Ebu'l-feth* ("History

of [Meḥemmed] the Conqueror"), is a detailed and authoritative history of the campaigns of the reign (1451-81), continuing up to *ca.* 893/1488 in the reign of Bāyezīd II, to whom the work was dedicated. Although rarely referred to by later Ottoman historians, Ṭūrsūn Beg's *History* is significant, first as an insider's account of events of the later 15th century, and second for its substantial preface on the nature of Islamic-Ottoman statecraft, clearly stimulated by the political controversies of Meḥemmed II's reign. An edition was first published in 1330/1912 by Meḥmed ʿĀrif (Suppl. to *TOEM*), a modern critical edition in 1977 (see above) and a facsimile with English summary translation in 1978 by İnalcık and Murphey, see above.

Bibliography: See also *İA* art. s.v. (M.C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ); İnalcık, *Tursun Beg, historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's time*, in *WZKM*, lxix (1979), 55-72. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

ṬURSUN FAḲĪH, a figure, possibly legendary, whom Ottoman tradition credits with having performed in Ḳara Ḥiṣār/Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, the first Friday Prayer in the name of the first Ottoman ruler, ʿOthmān I [*q.v.*]. The late-15th century Anonymous Chronicles and the Chronicle of Urudj are the first sources to record this story. They provide no more than a bare statement that Ṭursun Faḳīh was the first to perform the Friday Prayer in ʿOthmān's name, with some versions adding that he also performed the Festival Prayer (*bayram namāzî*) in the same town (F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, Breslau 1922, 6). Some redactors also add a date to the event, sc. 687/1288 (Urudj b. ʿĀdil, ed. F. Babinger, *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Hanover 1925, 12; F. Giese, *loc. cit.*) or 689/1290 (Urudj, *op. cit.*, 86), which presumably they derived from 15th-century Ottoman chronological lists (for which, see V.L. Ménage, *Neshrī's history of the Ottomans*, London 1964, 14-19).

Since, in Ottoman tradition, the performance of the Friday Prayer in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār was a pivotal moment, marking the beginning of Ottoman political independence, Ṭursun Faḳīh became an important figure in Ottoman historiography, with successive writers adding "biographical" details to the bald statements in Urudj and the Anonymous Chronicles. ʿĀshiḳpashazāde [*q.v.*] (*Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Atsız, in *Osmanlı tarihleri*, Istanbul 1949, 103), writing in *ca.* 889/1484, adds that he acted as "*imām* to the people", and that ʿOthmān made him both *khaṭīb* and *ḳāḍī* in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār. Neshrī, in 890/1485, repeated ʿĀshiḳpashazāde in making him "*imām* to the people", omitted the detail that ʿOthmān appointed him *ḳāḍī*, but made the significant addition that he was an "intimate friend" (*āshinā*) of the holy dervish Edebali (F. Taeschner (ed.), *Ğihānnümā. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehemmed Neschri*, Leipzig 1951, 33), who in Ottoman tradition was father-in-law of ʿOthmān I. In the early 10th/16th century, Kemālpashazāde [*q.v.*] elaborated on this detail, making Ṭursun Faḳīh a saint (*ʿazīz*) and "guide to pious men", who "met and consulted with Edebali" on the question of the Friday Prayer (İbn-i Kemal, ed. Ş. Turan, *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, i, Ankara 1970, 111-12).

In the mid-10th/16th century, Ṭashköprüzāde (*al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿuthmāniyya*, Beirut 1975, 7) elaborated on the Edebali motif, stating that Ṭursun Faḳīh was Edebali's "relative by marriage" (*khatan*). This detail is important, since it linked Ṭursun Faḳīh through marriage to ʿOthmān I. Ṭashköprüzāde continues by stating that, like Edebali, Ṭursun Faḳīh came from Ḳaramān [*q.v.*]; that he studied *tafsīr, ḥadīth* and *uṣūl* with Edebali, who also maintained his pupil, and that after Edebali's death, Ṭursun Faḳīh succeeded him as *muftī*, and in "regulating the affairs of the Sultanate and in teaching the *sharʿī* sciences". Ṭashköprüzāde's 17th century translator and adaptor, Medjdī (*Terdjüme-yi Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul, 1269/1853) rendered the imprecise *khatan* ("relative by marriage") with *dāmād* ("son-in-law"). Medjdī also provides a slight variation on the original version of the Ṭursun Faḳīh story in the Anonymous Chronicles, by making him perform the first Festival Prayer, not in Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, but in Eskishehir [*q.v.*].

It is above all the materials in Ṭashköprüzāde and Medjdī which have provided the materials for modern historians (see e.g. Babinger's *EI*[1] art. s.v.), who often add imaginative details of their own.

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(C. IMBER)

ṬURṬŪSHA, currently TORTOSA, a town situated on the Ebro in Spain, close to the estuary of this river on the Mediterranean, in the province of Tarragona in Catalonia (Spain), with today approximately 30,000 inhabitants, on the ancient Iberian site of Dertosa, where the Romans established their colony of Julia Augusta. Arab geographers refer occasionally to this "town" (*madīna*), noting its location in the eastern sector of the "Upper March" of al-Andalus (*al-thaghr al-aʿlā*), of which the regional centre (*ḥāḍira*) Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa) was "120 miles" from Tortosa (according to al-ʿUdhrī); however, the various relations—in particular administrative dependence—between these two towns were not constant, given the fact of the stronger "vertical" association between points on this eastern seaboard of al-Andalus, and especially between Tortosa and Valencia (Balansiya), situated some "110 miles" apart (according to al-Idrīsī) or "120 miles... 4 days' march" (according to al-Ḥimyarī). The town of Tortosa was the centre of its own *kūra* or jurisdiction (*madīnat Ṭurṭūsha wa-ʿamaluhā*, var. *wa-aḳālīmuhā*), according to Arab sources, and al-Idrīsī mentions several fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*) in the area in his time: [Alcala of] Chivert, Horta, Tivisa, Morella, Mequinenza, Ulldecona, Llobregat (= Torreblanca?) and Peniscola. Geographers also refer to its antiquity, its robust walls and citadel (*ḳaṣaba*), an open-air oratory, the stone rampart surrounding the open *madīna* with its four gates, suburbs, the great mosque, four baths, bazaars and agricultural hamlets.

Like Tarragona, Tortosa was definitively conquered by the Muslims around the year A.D. 714 and its territory placed under the jurisdiction of Narbonne, as is indicated by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, ed. Madrid 1968, 30), referring to the first years of the amīrate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*]. The latter sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUḳba to govern "the *wilāya* of Narbonne and its territory as far as Tortosa", in territory reduced by Christian conquests, leaving Tortosa, especially after the loss of Barcelona by the Andalusians in 801, as the most important "outlying" town (*ḳāṣiya*, as it is frequently called in the Arabic sources) of this frontier, often attacked by the Christians throughout the 3rd/9th century who even took Tarragona [*q.v.*] at this time.

This frontier territory oscillated during the Umayyad period between local and centralist political tendencies: on the one hand were the "rebel" Buhlūl (d. 186/802) who took possession of Saragossa and of Tortosa, and the enterprises of two local chiefs of the Upper March (Muḥammad of the Shabrīṭ family in 301/913 and Muḥammad b. Lubb of the Banū Ḳasī in 316/928),

according to indications from al-ʿUdhrī implying the autonomy at that time of Tortosa; on the other hand, it is known that three Cordovan individuals were appointed governors of Tortosa by the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh in the last years of the 3rd/9th century. But central control was very much the hallmark of the caliphal policy of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. He is known to have appointed seven governors of Tortosa between 317/929 and 328/939-40, even visiting the town in 924, "improving the condition of its inhabitants" (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, v, 122), and encouraged maritime activity in its port (the foundation inscription of the naval construction workshop, commissioned by the caliph in 333/944-5, has been preserved, see Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions*, 83). Further attributable to this surge in activity is the [re-]construction in 345/956-7 of the Great Mosque of the town, with five naves. Tortosa remained under firm caliphal control during the 4th/10th century, although the place was "too distant to be visited" according to a verse of Abū Marwān al-Djazīrī, secretary and official poet of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], imprisoned by order of the Cordovan *ḥādjib* in the citadel of the town, "at the summit of a bare peak", according to another of his verses.

When civil war erupted, in Tortosa as in the rest of eastern al-Andalus, power was seized by commanders of the *Ṣaḳāliba* [*q.v.*]; from 1009, the taifa of Tortosa was dominated by the "king" (*malik*) Labīb, former *fatā* of al-Manṣūr (who also controlled the taifa of Valencia for a few months in 1018-19), and after him Muḳātil, another *fatā* of al-Manṣūr, who struck coinage at Tortosa, under his own name, from 431/1039-40 onward; after him came Yaʿlā, who also minted currency between 445/1053-4 and 450/1059, and finally Nabīl, with whom the "slave period" of the taifa of Tortosa came to an end in 452/1060. This was the year that the inhabitants of the town appealed to al-Muḳtadir of the Banū Hūd, ruler in Saragossa, and thus began the Hūdid dynasty which ruled Tortosa, initially through the same king of Saragossa and after 1081 through an autonomous branch of the family which also dominated Lerida (Lārida) and Denia (Dāniya), until the Almoravid conquest of Tortosa, at an unknown date, after their conquest of Valencia in 495/1102 and their occupation of Tarragona in 1114 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, section on the Almoravids). The Muslims succeeded in regaining Tortosa, after an initial Christian occupation in 512/1118, but as Almoravid power declined, the town was taken by Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona on 14 Shaʿbān 543/30 December 1148, the same year that Lerida and Fraga (Ifrāga) fell. The text of the "capitulations" given by the Christian prince to the Muslims has been preserved; those among them wbo stayed in the town had the status of Mudéjars [*q.v.*]. It is estimated that the population of Tortosa numbered 12,000 shortly before the Christian conquest.

The density of the Berber population of the territory of Tortosa, as early as the 8th century, has been remarked upon. The town enjoyed a sound cultural reputation, and the number of *ʿulamāʾ* and *fuḳahāʾ* born in Tortosa and mentioned by the sources amounts to 42 from between the first half of the 9th century and 1150, the best known of them being Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.*]). Tortosa and its port were the scene of intense economic activity, specialising in farm produce and manufacture and especially in the construction of "large vessels from the wood produced by the pine-covered mountains which surround the place" (according to al-Idrīsī). It was also a centre of long-distance trade.

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(MARIA J. VIGUERA)

AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-WALĪD b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Sulaymān b. Ayyūb al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī al-Andalusī al-Mālikī, also known as Ibn Abī Randaḳa (Rundaḳa according to Ibn Farḥūn in *al-Dībādj*), Arabic writer born *ca.* 451/1059 at Tortosa [see ṬURṬŪSHA] on the Spanish Mediterranean coast, died probably in 520/1126 (see below). He studied in Saragossa where he was the disciple of the eminent theologian Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bādjī (d. 474/1081 [*q.v.*]). Subsequently, in Seville, he attended lectures given by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm who specialised in the teaching of *adab*.

In 476/1084, al-Ṭurṭūshī made his way to the East, undertook the Pilgrimage, then visited, in the quest for knowledge, the majority of the great cultural centres of that time. He stayed for some time in Baghdād and although a Mālikī, attended classes there given by several eminent Shāfiʿī jurisconsults, including Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Abū Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī. In Baṣra, he was the pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Tustarī, and in the course of his extensive travels he studied incessantly, primarily *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth*. His wanderings led him, around 485/1092 to Syria, where he spent some time in studying and teaching and where he was visited, so it is said, by his compatriot, Abū Bakr al-Maʿāfirī al-Andalusī. He also visited Jerusalem with the intention of meeting there Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*], without success, probably because the latter was not often in residence there. After withdrawing for a time to Lebanon, leading an austere life dedicated to meditation and piety, he made his way to Egypt and visited Cairo before establishing himself definitively in Alexandria where he committed himself to the teaching of *fiḳh* and of *ḥadīth*. This gave him the opportunity to educate numerous disciples, some of whom were natives of Spain and of the Maghrib, the latter including Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (468-543/1075-1149),

the eminent traditionist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣafadī (d. 514/1120-1), the future Mahdī Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130 [*q.v.*]), and through *idjāza* [*q.v.*] alone, the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149 [*q.v.*]). At the beginning of his stay in Alexandria, he married the aunt of his loyal companion Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAwf. A pious woman with substantial property of her own, his wife brought him the material and familial support which he had lacked.

It was in Alexandria that al-Ṭurṭūshī died in 520/1126, but his biographers do not all concur with this date; he is said according to some to have died in Djumādā I 525/April 1131.

His most important work reflects his role as a traditionist and a rigorous *faḳīh*. Among the writings attributed to him, the best known are: (1) A summary of al-Thaʿlabī's Ḳur'ān commentary *al-Kashf wa 'l-bayān*; (2) *K. al-Fitan*; (3) *K. Sharḥ risālat Ibn Abī Zayd*; (4) A monumental work which aspired to be a response to the *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn* of al-Ghazālī, whose opinions were not always in accordance with the rigorous form of Mālikī orthodoxy preached by al-Ṭurṭūshī. In his *Bughya*, al-Ḍabbī recalls seeing a part of this work which has not, however, survived to the present day; (5) *K. Birr al-wālidayn* (a treatise on filial piety); (6) *K. al-Ḥawādith wa 'l-bidaʿ* (a book dealing with undesirable happenings and innovations, critical edition and notes by M. Talbi, Tunis 1959). This didactic work preaches scrupulous observation of religion as practised by the virtuous ancestors (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Certain indications included in this book give the impression that it could have been written in Egypt, after 480/1088. *Birr al-wālidayn* and *al-Ḥawādith wa 'l-bidaʿ* exist in manuscript form in the National Library of Madrid, no. 5341. (7) *Sirādj al-mulūk* is, incontestably, al-Ṭurṭūshī's most important work. It is a huge compilation including a large number of anecdotes and moral statements, presented in 64 chapters. Throughout this work, the author attempts "to represent the governmental ideal of an Islamic state over and above its practical organisation", giving "above all, theoretical views concerning the general rules of the public law of Islam" and underlining "the qualities which any sovereign must possess in order to govern with success and equity". It is appropriate to note that the content of this book is almost exclusively oriental, and the place occupied by the author's native land is extremely limited. Having completed the composition of this work on 14 Radjab 516/19 September 1122 at Fusṭāṭ, al-Ṭurṭūshī dedicated it to his protector, the *wazīr* al-Ma'mūn Ibn al-Baṭā'iḥī. The *Sirādj al-mulūk*, of which numerous manuscripts exist, was published in Būlāḳ in 1289, in Alexandria in 1299 (with al-Ghazālī's *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk* in the margins), in Cairo in 1311 (in the margins of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḳaddima*) and in 1319. A Spanish translation was published by M. Alarcon (*Lámpara de los príncipes*, Madrid 1930-1), now replaced by Maribel Fierro's translation and study, Madrid 1993. In his *Muḳaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn criticises al-Ṭurṭūshī severely, stating that the latter has not attained his avowed object since, in his *Sirādj*, he has been content to raise numerous subjects, statements and edifying tales, without any effort to draw the least lesson therefrom. He accuses him in fact of being a simple compiler without originality.

Nevertheless, al-Ṭurṭūshī was not devoid of literary talent. Attributed to him are several pieces of verse dealing principally with asceticism, but also diverse subjects including eroticism. While residing in Damascus, he one day heard someone reciting love poems of al-Waʾwā' [*q.v.*]. He remarked, "Does this Damascene believe that no one other than he is capable of telling such lies. If we wished, we could compose poetry just as deceitful [as that which we have just heard]", and promptly improvised nine verses taking as their theme the *ghazal*, using the same metre and the same rhyme. However, the majority of biographers stress the asceticism and unworldliness of al-Ṭurṭūshī, "whose asceticism, in the words of al-Ḥimyarī (*al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, 125), was more important to him than his knowledge".

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(A. BEN ABDESSELEM)

TURUNDJĀN (A.), more commonly *Bādrundjubūya*; Balm, *Melissa officinalis* L., of the Labiatae, the Lemon balm or bee plant, its synonyms being *badhrundjubūya*, *turudjān*, *ḥabaḳ al-turundjānī*, *ḥashīshat al-naḥl* (Ghaleb, i, 201). It is about 2 ft high, with small white flowers; its leaves have a characteristic lemon scent. It has been cultivated since Antiquity, was known in Spain in the 10th century A.D., and was possibly introduced further north by Benedictine monks (Fournier, 499).

Concerning its medicinal uses, al-Ṭabarī calls it gentle, good for palpitations when drunk or sniffed, and according to Ibn al-Bayṭār, it is *mālissūfulun*, or *mālissūfān*, *rayḥān al-turundjān*, *bādhrundjūya* or *bādhrunbūya* (*Tafsīr*, 247). This is a Persian name meaning "lemon-scented", he says. It is a cordial, and good for stings and bites, whether drunk in *sharāb* or used as a bandage. The leaves, chewed, are good for the teeth (*Djāmiʿ*, i, 74-5). According to Ibn Sīnā, it is hot and dry in the second degree, recommended for the heart and stomach and to relieve palpitations (*Ḳānūn*, ii, 272).

Its many gentle qualities ensured continuity of use. Culpeper (1616-54) recommends it externally and internally, and quotes "the Arabian physicians" Serapion and Avicenna: for the heart, and to promote good spirits, help digestion, and expel melancholy vapours (*Herbal*, 36-7). Much later, P. Fournier also quotes these two, and mentions both Melissa itself and "l'Eau de Mélisse" as still "remèdes populaires d'un renom universel" (500). It is today a popular garden herb, mostly used in infusions and cold drinks.

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(PENELOPE C. JOHNSTONE)

ṬŪS, a district in Khurāsān, original Persian form Tōs (also thus in the later 8th century Armenian geography, see Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 11, 47), which played a notable part in the medieval Islamic period of Persia's Islamic history.

1. History.

In early Islamic times, Ṭūs was the name of a district containing several towns. The town of Nawḳān flourished down to the end of the 3rd/9th century. The form Nawḳān < Nōḳan is confirmed by the present name of the Mas̲h̲had quarter Nawg̲h̲ān (where the diphthong *aw* corresponds to the old *wāw-i mad̲j̲hūl*, i.e. *ō*). At a later date, the other town Ṭābarān became more important and was considerably extended so that the original Ṭābarān seems to have become one of the suburbs of the new town which then became generally known as Ṭūs. The name Mas̲h̲had [*q.v.*], at first a simple sanctuary in the village of Sanābād, is already mentioned in al-Muḳaddasī. Mas̲h̲had first of all encroached upon the adjoining town of Nawḳān, the name of which disappears *ca.* 1330. In 791/1389 Ṭūs was destroyed and never rebuilt. The waters which supplied it were diverted to Mas̲h̲had. Under the Ṣafawids this, the sacred city of the S̲h̲īʿīs, became the capital of the old district of Ṭūs (the valley of the Kas̲h̲af-rūd) and of all K̲h̲urāsān.

Situation. Two ranges of mountains stretch along the north of K̲h̲urāsān. The one (Kopet Dag̲h̲, etc.) rises in the north of K̲h̲urāsān and runs through Transcaspiana. The other (which is a continuation of the Alburz) is parallel to it in the south. To the south of Ḳūčān, the two approach one another, and this narrowing forms the watershed. By the corridor which opens towards the northwest the Atrak descends to the Caspian. Through the plain in the southeast runs the river Kas̲h̲af Rūd "Tortoise river", a left-bank tributary of the Harī Rūd (river of Harāt). The district of Ṭūs lies on the upper part of it. The outer spurs of the southern range (Binālūd-kuh, with peaks of some 850 km/2,800 feet) separate it from Nīs̲h̲āpūr, and the river's waters lose themselves to the south in the central desert.

The toponymy of the region suggest ancient, even pre-Iranian origins. The name of the settlement Ṭābarān preserves the name of the *Tapyroi* or *Topeiroi* of Arrian, *Anabasis*, III. 8.4 and 11.4, and that of Tōs apparently preserves that of Sousia, the first city of the province of Areia reached by Alexander in his eastwards march, cf. Arrian, III. 25.1 (Markwart-Messina, *op. cit.*, 47-8). In the *S̲h̲āh-nāma*, Tōs-i Nōd̲h̲arān is represented as the hereditary commander-in-chief (*spāhbad̲h̲*) of the forces of Īrān during the reigns of Kay Kāwūs and Kay K̲h̲usraw.

We have very little information about Tōs in the Sāsānid period, but in the acts of the Nestorian Church for 497 there is first mentioned a bishop of Tōs and Abars̲h̲ahr (= Nīs̲h̲āpūr [*q.v.*]), indicating a significant Christian community there (I. Guidi, *Ostsyrische Bischöfe*, in *ZDMG*, xliii [1888], 410).

The Arab conquest. According to a story given by al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 334, *ca.* 29/649 the *marzbān* of Ṭūs wrote simultaneously to the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, inviting them to K̲h̲urāsān, on condition that the conqueror should put him in possession of this province. K̲h̲urāsān was conquered under ʿUt̲h̲mān (in 29-31/649-61) by the governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz. The *marzbān* of Nīs̲h̲āpūr, after some resistance, agreed to pay a tribute (*waẓīfa*) of 1,000,000 dirhams (another version, 7,000,000 dirhams) while the *marzbān* of Ṭūs (Knāztk; read Kanārang) appeared before ʿAbd Allāh and made peace by paying 600,000 dirhams (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 405). One would think that the two *marzbān*s were different individuals, and al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 296, tr. Wiet, 114 also speaks of a letter from the *malik* of Ṭūs and of ʿAbd Allāh's reply which the descendants (? *walad*) of the *malik* still preserved in his time. According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2886, however, when ʿAbd Allāh had established himself in Nīs̲h̲āpūr, the other half of the province, i.e. Nasā and Ṭūs, remained in the hands of the Kanārē, with whom ʿAbd Allāh had to make peace in order to be able to go on to Marw. As Marquart has shown, the title Kanārang (or Kanārē, in Greek Χαναράγγης, cf. Procopius, *De bello persico*, i, chs. 5, 7, 21, 23) was that of the hereditary governors of all the province of Abars̲h̲ahr (Nīs̲h̲āpūr, Ṭūs, Nasā and Abīward) probably descended from a pre-Sāsānid dynasty (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75; Christensen, *L'empire des Sasanides*[2], 108 n.). The intrigues to which al-Balād̲h̲urī and al-Yaʿḳūbī allude and which were to facilitate the conquest may have originated with some member of the family of the Kanārang, a rival of the lord of Nīs̲h̲āpūr.

In the period of Arab rule Ṭūs played no independent part, but its name is often mentioned in the records of civil wars. Under the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), the citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by a body of the Banū Tamīm (al-Balād̲h̲urī, 415), who still held control in 125 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1771). In 130/747-8, Ḳaḥṭaba [*q.v.*], the lieutenant of Abū Muslim, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] near Ṭūs (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2000; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, v, 282, 292, 295). In 184/800 a certain Abu 'l-K̲h̲aṣīb of Nasā rebelled in K̲h̲urāsān and for a time seized Ṭūs, Nīs̲h̲āpūr, etc. On 3 D̲j̲umādā II 193/24 March 809, Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who was operating in K̲h̲urāsān against the rebel Rāfiʿ b. Layt̲h̲ b. Naṣr b. Sayyār, died at Ṭūs (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 733). On 1 Ṣafar 203/8 August 818 the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died in the village of Sanābād of Ṭūs. According to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vi, 203, al-Maʾmūn prayed to God for the deceased and interred him near the tomb of his father ("in the garden of Ḥumayd b. Ḳaḥṭaba", following Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil quoted by Yāḳūt). Sanābād is the modern Mas̲h̲had. The tomb of Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, now completely disappeared, was beside that of the Imām ʿAlī for, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 79, tr. Gibb, iii, 583, the ʿAlid pilgrims who visited the latter used to kick the tomb of Hārūn (which, however, was still kept in good order in the 8th/14th century).

According to al-Idrīsī, Muḳān (read Nawḳān) was the capital of the Ṭāhirids, but "after the siege" the capital was moved to Nīs̲h̲āpūr (between 213/828 and 230/844-5; see ṬĀHIRIDS). The historical sources state that in 265/878 Ṭūs was destroyed (*uk̲h̲ribat*), evidently as a result of the rebellion of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-K̲h̲ud̲j̲istānī, an old retainer of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir who had seized Nīs̲h̲āpūr in 262/875-6 (*ibid.*, iii, 1931; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vii, 227; cf. Defrémery, *Mémoire... sur Ahmad, fils d'Abd Allāh*, in *JA* [1845], 345-62). Al-Yaʿḳūbī (278/891) still mentions Nawḳān as the principal town of Ṭūs. In 283/896 the Ṣaffārid ʿAmr b. al-Layt̲h̲ [*q.v.*] reported to the caliph that his men had defeated near Ṭūs the Amīr Rāfiʿ b. Hart̲h̲ama who had been asserting his independence in K̲h̲urāsān from 271/884 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2160; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, vii, 334).

The Sāmānids. In 309/921-2 Laylī b. Nuʿmān, one of the generals of the ʿAlid *dāʿī* al-Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim, came to Nīs̲h̲āpūr and had the *k̲h̲uṭba* read there in the name of his chief. By orders of the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, Ḥammūya b. ʿAlī left Buk̲h̲ārā against Laylī. He was at first defeated near Ṭūs, but Laylī later lost his life (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, viii, 91). In 336/947, the governor of Ṭūs and its dependencies Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ rebelled against Nūḥ b. Naṣr. The

latter sent Manṣūr b. Ḳaratigin to Khurāsān. Muḥammad went from Nīshāpūr to Ustuwā (= Kūčān). His brother Rāfiʿ was besieged in the fort of Sumaylān and later in the fort of Darak (3 farsakhs from Sumaylān). Sumaylān was dismantled, but Rāfiʿ succeeded in retaining what was left at Darak. Lastly, in 339/950-1, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, being pardoned by Nūḥ returned to Ṭūs (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 353, 361). The personality of Abū Manṣūr is particularly interesting on account of his friendship with Firdawsī (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, i, 20, ed. Vullers, i, 10-11). Abū Manṣūr beautified the Friday mosque of the town of Ṭābarān, which henceforth was the first in Ṭūs (al-Muḳaddasī, 319). In 349/960 Abū Manṣūr was appointed *sipahsālār*, but immediately dismissed in favour of Alptigin [*q.v.*]. The latter settled in Nīshāpūr, and Abū Manṣūr retired to his fief of Ṭūs. In 350/961, after the accession of the Sāmānid Manṣūr, Alptigin fell into disgrace. Abū Manṣūr, who had sent troops from Ṭābarān and Nawḳān towards Čāha (on the road from Nīshāpūr to Marw; cf. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 51), did not succeed in stopping Alptigin. Fearing the wrath of his master, Abū Manṣūr rebelled and was ultimately poisoned (Gardīzī, *Ẓayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 41-4).

The geographers of the 4th/10th century place the district of Ṭūs on the Nīshāpūr-Sarakhs road (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 24; Ḳudāma, 201), Al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 277, tr. 83, states that Nawḳān was the largest town there and that the local people were mainly Persian but with some Arabs of Ṭayyiʾ and other tribes. This same author says that the land-tax of the district was included in that of Nīshāpūr, though Ibn Khurradādhbih estimated it separately at 740,860 dirhams. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, comm. 376, enumerates five settlements in the Ṭūs district and mentions the turquoise, copper, lead and antimony found in the nearby hills.

Al-Muḳaddasī, author of the most complete description of Khurāsān, emphasises the subordinate character of Ṭūs. "If some have said that Nīshāpūr has eclipsed Ṭūs, one would reply that Ṭūs has never been a large town to be eclipsed." Al-Muḳaddasī repeats several times that Ṭūs, like Nasā and Abīward, is only a *khizāna* ("granary, depot") of the *kūra* of Nīshāpūr (50, 295, 300, 301 n. *b*). Among the towns of the district of Ṭūs, he mentions al-Ṭābarān, al-Nawḳān, al-Rādkān, Djnābd, Ustūrḳān, Trūghbdh (the last three are uncertain). The largest of these at this time was al-Ṭābarān (375/985). It had a citadel and from the distance resembled Medina. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions its busy market in which there was the cathedral mosque which Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ had embellished (*zakhrafa*). The water ran in shallow subterranean canals; fruits and firewood were abundant and the prices of merchandise moderate. In spite of all this, al-Ṭābarān was a wretched little town (*bulayda*) the outskirts of which were in ruins, the water bad and the climate cold. The inhabitants professed the Shāfiʿī law school and were capable of being very troublesome in times of turmoil. Ṭūs produced stone cooking vessels (*birām*, sing. *burma*), mats and wheat, as well as striped materials and *tikak* (trouser cords) of good quality. Al-Nawḳān was below al-Ṭābarān (*dūna*, perhaps "lower down the river"). In Mashhad there was a citadel with houses and a market; the mosque built on the tomb by ʿAmīd al-Dawla Fāʾiḳ was the best in Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 319, 323, 324-5, 333).

The Ghaznawids. In 385/995, when Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin [*q.v.*] was installed in Nīshāpūr by the Sāmānid Nūḥ II, Abū ʿAlī Sīmdjūrī and Fāʾiḳ (a former Sāmānid general, builder of the mosque of Mashhad; cf. al-Muḳaddasī, 333), refugees in Djurdjān, attempted to reconquer Khurāsān, but Sebüktigin defeated them near the village of Andarakh (?) of Ṭūs (Gardīzī, 56; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 75; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 262). In 389/999, Maḥmūd sought to reassert his rights over Khurāsān. His rival Begtuzun was driven from Ṭūs and in his stead Maḥmūd appointed his chief *amīr* Arslan Djādhib, who is still mentioned as lord of Ṭūs in 401/1010-11 and 420/1029 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 103, 155, 267). In 397/1006-7, however, the Ḳara-Khānids of Transoxiana sent an expedition which took Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr; but the tables were soon turned when Maḥmūd returned from India (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 272). Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 283, without giving a date, records that Maḥmūd as a result of a dream rebuilt the sepulchral building of Ṭūs (i.e. Mashhad) which his father Sebüktigin had destroyed, and prevented the People of Ṭūs (i.e. the Shāfiʿīs ?) from harassing the pilgrims (ʿAlids).

The Saldjūḳs. In 421/1030 the Saldjūḳs, making short shrift of the attempts at conciliation made by the Ghaznawid Masʿūd, penetrated into Balkh, Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs and Djurdjān. In 425/1034 their strength increased, which had repercussions on the situation generally. Turbulent elements gathered round the people of Ṭūs, who declared war on Nīshāpūr. The governor of this town fled, but the *amīr* of Kirmān, who was on his way to Masʿūd, arrived with 300 horsemen. The people of Nīshāpūr defeated those of Ṭūs and Abīward. The *amīr* of Kirmān massacred 20,000 people of Ṭūs. He crucified them on trees and along the roads. The landlords of the villages (*zuʿamāʾ ḳurā Ṭūs*) had to give hostages.

In 428/1036-7 Masʿūd's commander-in-chief (*su-bashi*), defeated by the Saldjūḳs near Sarakhs, was driven back to Ṭūs. In 430/1038-9 Khurāsān became the arena of the struggle between Masʿūd and the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl. The latter from Ustuwā (Ḳūčān) took refuge in "the inaccessible mountains and difficult passes" of Ṭūs. Since from there Ṭoghrïl went to Abīward, the reference is probably to the district of Kalāt. Some people of Ṭūs who had been intriguing with Ṭoghrïl entrenched themselves on an inaccessible summit, but in spite of the winter these positions were taken by Masʿūd, who personally directed the attack.

In 465/1072 Malik-Shāh conferred on Niẓām al-Mulk a number of fiefs including Ṭūs, the native city of the great vizier (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 54). Niẓām al-Mulk is said to have built there two Friday mosques, one at Ṭūs and the other at Nawḳān.

In 510/1116 a disputation at Ṭūs on ʿĀshūrāʾ day (10 Muḥarram) between an ʿAlawī and the Sunnī religious scholars ended in great riots. The Sunnī inhabitants laid siege to Mashhad and did great damage there. To protect Mashhad against such attacks again, a wall was built around the town in 515/1121 (*ibid.*, x, 366). In 548/1153 the Ghuzz, having captured Sultan Sandjar, invaded Ṭūs, this "mine of learned and pious men", slew the men, carried off the women and destroyed the mosques. Of all the *wilāyat* of Ṭūs, only the place (*balad*) where the Imām ʿAlī was buried was uninjured. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of individuals of note slain on this occasion.

The family of al-Muʾayyid. In 548/1153 a slave of Sultan Sandjar, Ay-Aba al-Muʾayyid, carved out for himself a small principality including Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Nasā, Dāmghān, etc. Sandjar's successor, his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad the Ḳara-Khānid,

had to be content with the payment of tribute by Mu'ayyid. In 552/1157 Mu'ayyid's rival Aytāḳ devastated Ṭūs and its townships, after which the district was left waste (*ibid.*, xi, 150). In 553/1158 the Ghuzz, having defeated Mu'ayyid near Marw, pursued him and sacked Ṭūs. In the same period, a quarrel broke out in Khurāsān between the leader of the Shāfi'īs, al-Mu'ayyid b. Ḥusayn, and the 'Alawids. The people of Ṭūs, Isfarāyin and Djuwayn supported this other al-Mu'ayyid, but the Shāfi'īs were vanquished. These internecine struggles brought about fresh devastation (*ibid.*, xi, 155). In 555/1160, al-Mu'ayyid Ay-Aba, after a quarrel, had a reconciliation with Maḥmūd, and as soon as he was re-established in his post began to harass the 'Alawīs. In 556/1161, his suzerain Maḥmūd, who was dependent on the Ghuzz, quarrelled with them. The Ghuzz sacked Ṭūs violently (*nahb^{an} fāḥish^{an}*), including Mashhad, but did not touch the sanctuary. In 557/1161 Mu'ayyid blinded Sultan Maḥmūd and had the *khuṭba* said in his own name (*ibid.*, xi, 180; Barthold, *op. cit.*, 335). He laid siege to the fortress of Waskarah-Khūy (?) which belonged to Ṭūs, where a certain Abū Bakr Djāndār had installed himself. Mu'ayyid took the fortress and Karastān (?) also. In 558/1163, Mu'ayyid recognised the suzerainty of the Saldjūḳ sultan Arslan b. Ṭoghril. Ibn al-Athīr gives a list of his lands, which included Ḳūmis, Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs and extended from Nasā to Tabas-Knklī (?). In 568/1172-3 Mu'ayyid, who had taken the side of the Kh^{w}ārazmshāh Sulṭān Shāh Maḥmūd, was taken and executed by the latter's brother Tekish. Under Toghan Shāh, son and successor of Mu'ayyid, his slave Ḳara-Ḳush in 568/1172-3 took Ṭūs and Zām (= Djām; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248). According to another source used by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 253, the Kh^{w}ārazmshāh Tekish (in 568?), before his final struggle with Mu'ayyid, advanced as far as Ṭūs.

The Kh^{w}ārazmshāhs and the Ghūrids. In 594/1198 Tekish, who had risen against the Ghūrids with the help of the Ḳara-Khitay, went by Ṭūs to Harāt. In 597/1200-1 the Ghūrid Ghiyāth al-Dīn seized the lands of the Kh^{w}ārazmshāh in Khurāsān. Ṭūs surrendered after a siege of three days and was sacked (Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahān-gushāy*, ii, 48).

The Mongols. At the beginning of Rabī' II 617/ May 1220, the generals of Čingiz Khān Yeme (Djebe) and Sübetey pursuing the Kh^{w}ārazmshāh came to Nīshāpūr. Sübetey left for Djām and Ṭūs. The eastern township of "Ṭūs-Nawḳān" submitted but the inhabitants of the town (i.e. Ṭūs-Ṭābarān) did not give a satisfactory reply and Sübetey ordered a great massacre (*katl-i ba-ifrāṭ*) in the town and vicinity (Djuwaynī, i, 114-15). After the two generals had gone, the people were able to breath again (*ibid.*, 117). The chief of the militia of Ṭūs (*hashariyān*) was bold enough to kill the Mongol *shiḥna*, but the Mongol general Ḳishtimur, hastening from Ustuwā (= Ḳūčān) arrested the culprit and began to dismantle the fortifications. In the meanwhile, the advance guards of the army of Toluy, son of Čingiz-Khān, had arrived in Khurāsān. The last forts of Ṭūs were occupied. Nawḳān (and Ḳār ?) resisted vigorously; but Nawḳān was taken on 28 Rabī' II 617. In the spring of 618/1221, Toluy himself arrived from Marw. At one stroke the army occupied all places in the district of Ṭūs and the last remnants of the population were put to death (*ibid.*, i, 136-8). The citadel of Ṭūs was occupied by an adventurer, Tādj al-Dīn Farīzana'ī, who submitted to Külbulat (?), who was sent by the Mongol governor of Khurāsān Khamīdbūr (Djuwaynī, ii, 220). In 637/1239 the Uyghur Buddhist Kürküz ("the Long") was appointed to Khurāsān and made Ṭūs his headquarters. In all the town (the old Ṭābarān) there were only 50 houses still inhabited. Kürküz began to build government offices (*'imārat*). "Contrary to the Mongol custom", he built a solid treasury (*khizāna*) in the centre of the citadel (*ḥiṣār*). The town began to recover rapidly, and the prices of municipal plots went up a hundredfold in a week (Djuwaynī, ii, 238, 240).

Kürküz was succeeded by the famous Oyrat *amīr* Arghūn. On returning from his journey to the *ordu* in 643/1245-6, he saw that the Manṣūriyya palace and the forts (*kuṣūr*) were completely in ruins, and gave orders to rebuild them (*ibid.*, ii, 245, 247). Confirmed in office by Möngke (649/1251-2), Arghūn entrusted the government of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs to Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Alī (*ibid.*, ii, 255). Arghūn then entered the service of Hülegü, and in the reign of Abaḳa died in 673/1275 at Rādkān of Ṭūs (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 559). The place of death of Arghūn suggests that his own estates were in the district.

Christians in Ṭūs. Traces of Christianity must have survived in Ṭūs from the Sāsānid period (see above). In the biography of Shaykh Abū Sa'īd (967-1049), the *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Žukovski, 70, we have a curious story of his meeting with the child who was later to become Niẓām al-Mulk (born in 408/1017-18) at Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān) "at the beginning of the street of the Christians" (*bar sar-i kūy-i tarsāyān*). In the Mongol period, the Christians enjoyed greater freedom. When in 1278 the future patriarch Yahballāhā III was on his way from Mongolia to Jerusalem, he went to the monastery of Mār Ṣehyōn "near the town of Ṭūs" and there received the blessing of the bishop and of the monks. In the year 1590 of the Greeks (= 1279) the bishop of Ṭūs, Simeon, was ordained metropolitan of China (Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ii, 449).

The geographers and travellers of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Yāḳūt, iii, 560, gives few details about Ṭūs and only reproduces the fables of Abū Dulaf about a powerful stronghold on the road between Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr built by a king of the South Arabian Tubba's. Under Ṭābarān (iii, 486) and Nawḳān (iv, 824) Yāḳūt says, "Ṭūs consists of two towns of which the larger is Ṭābarān". At Nawḳān Yāḳūt mentions the manufacture of pots and cauldrons of stone (cf. *LA*, xiv, 311 on the stone pots which the pilgrims bring from Mashhad).

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 77-8, tr. Gibb, iii, 582 Ṭūs (= Ṭābarān), which he reached from Djām, was one of the largest towns in Khurāsān. From Ṭūs he went to Mashhad, which at this time must have encroached upon Nawḳān for of the latter the traveller says nothing and from this time the name disappears completely.

The Djūn-Ghurbān. These rulers were the direct descendants of Nawrūz b. Arghun. Their name, which was probably that of one of the sections of the Mongol tribe of Oyrat (**dzunghurban* = "the three [detachments] of the left [wing]"), was later given a Persian dress as Djānḳurbān ("those who sacrifice their souls"). After the extinction of the Il-Khānid Mongol dynasty of Persia, the son of Nawrūz, called Arghun Shāh, won for himself a kingdom in Khurāsān which, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (quoted in Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, Princeton 1984, 103), included Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt, Abīward, Nasā and Marw. Dawlat-Shāh (Bombay 1887, 121) calls Arghun Shāh "*pādshāh* of Nīshāpūr and Ṭūs" but in 738/1337-8 Nīshāpūr was taken from him by the Sarbadār Mas'ūd. Arghun Shāh played a considerable part in the election of Togha Temür [*q.v.*]. After the latter's death (754/1353),

his possessions were divided among the Sarbadārs, the Karts and Arghun Shāh, but the Sarbadār Karābī at some time took Ṭūs from Arghun Shāh [see SARBADĀRIDS].

The successors of Arghun Shāh were his sons Muḥammad Beg and ʿAlī Beg. When at the beginning of 783/1381 Tīmūr came to Ṭūs, ʿAlī Beg went to pay homage to him, but in the winter of 1381 he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalāt. After many vicissitudes, ʿAlī Beg surrendered to Shaykh ʿAlī Bahādur in 784/1382. As a reward, Tīmūr gave the latter Rādkān. ʿAlī Beg was deported to Andidjān and executed there towards the end of the year. Others of the Djūn-Ghurbānīs were exiled to Tashkent (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 324, 335, 351, 385). But in 791/1389 a rising took place in Khurāsān which was joined by the Sarbadārs, Ḥādjdjī Beg (younger brother of ʿAlī Beg), and the troops of Kalāt and Ṭūs. The *Ẓafar-nāma* briefly records the suppression of the rising by Mīrān-Shāh (i, 468-9). A much more detailed account is quoted by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Maṭlaʿ al-shams*, i, 208-9. Tīmūr is said himself to have appointed Ḥādjdjī Beg to Ṭūs (in 789/1388?), where he amassed great wealth. The rumours of Tokhtamish's successes turned Ḥādjdjī Beg's head, and he stopped the *khuṭba* for Tīmūr and proclaimed his desire for independence. He fought for several months with the *amīr* Aḳ Buḳa, who remained faithful to Tīmūr. On the arrival of Mīrān Shāh, Ḥādjdjī Beg fled but was captured and put to death. The town was taken in Radjab 791/July 1389; 10,000 men were killed and towers of skulls (*manāra*) erected at the gate of the city. "No trace was left of Ṭūs." In 807/1404-5 again, Tīmūr had executed near ʿIshḳābād (Ashkhābād) the Djūn-Ghurbānīs Aḳ Buḳa and Ḳara Buḳa, who had been plotting in his absence (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 592). At the present day, the country north of Mashhad (from Čolay-khāna to Ḳalʿa-yi-Yūsuf Khān which is 4 farsakhs north of Ḳūčān) is called the encampment (*yurt*) of the Djūnī-Ghurbānī tribe (Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, i, 158).

The end of Ṭūs. Ṭūs (i.e. Ṭābarān) was never able to recover from the events of 791/1389. It is true that Shāhrukh after his accession to the throne of Khurāsān in 807/1404-5 sent to Ṭūs the *amīr* Sayyid Khʷādja with orders to rebuild the town. In 809/1406-7, Ṭūs, Ḳūčān, Kalāt, etc., were given to prince Ulugh Beg. In the period of the decline of Tīmūr's line, some members of it exercised more or less independent power at Ṭūs: in 862/1458 Mīrzā Shāh Maḥmūd and in 905/1494-1500 Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn (son of Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara).

In 918/1512 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān Özbeg, having raised the siege of Harāt, came to Ṭūs and Isfarāyin, but after some months evacuated Khurāsān on the approach of Shāh Ismāʿīl. In 927/1521 the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* mentions a governor "of Ṭūs and Mashhad". Khanikov found at Ṭūs a funerary inscription of a *shāh-zāda* Ibrāhīm dated 983. The argument of the same traveller from the fact that the name Ṭūs does not disappear from Persian astrolabes till the 12th century A.H. is by no means conclusive; the tenaciousness of geographical memories is well known. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his *Haft iḳlīm* no longer mentions Ṭūs; in speaking of Mashhad he says "this *wilāyat* was at one time called Ṭūs". At the beginning of the 19th century, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran 1315/1897-8, 354, says: "This was a well-known town in Khurāsān. Destiny has so destroyed it that all that remains is a village of 30 houses."

Two causes have contributed to the disappearance of Ṭābarān-Ṭūs: the weakness of its geographical situation in the plain, open to every invader, and the popularity of Mashhad which is protected by the renown and sanctity of its sanctuary, and attracts crowds of pilgrims. The Indian traveller ʿAbd al-Karīm, who visited Mashhad with Nādir Shāh in 1153/1741, rightly observed that the splendour of this town caused the ruin of Ṭūs (tr. Langlès, Paris 1797, 74).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see for the older travellers, etc., the *EI*[1] art. and also Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Maṭlaʿ al-shams*, Tehran 1301/1884, i, 179-275 (on the history, the monuments and the famous sons of Ṭūs); Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 388-91; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 102-5.

(V. MINORSKY*)

2. Monuments.

The surface remains of the urban site and surviving buildings were noted by Western travellers in Persia from the time of J.B. Fraser (1821-2) and were subsequently described by Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla (see *Bibl.* to 1. above) and by such visitors as O'Donovan, Curzon, Yate, Žukovski and Williams Jackson, with the Hārūniyya (see below) described in detail by Diez together with a plan and sectional drawing.

The surface remains of Ṭūs include the mud-brick city walls, forming an irregular circle enclosing an area some 1 km/two-thirds of a mile across, with remains of over 100 towers and nine gates. On the north side of this area is the *arg* or citadel, a square fortress each side of which is some 180 m/600 feet long with twelve towers and a protective ditch. Within this *arg*, on an artificial mound, is an oblong-shaped fort with nine towers.

The site of the poet Firdawsī's [*q.v.*] tomb has traditionally been located at Ṭūs, shown within the town's ruins near the northeastern part of the wall. Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 51, visited it in 510/1116-17 and located it in a garden which had belonged to Firdawsī "inside" (*darūn*) the Rizān Gate. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 151, tr. 149, located the tomb on the *ḳiblī*, i.e. southwestern side of Ṭūs. It is still a popular resort of Persians, now with a modern mausoleum constructed in the Pahlavī period at the expense of a Zoroastrian deputy to the Tehran *Madjlis*, Arbāb Kay Khusraw.

In the midst of the ruins stands the building popularly known as the Hārūniyya, since local people consider it to be the mausoleum of Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] (though Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 79, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iii, 583, noted that the caliph's tomb was actually in the shrine of Mashhad al-Riḍā [see MASHHAD. i], where Shīʿī pilgrims could conveniently kick and curse it). First studied by Diez, it is a rectangular structure with vaulted portal, square dome chamber (probably once double), a dome of fired brick and three auxiliary rooms. There is stucco decoration but no surviving dated or named inscription. It was once considered to stem from the 8th/14th century, but a mid-6th/12th century date for its construction now seems more probable, on the comparative evidence of other Central Asian and Khurāsānian mausolea, e.g. that of Sandjar at Marw. Whether the tomb marked is that of the Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (a tomb of his at Ṭūs, outside Ṭabarān, is mentioned by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 49, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 77, tr. 582) is undetermined.

Bibliography: J.B. Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1825, 517-20; E. O'Donovan, *The Merv oasis*, London

1882, ii, 15-16; V.A. Žukovski, *Mogila Firdousi*, in *ZVOIRAO*, vi (1892), 308-14; G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, 174; C.E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 316; A.V. Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam*, New York 1911, 266-96; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Vienna 1918, 55-62, figs. 25-6, pls. 19-20; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, 1072-4, figs. 383-5, pl. 380; D.N. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid period*, New York 1955, 145-6; D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic architecture and its decoration, A.D. 800-1500*, London 1964, 65; Grabar, *The earliest Islamic commemorative structures. Notes and documents*, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi (1966), 38; Nasratollah Mechkati, *Monuments et sites historiques de l'Iran*, Tehran n.d. [*ca.* 1968], 95; Sylvia A. Matheson, *Persia, an archaeological guide*, London 1972, 203. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

TŪSĀN, a village in the oasis of Marw in Khurāsān, according to al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, ix, 94-5 (who names various *ʿulamāʾ* from it; cf. also Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 49), two farsakhs from the chef-lieu Marw al-Shāhidjān [*q.v.*]. Its chief fame is that, at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, in 130/747-8, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*], threatened by the rising under Abū Muslim, appointed his commander Abu 'l-Dhayyāl over Tūsān; but the latter's oppressive behaviour prompted Abū Muslim to send a force which defeated Abu 'l-Dhayyāl (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1970; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 370).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

AL-ṬŪSĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN b. ʿAlī Abū Djaʿfar, Imāmī Shīʿī scholar, b. Ramaḍān 385/995 in Ṭūs, d. 459 or 460/1066-7 in Nadjaf.

After completing his preliminary studies, in 408/1017 he left Khurāsān, fundamentally Shāfiʿī and to an increasing degree controlled by the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd, in favour of Baghdād, where the Shīʿī Buwayhids were dominant. There, he studied under leading Imāmī masters including Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Abī Djūd, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ahwāzī, al-Ghaḍāʾirī, Ibn ʿAbdūn, and, in particular, the powerful doyen of Imāmī rationalists permeated by Muʿtazilī dialectic, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd [*q.v.*], of whom he quickly became, in spite of his youth, one of the favourite pupils (on the rationalist evolution of Imāmism, see Amir Moezzi, 1992, 15-48). On the death of al-Mufīd in 413/1022, his disciple al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā [*q.v.*], who had also studied under the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār [*q.v.*], took over the leadership of the Imāmīs of the capital. Al-Ṭūsī subsequently became his principal disciple. Eminent scholars and former pupils of al-Mufīd, such as al-Nadjāshī, al-Karādjakī or Abū Yaʿlā al-Djaʿfarī, were still living in Baghdād, but on the death of al-Murtaḍā in 436/1044 he was succeeded by al-Ṭūsī. In fact, by this time he had already amassed an impressive bibliography and had succeeded in gaining the support of numerous Buwayhids and of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim (422-67/1031-75), who appointed him to the principal chair of theology, the most prestigious of the capital. Heir to a substantial proportion of the great Imāmī libraries of the time, that of the *dār al-ʿilm* founded by Sābūr b. Ardashīr (more than 100,000 works) and that of al-Murtaḍā (almost 80,000 works), al-Ṭūsī composed some fifty books and his house, in the Shīʿī quarter of Karkh [*q.v.*], became for a period of more than ten years the virtual intellectual centre of Imāmism.

Under the Buwayhids, numerous religious riots had caused bloodshed in the capital. In 447-8/1056-7, after the al-Basāsīrī episode, the invasion of Baghdād by the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl and the end of the Buwayhids, the anti-Shīʿī coalition, led by Ḥanbalī traditionalists, sacked the quarters of Karkh and of Bāb al-Ṭāḳ. Al-Ṭūsī's home and library were burnt and he himself took refuge in Nadjaf. There he remained until his death, continuing to teach a limited circle of disciples, including his own son Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan who succeeded him. Also worthy of mention among his disciples were Sulaymān al-Ṣahrashtī, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh (nephew of Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ), Isḥāḳ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī (grandson of al-Ṣadūḳ), Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī (grandfather of the famous author of the *Manāḳib*) and also al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī.

In his work, al-Ṭūsī attempts to modify the radically rationalist and pragmatic positions of al-Murtaḍā (positions already present in embryonic form in the work of al-Mufīd): rehabilitation of the first traditionists, validity of traditions attested by a single authority so long as these are conveyed by reliable sources and conditional validity of traditions conveyed by transmitters professing "deviant" doctrines. In politics, serving an unlawful government (in this instance, the ʿAbbāsid caliphate) is in certain circumstances desirable, and collaboration with a power claiming that its authority derives from the Hidden Imām (a clear reference to the Buwayhids) can be commendable, but neither the one nor the other is ever obligatory (as was apparently advocated by al-Murtaḍā). At the same time, al-Ṭūsī has constant recourse to reasoned argumentation based on *idjtihād* and he begins to sketch the notion of the "general representation" (*al-niyāba al-ʿāmma*) of the Hidden Imām entrusted to jurist-theologians who may, if the need arises, exercise the prerogatives traditionally reserved for the historical Imāms. In completing and modifying the work of al-Mufīd and of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī succeeded in endowing Imāmī law with a structure and a scope of activity practically independent of the figure of the Imām. Thus his work was to provide rationalist Imāmism, known from the following century onward as *al-uṣūliyya*, with solid intellectual bases, enabling it to experience a lengthy evolution which would lead ultimately to an ever-increasing assumption of power by Imāmī *mudjtahids* in the economic, social and political fields. The immense and lasting influence of the work of al-Ṭūsī earned him the honorific nickname of *Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa [al-Imāmiyya]* or simply *al-Shaykh*.

In his *Fihrist*, al-Ṭūsī gives a list of 43 of his own works; later he would have composed several more (Ṭihrānī, introd. to *Tibyān*). They are devoted to exegesis (3 titles), law (11), the foundations of law (2), *ḥadīth* (3), *ridjāl* (3), theology and heresiography (16), prayers and Imāmī piety (5), historiography (2), replies to the questions of disciples (3) [introd. by Wāʿiẓ-zāda to *al-Djumal wa 'l-ʿuḳūd*]. The following list is confined to the best known of these works (and the most widely available editions): *al-Istibṣār* and *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, ed. al-Kharsān, Nadjaf, respectively 1375-6 and 1378-82, which form with the *Kāfī* of al-Kulaynī (329/949-1) and the *Kitāb man lā yaḥḍuruhu 'l-faḳīh* of Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ (381/991), the Four Canonical Books (*al-kutub al-arbaʿa*) of Imāmī *ḥadīth*; *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān* (first great Imāmī rationalist commentary; ed. Shawkī and ʿĀmilī, Nadjaf 1376-83, 10 vols., with introd. by Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī); *Fihrist kutub al-shīʿa* (ed. Sprenger and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Calcutta 1848, repr. Mashhad 1972); *Kitāb al-Ghayba* (on the occultation of the Twelfth Imām, ed. Nadjaf 1385); *Ridjāl* (revised summary of al-Kashshī's *Maʿrifat al-nāḳilīn*, Nadjaf

1381); *al-Iktiṣād fīmā yataʿallak bi 'l-iʿtikād*, Beirut 1406; *al-Amālī*, Nadjaf 1384; *ʿUddat al-uṣūl*, Nadjaf 1403 (these three last works concern *ḥadīth* and dogma); *al-Mabsūṭ fi 'l-fikh*, ed. Bihbūdī, repr. Tehran 1387-8; *al-Nihāya fī mudjarrad al-fikh wa 'l-fatāwā*, Beirut 1390; *al-Djumal wa 'l-ʿukūd fi 'l-ʿibādāt* (with introd. and Persian tr. by Wāʿiẓ-zāda, Mashhad 1374; *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahadjdjid* (in two versions—*al-kabīr* and *al-ṣaghīr*—on Imāmī piety, Tehran 1398; (the two works entitled *Duʿāʾ al-djawshan al-kabīr* and *al-djawshan al-ṣaghīr*, mentioned by Hidayet Hosain in *EI*[1], are not al-Ṭūsī's and are probably drawn from the *Miṣbāḥ* of al-Kafʿamī [9th/15th century]).

Bibliography: Since the biographical dictionaries are compiled in alphabetical order, it will be sufficient to refer to these *s.n.* Ṭūsī or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī; see among others Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran 1934; ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Damascus-Beirut 1935-63; Ardabīlī, *Djāmiʿ al-ruwāt*, Kumm 1953; Ḥillī, *Ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1961; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *al-Fawāʾid al-ridjāliyya*, Nadjaf n.d. Among the Sunnī dictionaries, see e.g. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*; Kātib Celebī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*; [Subkī, *Ṭabakāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, iii/51 (al-Ṭūsī is regarded here as a Shāfiʿī; one wonders whether this was a tactical dissimulation on his part, from the period when he was still living in Khurāsān]). Among historiographical works, see *sub anno* 448 (flight of al-Ṭūsī to Nadjaf) or 460 (year of his death), e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Tehran 1971, index, s.v.; al-Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 184-217.

Among modern studies, see the 102-page introd. by al-Ṭihrānī to al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa . . . Ṭūsī*, Mashhad 1348/1970; R. Brunschvig, *Les uṣūl al-fiqh imâmites à leur stade ancien*, in *Le shîisme imâmite*, Colloque de Strasbourg, Paris 1970; M. Ramyar, *Al-Shaikh al-Tusi, his life and works*, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London 1971, unpubl.; H. Löschner, *Die dogmatischen Grundlagen des schiʿitischen Rechts*, Erlangen-Nuremburg-Cologne 1971, index, s.n.; M.J. McDermott, *The theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut 1978, index; S.A. Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago-London 1984, 32-65; H. Halm, *Die Schia*, Darmstadt 1988, 62-73, Eng. tr. *Shiism*, Edinburgh 1991, 56-8; E. Kohlberg, *A medieval Muslim scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden 1992, index; M.A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin dans le shiʿisme originel*, Paris 1992; idem, *Remarques sur les critères d'authenticité du hadith et l'autorité du juriste dans le shiʿisme imâmite*, in *SI*, lxxxv (1997), 22 ff.

(MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI)

AL-ṬŪSĪ, NAṢĪR AL-DĪN, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, also called Muḥakkik-i Ṭūsī, Khwādja-i Ṭūsī or Khwādja Naṣīr al-Dīn, the most important and influential Shīʿī scholar in the fields of mathematics, geometry, astronomy, philosophy and theology, styled in later times *al-muʿallim al-thālith* "the third teacher" (i.e. after Aristotle and al-Fārābī).

1. Life.

He was born on 11 Djumādā I 597/17 February 1201 in Ṭūs, in the neighbourhood of Mashhad, into a family who, according to al-Khwānsārī (*Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, vi, 300, l. 11) originated from Djahrūd Sāwa near Kum(m). He received his Imāmī education in Ṭūs and died in Baghdād on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 672/25 June 1274.

Under the guidance of his father Wadjīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, a respected jurist, al-Ṭūsī enjoyed his first education in Arabic, Kurʾān, *Ḥadīth*, and above all, in jurisprudence following the doctrine of the Shīʿī ʿAlam al-Hudā al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), an adversary of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār. His father's wide range of interests stimulated al-Ṭūsī to study the various sciences and doctrines, including philosophy and the Ismāʿīlī doctrine. He continued his studies first at Nīshāpūr, between 610/1213 and 618/1221. Here Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and Farīd Dāmād, both pupils of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, were his teachers in mathematics, natural sciences, Ibn Sīnā's philosophy and medicine. Leaving Nīshāpūr, al-Ṭūsī went to ʿIrāk, where he studied jurisprudence with the Shīʿī scholar Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrān al-Māzinī. Later he studied at Mawṣil with the mathematician and astronomer Kamāl al-Dīn Yūnus (551-639/1156-1242; Brockelmann, S I, 859), who had himself been a pupil of the scholar Bābā Afḍal [*q.v.*].

In 630/1233, after finishing his studies, al-Ṭūsī found in Sartakht, in the province of Kūhistān, a patron in the Ismāʿīlī governor Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Abī Manṣūr. He had been studying the *Fuṣūl-i mukaddas* of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imām Ḥasan *ʿalā* Dhikrihi al-Salām (d. 561/1166) and had then turned to the Ismāʿīlī faith. During this period, he wrote the *Akhlāk-i Nāṣirī* (see below), a work on ethics named after the governor Nāṣir al-Dīn. The first version was finished in 633/1245. Shortly afterwards, *ca.* 644/1246 he published his spiritual autobiography, *Sayr wa-sulūk*, in which he describes how he came to turn away from exoteric *kalām* and to profess Ismāʿīlī esoteric philosophy. In *ca.* 644/1246 we find al-Ṭūsī in Alamūt [*q.v.*], the fortress of the Assassins. It is unclear whether he travelled there only as companion of Nāṣir al-Dīn (so Badakhchānī, 5, cf. Dabashi, *The philosopher/vizier*), or whether he had incurred the disgrace of Nāṣir al-Dīn and had been banned to Alamūt. It may be that, in the face of the uncertain political situation, and perhaps also out of dissatisfaction with his Ismāʿīlī surroundings, he had the ambition of getting admission to the court of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim bi'llāh [*q.v.*] (*r.* 640-56/1247-58) in Baghdād. In any case, al-Ṭūsī stayed for about twenty years in Alamūt and Maymūndiz [*q.vv.*]. During these long years, he was able to use the rich library there for his scientific works. In 653/1255 the Ismāʿīlīs sent him as negotiator to Hülegü, the khān of the Mongols who was preparing the conquest of Persia. In the face of the hopeless situation of the Ismāʿīlīs *vis-à-vis* the Mongol superiority, al-Ṭūsī convinced the Ismāʿīlī ruler Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh [*q.v.*] that he should submit to the Mongols; in 654/1256 Alamūt fell into their hands anyway. The shattering of the Ismāʿīlī movement was followed by the conquest of Baghdād, which al-Ṭūsī could not prevent (the accounts about his role are not unequivocal, cf. Hairi), and by the fall of the caliphate, detested by the Shīʿīs. Al-Ṭūsī accompanied Hülegü on his conquests in the west, and witnessed both the fall of Baghdād on 3 Ṣafar 656/10 February 1258 and the murder of the caliph. Owing to al-Ṭūsī, and probably also to Ibn al-ʿAlkamī, the Shīʿī vizier of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph, upon their occupation of Mesopotamia, the Mongols spared to a large extent the Shīʿī sanctuaries. It is possible that Hülegü, already before the conquest of Baghdād, entrusted al-Ṭūsī with important duties, such as the administration of all religious foundations (*wakf*) and of the finances. In 1259, almost sixty years old, he

began in Marāgha, near Tabrīz, the construction of an observatory whose director he became; and he also prepared the astronomical tables (*al-Zīdj al-Īlkhānī*), which he finished at the age of about seventy under Hülegü's successor, the Īl-khānid Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82) (see 3, below). During this period, al-Ṭūsī was in contact with a great number of scholars who came to Marāgha, not least because of the rich library which was being built there since Hülegü had begun to carry off the stores of libraries in Mesopotamia, Baghdād and Syria. In some biographies, the following names of scholars are mentioned who, among others, are said to have been to Marāgha: Barhebraeus (Abu 'l-Faradj Ibn al-ʿIbrī), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khi/alāṭī from Tiflis, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Marāghī al-Mawṣilī, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī), Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī al-Dimashḳī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī (Ibn Abi 'l-Shukr), and Nadjm al-Dīn Dabīrān al-Ḳazwīnī al-Kātibī (who held a scholarly discussion with al-Ṭūsī on metaphysical questions, on *wādjib wa-wudjūd* [see WUDJŪD] and on logic; see the *Muṭāraḥāt* in the bibliography of al-Ṭūsī's works). In this list, the name of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, the most important commentator of the *Tadhkira*, al-Ṭūsī's astronomical work, is missing, perhaps because he had criticised al-Ṭūsī's work, in particular in the field of philosophy, and because he is said to have denounced him to Hülegü (Wiedemann, 711). For an unknown reason al-Ṭūsī, shortly before his death, left Marāgha "with many of his pupils and followers" and went to Baghdād, where he died some months later (al-Kutubī, iii, 251, 12-13). He is said to have been buried there, according to his testament, near the tomb of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

2. As theologian and philosopher.

Al-Ṭūsī was an extraordinarily prolific scholar. The list of his extensive oeuvre shows titles on astronomy, astrology, geomancy, mathematics, physics, mineralogy, medicine, jurisprudence, philosophy including logic, mysticism and theology (a first survey in Wiedemann, 707-27; Brockelmann, see *Bibl.*; Mudarrisī Zandjānī, *Sargudhasht*; Raḍawī, *Aḥwāl*; and Muʿīn, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*). Al-Ṭūsī wrote the greater part of his philosophical works in an Ismāʿīlī environment. His first patron, the above-mentioned Ismāʿīlī governor Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, was particularly interested in ethics. On his behalf, al-Ṭūsī translated into Persian *al-Adab al-wadjīz li'l-walad al-ṣaghīr* of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], a small treatise on the correct behaviour of children (its authenticity is doubtful, see Brockelmann, S I, 236 no. 6; ed. Dānishpazūh in his edition of the *Aḥlāk-i Muḥtashamī*; see the table of contents in Dabashi, 561-2). Muḥtasham also requested al-Ṭūsī to finish a draft of practical ethics, which he had conceived and begun. This *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥtashamī*, based on Muḥtasham's concept and notes, composed around 630/1233 and published under al-Ṭūsī's name, exists in an Arabic version (ed. Beirut 1981), to which in the original a Persian translation is attached, published by Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1960, 1982. It consists of forty chapters, dealing first with the knowledge of God, with prophecy and imāmate, then mainly with the virtues of the pious and the Ṣūfī, described in each chapter one after the other with references from Ḳur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and Sunna, from poetry and the sayings of "wise people/philosophers and Ismāʿīlī propagandists" (*al-ḥukamā' wa 'l-duʿāt*) (cf. Dabashi, *Khwājah*, 559-61). It has been surmised that the work was composed as a guide for preachers and teachers (Badakhchani, 57-8). Al-Ṭūsī's ethical work *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī*, written two years later for Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn, has a more philosophical character. Two decades later, after the rupture with the Ismāʿīlīs, al-Ṭūsī published it again with a different beginning and different conclusions, and without the dedication to Muḥtasham Nāṣir al-Dīn (cf. Badakhchani, 61, n. 30). Just like the lesser-known *Gushāyish-nāma*, which deals with the esoterical aspects of ethical virtues, the *Akhlāḳ-i Nāṣirī* is written in the spirit of Ismāʿīlī ideology. The first part is based on Miskawayh's ethical work *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ*, which in turn is marked by Aristotle's Nicomachian ethics, but also by Platonic and Neo-Platonic teachings (Fakhry, 107-30). The first part is followed by two sections on domestic economy (*tadbīr al-manzil*) and politics (*siyāsat al-mudun*), in which al-Ṭūsī each time mainly used Ibn Sīnā's *K. al-Siyāsa*, Bryson's *Oikonomikos*, al-Fārābī's *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, the latter's *Fuṣūl al-madanī*, and Miskawayh's *al-Ḥikma al-khālida* (cf. Madelung, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn*; the analytical table of contents in Donaldson, 169-82; Fakhry, 131-42; Dabashi, 562-8). Because of its practical orientation, his work has had a lasting influence and has increasingly been popularised: al-Dawwānī [*q.v.*], *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī* (= *Lawāmiʿ al-ishrāḳ fī makārim al-akhlāḳ*); al-Īdjī [*q.v.*], *Risālat al-akhlāḳ* (unpublished; *EIr*, i/2, 1985, 722-3); al-Kāshifī [*q.v.*]; *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Narāḳī [*q.v.*], *Miʿrādj al-saʿāda* (lith. Tehran 1883, new ed. n.p. 1993) (on the contents of this work, which is a slightly revised Persian tr. of his father's *Djāmiʿ al-saʿādāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kalantar, i-iii, Beirut 1985, see Donaldson, 190-2); S. Jalal al-Din Mojtabavi (who translated the *Djāmiʿ al-saʿādāt* into Persian), *Religious ethics and Naraqi's innovations in his moral book, Jāmiʿ al-Saʿādāt (The collection of felicities)*, in *Contacts between cultures. Selected papers from the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, Toronto, August 15-25, 1990*, i, ed. A. Harrak, Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter 1992, 351-2; Cole, 7 ff.; ʿUbayd al-Zākānī, *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* (composed in 740/1340-1; *EIr* i/2, 1985, 723).

Probably the most important testimony to al-Ṭūsī's Ismāʿīlī-oriented philosophy is his *Rawḍat al-taslīm yā taṣawwurāt*, an ethico-eschatological guide for travelling from the physical to the spiritual world. Following the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, the work contains a description of Ismāʿīlī cosmology; the will of the unknowable Divinity, His command (*amr*) and word (*kalima*), embodied in the Imām or in the latter's prototype ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, communicate themselves through emanation (*fayḍ*) to the first intellect, to the *ʿaḳl al-faʿʿāl* or to the *ḥudjdja*, whose prototype is Salmān al-Fārisī; from this emanates the universal soul (*nafs-i kullī*), the *dāʿī*, i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad, followed by the human soul. Linked to this cosmology appears the Ismāʿīlī theory of the imāmate, the doctrine of *satr*, the period of concealment of *ḥaḳīḳa* in the *bāṭin* and *ḳiyāma*, the period of the *ḳā'im* who possesses truth (cf. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 409 ff.). The fact that the Imām necessarily possesses complete knowledge renders both his existence and the total self-surrender to him compulsory. A prerequisite is the observation of the religious duties, not only by following the *Sharīʿa*, but also in an esoteric way and in the ascent of the soul from the position of potentiality to "the perfection of the ascertainment of the reasoned knowledge" (*kamāl-i taḥḳīḳ ʿilm-i ʿaḳlī*) (cf. *Rawḍa, taṣawwuf*, no. xxvi).

In *ca.* 664/1264 al-Ṭūsī expressed his views on the theme of ethics for the last time, now in the spirit of the Ṣūfīs, whose movement became popular in the period of the Mongols. At the request of the vizier Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī, he composed

the treatise *Awṣāf al-ashrāf*, a guide for the Ṣūfī on the path from belief (*īmān*) to union (*waḥda*) and extinction (*fanā'*) of the self into God (Madelung, *Naṣīr ad-Dīn*, 98-101; Dabashi, 568-9; Strothmann, 68-77). The approach to God results here from the behaviour of the Ṣūfī, whereas the correspondence (*murāsalāt*) between Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭūsī (ed. Schubert) deals with the relation between philosophical and mystical knowledge of God.

In this correspondence, which perhaps took place during al-Ṭūsī's stay in Marāgha and which was criticised by the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] (see Michel, 12), al-Ṭūsī, among other things, goes into Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī's question about how out of one thing many things can emerge, whereas from one thing only one thing can emerge (Schubert, 31-2; Chittick; Heer). Al-Ṭūsī's arguments are based on the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation, according to which plurality is the result of many causes which presuppose one another, but which therefore in the end go back to only one cause. This problem, which al-Ṭūsī treated in different ways in the course of his life (cf. Siddiqi, 577-8), is already found in his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārat wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, in which he defends Ibn Sīnā against Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], that is to say in his *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* (iii, 244-5; cf. Heer), composed around 644/1246 at the request of Muḥtasham Shihāb al-Dīn. It is also found in his *Risāla fi 'l-ʿilal wa 'l-maʿlūlāt*, again extensively in a letter written in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 666/July 1268 and addressed to the judge of Harāt (ed. Dānishpazhūh, *Sih guftār*, 6-13), and finally in his *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*, a refutation of al-Shahrastānī's *al-Muṣāraʿa*, in which al-Shahrastānī had criticised Ibn Sīnā's notion of God and his ontology. Among other things, he had attacked Ibn Sīnā's thesis according to which only one being can emerge from the absolute unique one (cf. Madelung, *Aš-Šahrastānīs Streitschrift*, esp. 254-5; idem, *Aspects*; Hartmann, 199-200). Al-Ṭūsī must have written this refutation of al-Shahrastānī's Ismāʿīlī doctrine at a later stage of his life, when he had turned away from the Ismāʿīliyya, that is to say, after 254/1256 when Alamūt fell into the hands of the Mongols. Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics come to the fore, taking the place of the Ismāʿīlī norm of the prophets; they form the basis of al-Ṭūsī's theology (cf. Dabashi, *Khwājah*, 555-7), namely of the *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳā'id*, and of the *Tadjrīd al-iʿtiḳād*. The latter work has become authoritative in Twelver Shīʿa circles and has been commented upon several times (see *Bibl.*). In this context, it is important to note that al-Ṭūsī, notwithstanding his growing sympathy for the Twelver Shīʿa (cf. also his *Iʿtiḳādiyya*, a summary of undisputed Shīʿī doctrines (see for this Dabashi, *Khwājah*, 557), remained faithful to many Ismāʿīlī doctrines. This is shown e.g. by the *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳā'id*, partly a rendering into Arabic of what he had said earlier in his Ismāʿīlī-influenced autobiography *Sayr wa-sulūk*. Yet, even al-Ṭūsī's last work, the *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* written in 669/1271, an epitomising commentary on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaḳaddimīn wa 'l-muta'akhkhirīn min al-ʿulamā' wa 'l-ḥukamā' wa 'l-mutakallimīn*, still defends the Ismāʿīlī doctrine of *taʿlīm* and rejects the Shīʿī doctrine according to which the *naṣṣ* (designation) of the Imām can be cancelled by *badā'* (changeability of God's will). The Ismāʿīlī and Shīʿī inheritance does not obscure the fact that al-Ṭūsī has become an important pioneer for Ibn Sīnā's philosophy; modifications in details can be detected here (cf. Qarā'ī, 29-30, where al-Ṭūsī's sympathies for the Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ al-Suhrawardī are mentioned). As witnesses of Ibn Sīnā's influence may be mentioned his *Maṣāriʿ al-muṣāriʿ*, *Tadjrīd al-ʿaḳā'id*, *Ḳawāʿid al-ʿaḳā'id* and, above all, *Ḥall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*; furthermore, al-Ṭūsī's Persian representation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of Aristotle's logic, the *Asās al-iḳtibās* (for the concept of substance in this work, see Morewedge, *Analysis of "Substance"*). Fourteen years later, al-Ṭūsī composed in Arabic a considerably shortened version under the title *Tadjrīd al-manṭiḳ*. It is therefore not surprising that the Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya [*q.v.*] followed the criticism of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya (see above) and that he, in his *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, considered al-Ṭūsī as the most pernicious hidden atheist, for whom the Ḳur'ān is said to have been "the scripture of the masses (*Ḳur'ān al-ʿawāmm*) but Ibn Sīnā's works the scripture of the élite" (*Ḳur'ān al-khawāṣṣ*) (Perlmann 334; cf. Madelung, *Aš-Šahrastānīs Streitschrift*, 258 n. 8).

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Ḳawl fī 'l-nufūs wa-ḳuwāhā min kalāmihi: al-nufūs al-arḍiyya nabātiyya ḥayawāniyya wa-nāṭiḳa*, in *ibid.*, 497-500; *Rabṭ al-ḥādith bi 'l-ḳadīm*, in *ibid.*, 482-4, also in Zandjānī, *Sargudhasht* 179-81; *Radd ʿalā munāḳashāt al-Kātibī*: see *Muṭāraḥāt falsafiyya; Rawḍat al-taslīm yā taṣawwurāt*, Persian text, ed. and tr. Ivanow, Leiden 1950; new ed. S.J. Badakhchani, *The garden of submission*, London 1999, originally a D.Phil. thesis Oxford 1989, Fr. tr. Chr. Jambet, *La convocation d'Alamut*, Lagrasse 1996; *al-Risāla al-Naṣīriyya* = *Fuṣūl-i Kh^wādja-i Ṭūsī; R. andar ḳismat-i mawdjūdāt* = *Madjmūʿa-i rasāʾil* (ed.) = Morewedge, *Metaphysics* (ed., Eng. tr.); *R. fi 'l-ʿilal wa 'l-maʿlūlāt*, in *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 509-15, also in Ṭūsī, *Sih guftār*, 13-20; *R. fi 'l-ʿilm al-ladunī wa 'l-kasbī*, in Mullā Ṣadrā, *K. al-Mashāʿir*, ed. Muḥammad Bāḳir Kāshānī, lith. ed. 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(H. DAIBER)

3. As scientist.

Al-Ṭūsī was one of the major intellectual figures of 7th/13th century Islam, and his works, in fields ranging over the religious sciences, philosophy, and the mathematical sciences of Antiquity continued to have a significant effect upon the intellectual traditions of Eastern Islam well into the modern period. His influence and prestige are fittingly recorded in the titles, honorifics, and nicknames applied to him: *khwādja* (distinguished scholar and teacher), *ustādh al-bashar* (teacher of mankind), and *al-muʿallim al-thālith* (the third teacher).

He tells us in his autobiography, written in his forties, that in addition to his religious education, his father encouraged him to pursue the teachings of other sects as well as the ancient fields of learning represented by the philosophical and mathematical sci-

ences. He began studying philosophy (*ḥikma* [*q.v.*]) and mathematics with a certain Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib in Ṭūs; later, he travelled widely to continue his education. He first went to nearby Nīs̲h̲āpūr to study with the noted physician Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and with the polymath Farīd al-Dīn Dāmād̲h̲. Among other things, he studied there the works of his famous Persian predecessor Ibn Sīnā [*q.v.*] (Avicenna), who was undoubtedly one of his most important formative influences. Later he journeyed to ʿIrāḳ to read under the S̲h̲īʿī legal scholar Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrān al-Miṣrī and study with Kamāl al-Dīn b. Yūnus (551-639/1156-1242 [see MASĀʾIL WA-AD̲J̲WIBA, at Vol. VI, 638a]), a renowned S̲h̲āfiʿī legal scholar who was also noted for his expertise in astronomy and mathematics; being a S̲h̲īʿī did not prevent him from studying with persons of different sectarian affiliations.

After completing his formal education, Naṣīr al-Dīn found patrons at the Ismāʿīlī courts in Persia [see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA] beginning sometime in the early 630s/1230s. He would spend some 25 years in Ḳāʾin (in Ḳūhistān and at Alamūt) until the fall of the latter to the Mongols in 654/1256 (see above, 1.). Whether al-Ṭūsī was a willing convert to Ismāʿīlism, as he stated in his early autobiography *Sayr wa-sulūk* (Tehran 1335 *s̲h̲*./1956), or whether this was a necessary pretence brought about by his need for patronage and protection, was, and continues to be, a matter of dispute. In any event, during this period of his life al-Ṭūsī found a refuge from the disruptions of the Mongol invasions and produced some of his most important work.

With the fall of Alamūt, al-Ṭūsī, who had already gained considerable fame, joined the entourage of Hülegü/Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], becoming court astrologer as well as director of religious endowments (*awḳāf*). In the former capacity, he accompanied the Il-K̲h̲ān on the campaign against Bag̲h̲dād and witnessed the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. Later he oversaw the construction of an astronomical observatory [see MARṢAD] and its instruments in the town of Marāg̲h̲a [*q.v.*], the Mongol headquarters in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, and became its first director. Because of the substantial resources placed at his disposal (including religious endowments), this observatory, which also comprised a large library and school, was one of the most ambitious scientific institutions established up to that time. It attracted many famous and talented scientists and students (including, it is reported, Chinese astronomers), and, despite lasting only fifty years, its intellectual legacy had repercussions from China to Europe for centuries to come.

Al-Ṭūsī's prose writings, which number over 150 works, represent one of the largest collections by a single Islamic author. Writing in both Arabic and Persian, Naṣīr al-Dīn dealt with both religious ("Islamic") topics and non-religious or secular subjects ("the ancient sciences"). He was especially attracted to the exact mathematical sciences (especially astronomy and pure mathematics). Beyond their utilitarian value (and astrology in particular was considered immensely useful by al-Ṭūsī's patrons), their certitude was seen by him and others as an important means to the truth of God's creation; indeed, some Islamic scientists argued that it was a surer means than natural philosophy or theology. In this they followed the Alexandrian tradition of ancient Hellenistic mathematical science, represented most conspicuously by Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) [see BAṬLAMIYŪS], who had argued against Aristotle's [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] philosophical view and for the superiority of the mathematical sciences.

Among al-Ṭūsī's most important and enduring contributions to the mathematical sciences were his recensions (*taḥārīr*) of Greek and early Islamic scientific works, which in many ways revitalised the translation movement of 3rd/9th century Bag̲h̲dād. These included Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and the so-called *mutawassiṭāt* (the "Intermediate books" to be studied between the former and latter) with treatises by Euclid, Theodosius, Hypsicles, Autolycus, Aristarchus, Archimedes, Menelaus, T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra and the Banū Mūsā. Al-Ṭūsī's re-editions, in which he often included insightful and original commentary, provided an opportunity for generations of students of late mediaeval Islam to study and absorb the Greek scientific tradition, either with or without a teacher. This latter point takes on added significance in view of the absence of an ongoing institutional structure for teaching the ancient sciences.

Al-Ṭūsī's monumental role as synthesiser and rejuvenator of the ancient sciences and mathematics was complemented by his original work. His attempt to prove Euclid's parallels postulate was one of the more sophisticated approaches in a long tradition of such attempts. In the 19th century, it was recognised that such "proofs" were not possible and that consistent geometries other than the Euclidian could be constructed. In another field of mathematics, al-Ṭūsī's *al-S̲h̲akl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ* marked a significant step in treating trigonometry as a discipline independent of astronomy, which in many ways was similar to what was accomplished later in Europe by Regiomontanus (1436-76).

However, al-Ṭūsī gained his greatest fame in astronomy. He wrote several elementary treatises on practical astronomy (*taḳwīm*), instruments, astrology, and cosmography (*ʿilm al-hayʾa* [*q.v.*]). In the main, these seem to have been meant for students. In addition, he compiled a major astronomical handbook in Persian for his Mongol patrons in Marāg̲h̲a, which he entitled *Zīd̲j̲-i Īlk̲h̲ānī*. There are indications that it was written in haste, and it seems not to have incorporated the Marāg̲h̲a observations; nevertheless, it was used extensively for several centuries.

Al-Ṭūsī's most original scientific achievement was in planetary theory. Many Islamic astronomers were disturbed by inconsistencies in the Ptolemaic system; in particular, they objected to the violation of the fundamental physical principle of uniform circular motion in the heavens. Among al-Ṭūsī's contributions toward resolving these "difficulties" (*is̲h̲kālāt*) was to devise an astronomical model consisting of two spheres, the smaller of which was internally tangent to the other that was twice as large. Al-Ṭūsī had the smaller rotate twice as fast as the larger and in the opposite direction; he could then prove that a given point on the smaller sphere would oscillate along a straight line. Incorporating this device into his lunar and planetary models, and exploiting the linear oscillation, he was able to reproduce Ptolemaic accuracy while preserving uniform circular motion. These models were first found in his Persian treatise *Ḥall-i mus̲h̲kilāt-i Muʿīniyya*, written for his Ismāʿīlī patrons, and were incorporated and further developed in his Arabic work *al-Tad̲h̲kira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, written during his years with the Mongols. Al-Ṭūsī's new models were quite influential on late mediaeval Islamic astronomy, and for at least another three or four centuries encouraged many other attempts to reform the Ptolemaic system. The "al-Ṭūsī couple", as his device is now known, also had an effect in other cultural contexts, finding its way into Sanskrit and Byzantine texts as well as the works of several Renaissance astronomers, including Copernicus.

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(F.J. RAGEP)

TUSTAR [see SHUSHTAR].

AL-**TUSTARĪ** [see SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ].

TŪT (A.), the mulberry, *Morus* spp., of the Moraceae; also *tūth*, said by the lexicographers to be Persian while *firṣād* is the Arabic synonym. *Tūt al-arḍ* is the strawberry and *tūt al-ʿullayḳ* the raspberry.

The tree is known for its fruit and its leaves. Both *M. nigra* and *M. alba* have been cultivated in southern Europe and the Near East for many centuries. *M. alba*, originating from China, first reached Europe in the 12th century. Its leaves are the preferred food of the silkworm (*dūd al-ḳazz*), larvae of moths of the Bombyx family, whose cocoons produce silk (*ḥarīr* [*q.v.*]). *M. nigra* is best known for its fruit. Concerning its medicinal uses, *tūt aswad* is cold and moist; its juice is made into a robb, for swellings of the mouth and for angina (al-Ṭabarī, 382, 482).

Ibn al-Bayṭār equates *tūt* with *mūrā* and *firṣād* (*Tafsīr*, 155) and its robb as *diyāmīrūn*. He quotes from (a) Galen: when ripe, it loosens the belly, but unripe and dried, is very costive and even useful for ulceration of the intestines and diarrhoea, and its juice for ailments of the mouth; and from (b) Dioscorides, who calls it laxative, and when cooked in water, effective against the poison of *aḳūnīṭūn* [*q.v.*]. Its leaf, crushed and mixed with oil, is good for burns (*Djāmiʿ*, i, 142-3). The juice of the raw fruit can relieve toothache (al-Bīrūnī, 96-7). Today, the fruit is eaten raw, and used for conserves and drinks.

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(PENELOPE C. JOHNSTONE)

TUTAK, a plain in eastern Anatolia through which the Murad Su, sc. the more southerly of the two upper arms of the Euphrates, flows in one part of its course between Malazgird and Muş, hence now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Muş; see further, AL-FURĀT. (ED.)

TUṬĪLA, the Spanish town of Tudela, situated at the confluence of the Ebro and its affluent the Queiles (Kālash), now in the Comunidad Autónoma de Navarra and with a population of 26,500.

The Arabic geographers give some details on this *madīna* of al-Andalus, stressing its frontier position against the Christians and its role as chef-lieu of a *kūra*, with other towns, fortresses and villages (such as Alfaro, Arnedo, Borja, Calahorra, Nájera, Tarazone and Viguera) in the "Upper March" [see AL-THUGHŪR. 2], whose capital (*ḥāḍira*) Saraḳusṭa [*q.v.*] or Saragossa was "50 miles" (*ca.* 75 km/46 miles) from Tuṭīla. Some geographers and chroniclers further mention that its foundation as a *madīna* was ordered by the Umayyad *amīr* al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*], but from recent archaeological finds, it appears that the place has been inhabited since prehistoric times. Tuṭīla, with a sector of the 9th century and another added in the 10th century, extended over 22 ha.

At that time (sc. end of the 8th century and opening of the 9th one), it was made into a centre for Umayyad control over the northeast of the Upper March against the Christians of Pampeluna and also against the *muwallad* Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*], who succeeded in seizing Tuṭīla *ca.* 198/813 and in establishing there one of the main bastions of their intermittent autonomy from the Umayyads. This lasted till the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who in 312/924 gave the town to Muḥammad b. al-Anḳar, governor of Saragossa and from the originally Arab family of the Tudjībids [*q.v.*], whose direct descendants held the town, also with periodic autonomy from the central power of al-Andalus, until 400/1009-10, the date when a collateral descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Anḳar, the Tudjībid al-Mundhir, governor of Tuṭīla in 396/1005-6, constituted the *ṭāʾifa* of Saragossa, including the rest of the Upper March and also Tuṭīla. In 430/1038, this *ṭāʾifa* was dominated by the Banū Hūd [*q.v.*] until the conquest of Saragossa by the Almoravids in 503/1110, who were not, however, able to defend this territory from the Christians; in 1119 Alfonso I of Aragon conquered Tuṭīla. The Muslim inhabitants remained there after the conquest as Mudéjars [*q.v.*] and as Moriscos [*q.v.*] until their expulsion in 1614.

As an urban centre, Tuṭīla developed a cultural life, if only modest, under the Arabs, with the first manifestations of this in the 3rd/9th century, consol-

idated in the next century, around the families involved with the Islamic cult such as the Banu 'l-Imām; the sources have reference to 22 scholars of Tuṭīla before 961, eight between 961 and 1008, and two between 1008 and 1058. The poet al-Aʿmā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 525/1130-1 [*q.v.*]) stands out. Tuṭīla was one of the judicial centres of al-Andalus. The sources mention some agricultural and commercial activity there. Modern archaeological investigation has brought some information on the towns's Great Mosque and on ceramics, with some high-quality pieces of the latter.

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(Maria J. Viguera)

TUTUN, tobacco, more specifically, pipe tobacco. *Tutun, tütün* in Turkish, may derive from the Brazilian-Portuguese *petun* (Comes, 228). Other terms used are *dukhān* and *tibgh* (Ar.), and, for water-pipe tobacco, *tunbāk* and *tambākū* (Pers.).

According to an 18th-century belief, tobacco did not originate exclusively in the Americas but was also indigenous to various parts of Asia and Africa; it was also believed that people in the Middle East used tobacco before Europeans sighted the New World. Since the 19th century, however, the prevailing opinion has been that the Old World, including the Middle East, was introduced to tobacco from the Caribbean and Brazil by the early European discoverers.

The first tobacco to reach the Old World was brought back by Columbus in 1493. The weed initially aroused mostly botanical interest, and for the next half century the knowledge and sporadic use of tobacco remained mostly limited to the (northern) Mediterranean world. Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, tobacco seems also to have been known in Persia and India by the early 16th century. Tobacco is said to have been introduced to India in 914/1508-9 (Dihlawī, 105), and the first references to smoking in Persian poetry occur in the work of an anonymous poet from Shīrāz who died in 942/1535-6 (Simsar 1963, 15). Yet, as in Europe, tobacco in the Middle East did not become popular until much later, and many parts of the Islamic world apparently only became acquainted with smoking at the turn of the 17th century. The people of the southern shores of the Arabian peninsula were familiar with the weed in the 1590s. Syria and Morocco learned about tobacco at about the same time, while smoking was introduced to Egypt in 1603-4. Portuguese sailors were probably the ones who initially introduced tobacco to port cities and coastal areas, after which merchants and soldiers spread the habit throughout the Ottoman lands. Tobacco penetrated into the Sahel and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa via the Arab caravan trade. From Persia, smoking passed into Central Asia, where tobacco was known and cultivated by the late 17th century (McChesney, 184).

The Portuguese were responsible for introducing tobacco in other parts of Muslim Asia as well, ranging from India and many parts of southeast Asia to the Indonesian archipelago, all around 1600. The Philippines seems to have received its first tobacco from Spanish imports from Mexico as early as 1575. From China, tobacco spread westward into Inner Asia and Siberia, where it converged with an influence from Persia and Russia.

Early tobacco came from the Americas via England, as is suggested by the appellation in Persian, *Inglīs tanbākū*, noted by Olearius in 1637 (Olearius, 597). An indigenous tobacco cultivation emerged in Persia in the 1620s or 30s, was in existence in Central Asia by the late 17th century, and may have existed in Yemen at an early stage as well. Over the course of time, tobacco cultivation spread to many parts of the Islamic world, including Anatolia, North Africa and India.

While in much of the Western world smoking was long deemed unbecoming for the female members of polite society, no such social stigma seems to have existed in the Middle East. Many descriptions of the Ottoman lands and Persia, as well as a number of illustrations, indicate that women smoked as avidly as men, at least in the private sphere (Tavernier, i, 705; Kaempfer, *Reisetagebücher*, 79; illustr. in Rogers, *The Topkapı Saray Museum*, 124, Loukonine and Ivanov, 206, *Treasures of Islam*, 119, and Kasrawī, *Tārīkhča*, 6, 15).

Until the 20th century, a smoking device that was widely used in the Middle East was the regular tobacco pipe, whose long stem and small bowl made it quite similar to the ones used at the same time in England and Holland. Originally made of clay, and later also of wood, these pipes were known as *čupuḳ* or *čapuḳ* in Turkish and Persian (a cognate of the Persian word for wood, *čūb*), rendered in English as *chibouk* and in French as *chibouque* (illustr. in Neander, 243, Simsar 1963, 24, and idem 1971, 92). Such pipes are observable in the Ottoman Empire as well as Persia in the early 17th century. With the exception of the Lurs in the western part of the country, Persians never took to pipe smoking as eagerly as the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, but instead preferred the water pipe. Lane observed similar pipes, called *shibuk* or *ʿūd*, in early 19th-century Egypt, but also much longer

ones of between four and five feet (Lane, 149). One 19th-century traveller noted how among the Turkmen of Khurāsān, some used a sheep's shinbone emptied of its marrow and filled with tobacco as a pipe (O'Donovan, i, 440).

Snuff (standard Arabic *suʿūṭ*, Egyptian colloquial *nushūk*, Pers. *anfiya*, Tkish. *enfiye*) was adopted in places like Yemen and in the Ottoman Empire at times when regular smoking was proscribed, and became especially popular among Berbers and the Bedouin peoples of North Africa, and in parts of the Arab Middle East such as Syria and Palestine. Snuff has also long been common in Afghānistān, where it is called *naswar*. Moroccans preferred finely powdered snuff, while others in North Africa took to chewing tobacco, a habit which continues to be popular in Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Chewing tobacco also became common in Malaysia and Sumatra.

Snuff, which in the West was taken up by members of the élite as a way of differentiating themselves from the common people, never acquired the status attached to it in 18th-century Europe. Class distinctions in the Islamic world seem to have expressed themselves less in the choice between different forms of smoking than in the degree of refinement and decoration of the implements used, in the type of tobacco that was smoked, and the elaborateness of the smoking ritual. Whereas the water pipes of the poor in Persia and Egypt were constructed from a coconut shell (Arabic *nardjīla* "water pipe" comes from Persian *nāgīl* "coconut, water pipe") or a gourd, the rich had their *kalyāns* made of porcelain and painted glass, and encrusted with precious stones. When Lane visited Egypt, the lowest orders smoked the *gōza* (Classical Ar. *djawza*, which also means "coconut"), which differed from the *nardjīla* in having a short, fixed cane for a mouth piece (nowadays, poor Egyptians sometimes make used spray cans into the vessel of the *gōza*). The rich smoked mild and fragrant tobacco from Latakiyya, while people from the middle classes used a heavier grade named after the town of Ṣūr or Tyre (Lane, 150). People of rank took to employing a water-pipe carrier, or *kalyandār*, who would follow his master either on foot or on horseback with the various accoutrements (Chardin, iv, 25; Lane, 150). In Afghānistān, such class distinctions were less pronounced, and the local water pipe simpler than its Persian counterpart. One traveller in 19th-century Afghānistān reports that travellers who did not carry the device would dig two communicating holes in the ground, fill one with water and the other with tobacco, put a reed in the former, and smoke lying down (Ferrier, 383). In Ṣafawid Persia, *mullās* used long stems that allowed them to sit up straight and maintain their dignity (illustr. in Chardin, atlas, pl. XIX).

In keeping with traditional humoral pathology, some Muslim physicians and pharmacologists considered tobacco to be dry and cold, though most followed European practice by placing tobacco in the category of dry and hot substances. Controversy surrounded the alleged effects of smoking on the body. While it was held to be salutary for people with a humid disposition, some believed that it weakened the brain (Seligmann, 41). Similar to European beliefs, tobacco smoke was thought to repel pestilence (Khurāsānī, 275). Overall, however, tobacco in the Islamic world never gained the medicinal reputation it enjoyed in early modern Europe. Smoking was rather integrated immediately into social life, in a process that was no doubt facilitated by the prior existence and popularity of using other narcotics, such as opium and hashish [see BANDJ; HASHĪSH] (the former being eaten rather than smoked until the 18th century). As almost everywhere else, tobacco also became intertwined with the consumption of another newly-introduced psychoactive stimulant, coffee [see KAHWA], and it became a standard item in the coffeehouses that emerged all over the Ottoman Empire and Ṣafawid Persia at the turn of the 17th century.

The water pipe is (Muslim) Asia's original contribution to the array of smoking devices. Called *ḥukka* (or *hookah*, which denotes the vessel containing the water) in India, *kalyān* in Persia, *čilim* (the bowl on top of the pipe) in Afghānistān, and *narghīla* or *gōza* or *shīsha* in the Arab world, the water pipe originated either in Persia or India, where it was noted in the early 17th century (the first known illustr. of the water pipe is found in Neander, 247). It is not likely to have existed before the introduction of tobacco—though tobacco and *bang* (hashish) were often jointly smoked, no real evidence exists for the claim that the water pipe was used to smoke hashish *before* the introduction of tobacco. Soon, the water pipe spread westward, until it was known and used throughout the Middle East. Water pipes were ubiquitous in Persia until modern times. Persian cavalry officers at the turn of the 19th century even smoked the water pipe in the saddle (Freygang, 287). The device was noted in Yemen as early as 1618-19, and found its way to North and East Africa, parts of Inner Asia and the Balkans as well. The northern, Muslim regions of the Indian subcontinent also took to the water pipe. The Persian connotation of the water pipe in 18th-century Egypt is suggested by the fact that the most fashionable pipes were called *Karīm Khān*, after the Persian ruler of the Zand dynasty (Niebuhr, i, 127).

Cigars, which became popular in the 19th-century West, never appealed to the smoking public of Islamic countries, except for the westernised élite. Cigarettes everywhere were rare until modern times; Europeans did not adopt cigarettes until the 1880s, and cigarette smoking found a place in the repertoire of the Islamic world only in the 20th century.

As in many places around the world, tobacco in the early stage of its introduction in the Middle East aroused suspicion on the part of clerics and bureaucrats alike. Muslim scholars, unable to find references to tobacco in the Ḳur'ān, resorted to analogical reasoning to determine whether smoking was permitted or should be condemned and banned as contrary to religion. As tobacco did not resemble any of the forbidden substances mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, proscribing it was not a simple matter. Nor was it easy to "prove" that tobacco in itself was bad, or harmful to one's health. One way of arguing for proscription, therefore, was to equate tobacco with the foul things that sūra VII, 157, declares forbidden, to associate it with the "avoidance of things evil" (*nahy ʿan al-munkar*) contained in III, 104, or to argue that the Prophet who, according to a *Ḥadīth*, appreciated sweet odours, would certainly have loathed tobacco's foul smell. An attempt was even made to associate smoking with the smoke and fire that is held to precede the Last Judgement. Proponents of smoking invoked II, 28, which refers to the benefits of everything that God has created on this earth (Klein-Franke). Some religious scholars argued that smoking was a wasteful habit, while others urged moderation (Djaʿfariyān, *ʿIlal*, 351-4). Arguments for and against tobacco were often made in the context of the controversy between the representatives of orthodoxy, who rejected tobacco, and members of Ṣūfī orders, who took to smoking.

In Shīʿī Persia, those who opposed tobacco tended to be followers of the Akhbārī doctrine (*ibid.*, 352; a list of Shīʿī anti-smoking tracts appears in Ṭihrānī, ix, 173-75). Yet the influential anti-Ṣūfī and Akhbārī cleric Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī (d. 1111/1699 [*q.v.*]), who was *Shaykh al-Islām* of Iṣfahān, considered smoking permissible. Like many who sanctioned tobacco, he was a fervent smoker himself (Pampus, 45).

Governments in the Islamic world tended to present and articulate prohibitive measures as a "return to the true faith", even if the real motives lay elsewhere. Shāh ʿAbbās I of Persia (995-1038/1587-1629 [*q.v.*]) outlawed the use of tobacco in the early 1600s, apparently because his soldiers spent too much of their pay on smoking, and punished offenders by slitting their nose and lips (Olearius, 645). His successor, Shāh Ṣafī I (1038-52/1629-42), repeated the ban when he acceded to the throne (Tavernier, i, 599; Ḳazwīnī, *Fawāʾid*, 48). The Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27) banned smoking in 1617. In the Ottoman Empire, tobacco was first proscribed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmed I (1012-26/1604-17), who issued numerous bans on tobacco and the places where it was smoked. Of his successors, Murād IV (1033-50/1623-40) was most vehement in waging war on smoking. His aversion to tobacco derived as much from its religious status as innovation, *bidʿa* [*q.v.*], as from a concern with order and discipline, thought to be undermined by those who frequented tobacco shops, and his fear of political opposition by the Janissaries, who owned many of these establishments (Saraçgil). In 1627 a ban was issued on tobacco cultivation in Ottoman territory. Six years later the sultan, possibly persuaded by Ḳāḍī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, used a huge fire that destroyed thousands of houses in Istanbul as a pretext to outlaw smoking and to close all coffee shops (Naʿīmā, iii, 1216-20). Many who were found smoking are said to have been executed. Nothing could, however, stop tobacco's march. Faced with this growing popularity, Murād's successors were more ambivalent. The *Shaykh al-Islām* Bahāʾ al-Dīn Efendi in the 1650s declared smoking lawful, and, though tobacco was forbidden a few more times by the Ottoman authorities, both the state and the clergy ultimately resigned themselves to its spread. The 18th-century Arabian Wahhābī movement included tobacco in its list of religiously proscribed substances. In Morocco, the *ʿulamāʾ* sought to ban smoking as late as 1887, with a similar lack of success.

Moralists and preachers continued to inveigh against the satanic origin or the debilitating effect of tobacco, but in time lost ground to bureaucrats who realised that tobacco, far from just draining bullion, might actually be turned into a source of profit. As was true in Europe, Middle Eastern states, burdened by ever growing military and administrative expenditure, saw tobacco as a welcome opportunity to expand their tax base. As early as the mid-17th century, the Ṣafawid government derived considerable revenue from taxing tobacco (Chardin, x, 408, 413). In the mid-19th century, tobacco was one of Persia's leading export products, being sent to India, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. The Iṣfahān area alone exported between 1700 and 1900 tons of *tambaku* via Baghdād in the 1860s (Rochechouart, 60), and Burton claimed that, in the Ḥidjāz, everyone smoked it. *Tutun*, which was grown in the western regions, was exported as well; exports continued to grow throughout the remainder of the century. A *Régie* was established in 1890, but had to be repealed after strong protests on the part of the *ʿulamāʾ*. In 1909 tobacco was turned into a state monopoly, which was revised in 1929 and again in 1931.

In the Ottoman Empire, a Tobacco *Régie* came into being in 1884. A tobacco company founded with European capital was given the monopoly for the administration of tobacco cultivation, its purchase and exportation, as well as for the manufacturing of cigarettes for domestic consumption. In the late Ottoman Empire, as in Persia, tobacco became one of the most significant export commodities. In India, the English East India Company established a monopoly over tobacco cultivation in the regions which it directly controlled. Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in 1810 instituted a tobacco government monopoly in Egypt, yet in 1890 tobacco cultivation was prohibited in the country. After occupying Algeria, the French encouraged the colonists to cultivate large quantities of dark leaf for use by the French state monopoly.

Today, tobacco is cultivated and cigarettes are manufactured in many parts of the Middle East, North Africa and Muslim Asia, but only Turkey ranks among the world's top fifteen tobacco-producing countries (sixth place with 222,000 tons in 1976-9) (Tucker, 177). Though many early modern reports claim that the people of Persia and the Ottoman Empire consumed prodigious amounts of tobacco, actual consumption seems to have been less than in most parts of Europe. Indeed, even today the per capita consumption in Middle Eastern countries is only about one-half of that in the West. In 1979 only Kuwait, with some 2,000 cigarettes smoked per person per annum, came close to the western average; Turkey and Lebanon averaged around 1,600, Egyptians, Moroccans, Algerians, Syrians, Jordanians and Saudis smoked anywhere between 600 and 800 cigarettes, while people in poor Islamic countries such as Sudan and Bangladesh consumed a mere 100-200 (Tucker, 183, 187). In many countries, most people smoke cheap, locally-produced cigarettes, but in modern times more expensive import brands have become increasingly popular almost everywhere, either directly imported or manufactured under licence.

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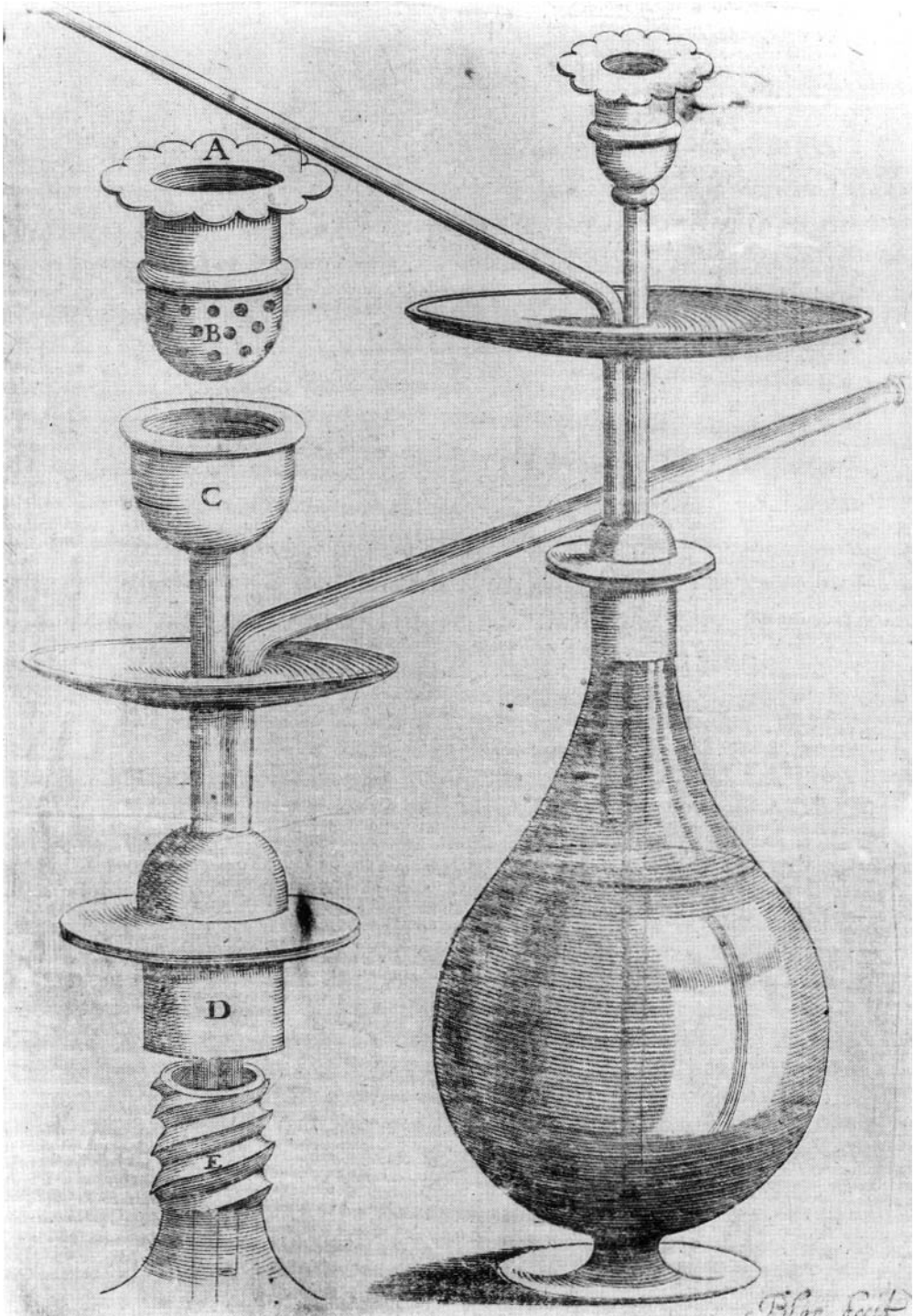
(R. Matthee)

TUTUSH (I) b. ALP ARSLAN, Abū Sa'īd Tādj al-Dawla (458-88/1066-95), Saldjūḳ ruler in Syria 471-88/1078-95. The name, < Tkish. *tut-*, "he who grasps, seizes", was already familiar as a personal name to Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 367.

During his brother Malik Shāh's [*q.v.*] lifetime, the youthful Tutush was given Syria in 471/1078 or 472/1079 as his appanage. The Turkmen commander Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], who had overrun southern Syria and Palestine and had seized Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids, had been swept out of these temporary conquests by the returning armies of al-Mustanṣir and besieged in Damascus. He appealed to Tutush for help, but the latter simply had Atsïz killed in order to secure the Syrian capital for himself (471/1079). He was not, however, able to assert his power in the second greatest city of Syria, Aleppo. This had briefly been taken over by the Saldjūḳ vassal, the 'Uḳaylid ruler of Mawṣil Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh, and Tutush now became involved in warfare with him, being even besieged in Damascus by the 'Uḳaylid in 476/1083 until Sharaf al-Dawla's death in battle fighting against the Saldjūḳ prince Sulaymān b. Ḳutalmïsh (479/1086) relieved him of this threat.

The Great Sultan Malik Shāh was not disposed to increase the power of his younger brother and potential rival, and sought to extend his own direct control over al-Djazīra and Syria. He appointed Turkmen commanders from his army as governors of the cities there, including Aḳ Ṣonḳor in Aleppo, Yaghï-basan at Antioch and Bozan at Edessa. These commanders and Tutush extended Turkish control in Syria as far south as Ḥimṣ, but stopped short of Tyre and Tripoli, in the latter of which the local ruler of the Banū 'Ammār [*q.v.*], Djalāl al-Mulk 'Alī, maintained himself by conciliating Aḳ Ṣonḳor.

Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092 threw the situation in the Saldjūḳ lands into confusion. In the absence of any clear principle of succession, and with older Turkish tribal ideas concerning the importance of seniority within the ruling house still influential, Tutush regarded his own claim to the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate as superior to that of the dead ruler's eldest son Berk-yaruḳ [see BARKYĀRŪḲ]. Tutush secured the towns of al-Djazīra as far east as Mawṣil and was even proclaimed sultan at Baghdād in 486/1093. But fear of Tutush's ascendancy led Aḳ Ṣonḳor and Bozan to join Berk-yaruḳ's supporter, the *amīr* Kirbuḳa. Nevertheless, through energetic campaigning in northern Syria, Tutush defeated the Turkmen *amīrs* at Tall al-Sulṭān to the south of Aleppo, killing Aḳ Ṣonḳor and then Bozan, and, after fifteen years of effort, at last occupying and proclaiming his power at Aleppo (in

Early image of a waterpipe, taken from J. Neander, *Tabacologia medico-cheururgico pharmaceutica* (Leiden 1622). Source: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

fact, this dominion was to last for only six months). Elated by his successes, Tutus̲h̲ now invaded western Persia, penetrating to Hamad̲h̲ān and compelling Berk-yaruḳ, whose forces were inferior in numbers, to retire to Iṣfahān. Yet the latter was able to rally support amongst the Turkish *amīrs* in western Persia and to assemble a large army (30,000 according to the sources), which was victorious over Tutus̲h̲ at Dās̲h̲īlwā near Rayy (see on this name, Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 433; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 802) on 17 Ṣafar 488/26 February 1095. Tutus̲h̲ was killed, and the remnants of his army fled to Syria. Berk-yaruḳ thus became the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan, although he was never secure and strong enough to assert his authority in a peripheral region like Syria and had to leave Tutus̲h̲'s sons Duḳāḳ and Riḍwān [*q.v.*] in Damascus and Aleppo respectively as vassal rulers.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

TUWĀT, conventionally Touat, a region of the southwest of Algeria little known to the Mag̲h̲ribī historians. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions laconically his passing through Tuwāt in 754/1353 (*Riḥla*, iv, 444-7, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 975-7), and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn mentions it in his *K. al-ʿIbar* (tr. de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, i), but these pieces of information are meagre. The spread of colonial power in Algeria brought little alteration, and until its colonisation in 1900, Tuwāt remained very little known. The etymology of the name is uncertain, but would seem to be Berber; suggestions have been that *t-wa-t* has the meaning "oasis" (A.G.P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, Paris 1923), or that it is the plural of the Zenāta Berber word *tīṭ* "spring" (N. Marouf, *Lecture de l'espace oasien*, Paris 1980).

Tuwāt is situated between lats. 26° 7' and 28° 5' N. and longs. 1° W. and 1° E. It is a vast depression, with the Grand Western Erg on the north, the Erg Chech on the west, Tanezrouft on the southwest and the plateau of Tadmaït on the southeast. Being *ca.* 1,500 km from the Atlantic and *ca.* 1,200 km from the Mediterranean, influences from the seas are nil. It is really a band of territory 600 km long according to E.F. Gauthier, but most authors make it 200 km long, comprising twelve groups of *ḳṣūr*. Within independent Algeria, some of these have been grouped into a *dāʾira* (sub-prefecture) and others made into communes. Tuwāt comes at the present time within the *wilāya* or province of Adrar. In 1996, some 224,000 people lived in the 16 communes making up Tuwāt, out of the 28 communes of the whole province.

Environment and local economy. Rainfall is negligible (11 mm p.a.), evaporation is fierce and vegetation sparse. It is a region of sand dunes, with denuded areas (hamadas and ergs) and, here and there, some alluvial soils. The flora is what one would expect from such a harsh environment: acacias (*ṭalḥ*), tamarisk (*tlāy*), colocynth, etc. Water is rare, with, except for the Wād Masʿūd, the *dāyas*, *s̲h̲aṭṭs* and *sabk̲h̲as* [*q.vv.*] being normally dry. But an immense reservoir of subterranean water (800 to 1,200 m below ground) is utilised by the people of the Sahara through an ingenious system of *foggaras* [see ḳanāt. II]. Together with Gurāra [see gourara, in Suppl.] and Tidikelt, Tuwāt is the region par excellence of *foggaras*, with a network of over 1,700 of these. The water raised up is sold and has to be divided very carefully.

Tuwāt is not therefore total desert, but a region of *ḳṣūr*, 248 of which are still inhabited. The *ḳsar* (locally *gṣar*) is an administrative area with a populated sector and lands, and usually has 100 to 200 inhabitants. A group of these *ḳṣūr* forms an entity with a single name only (Timmi, Bouda, Tamenṭīṭ, Tsabit, etc.). It is what we would call an oasis, although, paradoxically, there is no local term for this. Resources are protected in granaries and silos, justifying the building of *ḳaṣbas* or strongholds. Formerly, Tuwāt served as an entrepôt for trafficking tribes, and certain *ḳṣūr* served as depots in the caravan trade. The second vital element of a *ḳṣar* is its date-palm groves, here called *al-d̲j̲anna* (as a local pl. of *d̲j̲nān* "garden"). Small plots of land are planted with food-producing plants in tiers, in the shade of the palm trees; 7,200 ha are thus exploited in the traditional way, and 10,000 ha have been brought into production by modern means, notably water pumps.

Political and economic history. Tuwāt has been involved in the various vicissitudes of the powers and dynasties of North Africa. The Maʿḳil, Mag̲h̲rāwa and Banū Īfran [*q.vv.*] sought refuge there from the Almohads. Abū ʿAlī, son of the Marīnid ʿUt̲h̲mān II, conquered Tuwāt at the opening of the 8th/14th century, and two centuries later, the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] made the region subject. The interest of Moroccan rulers is explicable through Tuwāt's special position in trans-Saharan trade, the most important "product" being black slaves, brought from the south and concentrated on Tuwāt before being sent northwards.

Decline set in from the 16th to the 20th centuries, notably through the rise of maritime trade and the growth of a money economy.

Demography and social structure. Tuwāt's position as a meeting-place led to a long-established co-existence there of Zenāta Berbers, Jews, Arabs and black Africans. The Zenāta were possibly descendants of Pliny's Getulae, and the toponomy of the region shows that they form the most ancient stratum of inhabitants. The Jews form the second oldest group; today, the name of Mhād̲j̲riyya designates those considered to be of Jewish origin. They are popularly said to descend from the diaspora of the Cyrenaican community expelled by the emperor Trajan in A.D. 118, and they lived peacefully at Tuwāt until the arrival there of the *faḳīh* of Tlemcen Maḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mag̲h̲īlī [*q.v.*] who, *ca.* 895/1490, persecuted them, despite the disapproval of the local *fuḳahāʾ*, and incited a local Muslim mob to destroy the synagogue of Tuwāt. The latest group are the Arabs. Certain sources would like to trace their appearance back to the 4th/10th century, but in fact it was not until the 7th/13th century that pastoralists from the South Arabian tribe of Maʿḳil reached Tuwāt.

To the ethnic distinguishing factor was now added a social one. Other categories became added to the

Berbers and the Jews: (a) the Shurfā (*shurafā'*) of Tuwāt, who, as in all the Maghrib, are said to be Ḥasanīs; (b) the Mrābṭīn (*murābiṭūn*), who, together with the Shurfā, ended up by becoming the dominant class, owning water, land and palm-groves, and being exempted from taxation; (c) the Ḥrār (*aḥrār* "free men"), those Arabs and Berbers who were neither masters nor serfs; (d) the Mhādjriyya, perceived as of Judaeo-Berber origin and as being neither masters nor serfs, sometimes having their own cemeteries; (e) the 'Abīd or "slaves", whose legal status gave way to that of (f) the Ḥarṭānīs [*q.v.*], applied to freedmen. The Ḥrāṭīn formed, and still in large measure form, the basis of the workforce in Tuwāt's economic life; according to the French census of 1906, they formed almost 40% of the total population of 50,000.

The ṣaff *as a socio-political structure.* The *ṣaff* [*q.v.*] (local pronunciation, *ṣoff*) like the *laff* [*q.v.*], is a kind of permanent and exclusive league grouping together clans, families or tribes of diverse origins; it always involves collective confrontation between groups in each other's presence. Two *ṣaffs* used to share out influence in Tuwāt, although reconciled today: the Yaḥmad, to which belong almost all the people of Arab origin, and the Sufyān, in which the Zenāta Berbers are above all represented. Similarly, at Tamentīt, there were the opposing factions of the Mrābṭīn and the Dāreb.

The Ṣūfī brotherhoods and the zāwiyas. The *ṭuruḳ* have spread throughout Tuwāt since the 9th/15th century. The most widespread are the Ṭayyibiyya of Ouezzane (Wazzān), but the Ḳādiriyya and one of their branches, the Bakkā'iyya founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī, are also found. Other local brotherhoods have developed: in the north, the Karzāziyya, a Shādhilī branch founded by Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Karzāzī (d. 1062/1652); in the lower part of Tuwāt, the Raggāniyya, founded by Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Raggānī, is ubiquitous. The *zāwiya* of Kunta, founded by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Raggād, remains one of the most famed, together with that of the Bakriyya founded by the Shaykh al-Bakrī b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 528/1133).

Almost all the *ḳṣūr* possess a *zāwiya*, and certain *ḳṣūr* still bear the name of the saints who founded them (Ūlād al-Ḥādjdj, Sī 'Abd al-Ḳādar, Sīdī Yūsaf, Bū 'Lī, etc.). It is thanks to these that some fragments of local history and culture have been preserved; a certain number of mss. there are preserved in *zāwiyas* like that of the Kunta. At the present day, the *zāwiya* of Shaykh Sīd al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Kabīr has over 1,500 pupils from all over the region.

Saints and scholars. Scholars educated in *zāwiyas* have often founded new ones. Some came to Tuwāt from outside, but most were natives of Tuwāt and Gurāra. Although largely ignored in the books of *ṭabaḳāt* and *tarādjim*, certain of them achieved some fame. More than twenty are cited by al-Ḥafnawī (*T. al-Khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, Algiers 1907-9); Ibn Maryam (*al-Bustān fī dhikr al-awliyā' wa 'l-'ulamā' bi-Tilimsān*, Algiers 1908) names some of them well known at Fās; and Aḥmad Bābā mentions those who became distinguished in Takrūr. A recent ms. by al-Baḥḥāwī, *Nasīm al-nafaḥāt fī dhikr djawānib min akhbār Tawāt* (private coll.) mentions some fifty scholars of Tuwāt, including 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Tuwātī (d. 1042/1632), called 'Ālim Tuwāt; Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, called Bābā Hīda, author of *al-Ḳawl al-basīṭ fī akhbār Tamanṭīṭ* (B.N. arabe 6399); and the *ḳāḍī* of Tuwāt 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Bakrī (d. 1210/1796) and Sīdī Muḥammad al-Bakrī (d. 1133/1720), both representatives of an old family whose *zāwiya* still exists today near Tamenṭīṭ. In the present century, one might mention Sīd al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad al-Badawī al-'Uthmānī, called Bel Kbīr, who has enjoyed a reputation beyond his own region, being *imām* of the Great Mosque of Adrar since 1370/1950, founding there a great *madrasa* and a *zāwiya*.

Linguistic situation. Tuwāt is now almost entirely Arabophone, and Zenāta Berber has virtually disappeared, in contrast to the situation in adjacent Gurāra, where it still flourishes. The Berber of Tuwāt did, however, survive long enough for French and Algerian linguistic scholars to record it. Also, numerous Tifinagh [*q.v.*] inscriptions have been found in the region. See R. Basset, *Notes de lexicographie berbère. Vocabulaire du Touat et du Gourara, argot du Mzab, dialecte des Touaregs Aouelimmiden*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. x (1887), 365-464; idem, *Loqman berbère*, Paris 1890 (incs. some fables in Touat Berber); M. Mammeri and C. Brahimi, *Les activités du CRAPE durant l'année 1970*, in *Lybica*, xviii (1970), 289-95 (incs. some songs from the last woman knowing the Berber speech of Tamenṭīt); J.-C. Echallier, *Villages désertés et structures agraires anciennes du Touat-Gourara* (*Sahara algérien*), Paris 1972 (Tifinagh inscriptions); M. Rouvillois-Brigol, C. Messon and J. Vallet, *Oasis du Sahara algérien*, Paris 1973 (items of Berber vocabulary); Mammeri, *Le dernier document en berbère de Tamentit*, in *Awal*, i, 176-7.

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(ABDERRAHMANE MOUSSAOUI)

AL-ṬUWAYḲ, DJABAL, a range of hills in central Arabia, running in a flattened crescent shape roughly north-south for some 800 km/480 miles between lats. 27° 20' N. and 17° 30'. It begins at al-Zulfī north of al-Riyāḍ and ends in the western part of the Empty Quarter [see AL-RUB' AL-KHĀLĪ]. The central part comprises the district of Nadjd known as al-'Āriḍ [*q.v.*]. With a westwards-facing scarp, the Djabal Ṭuwayḳ rises to an average height of *ca.* 920 m/3,000 feet from a general level of *ca.* 610 km/2,000 feet, and varies in width between *ca.* 20 km/12 miles in the central part to an irregular *ca.* 10 km/6 miles at the two extremities. It dominates central Arabia both topographically and stratigraphically, and is basically a sandstone escarpment topped by a slightly tilted roof of Jurassic limestone; the whole range is highly fossil-bearing. It is extremely dissected by wadis,

the main ones being those of Ḥanīfa, al-Luḥā, al-Nuʿaydja and al-ʿAyn. There are several oases and settlements near it, including the present capital of Saudi Arabia, al-Riyāḍ, al-Khardj, al-Aflādj [*q.vv.*] (the last two with celebrated pools) and al-Sulayyil. The extensive ruins of the site of al-Fāw [*q.v.*] lie at its southern end.

In pre- and early Islamic times, caravans passed along the route of the Djabal to eastern Nadjd and the Gulf or to ʿIrāḳ, and there are archaeological sites, rock-carvings and inscriptions all along the ridge. It does not seem to be recorded under the name al-Ṭuwayḳ in the early Islamic sources on the geography of Arabia, although sites along it such as al-Aflādj and al-Khardj are certainly mentioned in these texts and in early poetry (see e.g. U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, Wiesbaden 1958, 25, 58-9).

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(S.A. AL-RASHID)

ṬUWAYS ("little peacock"), ABŪ ʿABD AL-MUNʿIM ʿĪSĀ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhāʾib, born probably 11/632 in Medina, died 92/711 in Suwaydāʾ, the first great singer in the days of Islam. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū Makhzūm, being in the service of Arwā bt. Kurayz, the mother of the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. He first attracted attention by singing melodies that he had learned from Persian captives, and rose to fame as a musician in the reign of ʿUthmān. About this time, a new style of music was introduced which was known as *al-ghināʾ al-raḳīḳ* or *al-ghināʾ al-mutḳan*, its especial feature being the application of a "modern" set of musical metrics (*īḳāʿ*) [*q.v.*] to the songs. Ṭuways was one of the first to sing this "new music" in Medina. He was considered the best exponent of *hazadj* songs. When singing these, he acted in the traditional way of walking around and beating the metre on a square framed drum (*duff murabbaʿ*). Like other musicians in Medina, Ṭuways was a *mukhannath*, and the proverb arose "[Nobody is] more effeminate (*akhnath*) than Ṭuways". Whilst Abān b. ʿUthmān [*q.v.*] was governor of Medina, he was favoured by the *amīr*, but when Muʿāwiya I became caliph, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was appointed governor (41-8/661-8 and 54-7/674-7), the *mukhannathūn* were suppressed, and Ṭuways fled to al-Suwaydāʾ, a two days' journey on the road to Syria. Among his pupils were Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*], al-Dalāl [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Nawmat al-Ḍuḥā and Find Abū Zayd. Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] wrote his biography (*Akhbār Ṭuways*), which was quoted by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī [*q.v.*] in the *Aghānī*. Some of his songs were still known in the 3rd/9th century.

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(H.G. FARMER-[E. NEUBAUER])

TUZ GÖLÜ, an inland salt lake of central Turkey. With an area of 1,500 km², it lies in the midst of a treeless cereal steppe in the Anatolian upland at an altitude of 905 m. It occupies the greater part of an internal drainage Tertiary depression, filled with thick young sediments and rimmed by karstified steppe platforms. The eastern delimination is formed by the 200 m high fault scarp.

During the Tertiary period, this basin subsided about 5,000 feet into the Anatolian continental plate. It has been shown that, during the rainy phases of the Ice Age, the lake surface was 110 m higher and that the lake was filled with freshwater because of its run-off to the Kızılırmak [see ḲIZIL-IRMĀḲ] river. During the last 15,000 years the lake has shrunk permanently. Currently, it scarcely has a depth of 2 m and its extent alters considerably with the seasonal variations in precipitation.

The high salinity (23%) of the lake results rather from the salt-bearing Tertiary sediments of the underground than from the lack of basin drainage. During years almost free from rain, high summer temperatures of about 40°C make water vaporise in abundance, so that a pan of nearly pure sodium chloride up to 30 cm thick is deposited. With an annual output of 150,000 tons, two state-owned saltworks yield one-fourth of Turkish native salt production, sufficient for the entire home demand.

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TŪZAR, conventional French form Touzeur, a town of southern Tunisia (lat. 33° 55' N., lat. 8° 07' E.), built on the site of the ancient *Tusurus*. The form Tawzar reflects a tendency towards fitting it into an Arabic form, a tendency visible throughout the Maghrib. The written evidence has many gaps, and one can only glean disparate pieces of information from the chroniclers and travellers (al-Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Bakrī, Ibn al-Shubbāṭ, al-Tidjānī, etc.). The history of the place is mixed up with that of the Djarīd [*q.v.*].

Tūzar is part of the great province of Ḳasṭīliya, which, between the Nafzāwa and the Djarīd, takes in the region of Gafsa. It is edged with salt flats to the northwest (Shaṭṭ al-Gharsa) and to the south (Shaṭṭ al-Djarīd and Shaṭṭ Takmart), whose moving sand dunes lay in wait for travellers who strayed from the ways marked out by palm trunks, as between Bishrī and Tūzar.

Tūzar has always been the chef-lieu of the Djarīd, a vast depression situated to the south of the parallel with Gafsa, in the peripheral region of southwestern Tunisia, characterised by a hot and arid climate. Like others of the Djarīd (al-Ḥāmma, the ancient *Aquae*, Takiyūs, modern Oudiane-Dégache, Nafṭa and the ancient, abandoned oasis of Firshāna) or of the Nafzāwa further south, the Tūzar oasis (*wāḥa*) belongs to a continental oasis type of habitat in which permanent and terraced cultivation is only possible through a hydraulic system which taps underground springs from a water-level which is not far below the surface and abundant. The system may briefly be described thus. The wadi derives its sources from heights above

the level of the oasis. These springs ooze out of the sands and come together on the fringes of the palm groves before receiving branches which are in turn subdivided into numerous water channels running in the open. There are water clocks filling up 192 times each 24-hour cycle and measuring out the period of irrigation water to each person with such a right in return for a fee. Officials in charge (*amīn*, pl. *umanā'*) watch over the smooth functioning of the system day and night.

In the first place denoting this hydraulic entity, Tūzar also denotes collectively the group of seven villages (Bayt al-Sharī'a = the *zāwiya* of the Shābbiyya; Blād al-Ḥaḍar, built on the site of the Ancient *Tusurus*; Zāwiyat al-Ṣaḥrāwī; Djaḥīm; Zāwiyat Sīdī Bū Līfa; and Zāwiyat al-Tawāniza) divided into shaykhdoms. The population is a mixture of diverse strains, but must basically be of Arabised Berbers. Some claim to be of Jewish origin (Awlād al-Hādif), others of Yemeni origin (Zebda, Masghūna, etc.) or Ḥidjāzī (Ḳuṭba, Tebābsa, etc.) or yet again from the Sūf (Hebaïla). The myth of these origins bears witness to Berbero-Arabo-Muslim contributions superimposed on an ancient Judaeo-Christian substratum, apparently still present in the 18th century.

As elsewhere, the Tūzar oasis lived above all on the caravan traffic heading for Ifrīḳiya, the Aurès, the Sūf, the Mzāb and the Great Eastern Erg, as well as on an intensive agriculture at three levels: market gardening, cultivation of shrubs and palm groves. The first count of this last resource goes back to 1860-4, when 75% of the date palms of the Shaṭṭ region came within the Djarīd (598,000 trees), almost a half of this figure within Tūzar. Private ownership (*milk*) predominated (88%), with only 4% being habous or *wakf* land. The economy was traditionally one of peasant villagers, but there was also an artisanal sector dominated by textile production, notably of blankets and coverings. Society was very clearly divided; out of *ca.* 7,700 inhabitants in 1885, only 3% were actual landowners, meaning that manual labour was the dominant factor there.

The town itself was ringed by ramparts and had four gates. In mediaeval times it had two *djāmi*'s and a *ḥammām* as well as *sūḳ*s and suburbs. The Banū Yamlūl were the dominating name in the town's history, long controlling, with varying fortunes, the local administration and still influential in the Zīrid period. They submitted to Ḳayrawān or Tunis only under constraint. At other times, control of the town varied between autonomy, dissidence or a negotiated, hence precarious, allegiance. The Ibāḍī Khāridjites found fertile ground there, but declined after the 6th/12th century. It was 'Uthmān Dey (in power 1598-1611) who secured Turkish control there after sacking Tūzar in 1608. But the central power in Tunis could never dispense with the support of some strong local authority there if it was to be able to derive any taxation from it.

Tūzar was not spared the general crisis which gripped the whole country after 1840. But the clan of the Awlād al-Hādif, who had taken over control from the Banū Yamlūl in the 16th century, had a strong economic position, acquired through trade, and was accordingly able to impose its supremacy in the council of notables and to function as tax collectors for the Beylik before falling into decline, it seems, in the Reform period of Tunis's history. In mid-20th century Tūzar had 12,000 inhabitants. After 1919 a railway linked it with Sfax. Its economy still remains essentially based on the production of the *deglat al-nūr* date.

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(T. BACHROUCH)

TŪZŪK (T.), from *tuzük*, from the verb *tüz-* "to arrange, set in order," borrowed into Persian and naturalized as *tuzuk* and *tūzūk*. The word refers to a ruler's or military commander's "arrangement," or the order in which he keeps his soldiers and establishment. In his memoirs Bābur refers to the *tüzük* (military order and hierarchy) left by Čingiz Khān as having lasted among the Mughals down to his own time (fol. 100b). *Tūzūk* is often coupled with the words *ḳā'ida*, *maḍbūṭ*, and *ḍabṭ u rabṭ*, all of which are synonymous in these contexts.

It is clear that from the post-Tīmūrid period on, the word became a generic title for memoirs or biographies of rulers. The title *tūzūk(āt)* has been applied to a number of works, all of which are, or purport to be, memoirs or dicta of Turco-Mongolian rulers of Central Asia and/or Mughal India. The (spurious) memoirs of Amīr Temür or Tīmūr (Tamerlane) called *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī* have an appendix called *Tūzūk(āt)-i Tīmūrī*, which has been translated as "Institutes". Bābur's memoirs have been called *Tūzūk-i Bāburī*; the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr's memoirs are often called *Tūzūk-i Djahāngīrī*, even though the author calls them the *Djahāngīr-nāma* several times in the work itself; a late 18th-century history of the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād is called *Tuzuk-i Āṣafī*; the Urdu translation (Agra 1902) of the life of the Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān of Afghānistān (d. 1901) is called *Tuzuk-i 'Abd al-Raḥmān*.

Bibliography: Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *The Bábar-náma*, facs. edn. Annette S. Beveridge Leiden and London 1905, repr. London 1971; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972; Major Wm. Davy (tr.), *Institutes, political and military, by the Great Timour*, Oxford 1783. (W.M. THACKSTON)

TWELVERS [see ITHNĀ 'ASHARIYYA].

TYRE [see ṢŪR].

U

'UBĀDA B. **MĀ'** AL-**SAMĀ'** [see IBN MĀ' AL-SAMĀ'].

UBĀGH, 'AYN UBĀGH, the name of a spring or watercourse on the eastern, sc. 'Irāḳī, fringes of the Syrian Desert which was the scene of a pre-Islamic *yawm* or battle of the Arabs.

The confused Arabic sources take this as being the battle of A.D. 554 in which the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II was killed fighting the Ghassānid al-Ḥārith b. Djabala [*q.v.*], in fact, the *yawm al-Ḥalīma* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā 'sta'djama*, i, 95; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 175. Cf. A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847-8, ii, 133; A. Musil, *Palmyrene, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 144 n. 38; and GHASSĀNIDS). However, Nöldeke, in his *Die ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, 23-4, followed by G. Rothstein, *Die Laḥmiden*, 103, identified 'Ayn Ubāgh with a later Ghassānid-Lakhmid encounter, one during the campaign of 569 when al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith defeated the Lakhmid Ḳābūs b. al-Mundhir III and advanced on the latter's capital of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] to within three *mansiones* or stages of it. Al-Mundhir's encampment would obviously be at a watering-place, and the location of 'Ayn Ubāgh would correspond well to this, as noted by I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, Washington D.C. 1995, i, 342-3.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH [see AL-MAHDĪ 'UBAYD ALLĀH].

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. AL-**'ABBĀS** B. 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB, Abū Muḥammad, Companion and paternal cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and younger brother of the famed scholar and reciter of traditions 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās [*q.v.*], born in the year of the *Hidjra*, died in the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya or in 85/704 or in 87/706. He was further related to the Prophet in that his mother Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya was the sister of Muḥammad's wife Maymūna [*q.v.*] (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. 'Ukāsha, 121, 367; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, ed. al-Dūrī, 447). Unlike his brother, he handed down few traditions, but was famed for his hospitality.

He was a strong partisan of his nephew 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and during the latter's caliphate acted as 'Alī's governor over Yemen, leading the Pilgrimage in 37/658 and again in 39/660 when he had to confront in Mecca the rival Pilgrimage leader sent by Mu'āwiya, Yazīd b. Shadjara al-Ruhāwī (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3390, 3443, 3448, 3474). When Mu'āwiya's commander Busr b. Arṭāt [*q.v.*] approached Yemen in 40/660-1, 'Ubayd Allāh fled, eventually to Kūfa, leaving behind two of his sons to be killed by Busr. He was a supporter of al-Ḥasan's claims to succeed to the caliphate after 'Alī's assassination, but when Mu'āwiya advanced into the Sawād, was bought off by the Umayyad for a million dirhams [see (AL-)ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ]. The remainder of his life was spent at Medina, where he died at an advanced age.

Bibliography: The main sources are Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iii, 55-65, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 340-1. See also Ziriklī, *A'lām*, iv, 349.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **'ABD ALLĀH** AL-**HUDHALĪ** [see FUḲAHĀ' AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'A. V., in Suppl.].

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **ABĪ BAKRA**, Abū Ḥātim, Arab commander of the Umayyads and governor in Sīstān, d. 79/698.

The Abū Bakra family were of *mawlā* origin, Abū Bakra's father being apparently an Abyssinian slave. Although he married a free Arab wife from the Banū 'Idjl, 'Ubayd Allāh himself retained a dark and swarthy complexion, being described as *adgham*; an attempted filiation of the family to al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [*q.v.* in Suppl.], the so-called "Physician of the Arabs", was later disallowed by the caliph al-Mahdī. The family prospered in Baṣra as partisans of the Umayyads and through the patronage of the governor of 'Irāḳ Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. 'Ubayd Allāh was governor of Sīstān 51-3/671-3, and early in 'Abd al-Malik's reign he was prominent amongst the pro-Umayyad forces in Baṣra against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*].

He again became governor of Sīstān in 78/697-8 under al-Ḥadjdjādj, with the task of raiding into the region of eastern Afghānistān and recalling the local ruler, the Zunbīl, to his obligation of paying tribute. But the Arab expedition of summer 79/698 proved a disaster; the retrospectively-styled "Army of Destruction" (*Djaysh al-Fanā'*) was largely destroyed by starvation and by attacks of the Zunbīl's followers, and 'Ubayd Allāh died at Bust on the way back with the army's remnants.

Bibliography: On the Abū Bakra family, see the section in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. Ḥamīdallāh, 489-505. The episode of the "Army of Destruction" is described above all in idem, *Futūḥ*, 399, and *Ansāb*, ed. Ahlwardt as *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 311-18; in Ṭabarī, ii, 1036-9, tr. E.K. Rowson, 183-6; and in the anonymous locl history, *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 110-12, tr. M. Gold, 89-90 (confused). These and other sources are utilised in C.E. Bosworth, *'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 268-83; for 'Ubayd Allāh's earlier career, see idem, *Sīstān under the Arabs . . .*, Rome 1968, 21, 24.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'UBAYD ALLĀH B. **AḤMAD** B. **ABĪ ṬĀHIR**, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, son of the historian, littérateur and bookman Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (d. 280/893 [*q.v.*]), and a historian and author in his own right. Ibn al-Nadīm describes the father as a superior author (*Fihrist*, 147) but al-Ḳifṭī considers him equally "assiduous in [his] reporting" (*Ḥukamā'*, 111). He died in his home town, Baghdād, in 313/925; his date of birth is unknown.

The mention of 'Ubayd Allāh in the biographical literature rests on the fact that he is his father's son and that he wrote a continuation of his father's *K. Baghdād*, a history, properly a regnally-organised *akhbār* collection, on Baghdād and its caliphs; consequently, he is mentioned in the principal notices devoted to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. The only extant biographical notices devoted exclusively to him are in *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (iv, 211, x, 348) and in the *Fihrist* (147). However, neither provides much information

about his life, focusing rather on the supplement to *K. Baghdād*. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir wrote until the end of al-Muhtadī's reign, and ʿUbayd Allāh added *akhbār* about al-Muʿtamid, al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī; he did not complete the section on al-Muḳtadir. He also wrote works entitled *al-Sikbādj wa-faḍāʾiluhā* ("The virtues of Sikbādj" [*q.v.*]) and *al-Mutaẓarrifāt wa 'l-mutaẓarrifūn* ("Women and men who affect elegance").

Extracts from ʿUbayd Allāh's history survive. The *Fihrist* quotes one dealing with the later life, capture, and execution of the mystic al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922 [*q.v.*]). Ibn Khallikān quotes a section on the Ṣaffārids, but in an abridged version because of "ʿUbayd Allāh's prolixity" (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. ʿAbbās, vi, 416), an example of which may be found in the long extract on al-Muʿtaḍid preserved by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 263-70). See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xiii, 200, xiv, 55, and Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān*, i, 190, 373.

Prominent students include ʿAlī b. Hārūn al-Munadjdjim (d. 352/963) and Abū ʿUmar b. Ḥayyawayh (295-381/907-91). Contact with the former comes as no surprise, as Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Munadjdjim (241-300/855-913 [*q.v.*]) is recorded in extant *isnād*s as a primary transmitter to ʿUbayd Allāh (e.g. al-Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ*, 69-70, 79-80).

Like his father, or perhaps because of him, ʿUbayd Allāh also came into contact with prominent literary personalities such as al-Buḥturī [*q.v.*], as attested in an anecdote where al-Buḥturī declaims seven verses to him (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 145, and al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, ii, 195).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): *Fihrist*, 210; Elijah of Nisibis, *History*, 132-5; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-taʾrīkh min awwal al-zamān ilā muntahā 'l-dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, Baghdād, 1390/1970, 148; al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 53; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 610, iii, 3-8, v, 102; idem, *Buldān*, i, 153, ii, 788; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i, 273; Azdī, *Badāʾiʿ*, 89; K. ʿAwwād, *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt khizānat Yaʿḳūb Sirkīs*, Baghdād 1385/1966, 17, no. 47; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 81-3.

(Shawkat M. Toorawa)

ʿUBAYD ALLĀH b. **BASHĪR** (or Bushayr) b. al-Māḥūz, leader of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] sect of the Khāridjites.

(Al-)Māḥūz was the nickname of Yazīd b. Musāḥiḳ of the Banū Salīṭ b. al-Ḥārith b. Yarbūʿ of Tamīm. Several of the Banu 'l-Māḥūz, among them ʿUbayd Allāh, were among the Baṣran Khāridjites who went to Mecca to support ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in 64/683 but deserted him when he would not denounce the caliph ʿUthmān. They returned to Baṣra together with Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*] and then joined his revolt. After Nāfiʿ was killed during fighting at Dūlāb (Djumādā II 65/Dec.-Jan. 684-5), he was first succeeded by ʿUbayd Allāh's brother ʿAbd Allāh, who was also killed in the battle, and then by ʿUbayd Allāh. The latter defeated the Baṣran army and was confirmed as caliph and *amīr al-muʾminīn* by the rebels. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 65/June-July 685 he routed a Baṣran army under ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, brother of the Zubayrid governor of Baṣra, at Dāris on the Dudjayl; ʿUthmān was killed in the battle. ʿUbayd Allāh was able to establish himself at Nahr Tīrā, and Azraḳī horsemen raided the Tigris bank near Baṣra. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra [*q.v.*] was now put in charge of the war against the Azāriḳa. After initially slow progress, he decisively defeated them at Sillabrā east of the Dudjayl in Shawwāl 66/May 686, and ʿUbayd Allāh was killed. His head was carried by a man of the Azd to Baṣra, but on his way he accidentally met three of ʿUbayd Allāh's brothers, who killed him and buried their brother's head. ʿUbayd Allāh was succeeded as leader of the Azāriḳa by his cousin (not brother) al-Zubayr b. ʿAlī b. al-Māḥūz.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, in W. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Greifswald 1883, 87-110; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, Leipzig 1874-92, 617-42; Ṭabarī, ii, 517, 582-8; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 32-5.

(W. Madelung)

ʿUBAYD ALLĀH b. **ḤABḤĀB**, Umayyad governor of Egypt, Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, b. at an unknown date, d. after 123/741.

He was chief of the tribe of Salūl of northern ʿIrāḳ and famed for his talent as an orator. Beginning a career in the administration, he was first appointed head of taxation in Egypt, and as such, told the caliph Hishām that the land of Egypt could yield more money, thereby provoking a revolt of the Copts in several districts. His links with the caliph seem to have been close, since at his request, Hishām dismissed the governor of Egypt al-Ḥurr b. Yūsuf in 108/728 and likewise his successor Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (who was only in post for two weeks) and entrusted to ʿUbayd Allāh the choice of successor. The caliph then nominated ʿUbayd Allāh himself to the governorship of Egypt, at a date not exactly known, and gave him carte blanche to install several other groups of Ḳays there, thus raising the number of Ḳaysīs in Egypt to several thousands.

Then in Rabīʿ II 116/May-June 734 he appointed him successor to ʿUbayda b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus. As soon as ʿUbayd Allāh arrived there, he brought al-Mustanīr b. al-Ḥārith out of prison and gave him rule over Tunis, and his own son Ismāʿīl rule over the Sūs, leaving a further son, al-Ḳāsim, over Egypt. In Spain he appointed ʿUḳba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj and, on the latter's death, restored to office ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan whom he had earlier dismissed. ʿUbayd Allāh launched several campaigns against the Sūs and other Berber areas, which were sealed by a great victory and an enormous booty. The Berbers, headed by Maysara al-Faḳīr, then raised a revolt against him at Tangier and killed his representative there. Maysara claimed the title of caliph, headed towards the Sūs, killed ʿUbayd Allāh's son and thus brought about a general uprising in Ifrīḳiya. ʿUbayd Allāh deputed Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda to quell this and himself attacked the ruler of Tlemcen, after which the sources record the end of his governorship in Ifrīḳiya, since Hishām recalled him in Djumādā I 123/March-April 741.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 217-18; Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, 73-6, 341; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 67, 69; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Beirut, iii, 299-300; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Juynboll and Matthes, Leiden 1851, i, 287-8, 306; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bādjī al-Masʿūdī, *al-Khulāṣa al-naḳiyya*, Tunis 1283/1866, 14 (Brockelmann, S II, 885); al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312/1894, i, 48 (Brockelmann, S II, 888); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*[3], iv, 258-9; R.G. Khoury, *Zur Ernennung von Richtern im Islam vom Anfang bis zum Aufkommen der Abbasiden*, in H.R. Roemer and A. Noth (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vordern Orients, Festschrift Berthold Spuler*, Leiden 1981, 197-209; idem, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, juge et grand maître de l'Ecole égyptienne ...*, Wiesbaden 1986.

(R.G. Khoury)

'UBAYD ALLĀH b. 'UMAR, a son of the second caliph and Companion of the Prophet, d. 37/657.

'Ubayd Allāh was the son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by his wife Umm Kulthūm Mulayka bt. Djarwal of the Khuzā'a, who, divorced by 'Umar after he converted to Islam, married a kinsman and remained pagan in Mecca. 'Ubayd Allāh is known principally for having avenged his father's death in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/23 November 644 at the hands of Abū Lu'lu'a, a Persian slave of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [*q.v.*]. According to most accounts, once captured, Abū Lu'lu'a killed himself, so 'Ubayd Allāh turned his wrath on his unidentified daughter, on al-Hurmuzān [*q.v.*], a former Sāsānid commander who had converted to Islam, and finally on the Christian Djufayna, killing all three; according to al-Ya'ḳūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, ii, 185), 'Ubayd Allāh killed Abū Lu'lu'a, his wife, and daughter. Various sources also have him railing against the presence in Medina of *'adjamī* slaves, and even against some of the *muhādjirūn* (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 8-9; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, iii, 125). The sources thus give the impression that he was at least slightly unhinged, and the family's *bête noir* (it is said that he was beaten by 'Umar for drinking, al-Ṭabarī, i, 2388); his political motives (see e.g. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 180, where he later claims to avenge 'Uthmān's murder) are generally given short shrift. Be this as it may, the killing was considered unlawful, and 'Ubayd Allāh was held by Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ in his *dār*; he was soon granted a pardon by 'Uthmān, a decision that was grist for the anti-'Uthmān mill. Fearing 'Alī, who swore to hold him accountable for the murder, 'Ubayd Allāh fled to Mu'āwiya in Syria. He was one of Mu'āwiya's commanders at the battle of Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], where he was killed in 37/657.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii/1, 190, and v. 8 ff.; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, index; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 349; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, ed. Goitein, 24, ms. Reisülküttap 598, fol. 327a-b (653-4 in Ḥamīdullāh's pagination); idem, *Futūḥ*, 381, 474; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, ii, 412 ff., iii, 212 ff., v, 65 ff. and passim; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 172, 180, 186, 189 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vii, index; Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 185, 188, 202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Tehran 1958, iii, 342-3; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, iii, 403; anon., *T. al-Khulafā'*, ed. P. Gryaznevič, Moscow 1967, index; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vi (index), and ix, 646 ff. (further bibl.); W.F. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997, 69-70, 75, 108, 231-2. (C.F. Robinson)

'UBAYD ALLĀH b. ZIYĀD, Umayyad governor of Baṣra, Kūfa and the East, d. 67/686.

The son of Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*], 'Ubayd Allāh seems to have been groomed by his father for a successful life in politics, and in both policy and style, father and son are frequently paired by the sources. Some accounts explicitly connect 'Ubayd Allāh's appointment as governor of Khurāsān to his father's death (thus al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 281; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 410), but a precise chronology is elusive. According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Mu'āwiya appointed 'Ubayd Allāh over Khurāsān in 53/672-3, and over Baṣra in 55/674-5 (*Ta'rīkh*, 135 ff.); but according to al-Ṭabarī's sources, his rule in Khurāsān began in 54/673-4, and that in Baṣra a year later (ii, 166-7, 172). Ideally, these and similar problems of chronology would be solved by the relatively voluminous—and dated—silver coinage that bears 'Ubayd Allāh's name; unfortunately, the earliest issues are problematic, and at present, the most one can say is that he was ruling in the east from 54/674 onwards and in Baṣra from 56/675-6 onwards. At this point the numismatic evidence improves, and can throw some light on administration and cultural style. Baṣra enjoys pride of place among the eastern mints that struck his coins; Dārābdjird, Dast-i Maysān, Narmāshīr, and Djayy also appear frequently, while Kūfa, which was added to his governorship of Baṣra in 60/679-80, appears very infrequently. All the coins are of the Arab-Sāsānid type; the language is Pahlavi, and dating is occasionally based on the era of Yazdagird. In the 50s/670s one would expect a Sāsānid-Persian cultural milieu for 'Ubayd Allāh's administration, and in fact the literary sources suggest the same (M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, passim). The series ends in 64/683-4, when the *ashrāf* of Baṣra ejected him from the city—an event reported in great detail by our sources (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 432 ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv B, 97 ff.). In the confused aftermath of the death of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, 'Ubayd Allāh at first temporised, and even managed for a short time to secure the *bay'a* of the Baṣran *ashrāf*; but he could not outlive for long the Sufyānid system of rule in which both father and son had prospered. Forced to flee the city, he went to Syria where he threw his support behind Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. He fought for Marwān in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] and commanded armies in the Djazīra for Marwān and his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik; it was on his watch in Djumādā I 65/January 685 that Sulaymān b. Ṣurad [*q.v.*], and his men were massacred in Ra's al-'Ayn ('Ayn al-Warda). His death on the Khāzir river early in 67/686, where he was defeated by al-Mukhtār's commander Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, is described in some detail by the Arabic sources (thus al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, 247 ff.; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vi, 139 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 707 ff.). Syriac sources are also familiar with al-Mukhtār's defeat of 'Ubayd Allāh. A Nestorian historian, who was probably writing in or near Sindjār in the last decade of the 7th century, knew of 'Ubayd Allāh as a commander of the "Westerners" (i.e., Syrians), and describes how he curried favour in Nisibis with John, a candidate for the patriarchate; he mistakenly calls him 'Abd al-Raḥmān (see Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, 64 ff.). Whereas this author numbers al-Mukhtār's men at 13,000, Michael the Syrian (*Chronique*, xi-xv) supplies the fantastic figure of 400,000 dead at the battle.

It is largely as suppressor of Khāridjites and oppressor of Shī'īs that 'Ubayd Allāh is described by our sources. According to some, 'Ubayd Allāh's increasingly harsh policies towards the former dated from 58/677-8 (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 185-6); one report has it that 'Ubayd Allāh and his father Ziyād together killed 13,000 Khāridjites, and 'Ubayd Allāh himself is said to have imprisoned 4,000 (*ibid.*, ii, 459-60). Al-Mubarrad states that 'Ubayd Allāh would sometimes imprison Khāridjites and sometimes kill them, but usually the latter (*al-Kāmil*, 594). His infamy among Shī'īs rests principally, but not exclusively, on his suppression of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's rebellion in Muḥarram 61/October 680; according to some accounts, 'Ubayd Allāh abused the slain 'Alid's severed head.

Bibliography: Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut, 1995, index; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv B, ed. M. Schloessinger, 77 ff., v, ed. Goitein, index; Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 281, 288 ff., 306 ff., 317, 321; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, index;

Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Ṣaḳr, 97 ff.; Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, vii, index; S.P. Brock, *North Mesopotamia in the late seventh century. Book XV of John Bar Penkāyē's Rīš Mellē*, in *JSAI*, ix (1987), 64 ff.; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, Paris 1899-1924, xi-xv; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins*, etc., London 1941, pp. xlvii-xlviii, 52 ff., and index; H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 75, 87, and index; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg 680-692*, Wiesbaden 1982, index; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, tr. R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer, *The religio-political factions in early Islam*, Amsterdam 1975, index; idem, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, tr. M.G. Weir, *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta 1927, index. (C.F. ROBINSON)

'UBAYD B. SHARYA [see IBN SHARYA].

'UBAYD-I ZĀKĀNĪ, or Niẓām al-Dīn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Zākānī, Persian poet of the Mongol period who became especially famous for his satires and parodies. He was born into a family of scholars and state officials descending from Arabs of the Banū Khafādja [*q.v.*] settled in the area of Ḳazwīn since early Islamic times. In 730/1329-30 the historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described him as a talented poet and a writer of learned treatises. A collection of Arabic sayings by prophets and wise men, entitled *Nawādir al-amthāl*, belongs to this early period. When later in the same decade the central government of the Īl-Khāns collapsed, 'Ubayd found a refuge in Shīrāz at the court of Abū Isḥāḳ Īndjū [see INDJŪ] whose death in 758/1357 he commemorated in an elegy. A few years earlier his patron had been ousted from Shīrāz by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*]. This probably forced 'Ubayd to leave the town for some time, but he must have returned during the reign of Shāh Shudjā' (765-86/1364-84). 'Ubayd addressed panegyrics to the rulers of Fārs as well as to Sultan Uways I (757-76/1356-74) of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], who resided in Baghdād and Tabrīz. According to later sources, he is said to have died in 771/1369-70 (Ṣādiḳ Iṣfahānī in *Shāhid-i Ṣādiḳ*) or 772/1370-1 (Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī in the anthology *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*). The fact that, in the latter year, his son inherited a manuscript copied by 'Ubayd in 768/1366-7 confirms both datings (cf. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, *Kulliyyāt*, Introd., pp. *hā'* ff.).

The collected works of 'Ubayd-i Zākānī comprise in the first place a *Dīwān* with his serious court poetry, mainly *ḳaṣīdas* and *ghazals*. The latter poems are remarkable, in particular because many of them must have been written in Shīrāz when Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] was active there as well. To the non-satirical works further belongs the *'Ushshāḳ-nāma*, a treatise on the theory of secular love in *mathnawī* interspersed with *ghazals*, dedicated in 752/1350 to Abū Isḥāḳ. This part of his poetry was published separately by 'Abbās Iḳbāl (Tehran 1321 *sh*./1942) and S.A. Usha (Madras 1952).

His satirical works are written both in prose and poetry, and usually in a combination of the two. Several of these texts are parodies of conventional genres of moralising literature. In *Akhlāḳ al-ashrāf* ("The morals of the noble"), written in 740/1339-40, the "abolished doctrine" (*madhhab-i mansūkh*) of commonly accepted virtues is mockingly replaced by a more up-to-date "preferred doctrine" (*madhhab-i mukhtār*) prescribing the exact opposites of the same virtues. This short treatise was partially translated by E.G. Browne and H. Javadi; the chapter on chastity, bowdlerised by both, was newly edited and translated by P. Sprachman, *Suppressed Persian*, 55-61. In a similar vein, 'Ubayd gave satirical definitions of items belonging to the sphere of religion, politics and social life in his *Risāla-yi ta'rīfāt*, also known as *Kitāb-i dah faṣl*, and presented cynical maxims in the *Risāla-yi ṣad pand*. The *Risāla-yi dilgushā* is a collection of funny, and often bawdy, tales and anecdotes in Arabic and Persian. An interesting specimen of literary satire is the *Rīsh-nāma* ("The book of the beard"), in which a personification of the beard defends its virtues in a dispute with the poet. The main topic is the first appearance of the beard on a young boy's cheeks, a well-known motif of erotic poetry. An Italian translation of the *Rīsh-nāma* was made by A. Bausani (*Il Libro della barba* in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 1-19); Sprachman edited and translated the same text in *Suppressed Persian*, 61-75. The other satirical texts also contain several passages with jokes of a homo- or heterosexual nature. In three short *fāl-nāmas* 'Ubayd made fun of the practice of taking auguries. In 1303/1885-6 the satirical works were printed at Constantinople with introductions by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī and the French consul M. Ferté (reprinted in *Kulliyyāt*, ed. 'A. Iḳbāl).

His most popular work is a *ḳaṣīda* entitled *Ḳiṣṣa-yi mūsh-u gurba* ("The story of the mice and the cat"). This fable, denouncing the brutality and hypocrisy of a tyrant, is sometimes taken to criticise the harsh rule of Mubāriz al-Dīn under which both 'Ubayd and his contemporary Ḥāfiẓ had to suffer. As the poem does not occur in the earliest manuscripts of 'Ubayd's collected works, the attribution to him is not entirely certain (cf. Ateş, 269). Among the many translations, those by Mas'ūd Farzād (London 1945) and Omar Pound (London 1972), both into English, and by Herbert W. Duda into German (Salzburg 1947) are noteworthy.

Bibliography: The edition of the *Kulliyyāt* by 'A. Iḳbāl (Tehran 1331-2 *sh*./1953) does not provide adequate texts of the satirical works; for recent work on a new edition, cf. Dj. Mahdjūb, in *Īrānshināsī*, vi (1994), 139-59, 287-304, as well as the specimens published by Sprachman. See further Browne, ii, 230-57; A. Christensen, *En persisk satiriker fra Mongolertiden*, Copenhagen 1924; A.J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 289-300; A. Bausani, in A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 450-63; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 272-3; A. Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 268-73; H. Javadi, *The Ethics and other satirical works*, Piedmont, Cal. 1985 (trs. with introd. and bibl.); P. Sprachman, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Persian literature*, Albany 1988, 227-34; idem, *Suppressed Persian. An anthology of forbidden literature*, Costa Mesa, Cal. 1995, 44-75. (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

UBAYY B. KA'B al-Anṣārī al-Madanī, a member of the Banū Ḥudayla of the Medinan clan of al-Nadjdjār, secretary to Muḥammad in Medina and early collector of the Ḳur'ān; his date of death may have been anywhere between 19/640 and 35/656, according to Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, no. 131. Known as *sayyid al-ḳurrā'* and renowned for his memory (he was able to recite the entire Ḳur'ān in 8 nights), Ubayy is said to have collected his own copy of the Ḳur'ān prior to the collection commanded by 'Uthmān, while also having been involved in the latter's collection. Both the contents and the *sūra* order of his text are reported to have been different to

some extent from the later authoritative version (e.g. *Fihrist*, 27; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itḳān fī ʿulūm al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1967, i, 181-2); al-Bukhārī cites ʿUmar as declaring Ubayy's text to be defective (*Faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān, bāb* 8). Ubayy's version was accepted by the Syrians until it was displaced by the ʿUthmānic text [see KUR'ĀN, 3 b]. As secretary to Muḥammad, he is said to have memorised portions of the Ḳurʾān upon their revelation in order to recite them back to Muḥammad "for guidance and instruction", as well as to have written out various treaties according to various reports in Ibn Saʿd.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 59-62 (Cairo 1957, iii, 498-502); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 83-97; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, 114-81, with other biographical references. (A. RIPPIN)

AL-**UBAYYIḌ**, conventionally EL OBEID, the administrative centre of the Northern Kordofan Province in the modern Republic of the Sudan and the main town of the whole region of Kordofan (lat. 13° 10' N., long. 30° 14' E.). For its part in the history of the region, see KORDOFĀN.

UBBADHA, UBBADHAT/UBBADAT AL-ʿARAB, modern Úbeda in Spain, a small town, in the province of Jaén, some 12 km/7 miles from Bayyāsa/Baeza, said to have been founded in the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52) and completed under his son Muḥammad I by the governor of Jaén, Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The designation "of the Arabs" allegedly distinguished it from Ubbadhat Farwa in the *kūra* of Ilbīra/Elvira. Despite its supposedly new foundation, recent archaeological excavations have revealed material from the Late Empire in the vicinity of the Santa Maria church, itself probably the main mosque of the Islamic town, leading one to think that there was in reality a refortification of an existing settlement or its raising to the level of a *madīna*.

As a town of only moderate or small importance, it was famed for the richness of its agricultural lands, producing vines and corn, and for its dancing girls. A certain Ibn Maymūn was amongst the rebels of Baeza and Úbeda against the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh (275-300/888-912). Early in his reign, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III reduced the rebels of Jaén, but in 304/916-17 Sulaymān, a son of Ibn Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], seized control of Úbeda, and though he submitted in the next year, it was clearly some time before the region returned to normality.

In the period of the Taifas, Úbeda probably passed, with Jaén and Baeza, to al-Maʾmūn b. Dhi 'l-Nūn, ruler of Toledo during the time of his great extension of power southwards to include Cordova and just before his death in 467/1075, before the ʿAbbādids [*q.v.*] of Seville gained control of the whole valley of the Guadalquivir. This last passed to the Almoravids in 484/1091, and Úbeda remained in their dominions, despite its exposure to Christian raids, till the end of their presence in the Iberian Peninsula, except perhaps for a brief occupation *ca.* 539/1144 by Zafadola (Sayf al-Dawla Ibn Hūd), the ally of Alfonso VII of Castile. The last Almoravid Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya had to cede Úbeda and Baeza to Alfonso in 542/1147, until the Almohads regained these two towns and Almeria ten years later. But the North African incomers had also to face local Muslim resistance; Muḥammad b. Mardanīsh [see IBN MARDANĪSH] and his father-in-law Ibrāhīm b. Hamushk seized Úbeda and Baeza in 554/1159, but the latter's rallying to Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf ten years later delivered the two towns to the Almohads.

The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa/al-ʿUḳāb (609/1212 [*q.v.*]) is known in Christian sources as that of Úbeda. After the battle, the victors took Úbeda, whose inhabitants, unlike those of Baeza, had not evacuated the town; many were killed or made captive, including amongst these last the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḳaṭrāl, later freed to exercise the same office in other towns of al-Andalus and the Maghrib before dying at Marrakesh. But the town was then evacuated, for reasons which remain obscure, by the Christians, allowing a few years more of Islamic occupation. With the definitive fall of Baeza, probably at the end of 1226, Úbeda was besieged on 6 January 1233 by Ferdinand III, who had three years earlier united the crowns of León and Castile. With no possibility of help from the Hūdids, it surrendered in July, with the Muslim inhabitants required to evacuate the town but allowed to take with them their belongings to a chosen point.

It does not seem to have retained any Mudéjar population, probably because of its frontier position facing the amīrate of Granada. In 674/1275 the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf passed by its walls and captured or killed large numbers of Christians. In 769-70/1367-8, during the civil war between Pedro the Cruel of Castile and his half-brother Henry of Trastamare, Muḥammad V of Granada temporarily seized and pillaged Jaén and Úbeda; in the reverse direction, expeditions starting from Úbeda ravaged Granada. After 1492, the Christian town acquired the monuments which make up its present splendour.

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(J.-P. MOLÉNAT)

AL-**UBULLA**, a town of mediaeval ʿIrāḳ situated in the Euphrates-Tigris delta region at the head of the Persian Gulf and famed as the terminal for commerce from India and further east.

It lay to the east of al-Baṣra [*q.v.*] on the right bank of the Tigris and on the north side of the large canal called Nahr al-Ubulla, which was the main waterway from al-Baṣra in a southeastern direction to

the Tigris and further to ʿAbbādān and the sea. The length of this canal is generally given as four *farsakhs* or two *barīds* (al-Muḳaddasī). Al-Ubulla can be identified with Ἀπολόγου Ἐμπόριον, mentioned in the *Periplus maris Erythraei* (*Geogr. graeci minores*, i, 285) as lying near the coast. In a story told by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 164 = § 1016) there is still a reminiscence of the period before the foundation of al-Baṣra, when al-Ubulla was the only seaport in the Tigris estuary. The earlier Arab authors, in discusing the ancient administrative division of lower Babylonia in Sāsānid times and the foundations of towns by the Sāsānid kings, identify al-Ubulla with other places, such as Dast Maysān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7) or Bahman Ardashīr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 687), although these provinces must be sought on the opposite bank of the Tigris; Eutychius (in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, iii, 911) likewise makes al-Ubulla a foundation of Ardashīr I (see on this question, H.H. Schaeder, in *Isl.*, xiv, 27 ff.). Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, quotes an Arabic poem of a contemporary of Muḥammad where al-Ubulla is mentioned.

In the story of the conquests, the town is reported to have been captured from a garrison of 500 Persian *asāwira* or cavalrymen by ʿUtba b. Ghazwān in the year 12/633, and this conqueror described it to the caliph ʿUmar as the "port of al-Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, al-Hind and al-Ṣīn" (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384). This conquest enabled the Arabs to seize the opposite bank of the river (Dast Maysān) and the so-called Euphrates country. After the rise of al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla became of secondary importance, but throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate it remained a large town. It was further from the sea than it had been, but still the effects of the tide were perceptible even above al-Ubulla. All the great geographical authors of the 4th-6th/10th-12th centuries give a longer or shorter notice of this place. Its environs are described in very laudatory terms (cf. Yāḳūt, i, 97); the borders of the Nahr al-Ubulla were one large garden (Ibn Ḥawḳal, 160). The part of the Tigris opposite al-Ubulla was important for navigation; in earlier ʿAbbāsid times there had been here a dangerous whirlpool, which had been eliminated by sinking a large quantity of stones in the water, the cost of this being borne by an ʿAbbāsid princess. Here was erected a beacon light which is described by al-Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i, 364 and see AL-KHASHABĀT). Al-Ubulla was in this period even larger than al-Baṣra, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 118; fresh water was taken thence by boats to al-Baṣra (*ibid.*, 129), and the place was noted for linen goods and also, as appears from al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 360), for its shipbuilding. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited the place in 443/1051, gives likewise a vivid description of its beautiful surroundings (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335/1956, 118-19, Eng. tr. Thackston, Albany 1986, 95). On the other hand, al-Ubulla does not seem to have been an important strategic point; occasionally it was occupied, as in 331/942 by the governor of ʿUmān in his action against the Barīdī brothers in Baṣra (cf. Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, ii, 46), but as the events showed it was far from being an important bulwark of that city. After the 7th/13th century the general decline of those regions seems to have brought about the gradual disappearance of the palace; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 17-18, tr. Gibb, ii, 280-1) calls it only a village, and Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (38) mentions only the Nahr al-Ubulla, but not the place itself. About this time it must have disappeared; later mentions (as late as the *Djihān-gushā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 453) reproduce only obsolete geographical traditions. It is the modern city of al-Baṣra which has now grown up on its site.

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(J.H. KRAMERS)

UBYKH, the name of one of three closely related peoples that inhabited the Northwest Caucasus, the other two being the Abkhāz [*q.v.*] and Circassians [see ČERKES].

The Ubykh, self-designation *a-Tpakh*, lived between the Black Sea shore and the watershed of the Great Caucasus near present-day Sochi; in the south they bordered on Abkhāzians, elsewhere on Circassians. The Ubykh, Sunnī Muslims, were at least bilingual, also speaking Circassian and/or Abkhāz. Their language, originally closer to Abkhāz, moved towards Circassian, due to intimate relations. They also shared most of their customary law with the Circassians. The Ubykh were the last of all mountain peoples of the Caucasus to surrender to Russia (March 1864), after which they had to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. Their numbers were already reduced to *ca.* 25,000 before the hardships of deportation. All Ubykh, and at least half of the Abkhāz and Circassians, ended up in Anatolia. In the early 20th century there were Ubykh villages in at least four regions: (1) east of Izmit, near Lake Sapanca; (2) near Bandirma, south of Lake Manyas; (3) near Maraş; and (4) near Samsun. The Ubykh in western Anatolia suffered greatly during the Greco-Turkish war (1919-22). The remaining Ubykh lived dispersed among communities of Circassian émigrés. The Ubykh language ceased to exist in 1992 with the death of its famous last speaker, Tewfik Esenç. Most descendants of the Ubykh nowadays identify as belonging to the Ubykh tribe of the Circassian people. The first data on the Ubykh and their language were noted in the 11th/17th century by Ewliyā Čelebi; the language, while dying, attracted many scholars, such as the Russians of German origin Uslar and Dirr, the Hungarian von Mészáros, the Norwegian Vogt, and, most importantly, the Frenchman Georges Dumézil who, in co-operation with T. Esenç, saved much of the Ubykh language and folklore. His pupil G. Charachidzé is preparing a dictionary.

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(H.J.A.J. SMEETS)

UČČH, an ancient Indian, and then mediaeval Indo-Muslim town of the southwestern Pandjab, subsequently coming within the Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*] Native State and now in Pākistān. It is situated some 56 km/35 miles to the west of Bahāwalpūr town and not far from the junction of the Indus and Chenab-Jhelum rivers (lat. 27° 18' N., long. 71° 12' E.).

1. History

Alexander the Great seems to have founded a city called in the Greek sources Ussa-Alexandria. Uččh

was certainly an ancient Hindu centre, known up to the 12th century as Dēōgaṙh "stronghold of the gods", and it is only thereafter that the actual name Uččh appears in the Muslim sources. It was taken by the Ghūrid Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176, according to Firishta, and subsequently governed by the sultan's commander, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḳubāča, but sacked by the fugitive Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 620/1223, and then retaken from Ḳubāča by the Dihlī Sultan Iltutmush [*q.v.*] in 625/1228. The historian Djūzdjānī was made director of the Fīrūzī *madrasa* there and *ḳāḍī* of the army by Ḳubāča in 624/1227, and in the next year preached before Iltutmush before going on to Dihlī (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, i, 420, 447, tr. Raverty, i, 541, 615).

Uččh subsequently became famed for its many Muslim mystics and their shrines. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī (*fl.* early 8th/14th century) settled at Uččh from Multān and began spreading the principles of the Suhrawardiyya [*q.v.*] Ṣūfī order from there, and his son Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Makhdūm-i Djahāniyān (d. 785/1384 [*q.v.*]) made the Uččh branch of the order a major force in the religious and political life of Upper Sind. Because of its association with these two saints and the location of their tombs there, the town became known as Uččh-i Djalālī (see K.A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, [2]Delhi 1974, 224-5). The town also acquired several shrines and tombs of Ismāʿīlī *pīrs*, including those of Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. early 9th/15th century?) and his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn [see KHODJA, at Vol. V, 26].

Uččh continued to play a significant role in Dihlī Sultanate history. It acquired a tradition of Ḳādiriyya Ṣūfī order scholarship, and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642 [*q.v.*]) received Ḳādirī instruction there. Under the Mughal emperor Akbar it came within the *ṣūba* of Multān. Subsequent changes in the courses of the adjacent rivers affected its strategic importance, and reduced it by the early 19th century to a group of seven villages. It has, however, revived somewhat and has become a fair-sized town in the 20th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Djūzdjānī, tr. Raverty, index; *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiv, 82; M. Habib and Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India. v. The Delhi Sultanat (A.D. 1206-1526)*, Delhi, etc. 1970, index; Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Uchchh, history and architecture*, Islamabad 1980.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. Monuments

Tombs and mosques are the only two types of building which have precariously survived numerous floods and the ravages of time. The most important shrine with its attached mosque remaining today is that of Djalāl al-Dīn Surkh Bukhārī. Both buildings are typical of the traditional flat-roofed timber construction, with square pillars, beams and brackets mostly carved with geometric patterns except for bell shapes, reminiscent of Hindu ornament. The wood ceilings are divided by rafters which enclose series of star-patterned squares. These have been repainted in bright red, green, white and blue. Geometrical carved wooden screens hide airing vents below the ceilings. Glazed tiles with geometric patterns decorate the outer walls. The square tomb of Ḳāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa Uččhī and the shrines of Radjan Ḳattāl and Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn seem to belong to the 8th/14th century. Only in the next century were domed mausolea, similar to the mighty constructions in Multān [see MULTĀN. 2], erected on the old fort mound: these are the tombs of Bahāʾ al-Dīn, known as Bahāʾ al-Ḥalīm, the supposed master of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and of Bībī Djāwandī, his own great-granddaughter who died in 805/1402. The tomb is attributed to 900/1493. Despite uncertainty over dating, it is obvious that the tombs—even though only half of their fabric has survived—derive from the original type at Multān. The lesser size of the monuments and their squat domes, at a time when in Transoxania double-domes were the rule, underline the provincial character of the buildings. Apart from the use of tile mosaics and glazed moulded tiles, underglaze painted tiles in both monuments allow for a mid-century dating similar to examples in Bīdar [*q.v.*]. On the other hand, the simple colour scheme of blue, turquoise and white with plain terra cotta elements harks back to 8th/14th century Persia. As in other parts of the Subcontinent, the use of plain earthenware for glazed tiles makes for a poor finish. The composite body of Persian origin would bond better with the glaze, but this technique is seldom found on monuments in Sind.

Bibliography: Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Uchchh, history and architecture*, Islamabad 1980; K.K. Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan*, Singapore 1985, 46-9; T. Hasan, *Ceramics of Sultanate India*, in *South Asian Studies*, xi (1995), 83-106.

(YOLANDE CROWE)

ʿŪD (A.) means basically "wood, piece of wood, plank, spar" (pls. *aʿwād, ʿīdān*).

I. IN DAILY LIFE

1. *ʿŪd* as perfume and incense and as a medicament

In the Arabic materia medica it indicates the so-called "aloe wood". This designation, used in trade, is conventional but incorrect because aloe wood is called *ṣabr* [*q.v.*]. *ʿŪd* has to do with certain kinds of resinous, dark-coloured woods with a high specific weight and a strong aromatic scent, which were used in medicine as perfume and incense (*ʿūd al-bakhūr*) and were highly coveted because of their rarity and value. The main suppliers of these woods are *Aquilaria agallocha* [Lour.] Roxb. (*Aloexylon agallochum* Lour.) and *Aquilaria malaccensis* Lam., *Thymelaeaceae*. Agallocha wood therefore is the better term. It was already correctly described by Dioscurides under ἀγάλ(λ)οχον (ed. Wellmann, i, 23), in the Arabic Dioscurides translation, *aghālūkhun* (ed. Dubler-Terés, i, 19).

There are many names of plants composed with *ʿūd* which belong to quite different families of plants. *Al-ʿūd al-hindī* is mostly synonymous with the above-mentioned Agallocha; *ʿūd al-rīḥ* ("fragrant wood"), e.g., is *Berberia vulgaris* L., *Berberidaceae; ʿūd al-ṣalīb* ("cross wood", so-named because the drug, if put "cross-wise" on the breast, is said to cure epilepsy) is *Paeonia officinalis* L., *Ranunculaceae; ʿūd al-ḳarḥ* ("active against ulcers") is *Anacyclus pyrethrum* D.C., *Compositae; ʿūd al-ʿuṭās* ("sneezing wood") is *Schoenocaulon officinale, Liliaceae*, etc. A long list is given by Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ʿūd*, with some thirty names, many of which in turn can indicate various plants.

The designation derived from the place of origin was also usual. According to most authors, *al-ʿūd al-mandalī* (from India) seems to rank as the most valuable wood, after that *al-ʿūd al-samandūrī* (also from India), the best kind of which is the blue one with much water, then the heavy, hard, compact one which does not contain water. Then follows *al-ʿūd al-ḳimārī*, and after that *al-ʿūd al-ṣanfī* and many others (see on these, 2. below). The most comprehensive description, the extraction, the classification and the use of *ʿūd* are found in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xii, 23-38 (tr.

Wiedemann and found in the collected *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, 1970, ii, 247-54).

For the medicinal use of the Agallochon, see above all, Ibn Samadjūn (see *Bibl.*): it opens obstructions of the spleen and the liver, fortifies the heart and gives the mouth a pleasant smell, alerts the senses, fortifies the nerves, strengthens the gums and absorbs the moisture of the stomach (*billat al-maʿida*).

Bibliography: Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmiʿ al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt 1992, iii, 123-30; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-'l-aghdhiya*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 143 (tr. Leclerc, nos. 1603-10); *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, nos. 280, 308, 318; M.A.H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire arabe*, Cairo 1930, nos. 77, 164-7, 224; A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 19.

(A. Dietrich)

2. *ʿŪd* wood in mediaeval Islamic economic and social history

The terms used to qualify various kinds of *ʿūd*, the fragrant heartwood of the lign-aloe (Lat. *lignum-aloe*) or eagle-wood (both misnomers, in that the tree has no connection with the aloes-plant, see below, or with eagles, see 1. above), sc. *al-ʿūd al-hindī, al-ʿūd al-ḳimārī, al-ʿūd al-ṣanfī*, etc., indicate the place of origin of these products, i.e. India, Southeast Asia and the islands beyond. Ḳimār corresponds to Khmer or Cambodia (see ḳimār, with note of the ambiguities surrounding the exact nature of the aloes tree). Ṣanf [*q.v.*] is Čampa, Cambodia and the adjacent parts of what is now southern Vietnam [see čam]. Ḳimār and Ṣanf being tropical forest regions. Hence Arabic geographical literature stresses the importance of Further India for aloes wood: see e.g. al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 139, 146; al-Marwazī, in V. Minorsky (ed. and tr.), *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text *39, tr. 51. The East Indian islands, now making up modern Indonesia, were likewise celebrated as sources of aloes-wood, and Marco Polo mentions both Chamba and Java the Lesser (sc. Sumatra) as sources for it, whilst Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* gives Atčeh in Sumatra [see atjèh] and Tenasserim, the coastland of southern Burma [see mergui], as the sources of imports of *ʿūd-i djāwī* into Mughal India during the 16th century (Yule and Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ²London 1903, ii, 268, 271-2, 284, 287; cf. also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, iii, 228, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iii, 876).

ʿŪd wood was early regarded as a luxury item in mediaeval Islam, and its uses included those for fine wood-carving and for furniture-making. The anonymous 5th/11th century author of the *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa 'l-tuḥaf* (often attributed to the Ḳāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr) frequently mentions it amongst lists of presents given by potentates who had military or commercial connections with the Indian subcontinent or the Indian Ocean fringes, e.g. the Ṣaffārid Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] and the Ziyādid ruler of Yemen Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm (d. 371/981) (ed. M. Hamidullah, Kuwayt 1959, §§ 47, 76, 223, Eng. tr. Ghāda al-Qaddūmī, *Book of gifts and rarities*, Cambridge, Mass. 1996), and specifies that stools or chairs or stands, *karāsī* [see kursī], were made from it (§ 239).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

II. In music

The lute (*al-ʿūd*, from the usage of wood for its sound-chest and neck, see above) has been the most important musical instrument of Islamic peoples from the Atlantic shores to the Persian lands, with its use extending in pre-modern times into the Iranian world, Central Asia and Muslim India. The Arabic term has passed into European languages as Span. *alaude*, Port. *alaud*, Ital. *liuto*, Fr. *luth*, Eng. *lute*, Ger. *Laute*, etc.

1. The pre-modern history of the instrument and its usage

Arabic authors do not discriminate between the *barbaṭ* and the *ʿūd*, but there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between them. The *barbaṭ* had its sound-chest and neck constructed in one graduated piece, whereas in the *ʿūd* proper the sound-chest and neck were separate. Al-Masʿūdī says (*Murūdj*, viii, 88) that the lute was "invented" by Lamak [*q.v.*] (Lamech of *Genesis*, iv), but elsewhere (viii, 99) he tells us that it was generally acknowledged that the Greeks were the inventors. Pythagoras, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy are also given the credit of its invention, although in his *Tanbīh*, 129, al-Masʿūdī says that, since Ptolemy does not mention the lute, the Greeks evidently did not know of it. The instrument was certainly of ancient origin. Whether the terra-cotta figure found at Goshen in Egypt, and attributed to the XIX-XX dynasties, shows a lute or not, we see undoubted examples of it in India from the 2nd century B.C. (sculpture from Bharhut in the Indian Museum, Calcutta).

We are told that the lute (*ʿūd*) was known in Persia at the time of the Sāsānid Shāpūr I (A.D. 241-72) during whose reign it is said to have been invented. It is more likely, however, that this instrument was the *barbaṭ*, and that the reference is rather to an improvement, possibly the substitution of a belly of wood instead of skin. In folk etymology, the Persians called the instrument the *barbaṭ* because it resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*baṭ*) (al-Khʷārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 238). J.P.N. Land was of the opinion that the Persian lute referred to by Arabic authors was actually a two-stringed *ṭunbūr*, but several specimens of Sāsānid art (4th-7th centuries) have preserved designs of the Persian lute showing four strings, and the number of strings is confirmed from other sources (*JRAS* [1899], 59). That a two-stringed lute (*ʿūd*) existed at the end of the 7th century in ʿIrāḳ we know from *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* (iii, 181), and the design of a two-stringed lute (*barbaṭ*) of the 8th-9th century has been preserved. The *barbaṭ* was the chief instrument of the Arab Ghassānids in pre-Islamic times (*Aghānī*¹, xvi, 15) and also of the Syrians in early Islamic times (*ibid.*, iii, 84). The Greek βαρβιτος would appear to have been borrowed from the Orient, and Strabo remarks on its barbaric name (*Geography*, x. iii, 17).

The Arabs of pre-Islamic times had certain types of the lute, known as the *mizhar, kirān* and *muwattar*. These would appear to have been identical with the *barbaṭ* but with skin bellies. The *mizhar* is unanimously identified with the lute (*ʿūd*) by the Arabic lexicographers (see also al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 93; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, iii, 186). In the 11th-century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* edited by Seybold, however, the *mazhar* (562) or *mizhar* (508) equates with *tympanum*, and the modern *mazhar* is a tambourine. Indeed, the identification by the older Arabic lexicographers is suspect. The praises of the *mizhar* are sung by the 6th-century poets Imruʾ al-Ḳays and ʿAlḳama. The *kirān*, according to al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898), was also a lute (*ʿūd*), and this author says that it was so called because it was placed [in playing] against the breast. This instrument is also mentioned by Imruʾ al-Ḳays. The *muwattar* is referred to by the *mukhaḍram* poet Labīd and is generally consid-

ered to be a lute (*ʿūd*). About the close of the 6th century, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith is said to have introduced the *ʿūd* from ʿIrāḳ into Mecca (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 93-4), the probable special feature of the instrument being its wooden belly. Al-Kalbī (d. 763) records (*Aghānī*[1], vii, 188) that the first to play the lute (*ʿūd*) in Medina was Sāʾib Khāthir (d. 683). In *ca.* 684, Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] played on a lute (*ʿūd*) constructed after the Persian manner (*Aghānī*[1], i, 98) (see the lute delineated in E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin 1927). This Persian type of lute continued to be favoured by the Arabs until Zalzal [*q.v.*] invented his "perfect lute" or *ʿūd shabbūṭ* (*Aghānī*[1], v, 24). The Persian lute, i.e. the *barbaṭ*, continued, however, to be favoured, side-by-side with the *ʿūd* proper.

Two other instruments of this type that we know of are the *pīpā* and *ḳabūs*. The *pīpā* is the so-called "balloon guitar" of the Chinese (Van Aalst, *Chinese music*, Shanghai 1884, 64), who are said to have possessed it since the days of the Han dynasty. It was introduced into ʿIrāḳ by the Mongols in the 13th century—Ibn Ghaybī (d. 838/1435) describes it—and may be found in the paintings of the Mughal-Persian school. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 613/1216) refers to an instrument which he calls the *miʿzaf* [*q.v.*] and describes it as "a sort of *ṭunbūr*" made by the people of al-Yaman. According to the author of the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, this was the instrument now known as the *ḳabūs*. The *ḳabūs* (al-Ḥidjāz), *ḳabbūṣ* (ʿUmān), *ḳanbūs* (Ḥaḍramawt), *ḳupūz* or *ḳūpūz* (Turkey) is a very old instrument. Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*] says that the *ḳūpūz* was invented by a vizier of Meḥemmed II (d. 886/1481) named Aḥmed Pasha Hersek Oghlu. He describes it as being a hollow instrument, smaller than the *shashtār*, and mounted with three strings (*Travels*, i/2, 235). On the other hand, Ibn Ghaybī says that the *ḳūpūz rūmī* had five double strings. The instrument is no longer used by the Turks, although it has survived under the name of *kobza, koboz*, in Poland, Russia, and the Balkans, but here it is the lute proper and not a *barbaṭ* type. In Central Asia, a rather primitive bowed instrument is known as the *ḳūbūz* (ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, *Uzbīk kilāssiḳ mūsiḳāsī*, Tashkent 1927, 43).

The *ʿūd* or lute proper, as introduced by Zalzal [*q.v.*] in the 8th century, had, apparently, a separate neck like the modern instrument, whereas the *barbaṭ* or Persian lute, which the Arabs had used until then, had no separate neck, the whole instrument from the head downwards being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the *ḳabūs*. Zalzal's *ʿūd al-shabbūṭ* was so named because it resembled the fish called the *shabbūṭ*. The description of the *shabbūṭ* given by the Arabic lexicographers leads to the inference that the sound-chest of Zalzal's lute was ovoid rather than pear-shaped (cf. the Spanish *machête* in Engel's *Catalogue of the musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, London 1874, pl. facing 248, which is in the form of a fish). We see the form of the *ʿūd al-shabbūṭ* persisting in Islamic art for centuries, but the pear-shaped sound-chest, upon which the *barbaṭ* was founded, eventually became the more popular type. Ziryāb (8th century [*q.v.*]), the famous Andalusī musician, is claimed to have improved the *ʿūd* at Baghdād, and in al-Andalus he introduced a plectrum of quill instead of the one of wood that had hitherto been used (al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86-7). He is also said to have introduced a fifth string, a device dealt with by both al-Kindī and al-Fārābī. For a full statement of the influence (*taʾthīr*, cf. ἦθος) of the strings of the *ʿūd* on man, see Farmer, *The influence of music: from Arabic sources*, London 1926.

At this period, the names of the various parts of the *ʿūd* were: *raʾs* (head, scroll), *malāwī* (tuning pegs), *anf* (nut), *ibrīḳ* or *ʿunḳ* (neck), *awtār* (strings), *dasātīn* (frets), *musht* (bridge-tailpiece), *wadjh* (belly), *ʿayn* (sound-hole) and *miḍrāb* (plectrum). For the particular names of the strings and frets, see MŪSĪḲĪ.

By the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 692/1293 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿūd* had five strings (Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux... par Safi ed-Dīn ʿAbd al-Mumin*, Paris 1891, 52), and this continued up to the 16th century in the East. This instrument, called the *ʿūd kāmil*, was slightly larger than the older classical lute (*ʿūd ḳadīm*) of four strings. A Persian treatise on music, the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (14th century), and a Turkish imitation of the same by Aḥmed Oghlu Shukrullāh (15th century) give full details of the construction of the *ʿūd*. Unlike the mediaeval lute, the modern lute is not fretted. The seven double-stringed instrument is figured and fully described by Villoteau in the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1809-26, fol. ed., i, 847, and in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (1836). The Egyptian *ʿūd* of modern times has five double strings (Darwīsh Muḥammad, *Ṣafāʾ al-awḳāt*, Cairo 1910, 11; Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khulaʿī, *al-Mūsīḳī al-sharḳī*, Cairo 1904), although occasionally six double strings may be found. In Syria and Palestine, a seven double-stringed instrument was in use (Mīkhāʾīl Mushāḳa, *al-Risāla al-shihābiyya*) in the early 19th century, but this has now fallen into desuetude in favour of the five double-stringed instrument. Turkey has come to favour a six-stringed *ʿūd* with five double and one single string (Fakhrī Bey, *Naẓarī we-ʿilmī ʿūd dersleri*, Istanbul). Specimens of the *ʿūd* may be found in most museums of the world.

Among other types of the lute are the *tuḥfat al-ʿūd, kuwītra, lawṭa, rūd, shahrūd, ṭarab al-futuḥ, ṭarab zūr, awzān, rubāb, mughnī, shidirghū* and *rūḥ afzā*. The *tuḥfat al-ʿūd* is described by Ibn Ghaybī as a half-sized lute. The *ḳuwītra* or *ḳuwīthra* is a lute with a smaller and shallower sound-chest, its head being fixed obliquely rather than at a right angle as in the *ʿūd*. It is common to the whole of the Maghrib and has four double strings. The name is a colloquial diminutive of *ḳitāra* or *ḳithāra*, an instrument used in Muslim Spain as early as the 10th century (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*; see further ḲITHĀRA). The *lawṭa* is somewhat similar to the *ḳuwītra*. It has four double strings, and is very popular in Turkey. It appears to have been borrowed, together with its name, from Italy, and is certainly of comparatively modern adoption since it is not mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi. The *rūd* is of Persian origin and the world, like *tār*, means a string. It was also an instrument of the lute family. Ibn Ghaybī mentions a *rūd khāṭī* or *rūd khānī*. The *rūdak* and *rūḍa* are also mentioned. Ewliyā Čelebi describes a *rūḍa* which had "recently" been invented by a certain Shukrullāh Beg. He likens it to the *čārtār*. Al-Maḳḳarī (*Analectes*, ii, 143-4), quoting al-Shaḳundī (d. 628/1231), mentions the *rūṭa* in al-Andalus. This may have been identical with the Latin *ruta, ruda, rote*. The *shahrūd* or *shāhrūdh* was allegedly invented in 299/912 by Ḥakīm b. Aḥwaṣ al-Ṣughdī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 237). In al-Fārābī's day it had a compass of three octaves (d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, i, Paris 1930, 42). Ibn Ghaybī says that it had ten double strings and that it was twice the length of the ordinary *ʿūd*. The *ṭarab al-futuḥ* and *ṭarab zūr* are described by him. The first named had six double strings. The name *ṭarab* is still to be found in an instrument of India. The *ṭarab* was probably the original of the European *tiorba* (Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, 44). The *awzān* is also described by Ibn Ghaybī. It was a Turkish instrument

popular with the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt (al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des sultans Mamlouks*, i/1, 136). It was certainly not a drum as Quatremère thought, since Ibn Ghaybī places it among the lutes of three strings, and says that it was played with a wooden plectrum by Turkish minstrels. The *rubāb* (a lute) is to be distinguished from the *rabāb* (a viol). The former is a Persian and Eastern Turkish instrument with a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. It is described at length in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*. The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it. Ibn Ghaybī says that sometimes four or five double strings were adopted. In Persia it has fallen into disuse. In Turkestan, however, it still continues to be favoured, but here it is strung with three single strings together with twelve sympathetic strings. It has found its way into India and China. The *mughnī* or *mūghnī* is said to have been invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī. It was a sort of arch-lute and is described in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* and by Ibn Ghaybī and Ewliyā Čelebi. The *shidirghū*, as it is written by Ibn Ghaybī, was a long instrument with half of its belly covered with skin. It had four strings but was mostly used, he says, in China. The *rūḥ afzā* had a hemispherical sound-chest with six double strings of silk and metal. Many instruments with a hemispherical sound-chest like this are to be found depicted in Persian art.

Bibliography: For a detailed bibl., including also catalogues of collections of musical instruments, see H.G. Farmer, *EI*[1] art., and in particular, his own *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, London 1929; *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930; and *An old Moorish lute tutor*, London 1932. See also *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, London 1980, xi, art *Lute*; and KITHĀRA; MŪSĪḲĪ; ṬUNBŪR.
(H.G. FARMER)

2. Usage in the 20th century

Although less prized by the Turks and set aside by the Persians, the *'ūd* has in the 20th century become popular amongst the Arabs as an instrument of accompaniment.

At the end of the 19th century, despite the supremacy of singing over instrumental sound, a taste for instrumental recitals re-appeared. In the 20th century, Egypt has produced Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Riyāḍ Sunbāṭī. In Syria, Farīd al-Aṭrash has stayed within the Egyptian taste but 'Umar Naḳshbandī, using an *'ūd* made by Anṭūn Naḥḥāṭ, has made use of Damascene themes in a talented fashion.

The great revival began in Istanbul towards the close of the Ottoman empire. Two lute makers, the Greek Manol (Adelfion Veniou) and the Armenian Onnik (Garipyan) made refined instruments with six courses, adapted for musical shifts, vibrato, nuances of dynamics and playing with four fingers of the left hand. The two finest interpreters have been Udi Hrant and Yorgo Bacanos, followed by a host of excellent soloists. Amongst these Istanbulis, Şerif Muhyieddin Haydar Haşimî Targan, faithful to the Ottoman cause, left Kemalist Turkey and settled in New York before becoming director of the Institute of Music in Baghdād from 1937 to 1948. Distinguished and reserved, he trained several brilliant pupils who are to be grouped together with the lute makers Ustā 'Alī and Muḥammad Fāḍil as the "lutenist school of Baghdād". They have included Salmān Shukūr and Ghānim Ḥaddād, faithful disciples, Munīr Bashīr, the sole one to achieve a reputation in the West (d. 1997), and Djamīl Ghānim, a Yemeni with a voluptuous style, also now dead. 'Alī Imām, Nāṣir Shamma and 'Umar Bashīr are taking their places. But the most dazzling of all was the Syrian Orthodox from Upper Mesopotamia, Djamīl Bashīr (d. 1977), who became the ideal interpreter of the anguish and poetry of the 'Irāḳī soul, and will always remain "the immortal of the lute".

(J.-CL. CHABRIER)

3. Musical language of the classical lute

[N.B. Abbreviations are indicated on the table "Realisation": cent = °; Holderian comma = h. Measurements. All these have been made on a Manol *'ūd* with strings of 585 mm and are related in the text of the article to strings normalised at 600 mm, hence an octave: 300 mm, a fifth: 200 mm, a fourth: 150 mm, and a major Pythagorean tone: 66.66 mm.]

I. *Organology and tuning.*

The classical lute is a short-necked instrument with strings which are plucked. The bulging, half-pear-shaped sound box is made from wooden ribs (up to 29). It is covered with a flat belly of wood pierced with a rosette and often with two sound holes. The neck comprises a flat, polished extension of the main body for fingering. A peg board, at an obtuse angle to the neck, holds ten to fourteen pegs. The strings come from a holder attached to the belly (and sometimes from the body with a bridge) passing along the belly and the finger-board to a nut situated at an angle to the neck and the peg board. The vibrating length of the open strings is about 600 mm (400 mm along the belly and 200 mm along the fingering-board). It allows one to play over a range of a fifth, apart from shifts. The strings are placed in five courses in groups of two. The classical mode of playing, in retreat since the golden age, uses only two fingers of the left hand without nuances and a stiff plectrum. But the more refined *'ūds* which evolved at Baghdād and Istanbul, with shorter open strings of 585 mm, are meant for playing with four fingers on six courses, with expressiveness, nuances of dynamics, vibrato and shifting of the hand, and with a supple, eagle's feather quill plectrum.

Tuning. Maintaining intervals of fourths between the courses, tuning is elaborated around the courses 2, *'ashīrān*, 3, *dūgāh*, 4, *nawā* and 5, *gardān* (with the Mediterranean equivalence *la*1-*ré*2-*sol*2-*do*3 when the "key-tone" *rāst* is in *do*2). For tuning by perfect fourths, the first course can be tuned in *ḳarār-būsalik* (*mi* 1), a sharp course 6 in *djawāb-čahārgāh* (*fa*3). But by tuning course 1 in *yegāh* (*sol*1) one achieves the *yekgāh*, a historical degree of course 1 with open string and the basis of the "perfect system" of the ancients; and *yegāh* (*sol*1) is one octave lower than *nawā* (*sol*2). The sonority of the lute is then improved. The refined *'ūds* of Istanbul and Baghdād adopt a succession of fourths on the courses 2-5. In academic tuning, course 1 is in *yegāh* and course 6, bass pitched, a fifth or a fourth under course 1, hence in *ḳarār-rāst* (*do*1) or *ḳarār-dūgāh* (*ré*1). But these schools adopt different "key-tone" *rāsts*, either *ré*2 in Turkey, *fa*2 or *sol*2 in 'Irāḳ and Iran; and they place course 6 at the side of course 1 or course 5. There are thus open-string tunings like *ré*1-*la*1-*si*1-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3 (Şerif Muhiddin Haydar Haşimī Tangan), *do*2-*ré*2-*sol*2-*do*3-*fa*3-*fa*1 (Munīr Bashīr, Djamīl Ghānim), *ré*2-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3-*sol*3-*sol*1 (Djamīl Bashīr), *si*0 (or *do*1)-*fa*1-*si*1-*mi*2-*la*2-*ré*3 (tuning used today in Turkey).

II. *The standard of acoustic systems; the realisation of a chromatic, Pythagorean scale on the strings.* (See the table "Realisation", Fig. 1, and the lower part of the main table, Fig. 2, lower band "Scala" making explicit this scale on the lute string.)

As a monochord, the *'ūd* has been the standard for acoustic, scaling, modal and instrumental languages, perpetuated within the Arabo-Islamic civilisation since

REALISATION D'UNE GAMME CHROMATIQUE PYTHAGORICIENNE SUR CORDE.J.C.C.Chabrier.1987							
notes en do	mm/600 /corde	rapport numérique diapason/seg.vibr	cents 1200/o	Holder 53/oct	code JCC	abr	Nom de l'intervalle
do.♮	à vide	1/1	0000	00	0.A	...	.
do.+	8,07	531441/524288	23,5	1,04	0+A	+	Comma pythagoricien
ré.♭	30,47	256/243	90,2	4	1.B	2am	Limma.Seconde mineure
do.♯	38,13	2187/2048	113,7	5	2.C		Apotomé
ré.d	59,39	65536/59049	180,5	8	3.D	2an	Dilimma.Seconde neutre.3adim
ré.♮	66,66	9/8	203,9	9	4.E	2aM	Ton maj.Seconde majeure
ré.+	73,8	4782969/4194304	228	10	4+E	2a+	Seconde majeure + comma
mi.♭	93,75	32/27	294,1	13	5.F	3am	Tierce mineure
ré.♯	100,56	19683/16384	317,6	14	6.G	2aA	Seconde augmentée
mi.d	119,46	8182/6561	384,4	17	7.H	3an	Tierce neutre.4a diminuée
mi.♮	125,92	81/64	407,8	18	8.I	3aM	Tierce majeure.Diton
mi.+	131,9	43046721/33554432	432	19	8+I	3a+	Tierce majeure + comma
fa.d	143,9	2097152/1594323	474	21	9.J	4an	Quarte neutre
fa.♮	150	4/3	498	22	10.K	4aJ	Quarte juste
fa.+	156	177147/131072	521,5	23	10+K	3aA	Tierce augmentée. 4a + c
sol♭	172,85	1024/729	588,3	26	11.L	5ad	Quinte diminuée
fa ♯	178,6	729/512	611,7	27	12.M	4aA	Quarte augmentée.Triton
sold	194,5	262144/177147	678,5	30	13.N	5an	Sixte diminuée. 5a neutre
sol♮	200	3/2	702	31	14.O	5aJ	Quinte juste
sol+	205,4	1594323/1048576	726	32	14+O	5a+	Quinte juste + comma
la.♭	220,3	128/81	792,2	35	15.P	6am	Sixte mineure
sol♯	225,4	6561/4096	815,6	36	16.Q	5aA	Quinte augmentée
la.d	239,5	32768/19683	882,4	39	17.R	6an	Septième diminuée.6a neutre
la.♮	244;4	27/16	905,9	40	18.S	6aM	Sixte majeure
la.+	249,1	14348907/8388608	930	41	18+S	6a+	Sixte majeure + comma
la.3-	257,8	8388608/4782969	972	43	19-T		Septième mineure - comma
si.♭	262,5	16/9	996,1	44	19.T	7am	Septième mineure
la.♯	267	59049/32768	1019,6	45	20.U	6aA	Sixte augmentée
si.d	279,6	4096/2187	1086,3	48	21.V	7an	Octave diminuée. 7a neutre
si.♮	284	243/128	1109,8	49	22.X	7aM	Septième majeure
do.d	295,9	1048576/531441	1176,5	52	23.Y	8an	Neuvième diminuée.8a neutre
do.♮	300	2/1	1200	53	24.Z	8aJ	Octave juste

Fig. 1. Table ("Realisation") of the chromatic Pythagorean scale on the lute's strings.

'Abbāsid times. Most of the acoustic systems of this culture were Pythagorean, despite the addition of new, derived degrees. It is thus indispensable at the outset to realise a chromatic Pythagorean scale with 31 marks to the octave. This density will allow the generation and analysis of complex expressions. (See the table "Realisation", which also shows the abbreviations used for the intervals).

The actualisation of this chromatic Pythagorean scale on the lute's strings must take into account the peculiarities of the scale of sounds of the civilisation in question. One may note at the outset from the bass to the treble, the arrangement of the seven "diatonic" degrees designated successively by their indication of "code JCC", by the interval formed with the tonic "key-tone" *rāst* (supposedly in *do*2) and by their "oriental" name (of Persian origin, here "normalised"): 0.A: tonic: *rāst*: do; 4.E: 2am: *dūgāh: ré*; 7.H: 3an: *segāh: mi*d; 10.K: 4aJ: *čahārgāh: fa*; 14.0: 5aJ: *nawā: sol*; 18.S: 6aM: *ḥusaynī: la* 21.V: 7an: *awdj* (*evc*): *si*d; 24.Z: 8aJ: *gardaniyya* (*kardān*): *do*.

In order to pass from this "diatonic" scale to a "chromatic" one with 24 degrees, each major tone has to be marked out with the limma, apotome and dilimma intervals. In order to arrive at 30 degrees, one has to add the degrees a comma above the diatonic degrees. The 31st degree 19-T: minor seventh less a comma: *la*𝄳 is a peculiarity outside this scale. (See the lower band of the main table (*scala*).)

It should be noted that the degrees of this Pythagorean scale are not acoustically equidistant. Inversely, if one looks at the upper "teeth" of the *scala* band designated "quart" and illustrating a scale of 24 quarter-tones, one can note the "acoustic equidistance" of the intervals. One may also note the differences in the pitches of the intervals between the Pythagorean scale and that of quarter-tones, especially the pitches of the neutral degrees *segāh* and *awdj*, respectively 7.H:3an: *segāh:mi*d; and 21.V:7an: *awdj: si*d. (See the lower band of the main table (*scala*).)

III. *Evolution of the acoustic systems on the* 'ūd.

(1) *The system of Pythagoras in Islam* (main table, register 1) (al-Kindī, Banu 'l-Munadjdjim on the *'ūd*, al-Fārābī on the *čang* or harp, 8th-10th centuries).

This is a ditonic Pythagorean system defining the following intervals: 2a m (limma), 2a M (tone), 3a m, a 3a M (ditone), 4a J, 4a A (tritone), 5a J (for the values, see the table "Realisation").

(2) *The system of equidistant divisions on the string* (main table, upper register 2) (Manṣūr Zalzal, Baghdād, 8th century).

This probably refers to intervals maintained in authochthonous musical systems. Starting from the Pythagorean degrees, Zalzāl conceived intervals defined by the equidistances on the strings, thus in the order of elaboration (if the empty string sounds in *do*):

1. Equidistance between 2a M and 3a M: defines the Persian 3a m (Persian medius finger) (*mi*.♭; 96.30 mm; 81/68; 303°; 13,4 h;)

2. Equidistance between nut and Persian 3a m: defines the Persian 2a n (neighbour of the index finger) *ré*.𝄳; 48.15 mm; 162/149; 145°; 6,4 h;)

3. Equidistance between Persian 3a m and 3a M: defines the 3a n of Zalzal (medius finger of Zalzal) (*mi*.𝄳, 111.11 mm; 27/22; 355°; 15,7 h;)

4. Equidistance between nut and 3a n of Zalzal: defines the 2a n of Zalzal (neighbour of the index finger) (*ré*.𝄳; 55.55 mm; 54/49; 168°; 7,4 h;)

(3) *The para-Pythagorean system of al-Fārābī* (main table, upper register 3) (al-Fārābī, 10th century)

Al-Fārābī recommends the division of the fourth into 10 degrees which will serve to make up the modes. He takes up all the intervals mentioned above and concerns himself with the division of the tone:

1. The equidistance nut-2aM: Semitone: (*ré*.♭; 33,33 mm; 18/17; 98°; 4,33 h)

2. The equidistance nut-semitone: Quarter: (*do*‡; 16.66 mm; 36/35; 49°; 2,17 h)

3. The equidistance semitone-tone: Three quarters: (*ré*𝄳; 50 mm; 12/11; 151°, 6,68 h)

(4) *The para-Pythagorean system of Ibn Sīnā* (main table upper register 4) (Ibn Sīnā, 11th century).

By division and subtraction, he defines low neutral intervals:

1. The equidistance 2a M—4a J: 3a n (*mi*𝄳; 107,69 mm; 39/32; 343°; 15,17 h)

2. Subtraction of one major tone: 2a n: (*ré*𝄳; 46.15 mm; 13/12 139°; 6,15 h)

3. Subtraction of one maxim tone (8/7): 2a m (*ré*%; 37.36 mm; 273/256; 112°; 5 h)

(5) *The para-harmonic system of al-Fārābī* (main table, upper register 5)

This system concerning the *rabāba* figures for comparative purposes (p.m.)

(6), (7) *Pythagoro-commatic systems* (main table, upper registers 6,7)

(al-Fārābi on the *ṭumbūr*, Ṣafī al-Dīn, 13th century on the *'ūd*)

Starting from Zalzal's system, scholars were preoccupied with the placing needed to give to the neutral intervals (2a n and 3a n). The first of these two scholars, then the second, aimed at "ennobling" these neutral degrees by giving them Pythagorean definitions (3 a diminished and 4a diminished).

1. Starting from the 5a diminished (*sol*♭; 172.85 mm; 1024/729; 588°3; 26 h). Subtraction of a major tone, giving: (neutral third): 4a diminished: (*mi*d; 119.46 mm; 8192/6561; 384°4; 17 h)

2. Starting from the 4a diminished (*mi*d; 119.46 mm; 8192/6561; 384°4; 17 h). Subtraction of a major tone, giving; (neutral second): 3a diminished: (*ré*d; 59.39 mm; 65536/59049; 180°5; 8 h-)

Separated from the consecutive treble-pitched intervals by a Pythagorean comma, these neutral marks are very close to two intervals of the harmonic system, respectively the 3a Major (120 mm; 5/4; 386°3; 17 h) and the harmonic "minor tone" (60 mm; 10/9; 182°4; 8 h+).

Nevertheless, these Pythagoro-commatic systems, dividing the tone into two limmas and a comma, or three intervals to a major tone, involve only 17 degrees to the octave.

(8) *Pythagoro-commatic systems with 24 or 31 degrees* (main table, upper register 8) (Turkey, the Baghdād lutenists, Middle Eastern churches, Aleppo, etc.)

By adding to the three degrees marking out the tone, the Pythagorean comma (8.07 mm; 531441/524288; 23°5; 1,04 h), the apotome (38.13 mm; 2187/2048; 113°7; 5 h) and the 7a minor less a comma (257.8 mm; 8388608/4782969; 972°; 43 h), one can define systems with 24 or 31 degrees.

(9), (10) *Division of the octave into 24 quartertones (17 to 24 degrees)* (main table, upper registers 9, 10) (La Borde, 18th century, Mushāḳa, Ellis, 19th century, 1932 Cairo Congress).

This does not involve an acoustic system, but an equal temperament with 24 intervals to the octave, dividing the major tone into four quartertones theoretically equal. The neutral degrees are respectively worth, the 2a n: 3 quarters and the 3a n: 7 quarters, the 4a J: 10 quarters, the 5a J: 14 quarters. The equalising of the intervals makes the system transposable.

D̲jamīl Bas̲h̲īr on the lute. Photo Jean-Claude Chabrier.

One can equally reduce it to a system of 17 degrees by suppressing the degrees situated a quartertone above the diatonic marks. Such a system with 17 degrees is found on popular instruments (*buzuk, tanbūra*), in Iran, etc.

IV. *The* ʿūd *as bearer of a scaling system. The theoretical, basic scale of virtually available sounds or degrees: "ton system".*

(1) *Evolution of the scaling terminology.*

As the bearer and the standard of successive acoustic systems, the *ʿūd* is also the bearer of the scaling system (theoretical, basic scale of virtually available sounds or degrees: "ton system") whose intervals are defined by the acoustic system adopted.

At the outset, with the simple Pythagorean system (main table, upper register 1), the intervals and the genres were defined by the theory of "fingering degrees" (*aṣābiʿ*): open string (*muṭlaḳ*); index finger (*sabbāba*) for the 2a; medius finger (*wusṭā*) for the 3a m or 3a n; ring finger (*binṣir*) for the 3a M; and little finger (*khinṣir*) for the fourths. In practice, the first position of the lutenists gives a tighter form of play with index finger = 2a m; medius finger = 2a M; ring finger = 3a m; and little finger = 3a M.

With the proliferation of degrees, scholars have designated the degrees by the letters of the alphabet. Then the Persian term *gāh* ("position") appeared, preceded by a number (*yek, do, sē, čahār, shēsh, haft*) for defining the diatonic heptatonic system starting from the bass, open string *yek-gāh* (first position).

Finally, there is formed, as with the Greeks, a "perfect system" of two octaves with 48 names of degrees, varying little from one country to another. In the midst of names of diatonic degrees are inserted names of intermediate degrees which may be preceded by the suffixs *nīm* denoting the bass intermediate degree and *tik/dik* denoting the treble intermediate degree. Thus one has the succession from bass to treble *rāst/nīm-zirgula/zirgula/tik-zirgula/dūgāh* . . .

The homophones of the octave are denoted by the prefixes *ḳarār/kaba* "homophone of the lower octave" and *djawāb/cevap* "homophone of the upper octave" (e.g. *ḳarār/rāst* or *djawāb-awdj*).

Clearly, there exist differences of terminology, not only from one country to another but also between the Arabic forms and the Turkish forms. In the Arabic manuals, the succession is as follows: *nīm-ʿadjam-ʿushayrān/ʿadjam-ʿushayrān* . . . . . . *nīm-kurdī/kurdī* . . . In the Turkish manuals, this becomes for the same degrees *acem-aşiran/dik-acem-aşiran* . . . . . . *kürdi/dik-kürdi.*

The Persian terms *čahārgāh* and *gardaniyya* become in Turkish *çarigah* and *gerdaniye* and in Arabic *djahārkāh* and *kardān* or *kurdān.*

(2) *Codification of the 24 intervals of the octave. "JCC code".*

The "perfect system" of two octaves thus gives a name to each "fingering degree". To make this scale more adaptable to the various acoustic systems or pitches of playing, the author has elaborated a "JCC code" denoting the 24 degrees of the octave by a number (from 0 to 24) and a letter (from A to Z omitting W). The median octave of the "perfect system" is thus denoted a "0.A" *rāst* to "24.Z" *gardān.* This also allows one to note the equivalence with the quartertones or rapidly to designate the tuning with open strings of a lute (example in the table A-O-S-E-O-A) or briefly to denote the degrees of a musical mode (example in the lower part of the table A-E-H-K-O-S-V-Z, these seven diatonic degrees denoting the *Rāst* mode independently of the system's pitch). It can further be utilised for the intervals of a system of 17 degrees (main table. register 10: A-C-D-E-G-H-I-K-M-N-O-Q-R-S-U-V-X).

Hence, with the "JCC code", the 24 degrees of the median octave with equivalences for a key-tone *rāst* in *do*, are as follows: 0.A: *RĀST* (*do*); 1.B: *nīm-zirgula*: 2.C: *zirgula*; 3.D: *tik-zirgula*; 4.E: *DŪGĀH* (*ré*); 5.F: *(nīm) kurdī*; 6.G: *(dik) kurdī*; 7.H: *SEGĀH* (*mi*d); 8.I *būsalik*; 9.J: *tik-būsalik*; 10.K: *ČAHĀRGĀH/DJAHĀRKĀH* (*fa*); 11.L: *nīm-ḥidjāz*; 12.M: *ḥidjāz*; 13.N: *tik-ḥidjāz*; 14.O: *NAWĀ* (*sol*); 15.P: *nīm-ḥiṣār*; 16.Q: *ḥiṣar*, 17.R: *tik-ḥiṣar*; 18.S: *ḤUSAYNĪ* (*la*); 19.T: *(nīm) ʿadjam-ḥusaynī*; 20.U: *(dik) ʿadjam-ḥusaynī*; 21.V: *AWDJ* (*si*d); 22.X: *(nīm) nihuft*; 23.Y: *(dik) nihuft*; 24.Z: *GARDANIYYA/KARDĀN* (*do*). N.B. One also finds 22.X: *(nīm) māhūr*; 23.Y: *(dik) māhūr*; and other terms.

(3) *Fingerboard with representation of the degrees by linear segments.*

In order to safeguard the invariability of the terminology and the variability of the pitch of the degrees as functions of the acoustic systems, representation by fixed points has to be abandoned and replaced by a fingering-system for the *ʿūd* of linear segments of about two Holderian commas length, i.e. almost a quartertone. The invariable name of the variable degree is written on the linear segment. Then one sees that degrees of the different acoustic systems converge on this linear segment. This can be verified at the level of the neutral diatonic degrees like *segāh.* In the Pythagorean system, *segāh* is played with the ratio 8192/6561, i.e. at 17 Holderian commas, at the end of the "*segāh*" segment. In quartertones, or in the "Zalzalian" system, it is played with the ratio 27/22, i.e. 15,7 Holderian commas, at the beginning of the "*segāh*" segment. One may note this flexibility in the invariability at the level of the *awdj* and all the other intermediate degrees (cf. fingering, and the band "*scala*").

V. *The* ʿūd *as bearer of the modal and instrumental languages.*

The elaboration of the heptatonic musical modes is achieved, once the acoustic system has been defined, by the deduction or the selection of seven degrees on the basic theoretical scale of virtually available sounds. In effect, the majority of the modes within this civilisation are heptatonic.

Already, on the occasion of the evocation of the Pythogorean chromatic scale, a mode was formed on the lute's string. The succession 0.A: *rāst*; 4.E: *dūgāh*; 7.H: *segāh*; 10.K: *čahārgāh*; 14.0: *nawā*; 18.S: *ḥusaynī*; 21.V: *awdj*; 24.Z: *gardaniyya*. . . . forms, with its finalis *rāst*, the *Rāst* mode, an academic mode which uses the "diatonic" degrees of the "scale" and is characterised by its neutral 3a (*segāh*) and by its neutral 7a (*awdj*).

But here the *ʿūd* has been used as a monochord. In reality, the succession of courses of strings by fourths and the internal structure of the modes come in. The *Rāst* mode is made up of a *Rāst* pentachord in *rāst* and a *Rāst* tetrachord in *nawā*. It will then be necessary to give value to the *nawā* "pivot" by inserting it on an open course. Finally, this *Rāst* mode may be played on four courses. The finalis *rāst* has its place on the lute's scale on the course "2" *ʿashīrān.* The *dūgāh, segāh* and *čahārgāh* degrees are on the course "3" *dūgāh.* The *nawā, ḥusaynī* and *awdj* degrees are on the course "4" *nawā.* Finally, the octave of the finalis *gardaniyya* is on the course "5" of the same name. Inserted in this way, the *Rāst* mode expresses the modal language of the *ʿūd* and every transposition on the lute's scale will change its sound characteristics. This is the reason why the transposition of a mode

gives it a new name, because this transposition displaces the degrees played on open strings and thereby changes the sonority of the modal scale. Thus a precise modal scale including two augmented seconds takes on a name which is different according to its insertion: *s̲h̲add-ʿarabān* in *yegāh*, *sūzdīl* in *ʿas̲h̲īrān*, *ḥid̲j̲āz-kār* in *rāst* and *s̲h̲ēnāz* in *dūgāh*.

On the other hand, if the transpositions safeguards the placing of the pivots on the open strings, it respects the internal sonority of the mode. This is the case with the transposition of modes of the *Bayātī* and *Kurdī* family, or the *Lāmī* mode, between the *ʿas̲h̲īrān*, *dūgāh* and *nawā* open courses, because it is a question of transpositions of a fourth by transferring the intervals of one course's group to the adjacent course. The *ʿūd* is thus the generator of a modal and an instrumental language. Because of this, the omission by the 1932 Congress in Cairo of any reference to the *ʿūd* language is an irreparable loss [see MAḲĀM].

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AL-ʿ**UDAYD**, a small settlement on the K̲h̲awr al-ʿUdayd, a creek on the southeastern coast of the Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*] peninsula on the southern Gulf shores (lat. 24° 33' N., long. 51° 30' E.). It lies in the area of the undefined frontier between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓaby [*q.v.*], one of the constituent shaykhdoms of the United Arab Emirates [see AL-IMĀRĀT AL-ʿARABIYYA AL-MUTTAḤIDA, in Suppl.].

Bibliography: See those to ABŪ ẒABY and ḲAṬAR. (ED.)

UDAYPŪR, UDAIPUR, the usual more recent name for the region in southwestern Rād̲j̲āsthān known in Islamic Indian times as Mēwāŕ, and the name also of its main town, actually founded in 966/1599. For this Rād̲j̲pūt state, which strenuously opposed the Muslims from the 8th/14th century onwards until its conquest by the Mug̲h̲al Akbar in the later 10th/16th century, see MĒWĀŔ. The subsequent Native State of Udaypūr in British India became part of the first Rajasthan Union in April 1948, and is now a District of the Rajasthan State of the Indian Union.

Bibliography: See that to MĒWĀŔ, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xxiv, 85-105. (ED.)

UDFU [see ADFŪ].

UDGĪR, a small town in South India (lat. 18° 26' N., long. 77° 11' E.), in British Indian times the chef-lieu of a *taluk* in the Bīdar District of Ḥaydarābād State [*q.v.*], now coming within the Maharashtra State of the Indian Union. It has a fort dating back to the end of the 9th/15th century. It was part of the lands of the Barīd S̲h̲āhs of Bīdar [*q.vv.*], and then of their successors the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhs of Bīd̲j̲apur [*q.vv.*] until it was besieged by S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān's army in 1044/1635 and then incorporated into the Mug̲h̲al empire. Its chief fame stems from the fiercely-fought battle for Udgīr when the Marāthās [*q.v.*] defeated the Niẓām Ṣalābat D̲j̲ang of Ḥaydarābād in 1173/1760, causing the (temporary, as it proved) loss of the northern and western parts of Ḥaydarābād to the Marāthās.

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ʿ**UD̲H̲RA**, BANŪ, a nomadic Arabian tribe of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*] federation. Its pedigree is: ʿUd̲h̲ra b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym b. Zayd b. Layt̲h̲ b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa. The ʿUd̲h̲ra were the central group among the descendants of Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym, and they incorporated several brother-clans such as the Ḥārit̲h̲ b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym and Salāmān b. Saʿd Hud̲h̲aym. These ʿUd̲h̲ra are not to be confused with the ʿUd̲h̲ra of the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*], i.e. ʿUd̲h̲ra b. Zayd Allāt b. Rufayda b. T̲h̲awr b. Kalb. One of the latter ʿUd̲h̲ra was the famous genealogist, Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, II], who described his tribe at length in his *Nasab Maʿadd wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr* (ed. Ḥasan, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 558-635).

The ʿUd̲h̲ra were known for their passionate love and tender-heartedness. ʿUd̲h̲rite love (*ḥubb ʿud̲h̲rī* [see ʿUD̲H̲RĪ]), resembling Platonic love, was called after them. The famous D̲j̲amīl (d. 82/701 [*q.v.*]) and his female friend But̲h̲ayna belonged to a subdivision of the ʿUd̲h̲ra called Ḥunn b. Rabīʿa. The Ḥunn and

their brothers, the Rizāḥ b. Rabī'a, were in the early Islamic period the two most important tribal groups among the 'Udhra (*ḳabīlatā 'Udhra*).

On the eve of Islam, the 'Udhra may have been penetrated by Christianity, but there is clear evidence of idol worship among them. Some 'Udhrīs worshipped an idol called Shams (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 296), and an idol called al-Ḥumām (Yāḳūt, s.v.) figures in the story about the conversion to Islam of Ziml b. 'Amr al-'Udhri. It belonged to Ziml's group, the Hind b. Ḥarām b. Ḍinna b. 'Abd b. Kabīr b. 'Udhra, and had a custodian (*sādin*). Interestingly, the descendants of Ḍinna, who also included the above-mentioned Ḥunn and Rabī'a, were originally of the Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*] and were later incorporated into the 'Udhra, claiming that Ḍinna was 'Udhra's great-grandson.

The 'Udhra lived in the area of Ashrāf/Mashārif al-Shām. In particular, they were linked with the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], where they had before Islam an alliance with the Jewish agriculturalists. It assured the 'Udhra of an annual share in the crops in return for protection from attacks by other Bedouin (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam mā 'sta'djam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945 ff., i, 43-4), especially of the Ḳuḍā'a federation. Their association with the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā continued in the Islamic period, and many of those known by the relative adjective al-Wādiyy^{u} were no doubt 'Udhrīs. Some 'Udhrī groups emigrated to Syria, probably already before Islam, while other groups emigrated to Egypt and al-Andalus.

Some claimed that the mother of the Aws and Khazradj was Ḳayla bt. Kāhil b. 'Udhra, which may point to a pre-Islamic link between the 'Udhra and the inhabitants of Yathrib. But far more is known about 'Udhra's links with the Ḳuraysh. The main theme in this regard is Rizāḥ b. Rabī'a's reported help to Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] b. Kilāb in his takeover of the Ka'ba and Mecca. It was said that Rizāḥ's father Rabī'a, while on pilgrimage to Mecca, married the widow of Kilāb b. Murra. He returned home with his wife and her little son Ḳuṣayy, while her other son Zuhra remained in Mecca. Ḳuṣayy later returned to Mecca (sometime in the first half of the 6th century) and fought against the Khuzā'a [*q.v.*], the lords of the Ka'ba and Mecca, who were assisted by their Kinānī allies. He received aid from his half-brother Rizāḥ b. Rabī'a, who had become the leader and commander of the Ḳuḍā'a. (Rizāḥ later pursued an aggressive policy against several brother-clans of the Ḳuḍā'a, forcing them out of Ḳuḍā'a's territory and genealogical bond.) 'Udhra's delegation to the Prophet is supposed to have mentioned that they were Ḳuṣayy's maternal uncles and that they had expelled from Mecca the Khuzā'a and the Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna.

The relations between some 'Udhrīs (of the Kāhil b. 'Udhra branch) and the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb of the Ḳuraysh were particularly close. A family link was already established in the lifetime of Zuhra, Ḳuṣayy's brother; the above-mentioned Rizāḥ was a half-brother not only of Ḳuṣayy, but also of Zuhra. Many years later, Khālid b. 'Urfuṭa b. Ṣu'ayr al-'Udhrī (d. 61/681) came to Mecca as a young boy and became an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the Zuhra. In another report, it was already his grandfather Ṣu'ayr who came to Mecca and formed an alliance with the Makhzūm [*q.v.*], which he later abandoned for an alliance with the Banū 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra. Khālid accompanied Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*] al-Zuhrī during the conquest of 'Irāḳ and the latter made him his deputy in Kūfa. Moreover, there are reports (which cannot be verified) claiming that Sa'd was himself of 'Udhrī origin. In his *Kitāb al-Mathālib* Ibn al-Kalbī quotes unidentified descendants of Khālid who asserted that Khālid and Sa'd's father, Abū Waḳḳāṣ/Mālik, who were both 'Udhrīs, came to Mecca, and the latter made an alliance with the Zuhra, adopting their genealogy. Ibn al-Kalbī also quotes from an anonymous Zuhrī source an alleged bitter exchange between the caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Sa'd's nephew, Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, in which the former is supposed to have said that he recognised in the latter the peculiar heavy walk of the 'Udhra (*inkhizāl banī 'Udhra*). Some Shī'īs took this even further, claiming that Sa'd was an illegal son of an 'Udhrī man.

Also, Khālid b. 'Urfuṭa's cousin (or more remote relative), 'Abd Allāh b. Tha'laba b. Ṣu'ayr (d. 87/706 or 89/708), was an ally of the Zuhra and a son of a Zuhrī mother. 'Abd Allāh was an expert on genealogy—not of the 'Udhra, but of the Zuhra. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*], according to his own testimony, studied from him the genealogy of the Zuhra. It is worthy of note that al-Zuhrī owned an estate in the Shaghb and Badā area (north-west of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā) which was inhabited by the 'Udhra (M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī*, in *JSS*, xli [1996], 21-63, at 54, 59).

The 'Udhra tenaciously kept to the memory of their contacts with the Prophet. Typically, both reports on 'Udhra's delegation to the Prophet in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaḳāt* are family reports by 'Udhrī informants. One of them quotes "the book of his ancestors" (*kitāb ābā'ī*); the other is the grandson of the above-mentioned Ziml b. 'Amr [see ṢIFFĪN, at Vol. IX, 554b]. Two 'Udhrīs are said to have received grants from the Prophet. Djamīl b. Ridām received a waterplace called al-Ramd or al-Ramdā'. Djamra b. al-Nu'mān, the *sayyid* of the 'Udhra (more precisely, of the Banū Kāhil b. 'Udhra) was the first to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaḳa* of the 'Udhra. Furthermore, he was the first Ḥidjāzī leader to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaḳa* of his people. The Prophet assigned Djamra in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā "the extent of his horse's run and a single shot of his whip".

Before being incorporated in specialised monographs during the 2nd/8th century, the knowledge about tribal genealogy and history was preserved by tribal experts. An early authority on 'Udhra's genealogy was al-Nakhkhār b. Aws b. Ubayr al-'Udhrī, a contemporary of Mu'āwiya I [*q.v.*]. (In fact, he belonged to 'Udhra's brothers, the Ḥārith b. Sa'd Hudhaym.)

'Udhra's role in the administration of the early Islamic state was humble. Ziml b. 'Amr was in command of Mu'āwiya I's *shurṭa* [*q.v.*] and later he was in charge of Yazīd I b. Mu'āwiya's [*q.v.*] *khātam* [see KHĀTAM, at Vol. IV, 1105]. 'Umar II seems to have favoured the 'Udhra: his governor in Damascus was 'Uthmān b. Sa'd (or Sa'īd) al-'Udhrī and his *ḳāḍī* there was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khashkhāsh al-'Udhrī.

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(M. LECKER)

'UDHRĪ, *nisba* of the Arabian tribe 'Udhra [*q.v.*] inhabiting the northern part of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]

in the region of Wādī 'l-Ḳurā. In the Umayyad period an elegiac amatory genre emerged among poets of the tribe, who expressed passionate desire for an unattainable beloved, chastity and faithfulness until death. 'Udhrī love (*al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī*) is a favourite theme in classical Arabic poetry and prose, and influenced Islamic philosophy and mysticism. The "Benou-Azra", who, "when loving, die", became known in European literature through Stendhal's treatise *De l'amour* (1822) and inspired the Romantics, e.g. Heine's poem *Der Asra*, set to music by Carl Löwe.

The *ʿudhrī* phenomenon, which has been associated and even identified with "platonic" or "courtly" love, presents several problems, both from a literary and a philosophical aspect. In the early 'Abbāsid period 'Udhrī poets and their beloved were transformed into heroes of romantic stories, and their concept of love was imbued with a "courtly" flavour and projected back into an idealised Bedouin past. As a consequence, the biographies of poets reckoned among the 'Udhrīs are embellished with legendary details, and their poetry contains spurious verses or must be regarded in its entirety of 'Abbāsid origin. It further appears that traditions about 'Udhrī lovers reported in treatises on profane love reflect intellectual trends of later periods. As a first step to clarify these complicated issues, it is essential to distinguish between *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* as an authentic manifestation of Umayyad Bedouin society and its subsequent transformations in the urban centres of mediaeval Islam.

1. *ʿUdhrī* poetry in the Umayyad period

Two poets of the Banū 'Udhra are commonly regarded as representing the new ideal of love, 'Urwa b. Ḥizām (d. *ca.* 29/650 [*q.v.*]), of whom only a few verses are preserved, and Djamīl b. Maʿmar (d. 82/701 [*q.v.*]), whose *dīwān*, although not without interpolations, constitutes the main basis for studying the *ʿudhrī ghazal* [*q.v.*]. His life and his unfulfilled love for Buthayna, a woman of his tribe, are comparatively well documented (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Ǧamīl al-ʿUḏrī. Studio critico e raccolta dei frammenti*, in *RSO*, xvii [1937] 40-71, 132-72). Poets of other tribes reckoned among the 'Udhrites are Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 105/723 [*q.v.*]), Djamīl's *rāwī*; Ḳays b. Dharīḥ (d. 68/687 [*q.v.*]), whose historicity is not undisputed, however; and Ḳays b. al-Mulawwaḥ, called Madjnūn [see MADJNŪN LAYLĀ], a fictional character, whose fame as a lover is unsurpassed in Islamic literatures (cf. A.E. Khayrallah, *Love, madness and poetry. An interpretation of the Maǧnūn legend*, Beirut 1980).

The *ʿudhrī ghazal* continues the tradition of the pre-Islamic *nasīb* [*q.v.*] in its melancholy mood and strong emotional appeal and prepares the way for the 'Abbāsid "courtly" *ghazal*, in that it manifests an absorbing passion for a unique beloved. Its Bedouin origin is evidenced by conventional motifs and techniques of composition, and by a preference for traditional metres, in contrast to the urban *ghazal* of 'Umar b. Abī Rabīʿa [*q.v.*] and his school. In spite of these differences, the two variants of Umayyad *ghazal* poetry hardly developed independently, as suggested by R. Blachère (*HLA*, 711). The main traits of *ʿudhrī* poetry may be sketched as follows: whereas the poet of the *Djāhiliyya* [*q.v.*] abandons a futile love-affair of the past, the *ʿudhrī* poet perseveres in the face of hopelessness and despair. His love is pre-ordained by fate and transcends death. Djamīl wants to die when Buthayna dies (*Dīwān*, ed. Kh. Naṣṣār, [2]Cairo 1967, 51), and he assures her that his "soul bird" (*ṣadā*) will follow her "soul bird" among the graves (*op. cit.*, 109). The platonic concept of a spiritual union before creation (*op. cit.*, 77) is hardly compatible with this and other Bedouin elements of his *dīwān*. The *ʿudhrī* beloved is adored and her beauty praised, but she still seems the poet's equal, in contrast to the superiority, despotism and hypostasation of the lady in the 'Abbāsid "courtly" *ghazal*. Religious allusions are frequent, e.g. Djamīl's statement that every lover "killed" is a "martyr" (*op. cit.*, 64), which may have inspired the famous apocryphal *ḥadīth* of the Prophet first quoted by Ibn Dāwūd (d. 297/910 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Zahra* (ed. A.R. Nykl, Chicago 1932, 66): He who loves, chaste and discrete, and dies, is a martyr (*man ʿashika fa-ʿaffa fa-katamahū fa-māta fa-huwa shahīd*). For further references cf. S. Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft*, Beirut 1984, 270 ff.

'Udhrī lovers are chaste, i.e. they refrain from illicit love. Renouncement of physical union, as it would destroy true love, a notion later attributed to the 'Udhrīs, is not supported by Umayyad verses. In view of the evidence, we are forced to conclude that *ʿudhrī* love in the 7th century is neither "platonic" nor "courtly" not even sentimental. "I wish we could live together," says Djamīl, "and when we die, my grave would be beside her grave among the dead" (*op. cit.* 51). Nothing could be more human, straightforward and sincere.

Several theories have been advanced to explain *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* within the context of Umayyad society. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn stressed the contrast between Bedouin and urban conditions (*Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, [12]Cairo 1972, i, 187 ff., ii, 18), whereas A.Kh. Kinany associates *al-ḥubb al-ʿudhri* with Islamic monotheism, eschatology and ethics (*The development of Gazal in Arabic literature*, Damascus 1951, 260 ff.). T.L. Djedidi also relates monotheism and *dame unique*, but places more emphasis on socio-economic factors. He views the Banū 'Udhra as impoverished semi-nomads, deprived of participation in the affluence of the pilgrim towns, and suggests a "*homologie*" between economic privation and loss and frustration on the sexual plane (*La poésie amoureuse des Arabes. Le cas des ʿUdrites*, Algiers 1974). It is evident that the 'Udhrīs must be correlated with social and economic tensions at a time of instability, when traditional norms and attitudes had to be replaced by a different system of values. 'Udhrī love, which sets an individual relationship above the demands of the clan, is anti-social and ultimately self-destructive. Thus it seems to be a phenomenon analogous to the revolt of the Khāridjites [*q.v.*], who, like the 'Udhrīs, are preoccupied with death in their verses, and advocate a new social order, in accordance with the teaching of Islam.

2. *Al-ḥubb al-ʿudhrī* in later poetry and prose

Stories about *ʿudhrī* poets and their beloved, e.g. 'Urwa and 'Afrā', Djamīl and Buthayna, Kuthayyir and 'Azza, Ḳays and Lubnā, Madjnūn and Laylā, probably circulated from the end of the 7th century and were collected by scholars of the early 'Abbāsid period (cf. Blachère, *HLA*, 760-3). They must have developed into a literary topos at an early date, since most of them follow a common pattern: the poet and his beloved grow up together, fall in love and seek marriage. This is denied them, however, or it is promised and the promise is broken, the woman being married to a richer man. The lovers remain faithful and even meet, preserving the rules of chastity and propriety, and eventually die of sorrow. According to a variant, the lovers marry, but the woman remains barren, and her husband is forced by his family to divorce her (Ḳays and Lubnā). Legends about lovers

from the *Djāhiliyya* were added, e.g. the two Murakkish [*q.v.*], and with the growing popularity of the genre, collections of stories about unhappy lovers from all layers of society were offered to the public, e.g. the *Maṣāri' al-'ushshāk* by al-Sarrādj (2 vols., Beirut 1378/1958).

'Udhrī love is commonly identified with *'ishk* (passion), a term first defined by al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/869 [*q.v.*]) in his *Risālat al-Kiyān* (*The Epistle on singing-girls of Jāḥiẓ*, ed. with tr. and comm. by A.F.L. Beeston, Warminster 1980, 15). Its transformations in 'Abbāsid literature reveal two different strands, although they cannot perhaps be clearly separated. One line of development is apparent in the legend of Madjnūn and the poetry attributed to him, as also in certain poems by al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (d. between 188/803 and 195/810 [*q.v.*]), the most "courtly" of 'Abbāsid poets, who sees himself in the *'udhrī* tradition (cf. S. Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf. Al-'Abbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und das Gazal*, Beirut 1995, 23, 188). It is also manifest in the verses of al-Ḥallādj (d. 309/922 [*q.v.*]), and other Ṣūfīs, and figures prominently in later Islamic mysticism. The main characteristics of this strand are introspectiveness and total absorption in the object of love. The lover turns away from reality towards an idealised form of his imagination, which occupies his mind to such an extent that even the presence of his real beloved cannot gain his attention. He prefers death to fulfillment (cf. Leder, *op. cit.*, 280). The intimate relation of love and death, a further element of this strand, appears to be a genuine continuation of the original concept.

In the second, more realistic strand, *'udhrī* love is not so much an emotion or state of mind, but a code of behaviour among lovers. It can be associated with the literary and social ideal of *ẓarīf* [*q.v.*] (refinement), described in detail by al-Washshā' (d. 325/936 [*q.v.*]) in his *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (ed. R.E. Brünnow, Leiden 1886, German tr. D. Bellmann, *Das Buch des buntbestickten Kleides*, Leipzig and Weimar 1984). There are further numerous stories about men or women of the Banū 'Udhra, often anonymous, which fit in this concept. The gist of these traditions seems to be that lovers "among Bedouin" are allowed to mix freely, to converse and even to exchange caresses, provided they refrain from sexual intercourse, as it would destroy passion and desire. The idea is already expressed by al-Djāḥiẓ (*op. cit.*, 4) and amply documented in later treatises on love and women, as the *Dhamm al-hawā* (Cairo 1381/1962; cf. Leder, *op. cit.*, 258 ff.) of Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201 [*q.v.*]) and the *Akhbār al-nisā'* (Cairo 1319, 39, German tr. Bellmann, *Über die Frauen*, Munich 1986, 62) of Ibn Kayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350 [*q.v.*]).

However variegated the transformations of *al-ḥubb al-'udhrī* in later periods have been, it is always identified with Bedouin as contrasted to urban love. Initially, this may have been a tendency to idealise the Arabic past, connected with the Shu'ūbiyya movement [*q.v.*], but there must be more to it than that. For *'udhrī* traditions not only exemplify high moral standards, they also manifest the longing for a kind of society where the segregation of the sexes is not strictly observed.

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AL-'**UDHRĪ**, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD b. 'Umar b. Anas, Ibn al-Dalā'ī, traditionist and geographer, who was born at Almeria [see AL-MARIYYA] in 393/1003, and who died in the same town in 478/1085. Shortly after the Muslim conquest, his family had settled in the village of Dalias, from where the *nisba* of Dalā'ī comes.

It is in fact thanks to al-'Udhrī that information is available on one of his predecessors, Zughayba b. Kuṭba, who supported the claim to the throne of Sulaymān, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, against his brother Hishām. He was very young when he undertook the *riḥla*, seizing the opportunity of the pilgrimage of his parents. His stay in Mecca was prolonged for ten years from 407/1016 to 416/1025. During these years, he had the opportunity to study with famous teachers, such as Abū Dharr al-Harawī. When he returned to al-Andalus, he became the pupil of Abū 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [*q.v.*] and of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*] among others, but at the same time he transmitted to these authors many of the traditions gleaned from his *riḥla*. He also had as pupils al-Ḥumaydī and Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī, but in fact, as a specialist in *ḥadīth*, he was preoccupied with transmitting the traditions that he had received in the course of his stay in Mecca, notably those of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and of that of al-Bukhārī (M. Fierro, *Obras y transmisiones de* ḥadīṯ, in *Ibn al-Abbār. Politic i excriptor àrab valencià*, Valencia 1990, 207-22; M. Marín, *La actividad intelectual*, in *Los Reinos de Taifas = Historia de España de Menendez Pidal*, viii, Madrid 1994, 516).

The many biographical dictionaries that tell us about his life pay much attention to this "traditionist" aspect, but say little about his role as a geographer, though this is how he is best known today. It is thanks to this that some fragments of vol. vii of his work (ed. 'A.'A. al-Ahwānī, *Nuṣūṣ 'an al-Andalus min "Kitāb Tarṣī' al-akhbār"*, Madrid 1965), have been preserved. Although these fragments are only poorly representative of the whole collection, it is possible to form an approximate idea of the content, at least for those chapters devoted to al-Andalus. As for the other regions, there are only three remaining folios on Egypt, two on Syria, and one on Persia. Al-'Udhrī based his writings on the geographical work of Aḥmad al-Rāzī, preserving its structure though not always keeping the order of presentation of the *kūras*. Using this scheme as a basis, the author enriches the original text with a considerable amount of information of every kind, to the extent that the *Geography* of al-'Udhrī could be considered the most important of those devoted to Andalusia. Within its pages are detailed descriptions of the most important provinces and localities, administrative, economic and fiscal data, all so precise that they seem to have been taken directly from official archives. These are all supported by reflections on natural phenomena and minutely detailed descriptions of itineraries, etc.

Although al-'Udhrī is the most important of the Andalusī geographers, his work is, however, also memorable as a rich source of historical information. Indeed, in every chapter the author includes several pages devoted to the history of the province, almost always revolving around whatever rebellions were taking place within that region at any given time; but there are also notes on pre-Islamic history, and an astonishing but unfortunately incomplete narrative of the military campaigns of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*]. Many of these details are unedited, and when they are already known from other sources the richness of detail in the version of al-'Udhrī is seen to be far superior to that of those other sources.

The title which appears in the *unicum* kept in a

private library in Jerusalem is *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*; this is referred to by several later sources but others call it *Niẓām al-murdjān*. Perhaps the explanation is that there are two versions of the work, one preserved in the *unicum* of Jerusalem, while the other, entitled *Niẓām*, was able to be used copiously by later authors such as al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Ḥimyarī and the compiler of the *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* (L. Molina, *Las dos versiones de la* Geografía *de al-ʿUdrī*, in *Al-Qanṭara*, iii [1982], 249-60).

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3. Studies. See the introd. of al-Ahwānī to his edition and those accompanying the translations, and also Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *al-Djughrāfiya*, 81-96; J. Vernet, *Un texto nuevo e importante para la España musulmana: al-ʿUdrī*, in *RIEI*, xiii (1965-6), 17-24; F. Roldán and R. Valencia, *El género* al-masālik wa-al-mamālik. *Su realización en los textos de al-ʿUdrī y al-Qazwīnī sobre el occidente de al-Andalus*, in *Philologia Hispalensis*, iii (1988), 7-25; L. Molina, *Historiografía*, in *Los Reinos de Taifas*, Madrid 1994, 13-15.

(L. MOLINA)

UDJ, a Turkish word equivalent to the ancient Greek/Byzantine ἄκρον, and meaning the frontier districts or marches. The borderlands between the Christian and the Muslim mediaeval worlds influenced historical developments considerably. In mediaeval Eastern Anatolia, those entrusted with the defence of the marches, in which they were established, were called ἀκρῖται on the Byzantine side and *ghāzī*s [*q.v.*] on the Muslim one. The inhabitants of these districts were obliged to be continuously in readiness to confront an attack or to organise a raid themselves penetrating into the enemy territory. Their way of life inspired folk poets who composed the epic of the Byzantine ἀκρῖται and that of the famous Muslim hero Ghāzī Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl [*q.v.*]. On both sides, the population of the frontier zones presented peculiarities as it constituted a mixture of ethnic, religious and cultural elements. Changing sides was not unusual for the warriors; women abducted from the enemy side and prisoners taken facilitated some assimilation, while adventurers who aspired to a brilliant military carrier, sheer bandits seeking legitimacy and persecuted heretical elements took refuge in them.

After the Oghuz migration and the battle of Malāzgird [*q.v.*] or Mantzikert (1071), Turkmen nomads were established on the marches; they increased in number during the Mongol advance of the 13th century which caused a second Turkmen migration into Anatolia. The Byzantine historian Akropolites, writing around 1250, described those nomads as a people living on the very frontiers of the Turks, filled with implacable hatred against the Byzantines, delighting in the plunder seized from them and rejoicing in their spoils of war. During the gradual disintegration of the Rūm Saldjūḳ state [see SALDJŪḲIDS. III. 5] the frontier Turkmen acquired new strength and determined political developments by offering their support to Saldjūḳ princes against the Mongols. Turkmen chieftains of the borderlands struggled to win independence, and they eventually established their own petty states (emirates or *beyliks*) one of which seems to have been that of Osman [see ʿOTHMĀN I], the nucleus of the later Ottoman Empire.

The term *Udj-bey* designated the military lord of a district zone carrying out war against the neighbouring Christians. The continuous military expansion of the early Ottoman State, especially in Rumelia, was largely due to these lords, who acted at the head of their own warrior clans with a certain independence and who gradually established their own family dynasties. Nevertheless, in crucial moments, e.g. during the interregnum, none of them aspired to real independence and all of them remained faithful to the Ottoman dynasty. The best known among these *Udj-beys* included Ewrenos [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Thrace and Macedonia, Pasha-Yigit established in Scopia since 1392, and his son Turakhān [*q.v.*], later established in Thessaly. The vast territories conquered by the *Udj-beys* were officially recognised by the sultans as their full properties and later turned into *waḳf*s administered by their descendants.

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(ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU)

UDJ-BEY [see UDJ].

ʿŪDJ, also ʿĀDJ B. ʿANAḲ or ʿANĀḲ, the Arabic name of the Biblical ʿŌg, the giant king of Bashan. The Ḳurʾān does not mention him. Al-Ṭabarī tells of his great stature and death: Moses was ten cubits in height, his staff ten cubits long, he jumped ten cubits high and smote ʿŪdj in the heel; the body of the fallen giant served as a bridge across the Nile.

Al-Thaʿlabī gives more details: ʿŪdj was 23,333 cubits high, drank from the clouds, could reach to the bottom of the sea and pull out a whale which he roasted on the sun. Noah drove him in front of the ark but the Flood only reached his knees. He lived for 3,000 years. When Moses sent out the twelve spies, ʿŪdj put them into the bundle of wood on his head and wanted to trample on them, but on the advice of his wife he sent them back so that they might put fear by their report into the heart of those that sent them. When ʿŪdj saw the camp of Israel, he broke from the mountain a rock large enough to crush the camp at one blow, but God sent the *hudhud* (hoopoe) and other birds who made a hole in the rock so that it fell like a collar on ʿŪdj. Moses overthrew him in one leap.

Al-Kisāʾī expands the story and increases the marvellous element in it. ʿŪdj was the son of Ḳābīl (Cain) [see HĀBĪL WA-ḲĀBĪL] banished by Adam and of his

sister 'Anāḳ ('Anāḳ thus becomes a woman's name). Although chastised by his mother, 'Ūdj caught the stone with which Iblīs tried to kill her. She therefore blessed him with strength and longevity. When he waded through the sea, it reached to his knees; when he walked, the earth trembled; when he wept, rivers flowed from his eyes; he used to eat two elephants at a meal. He slept twice a year. In Nimrod's time, he boasted that he controlled the heavens. He worked on the Ark with Noah. He was sitting on Pharaoh's council when Yūska', sent by Moses, demanded that he worship God. In order to win Pharaoh's daughter, he was going to destroy the camp of Israel with the gigantic rock, but was slain by Moses.

The sources of these legends are to be found in the Bible and in the Haggadah. The Bible mentions 'Ōg's great size (Deut., iii. 11) and his fall (Num., xxi. 33-5). E. Jōḥanan describes 'Ōg as a fugitive who had escaped the Flood (*B. Nidda*, 61a). Sometimes he is said to be the fugitive who brought Abraham the news of Lot's capture (Gen., xiv. 13). As a reward for this, he was given long life (*Gen. Rabba*, xlii. 8). Like al-Kisā'ī, *Deut. Rabba*, i. 25 puts him at the court of Pharaoh. *B. Berachōt*, 54b, Palest. *Targum* on Num., xxi. 35, records how Moses slew him in one leap. It is in keeping with Muslim legend that in place of the ants or worm which eat away 'Ōg's rock we have the *hudhud*, celebrated in the legend of Solomon.

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(B. Heller-[S.M. Wasserstrom])

'UDJAYF b. 'ANBASA, 'Abbāsid army commander who served al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, d. 223/838.

Nothing is recorded of his antecedents, but he seems to have been of Khurāsānian or Transoxanian Arab stock; at the height of his career, he had a grant of the revenues of the market at Ishtīkhān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] near Samarḳand (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 196). He was originally a partisan of the rebel in Transoxania Rāfi' b. al-Layth [*q.v.*], during the latter part of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign, but went over to the caliphal side in 192/807-8 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 732). Subsequently, he became one of al-Ma'mūn's leading generals, leading campaigns in northern Persia and against the Khāridjite leader Bilāl al-Ḍibābī (214/829) (*ibid.*, 1093, 1101-2). He continued in high favour under al-Mu'taṣim, directing operations against the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*] in Lower 'Irāḳ (219/834) and participating in several campaigns into Byzantine Anatolia (*ibid.*, 1103, 1109, 1166-8). It was during the course of al-Mu'taṣim's Amorion expedition of 223/838 that 'Udjayf fell out with the caliph, ostensibly over the financing and the commissariat arrangements of the 'Abbāsid army; he was accused of complicity in a plot to kill al-Mu'taṣim and replace him by his nephew al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn, and killed (*ibid.*, 1254, 1256-7, 1264-6).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

UDJDA [see wadjda].

UDJDJAYN, a town of Central India in what was the mediaeval Islamic sultanate of Mālwā [*q.v.*] and at times its capital. It is now a fair-sized town in the westernmost part of Madhya Pradesh State in the Indian Union (lat. 23° 11' N., long. 75° 50' E.).

Renowned since Mauryan and Gupta times as a sacred site for Hindus, it also played a leading role in Indian astronomy, since the ancient Indians came to calculate longitudes from the meridian of Udjdjayn [see al-ḳubba]. Hence the town appears in Ptolemy's *Geography* as Ozēnē, in the geographical section of Ibn Rusta's encyclopaedia as *'dh.y.n* for Uzzayn (22, tr. Wiet, 19), in al-Bīrūnī's *India* and *al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī* as *'w.dj.y.n, 'z.y.n, 'w.dh.y.n*, and in mediaeval European sources misread as *medius locus terrae dictus Arin* (see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 189, 245). Its ruler was one of the coalition of Indian princes which strenuously resisted the raids of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in the early 5th/11th century, but it was sacked in 632/1234 by the Dihlī Sultan Iltutmush [*q.v.*], who demolished the temple of Mahākālī; later it became part of Mālwā, until in 969/1562 it passed to Akbar and became the chef-lieu of the Mughal *ṣūba* of Mālwā. In the period of Mughal decline, however, the Rādjpūt ruler of Djāypūr, Mahārādjā Djāy Singh, became governor of Udjdjayn for the emperor Muḥammad Shāh [*q.v.*]. It was this ruler who *ca.* 1730 built at Udjdjayn one of his five observatories, reviving the above-mentioned ancient importance of the town for Indian astronomical studies [see marṣad]. After *ca.* 1750 it passed under Marāṭhā [*q.v.*] control, until the advent of the British in 1818, after which it came within the Central India Agency.

Bibliography: See that to mālwā, and also *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xxiv, 112-15.

(C.E. Bosworth)

al-**UFRĀNĪ** [see al-ifrānī].

UGANDA, Muslims in.

1. *The pre-colonial period*

Originally, Islam came into Uganda from three directions, i.e. the east and south along the established caravan routes of what is today Tanzania and Kenya [*q.vv.*] and from the north, along the Nile in what is today Sudan [see sūdān]. Later, Indian Muslims came into Uganda. Initially the contacts were almost exclusively with the kingdom of Buganda around the north-western end of Lake Victoria.

Muslim traders who had established themselves in the Tabora region of present-day Tanzania by 1825 were trading at Koki in southern Buganda sometime before 1832. However, the earliest recorded Islamic influence in Uganda began during the reign of Kabaka Suna II (*ca.* 1825-56) with the northward advance of Muslim traders from Karagwe, in northwestern Tanzania. One Isa ibn Husain, a pioneer Muslim trader, said to have been a Baluchi, who at one time acted as Suna's bodyguard, was made a chief under Kabaka Suna II. The first Muslim settlements were at Buddu, Kibibi and Kibuga. Two of the most important of the earliest traders were Ahmad ibn Ibrahim and Snay ibn Amir (d. 1861). Tradition has it that some time before his death Suna had learnt some chapters of the Ḳur'ān. He was also told about the Islamic faith in one God. He showed particular interest in the concepts of the resurrection and life after death. The first

Muslims also seem to have left a copy of the Ḳur'ān with him. This was passed on to his son Mutesa I (1856-84).

The importance of the Muslim influence in this early period was limited and lay primarily in its novelty. The traders opened up new horizons to the Baganda and introduced such things as cloth and weapons. It was marked by peaceful penetration and the integration of foreign Muslims into the socio-political system of Buganda.

The number of Muslims in Buganda fluctuated depending on the security of the trade routes. Between 1859-65 the conflict between Muslims and the local chief of Unyamwezi, Mwana Sera, hindered caravans from getting through. By 1862 Islam was not a noticeable factor, but by 1867, partly due to the victory of the Muslims in Unyamwezi and partly due to the exodus of Muslims from Zanzibar as the result of a conflict between the Sultan and the Harthi clan, the number and influence of Muslims in Buganda had increased and a local Muslim nucleus had been established. As in the early history of Islam in West Africa, the Muslim traders were allocated a special area outside the palace in the village of Natete. Mutesa received some Islamic instruction in the early years of his reign. From 1867 with the arrival of one Khamis ibn Abdallah who, like Snay ibn Amir, traced his ancestry to ʿUmān, Islam took root. Instrumental in this process were people like Choli (Toli, Tori), Khamis's cook, who became Mutesa's *factotum*; Idi, from Ngazija in the Comoros, who was Mutesa's Arabic teacher and spiritual guide; and Masudi, all of whom were appointed to various chieftainships. Mutesa learnt Arabic, read the Ḳur'ān and commanded that his subjects should study and accept Islam. An instrument in this process was the *bwe bubawo abuwawulire*—the polished writing and reading boards which became external marks of Muslims. Islamic religious terms became an integral part of Luganda, such as *esula* "*sūra*" *misafu ekyakulani* "Ḳur'ān", *muzikiti* "mosque", *mujasi* "army commander", etc. Mutesa together with some of his chiefs and courtiers were able to converse with such visitors as Charles Chaillé-Long and Emin Pasha in Arabic in 1874 and 1876 respectively. The Islamic calendar was introduced and the records indicate that Mutesa first observed Ramaḍān in 1867 and enforced its observations throughout Buganda over a ten-year period. Mosques were built, officials appointed and remunerated. A custom connected with ablutions (*tayammum* [*q.v.*]) was to place a big stone (*mayinja*) before a mosque. This practice has lingered on in Buganda. At the entrance of mosques and the courtyards of some *s̲h̲uyūk̲h̲*, big stones can be found on which Muslims rub and clean their feet before entering the place of prayer.

Mutesa introduced ritual slaughter. Slaughter in Ugandan abattoirs is still in the hands of Muslims. He also introduced Muslim burial practices. Hunting with dogs was prohibited (though this is perfectly legal), as was the general usage of local beer. The latter probition was more difficult to enforce as it was part and parcel of social custom. Rice was introduced as the appropriate food for festivals, as was the separation of men and women during meals and ceremonies. The *subḥa* also became part of Ganda Muslim usage as was the wearing of a skull cap, *kūfiyya*. Circumcision, however, never became a general practice among Ganda Muslims.

Mutesa had clearly grasped some major concepts of Islam. He sent a delegation to the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro inviting its king Kabarega (1870-99) to Islam. When he turned down the invitation, Mutesa began to plan a *d̲j̲ihād* against him.

Muslim influence reached its peak in Buganda around 1875, when it was estimated that there were around 1,500 "Zanzibaris" in the capital. In spite of this, the position of Islam in the country was weak, partly because it had been imposed by the ruler, partly because of the distance of Buganda from other Muslim centres. Added to this were what the Baganda considered difficult Muslim rites, e.g. circumcision, fasting, etc. The lack of well-qualified teachers and the primary interest of its representatives in commerce all contributed to this weakness.

A few coastal traders reached Busoga from 1853 onwards from the east via Masailand, but they did not teach Islam to the local people during their brief stay. There is no indication of contact with Ankole before 1852. Muslims visited Bunyoro before 1864.

Contacts with Muslims coming down the Nile go back to the 1850s and 1860s, when traders plundered in Acholi and Lango. By 1862 Muslim ivory traders had established themselves at Fakaro near present-day Gulu. A number of Muslims accompanied Samuel Baker on his first visit to Bunyoro in 1864. Some traders from the north had established themselves at Faloro (Madi) by the beginning of the 1870s. The *Batuluki* (Turks) under Samuel Baker reached Fatiko in Acholi in early 1872, where a fort was established, and Buganda in 1873. Samuel Baker was succeeded as the Egyptian Khedive's representative by Charles Gordon in 1874. Under him, a number of expeditions were dispatched to the south between 1874 and 1878. Mutesa, on his part, sent missions to the north. One of these was led by one ʿAlī Yūsuf, a native of the Red Sea coast.

These expeditions did not enhance Egypt's political or religious influence in the country. The high-handed methods of the Muslims from the north and their contemptuous attitude towards Mutesa's observance of Islam, as well as the insolence of the *batuluki*, did not help matters. However, some of them stayed. By 1879 it was estimated that Mutesa had about 20 Egyptian irregulars, known as *khotarias*, in his bodyguard. The same seems to have been the case with Kabarega in Bunyoro, where they were referred to as *banassura*.

A further reason for the negative Islamic influence from the north is likely to have been the fact that the *batuluki* represented political interests and belonged to the Mālikī *mad̲h̲hab*. They were more rigid in their religious attitudes than the "Zanzibaris", representing the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*, who had come as traders and whose business interests were an incentive towards compromise and accommodation. The Egyptian involvement in Bunyoro and the perceived threat of annexation by Egypt increasingly drove Mutesa to develop contacts with Zanzibar.

From 1875-80, Islam suffered some setbacks that reduced its influence. It began to re-assert itself during the last four years of Mutesa's reign (1880-4). From 1884 to 1889, Islam found itself in competition with Christianity, which ultimately led to religious wars in which the latter gained the upper hand. Under Mutesa's successor Mwanga (1884-8), the balance was somewhat redressed. A general dissatisfaction among the people led to a united Christian-Muslim rebellion against Mwanga led by the Muslims. He was replaced by *kabaka* Mutebi, who was inclined towards Islam. When the alliance between Christians and Muslims broke up, the Muslims (referred to as *abawadi*) installed Nuhu Kalema as *kabaka* in the hope that Islam would be re-introduced fully. These expectations did not

materialise, partly because the Baganda objected to fasting, daily prayers and abstention from their traditional beer, and feared circumcision, and partly because the Christians took up arms and defeated the Muslims in 1889. Ganda Muslims were persecuted and dispersed and Muslims from the coast were burnt. Mwanga, who had now declared his support for the Christian cause, was reinstated. With the death of Kalema in 1890 and the arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company's agents and their treaty with the Christian authorities, the tide had turned against the Muslims.

2. *The colonial period*

Under the new administration, the Muslims in Buganda were forced to live in confined and poor regions. Their leaders, Mbogo, Alamanzane and Ndaula were imprisoned. In 1893 a persecution of the Muslims broke out and Muslims were hunted down, many fleeing to neighbouring countries. The reason for this persecution was that some Muslims, indignant at their situation, had approached the Sudanese soldiers known locally as Nubians, who had been brought in by Frederick Lugard, asking for help against the Christians.

Contacts with Muslims outside Uganda, however, continued. Thus Kabarega in Bunyoro sent an embassy to the Mahdists in Khartoum in 1897 when under attack from a Ganda-British force. The Nubians posted to strategic places contributed to the dissemination of Islam, as did the petty traders in various communities. In spite of this, they were isolated, as can be seen by the fact that one of the first Ugandans to undertake the *ḥadjdj* was Abdallah Sekimwanyi, who did so in 1920.

Although Mutesa had appealed both to the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Khedive Ismā'īl to send him teachers, it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that Muslim teachers, such as Shaykh Khalfan bin Mubaraka and Shaykh Abd al-Samad bin Najimi began to influence the character and spread of Islam in Uganda by training local *bawalimu*.

Crucial to the Muslim community in Uganda at this time was the recognition by the authorities of Nuhu Mbogo (d. 1921) (son of Suna and Mutesa's brother and father of Haji Prince Badiru Kakungulu) as the leader of the Muslims in the country. He was one of the signatories of the 1900 Uganda Agreement and was allocated a substantial piece of land for himself and his followers. Although Mbogo had obtained plots to build mosques, these were never utilised because the Muslims were divided. One conflict was the so-called *Juma-Ẕukuli* dispute which first erupted in 1911 concerning whether the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* should be omitted on Fridays or should be prayed in addition to *ṣalāt al-djum'a* [see ṢALĀT]. Due to Mbogo's influence and prestige, the matter quietened down. After his death personal rivalries and religious conflicts continued to weaken the community. The *Juma-Ẕukuli* issue re-appeared, and was only settled in 1948 when it was agreed to observe only the *Juma* prayer. A small splinter group continued to combine the two prayers. Disputes also arose concerning the use of *matari*, i.e. drums at religious ceremonies, and the proper way to determine the date of Ramaḍān. From 1926 onwards, the progress of Islam slowed considerably.

The religious élite within the main Muslim body resented the personal rule of Prince Badiru Kakungulu and wanted a say in the administration of the community. They were also critical of their leader for encouraging Western rather than Ḳur'ānic education, fearing that this would lead to young people leaving the faith. In 1933 a section of the religious leaders broke away and formed the *Jamat al-Islam*.

Most of the Muslim leadership throughout this period were products of Ḳur'ān schools which did not equip their students to tackle issues in contemporary society. The lack of educated and sophisticated leaders forced the community in the 1940s and 1950s to bring issues of a religious nature to the public courts, as the Muslims had failed to devise a mechanism for conflict resolution within the community.

From the early 1950s and through the 1960s, Muslims began to influence society as a whole. Those who had received a Western education began to play an important role in business. The establishment of the Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) and the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), which had been set up by the Aga Khan in 1937, also contributed to the strengthening of their position, while Muslims employed in such key sectors of the administration as the police and as interpreters' were also influential.

3. *The independence period*

In connection with the 1962 election to prepare for independence, Muslims had become a political factor, which contributed to the victory of the alliance between the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and Kabaka Yekka over the Democratic Party.

Up to 1965 the Uganda Muslim Association (UMA) was led by Prince Badiru Kakungulu. In that year, a politically-based split occurred among Muslims as a result of the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Muslims (NAAM). One of its leaders, Shaykh Abdu Kamulegeya, an al-Azhar graduate, had attended a meeting of the Muslim World League and on his return wanted to open an office for the League in Kampala. This was refused by the UMA. He then turned to the government, which granted him permission. The Uganda People's Party (UPP) realised that it could use the split among the Ganda Muslims to enter the Buganda political scene. NAAM was dominated from behind the scene by Obote's Muslim cousin Abubaker Adoko Nekyon. Its main mosque was at Wandegeya, near Makerere in north Kampala. The aim of the new organisation was to recruit the support of the Muslims in Uganda for government policies and to oppose Prince Badiru Kakungulu, whose group represented the majority of Ganda Muslims and became known as the Kibuli faction after their centre in Kampala. This group was registered as the Uganda Muslim Community (UMC). Under the UPP, their activities were increasingly limited and the leaders arrested.

Around 1968, the NAAM, with government backing, assumed the position of sole representative body for all Muslims in Uganda. Their constitution provided for a *muftī* who was to be the only government-recognised Muslim leader. By appointing Muslims as chiefs, and by ousting non-NAAM guardians from mosques, the government manipulated divisions in the community in their own interest. The sharp divisions within the community led to the development of schools and hospitals being neglected. By 1960 there were few Muslim primary schools and only one secondary school for African Muslims at Kibuli. There were three for Indian Muslims which as a general rule, however, did not accept African Muslim pupils.

The situation was totally reversed during the Idi Amin period (1971-9). NAAM was accused of mixing religion and politics and outlawed. The amicable relations between Amin and the Ganda Muslims deteriorated within the year. Amin tried to win the support of other Muslims by emphasising his devotion to Islam. Thus in 1972 he established the Uganda Muslim Sup-

reme Council (UMSC) and a Chief Ḳāḍī was appointed. Amin laid the cornerstone of the organisation's headquarters in Uganda. He also sought to develop relations with Islamic states, leading in 1974 to Uganda's membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). New mosques were constructed, hospitals extended or built, businesses acquired and plans were made for the translation of the Ḳur'ān into Luganda, part of which had been undertaken by the Aḥmadiyya community. A certain increase in the Muslim community took place because of the new status it conferred, since being a Muslim no longer implied being a second-class citizen. The creation of the Uganda Muslim Students Association (UMSA) to coordinate the activities of Muslim youth laid the foundation for the future involvement of Muslims in the affairs of the nation. In spite of this, lack of clarity in the UMSC constitution and its relation to the government led to direct intervention by Amin. The development of services for the community was held up, in spite of Amin's Public Holidays Act (Amendment) Decree of 1978 formalising the addition of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the Prophet's birthday on 12 Rabīʿ I and Friday as a day of rest.

A negative impact on the Muslim community in Uganda was the expulsion of the Asians in 1972, a number of whom, as Muslims, had contributed to the improvement of the indigenous Muslims. The first Asians to come to Uganda belonged to the troops which accompanied Lugard in 1891. During the early period about half of the British Indian troops were Punjabi Muslims. The pioneer of the business community was Allidina Visram (1863-1916) who first started operations in 1898, opening stores at Jinja, Kisumu and along the Nile, appointing mainly Muslims as his agents. Allidina encouraged local business by buying animal skins and agricultural produce. With the completion of the Uganda railway in 1901 his role increased greatly. Most of the early Indian traders were Muslims, especially Ismāʿīlīs. Punjabi Muslims formed the majority of the labour recruited for the construction of the Uganda Railway. They were principally artisans, but were also recruited into the local police force. By 1948 there were 11,172 Indian Muslims in Uganda. Strained relations with the indigenous people led in 1958-9 led to a successful boycott of their shops.

Since independence a growing number of Muslims have undertaken the Pilgrimage. Many read the Ḳur'ān either in the original or in its Luganda rendering. Other major tenets of Islam such as prayers, fasting and festivals are observed. Muslims tend to adopt the dress code of coastal Muslims as well as other cultural aspects. Circumcision, which earlier was a barrier, is generally observed.

The successive post-Amin governments from 1979 until the establishment of Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in 1986 were politically and economically unstable and did not improve the situation of the Muslims. With the NRM's ten-point programme the situation began to change. Islamic education, besides continuing in mosque schools, has been boosted with the establishment of an Islamic University in Mbale funded by the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah. Some students from this university are now at other universities around the Muslim world. Asian Muslim businessmen have returned and have assisted the indigenous Muslim community in various ways.

Although UMSC has continued to function, a number of Muslims and Muslim groupings have been reluctant to integrate with it as it is seen to be a state-related, if not controlled, council. The council's authority is weakened by a lack of influence in religious matters. Secular law entitles the council to organise the Pilgrimage and *ʿīd* celebrations, but has no authority over religious issues. Its leaders are seen to be more concerned with private business than spiritual affairs. The council continues to be funded by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Its role has been somewhat strengthened through its involvement with visiting heads of state from Muslim countries such as Iran and Pakistan. Although Muslims have more access to the media, their spokesmen tend to identify with the government rather than the *umma*. This has led to the Ṣūfī *ṭuruḳ*, some of which like the Ḳādiriyya were established in Buganda before 1888 by Sulaiman bin Zahir al-Jabir, becoming, because of their international links and spiritual leadership, more powerful than the council. Access to Muslim radio stations from the Middle East, and audio and video cassettes have also helped the community. In the 1996 election one of the three candidates for the presidency was a Muslim, Muhammad Mayanja, whose father Abubaker Mayanja had been a minister in previous governments.

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(S. von Sicard)

UḤAYḤA b. **al-DJULĀḤ**, al-Awsī, semi-legendary pre-Islamic hero and poet of Yat̲h̲rib (the later Medina). The memory of him probably stems from the fact that it was said that his wife had a second marriage connection with the clan of ʿAbd Manāf in Mecca, hence with the Prophet's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, making the putative date of his birth *ca.* 550, and with a date of death, according to certain sources, before Muḥammad's own birth.

Some verses of his are cited in such collections as the *Aṣmaʿiyyāt*, the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, the works of al-Djāḥiẓ, the *ʿUyūn al-ak̲h̲bār* of Ibn Ḳutayba, the *Ag̲h̲ānī* and the *Djamharat as̲h̲ʿār al-ʿarab* of al-Ḳuras̲h̲ī. They give some biographical details, of his role as chief of the clan of Aws and his leadership at various *ayyām* or "days" of his people, and mention his wealth as possessor of various estates and strongpoints (*āṭām*) in the oasis of Yat̲h̲rib and as a usurer, combined with his avarice. Of older authors, only Ibn K̲h̲ayr mentions in his *Fahrasa*, 397, Uḥayḥa's *dīwān* as being introduced into al-Andalus in the 4th/10th century; but no trace of a *dīwān* exists today.

What now remains comprises 22 pieces amounting to about 100 verses, mostly—apart from two fragments apparently from *ḳaṣīdas*—short fragments. The *nasīb*s of certain pieces show the poet's regard for this aspect of the classical ode. Notable is the fact that he hardly uses the *ṭawīl* metre beloved of other ancient poets. His language, little affected by Bedouin features, shows him essentially as an urban poet, with the two main themes of *fak̲h̲r* and of *ḥikma* or wisdom. Blachère's verdict was that the verses attributed to Uḥayḥa cannot be taken seriously, but that he may be viewed as the hypothetical representative of a poetic circle in Yat̲h̲rib in the middle years of the 6th century (*HLA*, ii, 310). Certainly, his memory remained alive for later generations, and he seems to have played a role, alongside earlier bards like Imruʾ al-Ḳays and Muhalhil b. Rabīʿa, in the genesis of ancient Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: Uḥayḥa's verses have been studied and gathered together by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Mag̲h̲ribī, in *RAAD* (1922), 8-17; Ḥasan Muḥammad Bādjūda, *Dīwān Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ al-Awsī al-Djāhilī*, Ṭāʾif 1979; Ṣāliḥ al-Bakkārī and Ṭayyib al-ʿAs̲h̲s̲h̲ās̲h̲, *Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ, ak̲h̲bāruhu wa-as̲h̲ʿāruhu*, in *Ḥawliyyāt Djāmiʿat Tūnis*, no. 26 (1987); and ʿĀdil al-Farīdjāt in his book *al-S̲h̲uʿarāʾ al-djāhiliyyūn al-awāʾil*, Beirut 1994. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*², i, 263; Blachère, *loc. cit.*; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 284-5, ix, 277.

(Taïeb El Achèche)

ʿUHDA [see ḍarība. 4].

UḤUD, a rocky, plateau-topped mountain that lies about 5 km/3 miles north of Medina, and the site of an important battle between Muḥammad and the Meccans.

Traditional accounts date the event to S̲h̲awwāl of year 3, and see the origins of Uḥud in the aftermath of Badr; variant traditions date it to year 4. Under the leadership of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, and incited not only by tribesmen and tribeswomen who had lost relations at Badr (e.g. his wife Hind b. ʿUtba), but also by those whose goods had been plundered, the Meccans resolved to avenge their defeat. A large force (often numbered at 3,000 horsemen) was assembled, and moved north towards Medina; the sequence and chronology of the Meccans' movements around Uḥud are a matter of some confusion, but according to most authorities they encamped north of the city, grazing their mounts on the ripening fields. At least in part, it was this provocation that moved the Prophet, against the advice of several Companions, to muster a large force of his own (Ibn Isḥāḳ's sources put it at 1,000), and move out of Medina. Although they were outnumbered by the Meccans, the Muslims are said to have carried the early part of the battle, perhaps because the topography favoured them. Things then turned for the worse with the fateful decision of the Muslim archers, sometimes numbered at 50 and sometimes at 100, to abandon their position protecting the flank or rear, apparently in order to join fellow Muslims in despoiling the Meccans' camp. K̲h̲ālid b. al-Walīd, commanding the right flank of the Meccan cavalry, exploited the break in Muslim lines and overran Muḥammad's men. In the confused rout that followed, a large number of Muslims were killed, perhaps as many as 65 to 70; among these was the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose death grieved Muḥammad enormously. Rumours even flew about that Muḥammad himself had been killed; in the event, he was apparently only wounded, and the news that he was alive buoyed Muslim spirits enough that they managed to regroup higher up on mount Uḥud. Abū Sufyān did not press his advantage, and towards the end of the day he withdrew towards Mecca; the number of Meccans killed is usually put in the low 20s.

The preceding is a synopsis of events as they are described in the material that was deposited in the *sīra-mag̲h̲āzī* tradition of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries, and which came to dominate (if not quite monopolise) the tradition in general throughout the classical period. Already in Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. *ca.* 150/767) a general consensus had clearly emerged around the sequence of events, even if al-Wāḳidī, writing two generations later, was still piecing together his account from a variety of sources, as had Ibn Isḥāḳ himself (*al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. M. al-Saḳḳā, ii, 60; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1383-4; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Mag̲h̲āzī*, Beirut 1984 repr. of ed. Jones, i, 199). Judging the reliability of this material is very difficult. That the Muslims suffered a disheartening defeat is clear enough, at least if one accepts that several verses of Ḳurʾān, III (*Āl ʿImrān*), allude to actual historical events (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 192 ff.; W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 100, *et passim*). Moreover, inasmuch as the tradition's reconstruction of the basic sequence and chronology of events of the Medinan period inspires confidence, the date of Uḥud is fairly certain, particularly since it occasionally is used to date other events (see, for example, al-Zuhrī, cited by al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 18). This said, because the Ḳurʾān only alludes to Uḥud—and this not so much to describe or record, but rather to exemplify—full reconstructions of the battle presume the essential historicity of the *sīra* in matters of detail.

How the *sīra* tradition emerged is not yet clear; there is no reason to think that Uḥud accounts were exceptional. Accounts of the battle, probably at this point only very fragmentary, were presumably transmitted principally by the descendants of those who participated or were martyred; and these generated fairly prosaic lists on the one hand (see, for examples, Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, ii, 122 ff.; and Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 29 ff.), and well-finished legends on the other (such as that of the Ethiopian slave Waḥs̲h̲ī, who killed Ḥamza). Much of the poetry embedded in the accounts also reflects an interest in the experience of tribesmen, both individually and collectively, in the mêlée; and although the authenticity of this too can be doubted—some is clearly exegetical in nature—much may be authentic. Meanwhile, exegetes were concerned to historicise the Ḳurʾānic echoes of Uḥud.

To take only two of the many potential examples: the "two groups" of Ḳur'ān, III, 118 (*idh hammat ṭā'ifatāni minkum an tafshalā*) are not infrequently identified as the Banū Ḥāritha and Banū Salima at Uḥud (thus the commentary ascribed to Mudjāhid b. Djabr [d. 104/722], *Tafsīr*, Ḳaṭar, 1976, 134-5; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, Cairo 1955-69, vii, 166); and the beginning of Ḳur'ān, III, 121 (*balā in taṣbirū wa-tattaḳū wa-ya'tūkum min fawrihim hādhā*) is glossed by Mudjāhid as *ya'nī min ghaḍabihim hādhā... fa-lam yuḳātilūhum tilka al-sā'a wa-dhālika yawm Uḥud* (thus Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, 135; cf. al-Ṭabrisī, *Madjma' al-bayān*, Ḳum 1983, i, 499; al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, vii, 179-80). In general, it seems that early Muslims did not doubt that some of Ḳur'ān, III, alluded to Uḥud; they may have questioned how much, however. Ibn Isḥāḳ is quoted to the effect that *Āl 'Imrān* contains 60 verses, "in which there is a description of their battle, and blame for those whom he rebuked" (*Sīra*, ii, 106). Aside from *Āl 'Imrān*, other verses were connected to the battle as well (e.g. Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 23: *man ḳaḍā naḥbahu*).

The tradition having emerged when and why it did, it cannot offer convincing answers to many of the questions that modern historians might be inclined to ask. We shall probably never know precisely why Muḥammad was persuaded to leave Medina by the hot-headed "young men who had not fought at Badr" (al-Wāḳidī, i, 210), nor the precise circumstances and scale of the Muslims' defeat (seventy, which is most frequently given for the number of Muslim dead, is manifestly topological). What we can discern, however, is how the narratives expressed a variety of interests and controversies. Among some Shī'īs, 'Alī's bravery is much discussed: he kills a great host of prominent Meccans; Abū Bakr and 'Umar fled, and 'Uthmān only appeared after the battle ended, but he held firm (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, ed. Beirut 1979, 43 ff.; on 'Uthmān's absence, see also Ibn Isḥāḳ, in N. Abbott, *Studies in literary Arabic papyri. I. Historical texts*, Chicago 1957, 81-2). Less controversial, and fairly ubiquitous, is the elaboration of Muḥammad's role. Thus the Prophet is endowed with the power to heal miraculously (thus Ibn Isḥāḳ, *Sīra*, ii, 82); in a vision he foretells his injuries on the battlefield (thus Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii/1, 36); and in his stern warning that the archers hold their ground he clearly anticipates their eventual failure to do so (thus al-Wāḳidī, i, 224). In the frequently-cited judgment that Uḥud was a "trial" and "test", in the confusion of which Muslim killed Muslim, and when true believers were distinguished from hypocrites, Uḥud accounts both narrated history and taught enduring lessons, perhaps especially to those Muslims familiar with the first *fitna*.

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(C.F. Robinson)

'UḲĀB (A.), pls. *a'ḳub, 'iḳbān, 'uḳbān, 'aḳābīn*, a fem. noun denoting the eagle in all its species.

The eagle has the tecnonyms of *Abu 'l-ashyam* "father of the one with the mole or beauty spot"; *Abu 'l-ḥudjdjādj* "the man with the pilgrims", i.e. of Mecca, since it follows the caravans making their way there in order to feed on the remains of corpses, of humans and their mounts, left en-route; *Abu 'l-ḥasan* "the fine one"; *Abu 'l-dahr* "the long-lived one"; *Abu 'l-haytham* "the eaglet's father"; and *Abu 'l-kāsir* "the breaker of bones". The female is called *Umm al-hawār* "mother of ill-fortune"; *Umm al-shu'ūr* "the hairy one"; *Umm al-ṭulba* "the one travelling afar"; *Umm al-lūḥ* "mother of the winds"; and *Umm al-haytham* "the eaglet's mother". The female eagle is further called *laḳwa, liḳwa*. As for the young male and female eaglet, as well as *haytham*, these are called *ḍarim, tuladj* and *tulad*.

Amongst the day-hunting raptors (*kawāsir*), out of the nine known species of Aquilae, seven are known in the Arab-speaking lands:

(a) The golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaëtos*), with two subspecied *Hemeyri* and *Daphanea*. It is called *'uḳāb al-ṣayd* "the hunting eagle", *abrash al-dhanab* "having a speckled tail" and *lammā'a* "shining brightly".

(b) The imperial eagle (*A. heliaca heliaca*), called *shaylamī* "white the colour of darnel weeds", *sha'īrī* "white the colour of barley", *khāṭiya, khā'iṭa* "the striped one", and *abyaḍ* "the white one".

(c) The tawny eagle (*A. rapax orientalis*), called *khudāriyya* "the wholly black one", *mukallaf* "brownish-black" and *'uḳāb al-arnab* "eagle with a rabbit".

(d) The greater spotted eagle (*A. clanga*), called *zanbūrī* "wasp-like".

(e) The lesser spotted eagle (*A. pomarina*) which, in Arabic, is confused with the preceding.

(f) Bonelli's eagle (*Hieraaëtus fasciatus*), called *zummadj* "irascible".

(g) The booted eagle (*H. pennatus*), called *musarwala* "having trousers", *āfa, dāhiya* "calamity", *ḳaḍā'* "fate", *sahm* "arrow" and *mandjanīḳ* "ballista".

Arabic writers on natural history such as al-Djāḥiẓ, al-Damīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see *Bibl.*) speak at length of the eagle and its ethology. Thus they state that the female lays two or three eggs, only two of which are nestled for a period of 30 days. A naive belief has it that there are no male eagles but only females, so that another bird, or even a fox, is supposed to impregnate it. The eagle can cover immense distances, such as leaving 'Irāḳ in the morning and arriving in Yemen by the evening. It is a true "lion of the air", in view of its strength, its hunting instincts, its rapid flight and its keen sight, hence was early tamed, initially in the Maghrib, for hunting by air for large, furred game like foxes, wolves, jackals, gazelles, oryx and wild asses. The imperial eagle was prized for its swooping on cranes, bustards, wild geese and hares. A falconer after small game would not release his bird whilst there was an eagle around, lest the eagle kill it. In view of the eagle's weight, the hunter with eagles (*'aḳḳāb*) supported his arm bearing the eagle on a forked stick (Pers. *du shākh*) supported on the saddle-bow, as the Ḳirghiz still do when flying their "birkouts".

According to one historical tale, Caesar sent Kisrā an eagle tamed for hunting, but when it reached the emperor's court, it killed a child. In exchange, Kisrā sent back to Caesar a leopard trained for coursing, but this animal devoured a page boy.

In the eagle's eyrie can be found a stone-like substance called *ḥadjar al-'uḳāb* "eagle stone" which, when sucked, cures stammering.

From an Islamic legal point of view, it is allowable to kill an eagle but not to eat its flesh. Nevertheless, the eagle has certain medical and pharmacological uses. Its gall smeared in the form of collyrium over the eyes combats blindness and cures cataracts. It can also be used as an unguent for the breasts of a pregnant woman in order to stimulate the flow of milk. Its fat melted down and mixed with oil is an efficacious unguent for gout and stiff limbs; mixed with honey, it makes an excellent ointment for anal fistulas (*nāṣūr, nāsūr*) and haemorrhoids (*bāsūr*, pl. *bawāsīr*).

In the interpretation of dreams, seeing an eagle in a dream is a sign of success, victory over an enemy and the achievement of power.

In astronomy, *al-'Uḳāb* "The Eagle" is the name of the 17th boreal constellation, yielding, in ancient Latin texts, such deformations as *elaocab, aloocab, alaucab, alocab, alhucab* and *alancab*. This constellation also has the Latin names of *Jovis nutrix* "nourisher of Jupiter", *Raptrix Ganymedis* "the ravisher of Ganymede", *Promethei aquila* "Prometheus's eagle" and *Vultur volans* "flying vulture". It comprises three stars: (1) α (alpha) *Aquilae*, mag. 0.9, called *Altair, Altayr, Althair*, from *al-Nasr al-ṭā'ir* "flying vulture"; (2) β (beta) *Aquilae*, mag. 3.09, called *Alshain*, from Perso-Arabic *shāhīn* "gerfalcon"; and (3) γ (gamma) *Aquilae*, mag. 2.8, called *Tarazed* (Pers., predatory gerfalcon).

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(F. Viré)

UKAYDIR b. **'ABD** al-**MALIK** al-Kindī al-Sakūnī, a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Christian king of the oasis and fortified town of Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] (modern Djawf).

Dūmat al-Djandal was an important caravan station and its annual market took place in the month of Rabī' I. Muḥammad is supposed to have raided it in 5/626, following complaints by Arab merchants about Ukaydir's oppression. Control of the market was contested between the 'Ibādiyyūn (or the 'Ibād, sc. of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]) and the Ghassāniyyūn [see GHASSĀN]; when the former ruled over it, Ukaydir held sway. Considering the association of the 'Ibād with al-Ḥīra, the contest would seem to have been one between the vassals of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*] and those of the Byzantines. But elsewhere Ukaydir is specifically said to have been in allegiance to Heraclius (al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 248, l. 17).

For several generations after Ukaydir's time, his descendants lived in Dūmat al-Djandal. These or other descendants of his were no doubt behind some of the reports about him. For example, a report about Ukaydir found in a dictionary of Companions (for a fragment, see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. al-'Amrawī, Beirut 1415/1995 ff., ix, 199) goes back to Ukaydir's great-great-great-grandson, who is quoting his forefathers.

Ukaydir's brother, Ḥurayth, embraced Islam and in due course, the Umayyad caliph, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, married his daughter; many of Ḥurayth's offspring were still living in Dūmat al-Djandal in the latter half of the 2nd/8th century. Ukaydir's elder brother Bishr married before Islam a sister of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*]. Bishr and his father-in-law, Ḥarb b. Umayya, are said to have played a role in the alleged transfer of Arabic script from al-Ḥīra to Arabia.

The reports about Ukaydir are often conflicting. Significantly, a Shī'ī source reports that before the Tabūk expedition (9/630), Ukaydir threatened to attack Muḥammad and exchanged letters with the Medinan *munāfiḳūn* [*q.v.*], who invited him to joint action against Muḥammad (al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376/1957 ff., xxi, 257-8; cf. M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and pagans*, Leiden 1995, 86 n.). Ukaydir was killed by Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] during the lifetime of Muḥammad (Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, ii, 78), or was brought to Muḥammad unharmed having been captured outside his fortress by Khālid's cavalry, or came to Muḥammad voluntarily. According to some, after Muḥammad's death, Ukaydir left his stronghold and went to al-Ḥīra. Yāḳūt says that the compilers of the *Futūḥ* books unanimously agreed that Khālid raided Ukaydir in the days of Abū Bakr and killed him; however, elsewhere Ukaydir is said to have been expelled by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

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(M. Lecker)

'UḲAYL, an old Arab tribe and in recent usage, until the motor age, in the pronunciation 'Agēl, the name for caravan-leaders and camel-dealers.

1. The tribe.

Its genealogy is 'Uḳayl b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a of the Hawāzin branch of the Ḳays-'Aylān [*q.v.*]; among the larger sections are the 'Ubāda and Rabī'a b. 'Uḳayl as well as the Khafādja [*q.v.*] b. 'Amr and al-Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] b. 'Āmir b. 'Uḳayl. Al-Muḳallad b. Dja'far, the ancestor of the dynasty of the 'Uḳaylids [*q.v.*], traced his descent directly from Ḥazn b. 'Ubāda. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāya*, 297) besides these knows of a clan of the Asad b. Khuzayma, called 'Uḳayl (not in Wüstenfeld).

The 'Uḳayl were settled in southern Nadjd and the adjoining western part of al-Yamāma. Their habitat is more accurately defined by a number of districts, waters, hills and villages, which the geographers describe as lying in their territory. The list given by Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 362, based on al-Bakrī's *Mu'djam*, can be completed from Yāḳūt. It is worthy of note that a number of mines were in their possession, including the gold-mine of al-'Aḳīḳ, said to be the most productive in all Arabia; with reference to this, the Prophet is alleged to have said; "The land of 'Uḳayl rains gold" (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 153-4, 177). This "'Aḳīḳ of the Banū 'Uḳayl" is also called "'Aḳīḳ Tamra" and lies in the vicinity of Ranya, Bīsha [*q.v.*] and Tathlīth, which all belong to the 'Uḳayl (Yāḳūt, ii, 826, iii, 700-1; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geogr.*, 52-3, 237 n., 240 n.). Among other places belonging to them, the watering-place of Hubāla is better known from the encounter there with the Ghanm (al-Bakrī, 826; Dhu 'l-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. Macartney, 231).

Their best-known battles date only from the 2nd/8th century and show that the conditions of the *Djāhiliyya* survived for a long time into Islam.

There are two different stories of the conversion of the ʿUḳayl to Islam (both in Ibn Saʿd). According to one, three delegates from the ʿUḳayl brought the homage of their people to the Prophet, who gave them al-ʿAḳīḳ and a document confirming this. According to the other version, Muḥammad endeavoured to win over Abū Ḥarb b. Khuwaylid b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUḳayl to his teaching, but the latter first consulted divining arrows to see what he should do. Perplexed by the remarkable chance that the arrow indicating unbelief came out three times, he asked his brother ʿIḳāl (ʿUḳāl) for advice and told him that Muḥammad had promised him al-ʿAḳīḳ if he adopted Islam. ʿIḳāl at once hastened to al-ʿAḳīḳ and took formal possession for himself and his brother of this rich stretch of country, and after his adoption of Islam, Muḥammad confirmed him in it (for the story in Sprenger, *Mohammad*, iii, 512-14, which combines the two stories without justification, see Caetani, *Annali*, Year 9, § 74). Just as Muḥammad on this occasion permitted the old Arab method of divination, so also he allowed the Ruʾās b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa before their adoption of Islam to avenge an earlier razzia on their already-Muslim neighbours the ʿUḳayl (Ibn Saʿd, §§ 86-7, in Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv, 94, 143-5). During the second *ridda* in Yemen begun by Ḳays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūḥ after Muḥammad's death, the ʿUḳayl and ʿAkk joined Fīrūz al-Daylamī, governor of Ṣanʿāʾ, who defeated the Ḳays with their help and re-entered the town (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1989-94; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 287-9).

About 100 years later, Djaʿfar b. ʿUlba al-Ḥārithī, a poet like his great-grandfather Abū ʿAbd Yaghūth, the famous leader of the Madhhidj [*q.v.*] on the second day of al-Kulāb, following the ancient custom began raids of plunder upon the ʿUḳayl; for the blood shed by him in the Wādī Saḥbal, he was taken prisoner by the governor of Mecca and executed (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 146-52; Yāḳūt, iii, 48; C.J. Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian poetry*, 10-12, 84-9). After the death of al-Walīd II (126/743-4) the ʿUḳayl together with the Ḳushayr, Djaʿda and Numayr waged a bitter war on the Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] and their vassals, the Banu ʾl-Duʾil. The defeat of the Ḥanīfa in the battle of al-Nashāsh (in Yāḳūt, ii, 117, al-Nashnāsh; it was preceded by the first and second battles of al-Faladj) resulted in the appointment of a Ḳaysī as governor of al-Yamāma (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 225-8). About the same time, a branch of the ʿUḳayl took part in the civil war in Spain and in the creation of the Umayyad amīrate of Cordova (see R. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, i, 185 ff.).

In the early years of ʿAbbāsid rule, the tribes of the great branch of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa migrated from Arabia to Syria and it was only when they reached ʿIrāḳ that the ʿUḳayl began to attain their great importance in history (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 11). In the civil wars which followed on the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the ʿUḳaylid Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Shabath [*q.v.*] fought for al-Amīn, and from his fortress of Kaysūm north of Aleppo raided the surrounding country. He was able to resist al-Maʾmūn's general Ṭāhir Dhu ʾl-Yamīnayn [*q.v.*] sent against him and was only forced at the end of 209 (beginning of 825) by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, to surrender, but only on the caliph's promise of pardon (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 208-9, 274-5). Around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the town of Ḳarḳīsiyā [*q.v.*] was in the possession of an ʿUḳaylid, Ṣafwān (presumably the son of the ruler of Diyār Muḍar, who, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 396 = § 3095, died in 253/867), in whose place Luʾluʾ, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's freedman, placed Aḥmad b. Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2028-9 = Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 276). The latter was driven out by Ibn Abi ʾl-Sādj, who in turn lost his possessions to Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj(īḳ) [see AL-RAḤBA and TAGHLIB]. *Ca.* 286/899, the ʿUḳayl and other Ḳays tribes recognised the spiritual and secular leadership of Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], the founder of Ḳarmaṭī power in Arabia. With their help, he conquered Hadjar, then al-Ḳaṭīf and the whole of Baḥrayn and established a power here which became the terror of the whole Muslim world but very quickly fell to pieces. Before this in 251/865, the *wālī* of Mecca Djaʿfar b. al-Faḍl Bashāshāt was fighting with the rebel ʿUḳayl, who cut the road to Djidda so that the price of provisions rose in Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1644 = Ibn al-Athīr, vii, III). At the instigation of the ʿAbbāsids, the Taghlibī leader Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Aṣfar in 378/988-9 subdued the Ḳarmaṭīs and forced the Sulaym and ʿUḳayl in succession to leave Baḥrayn [see TAGHLIB]. The ʿUḳayl went to ʿIrāḳ, from which they presumably co-operated with their brethren in al-Djazīra who in the meanwhile had laid the foundations of ʿUḳaylid rule in al-Mawṣil. For the further history of the ʿUḳaylids, see the articles ḤAMDĀNIDS; ʿUḲAYLIDS; AL-GHAḌANFAR; AL-MUḲALLAD; KHAFĀDJA; and also AL-MAWṢIL and AL-RAḤBA.

After their return to Baḥrayn, the ʿUḳayl subjected the Taghlib there and took a part of al-Yamāma from the Kilāb. The government of this region was in the hands of the Banū ʿUṣfūr [see ʿUṢFŪRIDS], who belonged to the ʿUḳayl and who, according to people from Baḥrayn, were still in al-Aḥsāʾ in 651/1253 (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 313; al-Ḳalḳashandī, 298 = al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik*, 44).

As evidence of the very early wide distribution of the ʿUḳayl a story in al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 67-8 = § 499) is of particular interest. He describes the population of the kingdom of the Ṣanāriyya in the Caucasus as Christians, who claim descent from a branch of the ʿUḳayl, have lived there from early times and made many peoples their subjects. Al-Masʿūdī says he himself saw in Mārib in Yemen ʿUḳaylids who in their mode of life did not differ from their brethren in the Caucasus. The Ṣanāriyya also asserted that they had separated from these ʿUḳayl in Yemen long ago. Here as elsewhere Christianity had found its way among the ʿUḳayl, probably through the influence of partly Christian neighbouring tribes (such as e.g. the Taghlib) (cf. L. Cheikho, *al-Naṣrāniyya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Djāhiliyya*, Beirut 1912-23, 99, 136).

Of celebrated poets of the tribe of ʿUḳayl may be mentioned: Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir of the clan of Khafādja [*q.v.*] and his beloved, the poetess Laylā al-Akhyaliyya [*q.v.*] of the ʿUbāda. According to one view, al-Madjnūn, so celebrated from the love-story of Laylā and Madjnūn, belonged to the ʿUḳayl; Bashshār b. Burd was also a client (*mawlā*) of them (Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr wa ʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. de Goeje, 269, 271, 355, 476; for Bashshār, see esp. *Aghānī*[1], iii, 20-3, 54; for Tawba, *ibid.*, x, 72-5, 82).

Not only lexical but also grammatical peculiarities of the language of the ʿUḳayl are recorded; e.g. after *laʿalla* "perhaps" they put the genitive (S. de Sacy, *Anthol. gramm.*, 78 and 196, no. 52: for *laʿalla* they also said *laʿalli*, *ʿalla* and *ʿalli*), and used *lammā* with the meaning of *illā* (which some adopt for the explanation of sūra LXXXVI, 4: see *ibid.*, 81 and 202-3,

no. 66); finally, they also had the *taltala*, which, otherwise mentioned as peculiar to the Bahrā', is described as a feature of the language of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya. It consists in the prefix of the imperfect changing its *fatha* to *kasra*, e.g. *anta ti'lam"* for *ta'lam"* (al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 184; cf. also G.W. Freytag, *Einleitung*. . . ., 89).

2. The 'Agēl caravan leaders

The first substantial account of them was given by J.L. Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, London 1831, ii, 28-9). He says that the once powerful Ageyl, descended from the Beni Helál (a confusion with the other great branch of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a), now live scattered among the villages of al-Nadjd, while since the reign of Sultan Murād another tribe also called Beni Ageyl has sprung up. All the Arabs who settle in Baghdād from al-Nadjd, whatever their real origin, join the tribe of Ageyl, and they are the Pasha's strongest support in his wars with the Bedouin or rebels. The chief of these Ageyls of Baghdād is always a native of Derayeh (al-Dar'iyya; according to *A handbook of Arabia*, i, 94, from Burayda), whom they elect themselves and whose appointment is confirmed by the Pasha. These Ageyls, he continues, are famous for their bravery. They lead the caravans from Baghdād to Syria and have frequently repulsed far superior forces of Wahhābīs. Burckhardt distinguished two classes in Baghdād: 1. the *Zogorty* (*Dogortī*), poorer individuals, hawkers and daily labourers; and 2. the *Djemamyl* (*Djamāmīl*), caravan leaders. These two kinds of Ageyls include people of very different tribes and countries, who come e.g. from al-Ḥasā, al-'Āriḍ, al-Ḳaṣīm and the Djabal Shammar; but people from al-Sudayr and the Wādī Dawāsir are not admitted.

From this it is clear that the 'Agēl were not a proper tribe but a combination of heterogeneous elements under the leadership of one man for common commercial interests. These naturally prevented the admission of members of tribes at enmity with one another (e.g. the Ḥarb and 'Atayba ['UTAYBA]), so that the community of the 'Agēl remained neutral as far as possible. Arabs from the centre of the peninsula, especially settled Tamīm and Khālid from al-Nadjd and al-Ḳaṣīm, were the most suitable (although even foreigners such as Turks, Egyptians and Kurds were not excluded: Doughty, ii, 80); they were known in Mesopotamia and Syria as Ageyl, and called *el-Ageylāt* by the Bedouin (*ibid.*, i, II). The latter name (along with *al-'Akeylāt, 'Ukaylāt*) was also applied to a clan of the Banī 'Aṭiyya, whose members were mainly carriers of goods between Ma'ān and Tabūk (*Handbook*, i, 62; Musil, *Northern Ḥeǧâz*, 235; Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb Djazīrat al-'Arab*, Mecca 1352, 182). In Doughty's time, the *shaykh* of the Syrian Ageyl in Damascus, Sleymān Abū Dāwūd, belonged to an 'Anayzī family and, like his predecessor from Burayda, was a camel-dealer. According to M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, 74, the bulk of the 'Agēl (200,000 *bēt*) lived in al-Nadjd, while they had only about 300 houses in Baghdād (he described them as among other things post-riders between Baghdād and Damascus and called attention to the peculiar nature of their caravans, in which the camels were tied together by ropes: i, 255, 325-6, ii, 9).

The 'Agēl were important in several ways. For the Bedouin they were the indispensable traders of the desert, who, as a result of their neutral position as professional caravan-leaders and agents of the great merchants resident in Baghdād and Damascus, purchased camels among the tribes and took them away; on their return they brought back with them the goods required in Central Arabia (a very good description of this activity of the 'Agēl is in Musil, *Manners and customs*, 278-81, who compared them with the 'Ibād of al-Ḥīra, see his *Northern Neǧd*, 179 n.). In addition to acting as auxiliaries to the government's military forces, forming under the Ottomans an irregular cavalry, they also served as escort to the *ḥadjdj* and guarded the halting-places on the pilgrim route. Almost all European travellers of the pre-modern period used their services, and many travel accounts contain references to them.

It would be of great interest to learn—as Nöldeke pointed out in *ZDMG*, xl (1886), 182 n. 4—in what relation these 'Agēl considered themselves to stand to the old 'Uḳayl and, on the other hand, to the Muntafiḳ descended from the latter.

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(H. KINDERMANN)

'UḲAYLIDS, an Arab dynasty of northern 'Irāḳ and al-Djazīra which flourished from *ca.* 380/990 to 564/1169.

The family stemmed from the North Arab tribe of 'Uḳayl [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th century, the 'Uḳayl in Syria and northern 'Irāḳ were dependents of the Ḥamdānids [*q.v.*] of Mawṣil and Aleppo. When the last Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn and Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm, were threatened by the Kurdish chief Bādh, founder of the Marwānid line [see MARWĀNIDS] in Diyār Bakr, they appealed for help to the 'Uḳaylid chief Abu 'l-Dhawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab. But after defeating Bādh and acquiring the towns of Djazīrat Ibn 'Umar, Niṣībīn and Balad, Abu 'l-Dhawwād was able to set aside the Ḥamdānids and take possession of Mawṣil for himself *ca.* 380/990, nominally as a vassal of the Būyid Amīr Bahā' al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.].

After Abu 'l-Dhawwād's death in 386/996, there were struggles for power amongst his sons until his

nephew Mu'tamid al-Dawla Ḳirwāsh b. al-Muḳallad b. al-Musayyab emerged as victor and began a fifty years' reign (391-442/1001-50), controlling Mawṣil and several other fortresses and towns of al-Djazīra. The main threat to Ḳirwāsh's power in the second half of his reign proved to be that from bands of Turkmens who were moving westwards from Persia, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the Būyids in 'Irāḳ. Ḳirwāsh and his allies the Mazyadids [*q.v.*] of al-Ḥilla did defeat the Oghuz in 435/1044, but Ḳirwāsh lost his power as a result of disputes among the 'Uḳaylid family members [see art. *Karwāsh*, in *EI*[1]].

With the reign of Ḳirwāsh's great-nephew Sharaf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳuraysh b. Badrān (453-78/1061-85 [*q.v.*]), the 'Uḳaylid dominions reached their greatest extent and stretched almost from Baghdād to northern Syria and Aleppo. Careful to ally himself with what was now the dominant power in the Middle Eastern lands, the Saldjūḳs under Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh, he was able to occupy Ḥarrān, Edessa and, in 472/1079, Aleppo. However, he coveted control of Damascus also, so now switched sides to the Saldjūḳs' enemies in Syria, the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], in the hope of receiving Fāṭimid military support for the conquest of Damascus. This proved a disastrous decision, and a Saldjūḳ army appeared at Mawṣil. Muslim turned westwards to attack the Saldjūḳ chief in Asia Minor, Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmish [*q.v.*], but was defeated near Antioch by the latter and killed in 478/1085.

'Uḳaylid chiefs, including Muslim's brother Ibrāhīm and his own sons 'Alī and Muḥammad, now became involved in internecine strife over control of Mawṣil, with their Saldjūḳ suzerains intervening at various junctures; but Ibrāhīm was killed in 486/1093 and 'Alī forced finally to yield the city to the Saldjūḳs in 489/1096.

There were also several local lines of 'Uḳaylid governors in towns of northern 'Irāḳ and Diyār Muḍar, including Takrīt, Hīt, 'Ukbarā, Āna, al-Ḥadītha and Ḳal'at Dja'bar, and some of these persisted into the 6th/12th century; a branch at Ḳal'at Dja'bar and al-Raḳḳa lasted until 564/1169 under a descendant of Badrān b. al-Muḳallad until ended by the Zangids.

There are indications that the 'Uḳaylids were something more than predatory Bedouin chiefs and that they introduced certain administrative techniques into their lands. Thus Muslim b. Ḳuraysh is said to have installed a *ṣāḥib al-khabar* or intelligence agent in each one of his villages; and several 'Uḳaylids achieved fame as poets. The subjection of the 'Uḳaylids and then of the Mazyadids to Saldjūḳ power marks the end of purely Arab control over the countryside of 'Irāḳ and al-Djazīra, which now became politically dominated by Turkish potentates, whilst the land acquired an increasing element of Turkish and Kurdish nomads.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-UḲAYSHIR, the appellative of the Umayyad poet al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aswad b. Wahb b. Nā'idj b. Ḳays b. Mu'riḍ of the 'Amr b. Asad b. Khuzayma (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, Cairo 1391/1971, 191, and not as is commonly acknowledged after the *Aghānī*). He owed this appellative "red face" to a skin disease which ancient sources denoted by the generic term *baraṣ*, leprosy (al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Burṣān wa 'l-'urdjān*, Beirut 1401/1981, 68, 74, referring to al-Uḳayshir by name). This must have made him repulsive to look at, and he attacked anyone at all who called him by this nickname.

Born and raised within Islam, he arrived in Kūfa at a very early age and settled there until his death *ca.* 80/699 (Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, fol. 13a, records the date of his death as 84/703). His fate was no different from that of a good number of poets of his generation. For his subsistence he hired out his services to the factions who were squabbling for power; this former 'Uthmānī took up the Zubayrid and the Marwānid cause in turn with every new reversal of fortune. Two episodes stand out clearly in his disordered, pleasure-seeking life. He was conscripted into the Zubayrid army raised by the governor of the city, but turned back hardly having set foot in Syria. On this occasion, he composed a piece of writing describing his desertion, his refusal to let himself be killed and his preference for the joys of life (*Dīwān*, no. XL). The second concerns his assassination by the followers of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kindī (*ibid.*, no. XXXVII) or of 'Abd Allāh b. Isḥāḳ b. Ṭalḥa (al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 287), both members of the aristocracy of Kūfa, whom he had praised profusely during his career as a laudatory poet.

The rare vestiges of his poetry which survive (48 pieces and fragments which amount to 184 verses) show that he can in no way be regarded as a minor poet. In the classical period his work had two recensions. The first one was made by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, and was therefore prior to 245/859. Of the second, nothing is known, but it was cited by several anthologists. His poetry looks in a determined way to new horizons, breaking free from the poetic and the secular conventions and constraints. The poetry which he composed was libertine in its language and motifs. There are short poems which hold religion and its practices up to ridicule; the tone is astonishingly insolent. In his spirited and nimbly drawn parodies, he portrays drunken *imāms* professing cynical views, irreverent men who come close to the borders of heresy (*Dīwān*, nos. XIII, XXI). In some respects, the sexual dimensions of libertinism and profligacy are less acceptable; such fragments here flow readily into pornography (nos. X, XLV). His *hidjā'*, which was very much feared in that period and seems to have been the cause of his assassination, exploited the subject of dissolute sexual mores. Without doubt he is the herald of the epigrams of the modernist mainstream poets of the 2nd/8th century. The best of his poetic contribution is, however, his bacchanalian verse. In his poems devoted to this theme the poet succeeds in conveying his enthusiasm and his love for wine. He manages this by means of sketches which kindle the imagination in a particularly fascinating way as comical situations are drawn: such is the image of the pipe stretched out by the drinkers across the door of the tavern to pour out wine for the soldiers (*ibid.*, no. II); and also the hybrid faun frequenting the taverns (Ḥunayn al-Ḥīrī, Dawma, Abu 'l-Ḍaḥḥāk, Umm Ḥunayn) which seems here to come alive before our very eyes.

In the history of Arab literature, al-Uḳayshir is a representative of the urban poet. In an urban civilisation, the poet who is abandoned by his tribe must become laudatory. Patrons soon tire of incessant

entreaties; they begin to grumble and refuse to play the role of financial backers; and then the artist begins to practise blackmail and to resort to diatribes; and then comes the clash. The case of al-Uḳay<u>sh</u>ir is one example of this. Yet on the other hand he constitutes a link in the long chain of the Asadī poets from Kūfa (Ṭu<u>kh</u>aym, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zabīr, al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdal, Abū Dulāma and Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb) who played a decisive role in the emergence of mainstream innovative poetry in the 2nd/8th century.

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(A. ARAZI)

AL-**UḲAYṢIR**, an idol of the tribes of Ḳuḍāʿa, La<u>kh</u>m, <u>D</u>ju<u>dh</u>ām, ʿĀmila and <u>Gh</u>aṭafān [*q.vv.*], venerated in northern Arabia, across which these tribes ranged, as far as the Syrian borders (Ibn al-Kalbī, 24, 30). Pilgrimage was made to it by devotees with shaven heads; with each lock of hair, a handful of meal was offered, all this thrown into a large trench or a dried-up well (*ḥafr*). The Hawāzin, neighbours of the Ḳuḍāʿa, used to come and collect the meal, either at the time of the offering or after it was mixed with the hair.

The deity seems to have been embodied in several betyles. The poet Zuhayr "swore faithfully by the shaped stones (*anṣāb*) of al-Uḳayṣir and by the place where the tufts of hair with their lice were cut off" (*ibid.*, 24; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 340). The victims' blood was poured over the sacred stones (Ibn al-Aʿrābī, in *TA*, iii, 506 ll. 27-8), and ritual processions were made round it to the chanting of praises and joyfulness (Rabīʿ b. Ḍubayʿ/Ḍabuʿ al-Fazārī, in Ibn al-Kalbī and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*). The stones could even be covered with sacred cloths on which oaths could be taken. These stones must have represented the tribes that were grouped around al-Uḳayṣir and who regarded the place as the bond of their tribal union. They may have stemmed from some great sanctuaries of the Arabs and have formed the kernel of a primitive pantheon.

It might be doubted whether al-Uḳayṣir was a very old deity, given the absence of any mention in the Liḥyānite and <u>Th</u>amūdic inscriptions in the vast lands occupied in the 6th century by the tribes venerating it. As the focus of a rudimentary cult, its sanctuary might well have passed unnoticed by the traders, travellers and caravans traversing the region, since these were more evolved, semi-sedentarised, with better-organised cults; but this last mode of life, which crystallised around the urban centres, was not necessarily opposed to the long-range movements of pastoralist tribes who ranged as far as the limits of the Syrian desert.

The great antiquity of al-Uḳayṣir, considered to be Syrian in origin, may only be deducible from scattered, fragile pointers, it is true, but these are not negligible and allow the deity to be connected with the ancient Canaanite deity Katar (T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig 1926, 91 l. 26; G. Hoffmann, in *ZA*, xi [1896], 253-8) or Kaw<u>th</u>ar (Ugar. *k<u>th</u>r*), whose name was variously pronounced in later times (cf. M. Dahood, in S. Moscati *et alii* (eds.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Rome 1958, 81-2). The link could be justified from Kaw<u>th</u>ar's being linked with music and singing; in Ugaritic there is mentioned a group of professional singers, *k<u>th</u>rat* (cf. Hebr. *kō<u>sh</u>ārōt*, in Ps. lxviii. 7). In the verses of Rabīʿ b. Ḍubayʿ mentioned above, al-Uḳayṣir figures as the originator of all melodies, *na<u>gh</u>am*, around whom the poet circles the stone or sanctuary of al-Uḳayṣir to songs of praise and joyfulness.

The link between al-Uḳayṣir and Kaw<u>th</u>ar, father of Tammūz, in Aramaic mythology, the equivalent of Cinyras, father of Adonis, in Cypriot mythology, also has in its favour the possibility of a foreign origin for the name, one deformed as it became Arabised. No Arabic etymology of *ḳ-ṣ-r* yields a satisfactory divine name. The facts that, morphologically, it would be the diminutive of *aḳṣar* "the shortest", and that one might derive it from *ḳaṣr* "torticollis", as Wellhausen translated (*Reste*², 63), or from *ḳaṣra* "base of the neck", get us no further. But the consonant skeletons of Uḳayṣir and Kaw<u>th</u>ar could conceivably have been originally the same, with dialectal change of the *kāf* into the uvular *ḳāf*, entailing that also of *tāʾ* (in Katar) and *<u>th</u>āʾ* (in Kaw<u>th</u>ar) into *ṣād*. The Aramaic form of this name may have lingered on in Arabic in the divine name Kat<u>h</u>rā, idol of the Ṭasm and <u>D</u>jadīs [*q.v.*], probably representing the solar disc (cf. Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 109).

The offering of meal (*daḳīḳ*) made to al-Uḳayṣir does not seem to have any connection with the divination by means of flour practised by the Greeks and known amongst the Semites (see refs. in *ibid.*, 161). Could it have been originally a question of a gift to the *sādin* [*q.v.*] or custodian of the shrine, who probably cut the hair of pilgrims as a mark of their sacralisation? This would explain the fact that to each lock of hair there corresponded a handful of meal, which looks like either an equivalent or a payment. With the disintegration of the cult and the absence of a *sādin*, the offering of meal nevertheless continued, with the meal rendered useless by being mixed with hair. Such an offering does seem strange in the nomadic milieu, and may point to a Canaanite-Aramaean, hence agricultural, origin of this deity. Also, the cutting of hair as a sign of *iḥrām* was usual in Arabian cults, notably at Minā during the Meccan pilgrimage, surviving there till today, and at al-Mu<u>sh</u>allal, at the shrine of Manāt. Herodotus, iii. 8, links it with Dionysius, and Plutarch, *De Iside*, ch. 4, mentions that the Egyptians cut their hair at the celebration of mourning for Osiris. This places right away al-Uḳayṣir in the mythic context of the dying god, of which Tammūz, Adonis and Osiris are clearly similar manifestations.

Bibliography: This article is based primarily on T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 157-63, where full references are given. (T. FAHD)

ʿUKĀẒ, the most famous and important of all the annual fairs (*sūḳ* [*q.v.*], pl. *aswāḳ*) of the Arabs in pre-Islamic times. It was situated to the southeast of Mecca between Nakhla and al-Ṭāʾif in the territory of the tribal group Hawāzin [*q.v.*]. It shared with two other fairs, Madjanna and Dhu 'l-Madjāz, proximity to Mecca and its being held during the Sacred Months. But it was the most important of the three, and was held in the month of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda, just before the start of the pilgrimage to ʿArafāt and Mecca. The *sūḳ* was strategically located in the middle of the Spice Route of Western Arabia and it especially flourished in the 6th century, owing to the Byzantine-Persian wars, which diverted trade from the Mesopotamian to the West-Arabian route on the eve of the rise of Islam and redounded to the great advantage of Mecca and Ḳuraysh. The tribe of Tamīm controlled some of ʿUkāẓ's important functions.

Although it was principally a fair for buying, selling and the exchange of various commodities, ʿUkāẓ was of great significance in other non-material aspects of Arab life in pre-Islamic times, not unlike the national festival of Classical Greece, the πανήγυρις. And it was, like other Arabian *aswāḳ*, a unifying force among the Arab tribes, where the Arabic literary *koinē* received some development, where contests, literary and other, were held, and where covenants and contracts were struck, hallowed by proximity to ʿArafāt and the sanctity of the Sacred Months. The later Islamic sources speak of arbitration conducted by the poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*].

The *sūḳ* with its environs was the scene of some important historical events, such as the Fidjār war involving Ḳuraysh and Hawāzin. It also witnessed some historic visits, the most important of which was that of the Prophet Muḥammad and the Christian Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*], said to have been the bishop of Nadjrān, both of whom preached their respective faiths at the *sūḳ*.

It was only natural that ʿUkāẓ should have declined after the rise of Islam, which brought about a fundamental change in the relative importance of the trade routes and the role of Arabian tribes, now the sinews of the Arab conquests. Its actual demise took place in 127/745, when the Ḥarūriyya or Khāridjites sacked it and thus consigned it to oblivion.

Bibliography: References to ʿUkāẓ are scattered in the various sources such as Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstädter, Ḥaydarābād 1942, 263-8, and al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Ḥaydarābād, 1332/1914, i, 165-70; the best modern work is Saʿīd al-Afghānī, *Aswāḳ al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1960, 277-343. For an archaeological survey of the site, see Kh.I. al-Muaikel, *Sūq ʿUkāẓ in al-Ṭaʾif*, in *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭā*, Chicago, vii/1 (1995), 1-4. (IRFAN SHAHÎD)

ʿUKBA B. NĀFIʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳays al-Ḳurashī al-Fihrī (d. 63/683), one of the most prominent Arab commanders of the Islamic conquests period, above all in North Africa, where he was responsible for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*].

He was born towards the end of the Prophet's life, hence was accounted a Companion, and was through his mother a nephew of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], the conqueror of Egypt, who shortly before his death in 43/663 was to give him command over the lands to the west of Egypt. It seems that ʿUḳba had already played a role in ʿAmr's first raid towards North Africa in 21/642, when ʿAmr reached as far as Barḳa [*q.v.*], and his aide ʿUḳba penetrated into Fezzan [see FAZZĀN] and as far as its town of Zawīla [*q.v.*], though this last was not yet the important link in the trade across the Sahara to the Bilād al-Sūdān [*q.v.*] which it subsequently became. The result of these operations seems certainly to have left Barḳa in Arab hands. How long ʿUḳba remained in Zawīla is unclear, but by some date between 25-7/646-8 he took part in ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's [*q.v.*] campaign against the Byzantine exarch Gregorius (see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 224-5; al-Bakrī, ed. and tr. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 10; V. Christides, *The conquest of Libya by the Arabs and the thrust of Islam into the Berber land*, forthcoming).

It should, however, be noted in regard to this campaign and to ʿUḳba's subsequent ones that much of what the historians have preserved concerning ʿUḳba's career in North Africa comes from later traditions of eastern origin, e.g. preserved in the Egyptian authors Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Nuwayrī and in Ibn al-Athīr. The only authority from a North African tradition seems to be ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm and his father Abū ʿAlī Ṣāliḥ (*flor. ca.* 700/1300), preserved in the later Moroccan historian Ibn al-ʿIdhārī's *Bayān al-mughrib* (in the fuller text ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, i, Leiden 1948; see Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i [1954], 17-43). The accounts of ʿUḳba's expedition to the Fezzan are undoubtedly tinted with mythological elements, such as the comparison of his epic journey through the scorching Sahara with the journeyings of Alexander the Great. On the tendentiousness of these later traditions, see W. Marçais, *Le passé de l'Algérie musulmane*, in *Histoire et historiens de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931, 150.

ʿUḳba appeared again in an expedition against the tribes south of Tripoli which some of the sources place in 42/662-3 or 46/666-7, when it seems that Arab links with Zawīla and Fezzan were reinforced. In this last region, he captured the capital of the Garamantes, Djarma (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, 194) and several other fortresses, whose existence seems to be confirmed by archaeological and epigraphic evidence (C.M. Daniels, *The Garamantes of Fezzan*, in F.F. Gadallah (ed.), *Libya in history*, Benghazi 1971, 261-81; idem, *Excavations and fieldwork amongst the Garamantes*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 45-62). According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and others, ʿUḳba proceeded beyond Libya to the land of the blacks and conquered Kawār [*q.v.*], halfway between Fezzan and Lake Chad; possibly he was aided by the inhabitants of Fezzan, said by Ibn Saʿīd to be in constant feud with the black peoples of Kawār (see on the importance of Kawār in mediaeval times, K.S. Vikor, *The oasis of salt*, Bergen 1979, and on this expedition, Ph. Lefrang, *L'expédition d'ʿUqba ibn Nāfiʿ à Kawar (46 H./666 J.-C.)*, in *Bull. Archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, N.S., xix/B [1985], 412).

The expedition of 50/670 took ʿUḳba into Ifrīḳiya, where he conquered Ghadāmis (Ghadamès), Ḳafṣa (Gafsa) and Ḳasṭīliya [*q.vv.*]. Byzantine sources, without mentioning the Arab leader by name, state that, about this time, in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus IV (d. 668), the Arabs invaded Africa and took 80,000 captives (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 352). For this expedition, ʿUḳba had a force of 10,000 cavalry, which was gradually increased as the local Berbers acceded to Islam. It was at this time, according to the accepted

dating for its foundation, that ʿUḳba decided to establish a military encampment, on the lines of the *amṣār* of the East [see MIṢR. B.] at al-Ḳayrawān on an elevated plateau in the Ḳasṭīliya region, in the Byzantine province of Byzacene, rejecting the one previously built by the governor of Egypt Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj on the nearby al-Ḳarn mountain [see AL-ḲAYRAWĀN, at Vol. IV, 826a; and note that there is at least one plausible Arab tradition for an earlier foundation date]. This inland site gave him a secure base for military expansion and missionary work amongst the Berbers, since the Byzantines still had control of the seas around Ifrīḳiya, and he now stationed himself in his new capital for the remaining years of his governorship.

ʿUḳba was not, however, to enjoy the fruits of this process, for he was dismissed from Ifrīḳiya by the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya I in 53/673. ʿUḳba may have been dismissed because the caliph wished to link Egypt and Ifrīḳiya closely for the naval war against the Byzantines (as suggested by A.D. Taha, *The Muslim conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 62 ff.), but more probably because of Muʿāwiya's fear of ʿUḳba's growing power and the possibility of the latter's pretensions to independent authority in the rich province of North Africa. Ifrīḳiya remained a dependency of Egypt, and the governor there, Maslama b. Makhlad al-Anṣārī, replaced him by one of his own freedmen, Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār, who imprisoned ʿUḳba and then undertook raids into what later became Algeria, penetrating as far as Tlemcen, according to Ibn Khaldūn, and skilfully seeking a rapprochement with the Berbers in the struggle against the *Afāriḳa*, the Romanised Africans and incomers from other parts of the Byzantine empire who made up the population of the Greek-held coastal cities; thus after defeating the Berber leader of the Awrāba, Kusayla or Kasīla [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Muhādjir accepted his conversion to Islam and incorporated his Barānis followers into his own forces. On Muʿāwiya's death in 60/680, the new caliph Yazīd I restored ʿUḳba to the governorship of Ifrīḳiya. ʿUḳba now turned the tables, and put Abu 'l-Muhādjir and Kusayla in fetters and carried them round with him.

He then embarked, in 61/681, on a much larger-scale expedition than before which was to take him to the shores of the Atlantic. This expedition is not mentioned in the Byzantine sources, and R. Brunschwig was doubtful whether ʿUḳba actually got any farther than what is now central Algeria (*Ibn ʿAbdalh'akam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes: étude critique*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi [1942-7], 138); but the text published by Lévi-Provençal (*Un nouveau récit*, with tr. of the passage in question in Appx. 1, pp. 35-42, and map of ʿUḳba's campaigns during his second governorship at p. 28) seems nevertheless to confirm it. Accepting this latter view, the stages of ʿUḳba's campaign can be traced in the narrative of Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, Ibn Khaldūn and other Arabic texts, though in some sources much tinted with folkloristic elements (see H.T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972, 150 ff.). Preceded by an advance guard under Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī, ʿUḳba's army advanced from al-Ḳayrawān into the central Maghrib, defeating Berber and Byzantine elements at the Zāb and at Tāhart [*q.v.*] and exacting tribute from them, and reached Tangiers [see ṬANDJA], which a local Ghumāra leader, Ilyān (? Julianus) surrendered to him. The latter is said to have dissuaded ʿUḳba from crossing into the Iberian peninsula. Instead, he turned southwards into Morocco, occupying the Zarhūn massif, capturing Volubilis or Walīla [*q.v.*], crossed the middle Atlas and marched through the Dra (Darʿa) into the Sūs [see AL-SŪS AL-AḲṢĀ]. Then he turned towards the Atlantic coast and attacked the lands of the Maṣmūda Berbers in the Atlas and Anti-Atlas as far as Tarudant [*q.v.*].

This was a brilliant campaign, but ʿUḳba had achieved nothing towards the permanent subjection of these lands, which had to be undertaken later. Kusayla escaped and, in concert with the Byzantines, began organising Berber resistance. On his return to al-Ḳayrawān, ʿUḳba reached the central Maghrib, where his army became restive from being continuously in the field. At Thubunae or Ṭubna [*q.v.*] on the Zāb he unwisely divided his army and sent off successive units towards al-Ḳayrawān, when he himself set out from Ṭubna for the Aurès or Awrās [*q.v.*] region. At Tahūdha or Thabudeos, to the south-east of Biskra, his small force of Arabs was overwhelmed by a Byzantine-Berber army under Kusayla, and he and 300 of his followers killed (63/683). His grave, with its *ḳubba*, and the graves of his companions, are still pointed out and visited by devotees at the village which bears his name, Sīdī ʿUḳba.

ʿUḳba had shown himself as a bold and dashing commander, but he lacked the ability properly to take into account the importance of the local people, the Berbers, who played a key role in the Arab-Byzantine struggles for North Africa, and it was to be others who were to secure North Africa firmly for Islam. It must also be admitted that the legendary accretions which attached themselves to his person make it difficult to discern the historical ʿUḳba.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources are detailed in E. Lévi-Provençal's *EI*[1] art. *ʿOḳba b. Nāfiʿ*. For more studies, see Ch.A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 319 ff., Eng. tr. ed. R. Letourneau, *History of North Africa from the Arab conquest to 1830*, London 1970, 20-1; E.F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs*, Paris 1937, 269-70; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1946, 22, 31-2; idem, *Sîdî ʿUqba, Abû l-Muhâjir et Kusaila*, in *CT*, i (1953), 11-17; Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, Cambridge 1971, 40-2. See also the bibls. to AL-KĀHINA; AL-ḲAYRAWĀN; KUSAYLA. (V. CHRISTIDES)

AL-ʿUKBARĪ, ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ḤUSAYN, Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ, Muḥibb al-Dīn, Ḥanbalī grammarian, philologist and *faḳīh* of Baghdād (*ca.* 538-66/*ca.* 1143-1219).

Life. Born of parents originally from ʿUkbarā [*q.v.*], on the left bank of the Tigris and to the north of Baghdād, nothing is known of his background or ethnicity. Afflicted by blindness at an early age, he spent his life in study in the ʿAbbāsid capital and never seems to have left it. He studied with several famous scholars, such as the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb [*q.v.*], and with experts on *fiḳh* and the *ḳirāʾāt*, and seems to have served as a *muʿīd* or répétiteur to the great preacher Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [*q.v.*]). These scholars moulded him into a faithful and convinced Ḥanbalī, to the point that he refused elevated posts offered to him by the rival Shāfiʿīs on condition that he adhered to their school. He seems to have held no office save that of *imām* and lecturer at a small mosque in the Rayḥāniyyūn quarter.

His reputation as a grammarian and commentator attracted pupils from distant parts, who at times acted as a reader for him, a function normally undertaken by his wife. Amongst his disciples were e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1256 [*q.v.*]), commentator on the *Nahdj al-balāgha*, the biographer al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1257), and the historians Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245)

and al-Dubaythī (d. 637/1239). He died in Baghdād on 8 Rabīʿ II 616/23 June 1219 and was buried in the Bāb Ḥarb cemetery, where the Imām Ibn Ḥanbal also lay.

Works. Al-ʿUkbarī's reputation as a grammarian, philologist and commentator on texts, eclipsed that of Ḥanbalī *faḳīh*, logician and specialist on the *farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*], and biographers like Ibn Khallikān and al-Ṣafadī stress above all his role as a grammarian and expert on the *ʿArabiyya*.

Out of some 60 titles attributed to him, the greater part are opuscula of grammatical teaching (many probably forming parts of larger works) and of philological glosses on texts: the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, ancient poets and poetry like Ruʾba and the *Ḥamāsa*, Sībawayh's *shawāhid*, the sermons of Ibn Nubāta and the *maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. There are also many commentaries on well-known works: Ibn al-Sikkīt's [*q.v.*] *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiḳ*; the *K. al-Faṣīḥ*, probably Thaʿlab's [*q.v.*] lexicon; the *Uṣūl al-naḥw* of Ibn al-Sarrādj [*q.v.*]; the *K. al-Īḍāḥ* (*al-Miṣbāḥ*) of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī [*q.v.*], his *Takmila* and perhaps his *Masāʾil Ḥalabiyya* (*al-Adjwiba*); Ibn al-Djinnī's [*q.v.*] *K. al-Lumaʿ*, *K. al-Muḥtasab* on the extra-canonical *ḳirāʾāt* and *Tanbīh* on the *Ḥamāsa*; and *al-Muḥaṣṣal fī īḍāḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, on al-Zamakhsharī's [*q.v.*] famous grammar (although this may actually be by one of his pupils, the Andalusī ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Lūrḳī).

It is not surprising that the only works of his so far published are in the fields of philology and grammar. These comprise:

1. *Imlāʾ mā manna bihi al-Raḥmān* (or *al-Tibyān fī iʿrāb al-Ḳurʾān*), many uncritical eds. since 1859.
2. *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, first published Calcutta 1261/1845, then at Būlāḳ and at Cairo 1938 (possibly to be attributed to al-ʿUkbarī's pupil Ibn ʿIdlān al-Mawṣilī, d. 666/1267).
3. *Iʿrāb al-ḥadīth al-nabawī*, with traditions classified by alphabetical order of the transmitting Companions, ed. ʿAbd al-Ilāh al-Nabhān, Damascus 1975.
4. *Masāʾil khilāfiyya fī 'l-naḥw*, Aleppo n.d. (but this seems to be only an extract from no. 5 below, according to the editor Muḥ. Ḥusayn al-Ḥulwānī).
5. *al-Tabyīn ʿan madhāhib al-naḥwiyyīn*, on the divergencies between the two schools of Baṣra and Kūfa, with a substantial introduction which seems to show the author's adherence to the former school (ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUthaymīn, Beirut 1986).
6. *al-Mashūf al-muʿlam*, an alphabetical order classification of Ibn al-Sikkīt's glossary (ed. Yāsīn Muḥ. al-Sawwās, Damascus 1983, who also announces impending publication, without any details, of four other works by al-ʿUkbarī).

Others of his works comprise short treatises on prosody, on the terminology of *fiḳh* and the methodology of logic; manuals on the division of inheritances and their calculation (*al-Nāhidh*, *al-Bulgha*, *al-Istīʿāb fī 'l-ḥisāb*, etc.); and on Ḥanbalī law, notably a commentary on the *Hidāya* of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1993, iv, 1515; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iii, 100; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvii, 139; idem, *Nakt al-himyān*, Cairo 1329/1911, 178; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut 1985, xxii, 91; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, ii, 38; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 122-4; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʾallifīn*, vi, 46; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 208; Brockelmann, S I, 495.

(MOHAMMED YALAOUI)

AL-UKHAYḌIR, a castle situated in the western desert of ʿIrāḳ 50 km/28 miles south-west of Karbalāʾ, and 19 km/11 miles east of ʿAyn al-Tamr. The name is modern, and means "the little green one", referring to a relatively verdant spot in the desert, or perhaps to the colour of the building (Mehdi).

First visited by Pietro della Valle in 1625, and rediscovered in 1908 by Massignon, it was visited by Gertrude Bell in 1909 and Musil in 1912, then described in plan form by the German architect Reuther in 1910. Excavations were conducted by the Directorate-General of Antiquities from 1964, and since then it has been extensively restored in several phases up to 1990.

The complex is composed of a large pisé enclosure adjacent to the Wādī al-Abyaḍ, inside which is a rectangular castle, built of rough stone and gypsum mortar, with some construction in fired brick. There is a rectangular annex of stone and mortar on the north side. Before restoration, the building was preserved to its original full height, but some vaults and arcades had fallen. The castle, measuring 175 by 163 m, has a fortified outer wall 21 m high with half-round towers, and a rectangular inner building 80 by 112 m attached to the north wall. The plan of the inner building is composed of a central courtyard with a closed tunnel-vaulted hall and an *īwān* placed symmetrically opposite to one another. Surrounding the central elements are a mosque, bath and residential units composed of a courtyard with two *īwāns*. The north side has two further storeys, and the central courtyard is ornamented with two registers of niches with brick decorations on the north side, which once continued around the whole, but only one register is preserved elsewhere.

The building shows no sign of reconstruction and probably had a brief occupation. Excavations inside have revealed pottery from the mid-late 2nd/8th century, and a copper *fals* of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, dated 157/773-4. Further away, in the outermost enclosure, two *dirhams* of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī were found.

Diverse opinions have been suggested for the date, ranging between the Sāsānid period and the 4th/10th century (Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 366). However, the archaeological evidence concords with the architectural parallels of the plan, which is close to those of two late Umayyad buildings in Jordan, Ḳaṣr Mshattā [*q.v.*] and the palace in the ʿAmmān Citadel. Creswell thought that it was the residence of the ʿAbbāsid ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, governor of al-Kūfa, who retired to his estate in 159/775-6 after his deposition from the succession by al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 467). While the location of ʿĪsā's estate does not correspond with that of al-Ukhayḍir (Yāḳūt, s.v. Ruḥba), Caskel and al-ʿAlī have proposed an identification with Ḳaṣr Banī Muḳātil, which the sources locate in the vicinity of ʿAyn al-Tamr. Ḳaṣr Muḳātil having a pre-Islamic origin (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2350), Mehdi suggested that a more likely founder may have been ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, the uncle of al-Manṣūr, who demolished Ḳaṣr Muḳātil and then rebuilt it (Yāḳūt, s.v. Ḳaṣr Muḳātil). Finster and Schmidt have excavated an Umayyad castle with a pillared *īwān* 3 km/2 miles to the north at Tulūl al-Ukhayḍir. While such a distance is compatible with a replacement building, excavation has not yet confirmed Sāsānid occupation at Tulūl al-Ukhayḍir.

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AL-UKHAYḌIR, BANŪ, an ʿAlid dynasty ruling in al-Yamāma, i.e. in Eastern Arabia, from 253/867 until at least the middle of the 5th/11th century.

The founder was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ukhayḍir b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Djawn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, born in 210/825-6. His brother Ismāʿīl led a rebellion in the Ḥidjāz and took possession of Mecca in 251/865. He died in Rabīʿ I 252/March-April 866 of smallpox and was succeeded by Muḥammad. The latter was defeated by an army under Abu 'l-Sādj al-Ushrūsanī sent by the caliph al-Muʿtazz and fled to al-Yamāma. He established himself as an independent *amīr* in the fortress and town of al-Khiḍrima which became the seat of the dynasty. Few details are known about the nature of their reign and the dates of individual *amīrs*. The rule of the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir has been seen as responsible for the exodus of a large part of the local inhabitants, especially the Banū Ḥanīfa, from al-Yamāma. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal (53, tr. 51), the oppressive rule of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf caused thousands of the populace of al-Yamāma to emigrate to Upper Egypt. The reliability of this report is doubtful, however, since Ibn Ḥawḳal describes the emigration as taking place already in 238/852-3 during the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, long before the arrival of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in al-Yamāma. In 310/922-3 the inhabitants of Ḳurʾān in al-Yamāma left their town for Baṣra, partly because of the harsh taxation of their land by *muḳāsama* [*q.v.*] (Yāḳūt, iv, 50-1).

The first *amīr* was succeeded by his son Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and then by his grandson Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf. The latter's relations with the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn seem to have been good at first. He participated in the Ḳarmaṭī capture of Kūfa in 313/925 and was left by the Ḳarmaṭī leader Abū Ṭāhir in charge of the town (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 381). In 316/928, however, Ismāʿīl was killed, together with his uncle Muḥammad and three of his brothers, in a battle with the Ḳarmaṭīs. Ismāʿīl was succeeded as *amīr* by his brother al-Ḥasan who continued to rule, perhaps under a protectorate of the Ḳarmaṭīs, and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad. Thereafter the succession is uncertain. The later *amīrs* were descendants of Abu 'l-Muḳallid Djaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, but some of them were murdered by rivals within the ruling family. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Yamāma in 443/1051, the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir, with 300-400 horsemen at their disposal, were still firmly in control of the country. He describes them as Zaydī Shīʿīs who used the Shīʿī form of the call to prayer. However, there does not seem to have been a tradition of religious learning in al-Yamāma, and Zaydīs elsewhere took little notice of them. Thereafter, the rule of the Banu 'l-Ukhayḍir declined, and the Banū Kilāb at an unknown date took control of al-Yamāma. Descendants of al-Ukhayḍir, known as Banū Yūsuf, formed a local tribe which is mentioned still at the turn of the 8th/14th century as consisting of about 1,000 horsemen in alliance with the tribes of ʿĀmir and ʿĀyid. They still maintained their nobility, not admitting outsiders into their ranks, but had no knowledge of their exact lineages.

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(W. MADELUNG)

UḲIYĀNŪS [see AL-BAḤR AL-MUḤĪṬ].

UḲLĪDIS, the Arabic form for the name of the Greek scholar Euclid.

Euclid probably lived around 300 B.C. in Alexandria. His works, genuine or spurious, encompass the four ancient mathematical sciences (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music—the authorship of the known works on music is disputed in modern literature) and some of their branches (optics, catoptrics, mechanics—the authorship of the works belonging to the latter two is likewise now disputed): the *Elements*, the *Data*, *On divisions* (*of figures*), the *Porisms*, the *Conics*, the *Surface loci*, the *(Book of) Fallacies*, the *Phaenomena*, the *Optica*, the *Catoptrica*, the *Elements of music*, the *Sectio canonis*, the *Book on the heavy and the light*, the *Book on the balance*, and the *Book on the weights according to the circle of the limits*.

At least 9 of these texts (*Elements, Data, On divisions, Porisms, Phaenomena, Optica, Sectio canonis, Book on the heavy and the light, Book on the balance*) have been translated into Arabic. Titles of three more works unknown in Greek are attributed to Euclid in Arabic sources (Ibn al-Nadīm). In several cases, more than one Arabic translation was produced. Al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar [*q.v.*] is said to have translated the *Elements* first for Hārūn al-Rashīd's vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālid [see AL-BARĀMIKA]. Under the reign of al-Maʾmūn, he produced a second version. Mediaeval and modern authors differ as to whether this second version is a new translation, whether al-Ḥadjdjādj indeed was its author or whether he used Greek or Syriac manuscripts (Furlani, Sezgin, Brentjes). Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] made a new translation of the *Elements*, presumably during the last third of the 3rd/9th century. The relations between his translation and al-Ḥadjdjādj's versions is also debated because of three issues: (1) Does the preserved Arabic fragment of a commentary on the *Elements* composed by Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Nayrīzī [*q.v.*] embody the second version of al-Ḥadjdjādj? (2) How does al-Ḥadjdjādj's style differ from that of Isḥāḳ? and (3) What text is contained in the preserved Arabic manuscripts of the *Elements* and the Arabic-Latin versions produced in the 12th century by Adelard of Bath, Hermann of Carinthia, and Gerard of Cremona (Brentjes, Busard, Codex Leidensis 399.1, De Young, Engroff, Klamroth, Kunitzsch, Lorch)?

That Isḥāḳ's translation was revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] enhances the complexity and interpretative difficulty of the textual history of the mediaeval *Elements*. The text as transmitted in al-Nayrīzī's commentary is now regarded as al-Nayrīzī's own work based on both Arabic traditions. Although most of the Arabic manuscripts are ascribed to the Isḥāḳ/Thābit tradition, some of the books actually come from the Ḥadjdjādj tradition. Similarly, the Arabic-Latin versions either derive from such Arabic compilations of the two traditions (Adelard of Bath and Gerard of Cremona) or from later Arabic recensions (Hermann of Carinthia). According to Ibn al-Nadīm [*q.v.*], there was another, at least partial Arabic trans-

lation of the *Elements* made by Abū ʿUthmān al-Dimashkī (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries). No traces of it are known. Some theorems of Book X were translated from additional Greek sources by Nazīf b. Yumn (d. *ca.* 380/990) (Woepcke, Matvievskaya).

Another major unsolved issue is the relation between the Greek transmission of the *Elements* and the Arabic versions, in particular whether the latter preserve material older than the preserved Greek manuscripts (Heiberg, Klamroth, Knorr, Matvievskaya, Thaer). Books XIV and XV of the *Elements* were added by later Greek scholars. Their Arabic translation is ascribed to Kusṭā b. Lūkā [*q.v.*]. However, al-Ḥadjdjādj may also have translated these two books.

The *Data* were translated by Isḥāk b. Ḥunayn and revised by Thābit. Like the *Phaenomena* and the *Optica*, they were considered to belong to the so-called *mutawassiṭāt* (the "middle books") to be studied after the *Elements* and before Ptolemy's [see BAṬLAMYŪS] *Almagest* [see AL-MADJISṬĪ]. They form part of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's [*q.v.*] influential edition of the *mutawassiṭāt* completed in 651/1253. No modern edition exists of the extant manuscripts. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, Thābit b. Kurra also revised *On divisions* and according to modern scholarship perhaps even the *Book on the heavy and the light*. The translators of these texts are unknown. Extracts of *On divisions* are preserved in a 10th-century treatise composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djalīl al-Sidjzī (*fl. ca.* 360/970) (Hogendijk 1993).

The *Optica* [see ʿILM AL-MANĀẒIR] was translated by Hiliyā b. Sardjūn, a figure whose identity is little known beyond possible association with translations of other Greek scientific texts (Kheirandish 1991). The extant early Arabic texts differ slightly, but enough to suggest a revision or restoration effort at work. Kheirandish, in her study of the linguistic peculiarities of these texts, has argued convincingly that the specific choices made in the Arabic translation played an important role in the successive transformations of the Euclidean visual theory by such scholars as Yaʿkūb b. Isḥāk al-Kindī [*q.v.*] or Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (Kheirandish 1996). The translators of the remaining works of Euclid are unknown. Material related to Book I of the lost *Porisms* is contained in the *Selected problems* of Thābit's grandson Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (d. 335/946) and in the *Geometrical annotations* of al-Sidjzī (Hogendijk 1987).

The *Elements* were the most influential of Euclid's works and represented a highly esteemed epistemic model. Not only mathematicians but also religious scholars such as al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] took its results to be certain and true human knowledge. The Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] employed theorems and definitions of the *Elements* defending their atomistic model of the created world (Dhanani 1996). Other *mutakallimūn* [see KALĀM] such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] rejected atomistic theories partly on ground of Euclidean propositions (Baffioni 1982). The most influential subjects of the *Elements* were the parallels postulate (Book I), the theory of the application of surfaces (Books II and VI), the geometrical theory of proportion (Book V), the theorem on perfect numbers (Book IX), the geometrical theory of quadratic "irrationalities" (Book X), and the theorems on polygons and polyedra (Books IV, XIV, and XV). Almost all of the major mathematicians and philosophers between the 3rd/9th and the 8th/14th centuries either composed recensions of the *Elements* or commentaries on certain books or particular problems. Biographies of scholars mainly renowned for their activities in the religious and legal disciplines as well as *wakf* documents of Ṣafawid or Mughal *madāris* [see MADRASA] demonstrate the inclusion of the *Elements* into Muslim education.

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AL-UḲLĪDISĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan [see ʿilm al-ḥisāb].

UḲLĪSH, the modern Spanish town of Uclés in the province of Cuenca, in mediaeval Islamic times in the *kūra* of Santaver (Shantabariyya [*q.v.*]), a region settled by Berbers (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 499-500). The Muslim settlement was on a Roman site of the *pagus oculensis*, which gave its name to the town and fortress. This last had a strongly-marked military and strategic role during its history, seen in the siege of 1108 by Muslim armies and the accompanying Castilian defeat there and the installation in the 12th century of the Military Order of Santiago within its fortress.

The rise of Uḳlīsh was linked with the important Berber family of the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], whose florescence dates from the second half of the 3rd/9th century and who were to become the *ṭāʾifa* of Toledo [see ṭulayṭila] of the 5th/11th century. Al-Fatḥ b. Mūsā b. Dhi 'l-Nūn is said to have built Uḳlīsh at the end of the 3rd/9th century (al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 28, tr. 35, but with an erroneous date), having inherited the fortress of Uḳlīsh upon his father's death in 295/908. His brothers received the neighbouring fortresses of Huete and Huélamo, thus strengthening the family's control of this region, which was an outlying one of the amīrate and then caliphate of Cordova. From his base, al-Fatḥ launched numerous attacks on the Toledans. But after his death, internecine family divisions allowed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III to impose direct, central control on Uḳlīsh in 324/936 (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, 310, tr. 344). Nevertheless, the Banū Dhu 'l-Nūn retained some power, and this allowed them to recover control of Uḳlīsh in 409/1018 and to extend their control to Santaver and Toledo in the age of the Taifas.

The Muslim geographers Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, i, 339, ed. Beirut, i, 237) and al-Ḥimyarī describe Uḳlīsh as the chef-lieu of the *kūra* of Santaver and as having a central nave to its great mosque whieh was a marvel (see also al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, i, 99, 140). The town seems to have acquired a certain importance during the 9th-11th centuries. Yāḳūt in fact gives the names of two scholars from there, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ḳāsim al-Uḳlīshī and Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Maʿrūf al-Tudjībī al-Uḳlīshī (d. 550/1155).

With Alfonso VI of Castile's capture of Toledo in 478/1085 and the Almoravid intervention in the Iberian peninsula, Uḳlīsh passed into Christian hands and became a frontier post and the chief Christian fortress south of the Tagus. At the opening of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn's reign, Uḳlīsh was besieged by Almoravid troops under the Amīr's brother, Abū Ṭāhir Tamīm, governor of Granada (who has left us a letter describing the event, ed. and tr. Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas*, 120-33), finally capturing it in Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 501/May 1108 after routing a Castilian army sent from Toledo (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, 49-50; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, in Huici Miranda, *op. cit.*, 119-20; Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān, *Naẓm al-djumān*, ed. and tr. in *ibid.*, 118-19). Although this victory was followed by the captures of Huete and Ocaña, thus threatening the capital Toledo, its impact on the Christian-Muslim frontier was slight. The Almoravids tried in vain to profit from their victory and to seize Toledo. However, the Castilian defeat had considerable consequences for the Christian kingdoms, since the Infante Sancho's death in battle deprived the crown of Castile of its sole male heir. The succession crisis which began in 1109 and extended to 1126, involving Alfonso VI's two daughters Urraca and Teresa, favoured the independence of the kingdom of Portugal.

Uḳlīsh remained in the hands of the Almoravids until the crumbling of their power in the mid-12th century. It then passed for a few years under the control of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*], the "Rey Lobo" of the Christians. Under a treaty of 1157 between him and Alfonso VII, he became a dependent of Castile-Leon and exchanged Uḳlīsh for Alicún. Now definitively Christian, Uclés continued to be of military and strategic importance. In 1174 Alfonso VIII gave the town and its fortress to the Military Order of Santiago, who had just lost their seat of Cáceres to the Almohads. The Order made Uclés their main centre for Castile, and accorded it a *fuero* favourable to the Muslim population which remained. This Mudéjar community did not disappear till 1502, when a decree expelled from Castile all male Moriscos over 14 years old and females over 12, with such conditions attached that emigration was virtually impossible; the only possibility was conversion, hence from this time onwards all trace of a Muslim presence was lost at Uclés.

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UKSHŪNUBA, a region of the southwest of al-Andalus (the modern Algarve) and also the town of Ocsonoba (Faro), its chef-lieu until the 4th/10th century. The name (with varying orthographies, e.g. Ukshūnya in Ibn Muzayn in the 5th/11th century, Akhshanba in Yāḳūt) derives from the earlier *Ossonoba*. The correspondance in name of region and chef-lieu goes back to the Arab administrative tradition in which the *kūra* was often known by the name of its capital. When the town changed its name

in the 5th/11th century to Shantamariyyat al-Gharb, Ukshūnuba mostly denoted the province.

From the Arab conquest in 94/713, the Yemeni tribe of Yaḥṣub dominated the region until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I eliminated them in 157/774, when they fell back, together with Arabs from Lakhm and *muwallad* converts, on Silves, the most important town of the Gharb al-Andalus, and this last became, in the course of the 4th/10th century, the capital of the region. In other places, *muwalladūn*, such as the Banū Bakr b. Zadlafa, masters of Faro at the end of the 3rd/9th century, had an important role. With the pilgrimages to Cape St. Vincent and Faro, Christianity remained significant.

The urban pattern became changed in the course of five and a half centuries' Muslim domination; certain Roman sites like Milreu, occupied by the Muslims, as funeral inscriptions attest, declined in the caliphal period. On the other hand, in addition to the growth of Silves [see SHILB], several places on the coast grew into important centres, such as Tavira (Ṭabīra) or Lagos (Ḥalk al-Zāwiya) as part of the economic growth, and others in the interior, like Salir or Paderna, which were defensive sites. Arabic authors describe the region as one of the richest in al-Andalus. See further SHANTAMARIYYAT AL-GHARB.

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AL-**UKṢUR**, Luxor, the present site of ancient Thebes, the capital of the New Kingdom on the eastern bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt.

In the mediaeval Arabic geographical sources we find side-by-side the following renderings of the name of the city: (a) al-Akṣur "castles" (in the *pluralis paucitatis* as is explained by Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, Beirut, i, 237a); the vocalisation with *fatḥa* is explicitly stated by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 110. (b) al-Ukṣur, the colloquial equivalent to al-Akṣur with *ḍamma*, as given by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 380, only a few decades after Abu 'l-Fidāʾ. (c) The dual of this plural form, al-Akṣurayn/al-Ukṣurayn (e.g. two Christian sources: Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *Taʾrīkh*, 132 ll. 9-12, Eng. tr. 284, and the *Synaxary*, as given in Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Egypte*, Cairo 1919, 23; Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 108; al-Ḳalḳashandī, iii, 380). The dual refers to the "twin fortresses", the huge temples (*birbā*) of Luxor and Karnak (cf. among others Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li 'l-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1963, ii/4, 161), i.e. not to modern Luxor on the east and modern Ḳurna on the west bank of the Nile, as E. Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1903, 126, suggested. In only one source so far, Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī's book on the pyramids (*Anwār ʿulwiyy al-adjrām*, Beirut 1991, 45 l. 11), the Karnak temple is specified as *birbā al-Uḳṣur al-baḥriyya* "the temple of northern Luxor", suggesting that the Amun temple in Luxor proper must have been known conversely as *birbā al-Uḳṣur al-ḳibliyya* in al-Idrīsī's time, the 7th/13th century. In this context, it is deeply to be regretted that al-Idrīsī's two tracts devoted specifically to the monuments of Pharaonic Egypt (*al-Djawhara al-yatīma fī ʿadjāʾib Miṣr al-ḳadīma*) and to the history of Upper Egypt (*Maṭlaʿ al-ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd fī akhbār al-Ṣaʿīd*) are no longer extant.

Al-Ukṣur/Akṣur, which is listed as a toponym by numerous authors (e.g. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 73 l. 12; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa-'l-mamālik*, 247 l. 7; al-Udfuwwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 16; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ, i, 203) was the centre of a subdistrict in Islamic times. Ibn Khurradādhbih of the 3rd/9th century (81 ll. 7-8) and al-Ḳalḳashandī of the 9th/15th century (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 379 l. 15) both speak of the joint *kūra* of Ḳifṭ wa 'l-Uḳṣur; the latter author (who counts it as the seventeenth among the Eygptian provinces), however, when citing al-Ḳuḍāʿī, is surprised about this combination because one of the two cities, Ḳifṭ, lies north, the other, al-Uḳṣur, south of Ḳūṣ which forms a *kūra* of its own. Otherwise we find al-Uḳṣur classified as subordinate to Ḳūṣ, the capital of the Egyptian far south (e.g. Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 108). Other authors speak of an independent *kūra* in Luxor (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 237a); al-Waṭwāṭ, e.g., speaks of four (unnamed) villages as constituting the *kūrat al-Uḳṣur* (*Manāhidj al-fikar*, facs. ed., Frankfurt 1410/1990, i, 369 ll. 16 ff.). The mediaeval town is described as having been founded next to the ruinous site of Pharaonic times (al-Ḳalḳashandī iii, 380); al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 333 l. 18) strangely even goes so far as to identify the *kharāb* of ancient Luxor with the site of modern Ḳūṣ. Ibn Duḳmāḳ, who provides us with one of the most substantial entries on al-Uḳṣur (*Intiṣār*, v, 30-1), as well as Ibn al-Djīʿān (*Tuḥfa*, 192, Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, Paris 1810, 702), present the town as consisting of the "two *akṣur*" and of the Nile islands belonging to them (*al-Akṣurān wa-djazāʾiruhumā*).

The latter two authors are also important because they inform us on the juridical and economic status of al-Uḳṣur in Mamlūk times, presenting the size and quality of its arable land, its tax-yield (*ʿibra*), as well as the names and military status of its *muḳṭaʿ*s in the three years 777/1376 (a certain Ḳuṭluḳtamur Djarkas, tentatively identified by J.Cl. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale: Qūṣ*, Cairo 1976, 239 n. 1, with Ḳuṭluḳ Tamur al-ʿAlāʾī al-Ṭawīl), 798-801/1396-9 (Arghūn min Ḳushbughā) and (approximately) 885/1480 (Timrāz al-Shamsī, identified by H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, Wiesbaden 1979, i, 77). Al-Uḳṣur was known for its agricultural produce, not the least its huge grapes (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 31), but especially for its pottery which was exported far afield (cf. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 111); Abu 'l-Fidāʾs contemporary of the early 8th/14th century, al-Dimashḳī, qualifies it, however, as far inferior, both in its manufacturing and in its clay, to the refined pottery of Ḥimṣ (*Nukhbat al-dahr*, 233 l. 10).

The age-old Pharaonic remains of Luxor and Karnak captivated the curiosity also of many of the mediaeval Arab travellers, even though the predominance of the temple of Ikhmīm further north (on the much frequented pilgrim route from Cairo to the Red Sea harbour of ʿAydhāb) among the pagan sites of Upper Egypt in their writings remains remarkable. In only one text so far full homage is paid to Luxor's old glory as the seat of the Pharaohs. This is al-Tudjībī al-Sabtī's late 7th/13th century travelogue (*Mustafād al-riḥla wa 'l-ightirāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr, Libya and Tunis n.d., 171 ll. 5-13, German tr. U. Haarmann, *Krokodile aus Holz und Krokodile aus Marmor. Altägyptisches in einem marokkanischen Pilgerbericht des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, in *Meilenstein. Festgabe für Herbert Donner* [Ägypten und Altes Testament, vol. 30], Wiesbaden

1995, 70, a tradition presented interestingly enough in the context of the description of the temple of Ikhmīm). According to this author, who cites one of his masters without giving his name, a certain King Uk(k)/Ak(k), who erected the temples of Egypt as repositories for all kinds of treasures, must have resided in Luxor, a city whose original name is said to have been Ṣūr which was then amplified—in a nominal composition familiar from the *aʿādjim*, i.e. Indo-European languages—by the king's own name Uk(k)/Ak(k) into the present U/Akṣur.

The most detailed report of Karnak is presented by Abū Djaʿfar al-Idrīsī (d. 649/1251), who visited, together with his father, the huge temple of Karnak on their way to the west bank of the Nile. Al-Idrīsī laments the damage done to the magnificent building as well as to its reliefs by stupid and irresponsible contemporaries (*Anwār*, 45 l. 11-47 l. 3, Ger. tr. in Haarmann, *Luxor und Heliopolis. Ein Aufruf zum Denkmalschutz aus dem 13. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, xl [1984], 153-7). Also Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (*Taʾrīkh*, 132, Eng. tr. 284) must be speaking of Karnak and its Sphinx causeway when he mentions "idols standing like castles, some of which have the forms of lions or rams, and are standing upon their feet in two rows, on the right and on the left".

In the case of the temple of Luxor, however, the interest of mediaeval Muslim observers, from the mid-7th/13th century onwards, is concentrated not so much on the vestiges of the Pharaonic past—al-Ḳalḳashandī iii, 324 ll. 11-16 (Ger. tr. Reitemeyer, 125) mentions "a huge idol of black, firm and smooth stone"—but rather on the tomb of Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳurashī al-Ukṣurī (d. 642/1244, cf. al-Udfuwwī, *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 722-4, vita no. 574; Garcin, 165-7) which was built into the ruins of this temple. Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj, who had begun his career as a state functionary (*mushārif al-dīwān*), was a disciple of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī al-Maghribī (d. 592/1195, cf. al-Udfuwwī, 297-303 no. 230) who had come to Egypt from Sabta or Ceuta in the far west and had actively promoted the return of Upper Egypt to Sunnī orthodoxy after the Fāṭimid interlude. Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj acquired so much fame in the region for his miraculous and saintly deeds that soon a popular cult sprang up around his personality which aroused the deep scepticism of a judicious later chronicler such as al-Udfuwwī (d. 748/1347-8; see his *al-Ṭāliʿ al-saʿīd*, 724 ll. 6 ff.). People flocked to Luxor from all directions and went so far as to claim Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's ascent into heaven in the night of mid-Shaʿbān, until in the end "the popular magician had replaced the restorer of the Sunnī city" in the consciousness of the contemporaries (G. Legrain, *Louxor sans les Pharaons*, Brussels 1914, 47-91, quoted by Garcin, 562). Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's son Aḥmad (d. 685/1286-7, cf. al-Udfuwwī, 154, vita no. 81; Garcin, 312) erected the tomb for his father right within the Pharaonic temple. The small mausoleum in which both father and son are interred has remained an important Muslim local sanctuary in a region still largely dominated by Coptic Christianity. Other sons left the region for Cairo (al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Cairo 1356/1937, 359). The processions performed annually on the occasion of Sīdī Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj's *ʿīd* in Luxor have been seen as vestiges or reminiscences of Old Egyptian rituals.

Luxor had a *madrasa* of its own, of which we have no further information (see, however, Ibn Duḳmāḳ, 31; Garcin, 304). Al-Udfuwwī mentions a total of ten learned Ukṣurīs of the 6th/12th to 8th/14th centuries in his biographical dictionary of prominent Ṣaʿīdīs, some of whom migrated to Cairo. One of them, Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ukṣurī (no. 480, cf. 632), also served as judge of remote ʿAydhāb; "although he knew very little, he was still deemed competent enough to serve the people in this region". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa twice came through Luxor, where he not only visited the tomb of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Ukṣurī (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1400/1980, 52 l. 15, and 282 l. 16), but also a *zāwiya* devoted to him; it may refer to a different building in the vicinity of the tomb.

The famous archeological sites on the west bank of the Nile are not covered by Muslim geographers, with the notable exception of the two colossuses of Memnon, rendered in Arabic as *Shāma wa-Ṭāma*. On them see al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik*, i, 239 l. 11; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, v, 31, Ger. tr. Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung*, 126; see also Wiet, *L'Egypte de Murtadi*, introd., 112-13. Special attention should be given to al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhba*, 233 l. 2, because he speaks of the "temple [*birbā*] of Shāma wa-Ṭāma", perhaps referring to the Ramesseum or possibly to the temple of al-Dayr al-Baḥrī.

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(U. HAARMANN)

UKṢŪṢA (A.), a term of modern Arabic literary criticism and usage.

1. Terminology

Within the still variable context of technical terms used to identify fictional genres in the Arab world—a natural consequence, one might suggest, of the multiple sources of its cultural influence, *ukṣūṣa* is one of the equivalents of the fictional genre known in English as "short story" (the French "conte, histoire", and the German "Erzählung" and—an apparent translation of the English—"Kurzgeschichte"). While the term *ukṣūṣa* is favoured by some significant Arab critics and possesses the virtue of being a single term (as opposed to the problematic English "short story"), it enjoys less currency than "*ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*", the Arabic literal translation of the English term. While this distinction in terms may have originally arisen along the divide of French and English influence, such is no longer the case.

2. Early developments

Of the fictional genres, the short story is the youngest. The processes of its development have revealed a genre that is extremely aware of the dimensions of its own artifice and of the immediacy of its impact, not only through its intrinsic qualities but also as a result of a heavy reliance on the press and specialised journals as its primary mode of publication. These reasons may help to account for the fact that, while developments in Arabic literature during the 19th century show the novel genre as an initial favourite within the translation movement (with serialisation as a regular mode of circulation, as in the analogous phases of the Western tradition), it was the short story that made a more rapid and concentrated use of the same opportunities to attract a readership and to achieve a genuine maturity. The ability of the short story, and particularly its manifestation as a vignette devoted to representative characters and situations, to probe some of the prominent social issues of the day—the status of women being prime among them—provided an impetus for a generation of pioneers to develop their craft in the early decades of the 20th century.

The structural logic of the short story—with its concern for linkage between an immediately attractive opening (including title) and the drive towards a clo-

sure that, by the nature of the genre, impinges upon its structural logic from the outset—clearly breaks away from the tradition of earlier narrative types in Arabic, many of them modeled on the *khabar* (anecdote) with its insistence on an immediate identification of the source of the story. Along with such structural transformations there were also others, not least of which was the need for not merely a new kind of language but also new attitudes towards levels of language. Making use of the lively and expanding press tradition in Egypt, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm (d. 1896) and Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (d. 1924) [*q.vv.*] sought to effect such changes: Nadīm wrote sarcastic vignettes, with dialogue often couched in the colloquial dialect, in order to poke fun at current fads, while al-Manfalūṭī developed a more simplified style in order to produce highly homiletic and sentimental narratives that painted moral dilemmas in shades of black and white, a feature that has continued to endear his collections, *al-Naẓarāt* ("Essays", 1910, 1912) and *al-ʿAbarāt* ("Tears", 1915) to adolescents. Equally homiletic in tone were the stories that Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān (d. 1931 [*q.v.*]) published after his emigration to the United States. In collections like *ʿArāʾis al-murūdj* (1906: *Nymphs of the valley*, 1948) and *al-Arwāḥ al-mutamarrida* (1908: *Spirits rebellious*, 1947) he uses an image-laden romantic style to create a nostalgic vision of his native Lebanon, a world that is shown to be often disrupted by the treatment it accords to women and by the hypocritical practices of the Maronite clergy. The stories of Mīkhāʾīl Nuʿayma (d. 1989 [*q.v.*]), Djubrān's colleague in exile in America, reflect his readings of the Russian masters of the short story whose works he had read during his schooling and show a distinct advance in technique. Situations, actions, and the characters who are involved in them are now allowed to transmit their own message without homiletic intrusions; the resulting tales of Lebanon and especially its rural society—later gathered in collections such as *Kān mā kān* ("Once upon a time", 1937), *Akābir* ("Notables", 1956), and *Abū Baṭṭa* ("The man with thick calves", 1959) manage to convey a tone that is at turns sardonic and tragic.

The development of the short story genre in Egypt owes a great deal to Muḥammad Taymūr, who began publishing stories in the journal *al-Sufūr* following his return from France in 1914. However, his early death in 1921 cut short a promising career in both fiction and drama, and a group of his contemporaries, including his brother, Maḥmūd (d. 1973), carried on his work. The group, which became known as *djamāʿat al-madrasa al-ḥadītha* ("The New School Group"), was to make major contributions to the development of the short story in Arabic. While the many collections of Maḥmūd Taymūr may have made him the most renowned of the group, it is in the works of two less prolific members that advances in technique are most noticeable. Yaḥyā Ḥakkī (d. 1993) used a superbly honed stylistic craft to create unforgettable portraits that provide genuine insight in the character of Egyptians in both city and provinces. Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lāshīn (d. 1954), a yet more self-critical writer, also makes use of the placement of a particular societal figure into a typical (and carefully drawn) environment in order to lead his readers to pass comment on the processes of change.

Analogous with these early developments in Lebanon, Egypt, and the United States, are parallel, if asynchronous, ones in other regions of the Arabic-speaking world where differing patterns in the balance of traditional culture and imported trends result in varying chronologies of change. Among many names and regions that might be mentioned are Maḥmūd al-Sayyid (d. 1937) and Dhu 'l-Nūn Ayyūb (d. 1988) in ʿIrāḳ, Khalīl Baydas (d. 1949) in Palestine, and ʿAlī al-Duʿādjī (d. 1949) in Tunisia. While the more romantic spirit that had characterised earlier developments continued on its popular path, culminating in the immensely successful story collections of the Egyptian writer Iḥsān ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs (d. 1990), a second generation of writers set about the less tangible but more demanding task of improving the genre's artistry and expanding its topical repertoire yet further; among the more prominent figures we would cite ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUdjaylī (b. 1919) in Syria, Tawfīḳ Yūsuf ʿAwwād (d. 1989) in Lebanon, Muḥammad Marzūḳī in Tunisia (d. 1981), and Yūsuf al-Shārūnī (b. 1924) and Maḥmūd al-Badawī (d. 1985) in Egypt. Women writers, following the example of their own pioneers like Labība Hāshim (d. 1947), also contribute to this process of expanding the purview and technique of the genre by furnishing it with the vision and voice of the female artist: among significant contributors we would mention Suhayr al-Ḳalamāwī (b. 1911) in Egypt, Ulfat Idlibī (b. 1912) in Syria, Samīra ʿAzzām (d. 1967) in Palestine, and Nadjiyya Thāmir (b. 1926) in Tunisia.

3. Modern trends

Following the Second World War and the series of revolutions that occurred during the 1950s as a result of the new international configurations that it engendered, creative writers in the Arab world found themselves serving as literary outlets for the hopes and anxieties of a society confronting new and urgent political and social realities. Fiction was clearly a powerful tool through which such societal agenda could be discussed and advocated. The processes of change—the miseries of poverty among the poor in both countryside and city and the continuing migration of populace from the former to the latter, the emergence of a middle class and its aspirations, the challenge presented by women's education and employment outside the bounds of the home to traditional roles within the family, the clash of generations and classes—these themes and others have given fiction a major role in debates on the essence of modernity and change in contemporary Arab societies. The continuing vigour of the press tradition and the immense popularity of such media as television, film, and video (as venues for adaptations), have only served to enhance its immense popularity. Since creative writing is not a full-time profession in the region (although the more famous writers may occupy administrative posts that permit generous amounts of time for writing), the production of short stories, published initially in the plethora of available newspapers and periodicals, is considerably more prolific than that of the novel.

Many of the writers whom we have already mentioned have, needless to say, continued to make notable contributions to the genre during the latter half of the 20th century. However, an illustration of the vivid contrast between the more romanticised images of poverty and rural life created by some of these pioneers and the demands of the post-revolutionary society is provided by the prolific output of the Egyptian writer, Yūsuf Idrīs (d. 1991), widely recognised in retrospect as one of Arabic's instinctive geniuses in this genre. In a steady stream of collections that were published during the 1950s and 1960s beginning with *Arkhaṣ layālī* ("The cheapest nights", 1954). Idrīs was to bring the Arabic short story to new levels of technical achievement. Stories such as *Naẓra* ("A stare") and *Mārsh al-ghurūb* ("Sunset march") provide subtly-observed insights into the life of typical urban types:

the former that of a little girl carrying a heavy tray-load of food across a street, the latter a juice-seller peddling his wares to passers-by. Alongside these are a large group of stories that depict the characters and mores of the countryside with which Idrīs was so familiar from his childhood: in the famous title story of the first collection, *Arkhaṣ layālī*, a villager wending his way homeward from evening prayers in the mosque ploughs a path through waves of children, cursing them as he goes, in order to find consolation and warmth in the body of his wife when he reaches his house. Sketches, scenes, and incidents like these were all captured by Idrīs's wayward imagination in a style that forged new paths in its blend of the cadences of both the literary and spoken languages; it is this feature of his writing that, while lending his stories an almost tactile quality of realism, also earned him the opprobrium of upholders of the *echt* literary language such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973 [*q.v.*]). By the 1960s the "realities" of the new political order had revealed a darker side, and Idrīs (who had been imprisoned for his political beliefs in 1959) was one among many writers who expressed an increasing sense of alienation in stories of a sinister symbolism. Stories such as *Lughat al-āy-āy* ("Language of screams" and *al-Aūrṭā* ("The aorta") are disturbing portraits of mankind's callousness and indifference.

Another master of the short story in Arabic, the Syrian writer, Zakariyyā' Tāmir (b. 1931), has also resorted to symbolism as a means of couching in fictional form his critical view of the society in which he has lived (he now resides in England). A favourite topic is, once again, the status of women and the function of traditional sexual mores; *Wadjh al-ḳamar* ("The face of the moon") describes the complexes of a young woman raped as a child and brought up by a strict father who finds the abrupt transition to passionate wife, as societal expectations and her husband demand, difficult to achieve; *al-Thaldj ākhir al-layl* ("Snow at night's end") transfers the perspective to the male side of the family as a brother contemplates the murder of his errant sister until he recalls memories of their childhood together. Alongside these more obviously-focused social commentaries, Tāmir uses the short-story genre to create anonymous, Kafka-esque worlds in which oppression, alienation, and illogicality appear to be the only organising principles. *Djū'* ("Hunger") is a nightmarish vision of a man on a quest initially for food and then for a doctor, neither of which he appears to find. *Radjul ghāḍib* ("An angry man") and *al-Bāb al-ḳadīm* ("The old gate") both involve seemingly ordinary people in confrontations with forces of violence and oppression; both stories end with death by gunfire in circumstances of utterly dehumanised indifference. Tāmir's disturbingly illogical fictional universe, depicted in a finely crafted style that is at times terse and at others strikingly image-laden, expands from its relatively economic modes of expression to become an expression of a brilliant, if deeply cynical, voice recording the general condition of modern humanity.

Idrīs and Tāmir merit particular mention because of the high quality and size of their output in short fictional form. There is, however, a plethora of other authors who need to be identified for the ways in which they have advanced the technique and purview of the genre. (It should be noted in passing that regional variations in chronology that were noted above with regard to the earlier period have now levelled out, to the extent that, at the turn of the 20th century, the critic is presented with a wealth of creativity across the breadth of the Arab World—Nasser's "Ocean to the Gulf"—that, as with other literary genres, is increasingly difficult to subsume under a single rubric.) Among authors who have made major contributions to the development of the genre in their country or region we would list Fu'ād al-Tikirlī (b. 1927) from 'Irāḳ; Ghassān Kanafānī (d. 1972) from Palestine, Edwār al-Kharrāṭ (b. 1926), Madjīd Ṭūbiyā (b. 1938), and Yaḥyā al-Ṭāhir 'Abd Allāh (d. 1981) from Egypt, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Madanī (b. 1938) from Tunisia, and Muḥammad Barrāda (b. 1938) and Muḥammad Shukrī (b. 1935) from Morocco.

Women short story writers have also played an important role in the development of the short story. Building on the work of the pioneers already mentioned, a generation of women writers, of whom the most prominent were Laylā Ba'albakkī (b. 1936), Colette Khūrī (b. 1936), and Ghāda al-Sammān (b. 1942) set out to break down many of the taboos regarding the discussion of gender roles and especially sexuality in fictional works. The stories in which they explored the tensions evoked by such infractions against traditional values earned them not a little notoriety; in Ba'albakkī's case, a trial for obscenity was involved. However, while the enduring literary value of their contributions to the short story genre may be open to question, there is no doubt that writers of both genders have been the beneficiaries of the newly-opened space for the exploration of gender, marriage, sex and women's changing role in society that these writers have created. A younger generation of women writers has taken up the challenge presented by this broadened spectrum with both artistry and insight, exploring the complexities of their familial (and sometimes professional) life in voices that vary in tone from the humorous and ironic to the angry. In Lebanon Emily Naṣr Allāh (b. 1938) begins her writing career by recording in a somewhat romantic vein the lives of village families, but the civil war in her homeland (1975-88) has found her galvanised into more pointed depictions of the dark underside of her nation's societal fabric and its disastrous consequences. Ḥanān al-Shaykh (b. 1945) uses her stories to introduce the reader to more intimate aspects of the women's world and its particular configurations; in *Ḥammām al-niswān* ("Women's swimming-bath"), for example, which explores in charming detail the grandmother-granddaughter relationship. The Egyptian writer Salwā Bakr (b. *ca.* 1950) casts an ironic and often sardonic eye on the lives and foibles of her fellow Egyptians; *'An al-rūḥ allatī suriḳat tadrīdjiyy*[an] ("On the spirit that was gradually stolen") is a wonderful portrait of a married couple whose life slowly degenerates into a routine governed by modern media and the norms they establish. One of the most astute users of the short story craft in the Arab world today is the Kuwaytī writer, Laylā al-'Uthmān (b. 1945), who exploits with relish the many potential ambiguities of the narrative voice in supplying her readers with situations in which the anticipated gender roles of narrator and character are challenged (as in, for example, *Fī 'l-layl ta'tī al-'uyūn* ("The eyes come at night") and *al-Maḳhā* ("The café")). Each of these writers uses a blend of theme and venue to create a unique microcosm through the style and technique of the short story.

A particular structural feature of the later phases in the genre's development has been a move away from the more obvious aspects of closure seen in earlier periods—typified by the sketch of an unusual person who is described in some detail and then shown participating in a single event that illustrates the impact

of that person's traits. In place of endings that are increasingly seen as artificial, there is a tendency to leave matters open-euded. Such is the structural logic of many modern short stories that readers find themselves invited, indeed often compelled, to return to the beginning in order to continue the process of discovery that the story has initiated. It is this realisation, for example, that greets the main character (and the reader) of Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ's renowned story *Ẓaʿbalāwī*; while the quest that makes up the story has led to a change in the character's understanding of his plight, the inevitable consequence is the need to start all over again—the beginning is the end, and vice versa.

Such is the popularity and wide availability of the short story genre in the Arab world today that any list of prominent contributors would be extremely lengthy. What follows is thus a highly selective list of writers who have achieved prominence within their own national traditions: in ʿIrāḳ, Daisy al-Amīr (b. 1935), Mūsā Kuraydī (b. 1940), and Muḥammad Khuḍayyir (b. 1940); in the Gulf States, Ismāʿīl Fahd Ismāʿīl (b. 19??) and Muḥammad al-Murr (b. 1955); in Lebanon, Yūsuf Ḥabashī al-Ashkar (b. 19??) and Ilyās Khūrī (b. 1944?); in Syria, Walīd Ikhlāṣī (b. 1935), Ḥaydar Ḥaydar (b. 1936), and Hānī al-Rāhib (b. 1939); in Palestine, Yūsuf Shrūrū (b. 1940), Liyāna Badr (b. 1950), and Rashād Abū Shāwir (b. 1942); in Jordan, Ghālib Halasā (d. 1989) and Mu'nis al-Razzāz (b. 19??); in Egypt (among a host of names), Djamāl al-Ghīṭānī (b. 1945), Bahā' Ṭāhir (b. 1935), Iʿtidāl ʿUthmān (b. 1942), and Ibrāhīm Aṣlān (b. 1939); in Saudi Arabia, Khayriyya al-Saḳḳāf, Muḥammad ʿUlwān (b. 1948), and ʿAbd Allāh Mannāʿ (b. 1938); in Tunisia, Ḥasan Naṣr (b. 1937), Maḥmūd Balʿīd (b. 19??), and ʿArūsiyya Nālūtī (b. 1950); and in Morocco, Muḥammad Zifzāf (b. 1945), Khanātha Bannūna (b. 1943), and Mubārak Rabīʿ (b. 1935).

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ʿUḲŪBA (A.) a term of Islamic law meaning punishment in all its forms, encompassing both discretionary punishments and those designated by a text as *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]. The root meaning of the word, from *ʿaḳaba*, indicates a following or consequential object or action. The word itself took on the meaning of punishment that follows from a crime or prohibition (*LʿA*, i, 611-24). Frequently it is confused with *djazā'* which, unlike *ʿuḳūba*, can be both punishment or reward. The rationale behind the Islamic legal theory of punishment seems to oscillate between two contrasting schools of thought, with one preferring the interests (*maṣāliḥ*) of the individual and the other that of the public.

From a legislative point of view there can be two basic types of *ʿuḳūba*:

(1) Fixed punishments (*ʿuḳūbāt al-ḥudūd*). These include the punishments for fornication (*zinā'*), 100 lashes or stoning; slander (*ḳadhf* [*q.v.*]), 80 lashes; drinking alcohol (*shurb al-khamr*), 80 lashes; theft (*sariḳa* [*q.v.*]), amputation of the hand; highway robbery (*ḥirāba*), death; apostasy (*ridda* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), death; and public disorder (*baghy*), death. Retaliation penalties (*ḳiṣāṣ*) and blood money punishments (*diya* [*q.v.*]) may also came under this category. The latter encompasses all punishments that legislate for partial or total bodily harm whether deliberate (*ʿamd*), undeliberate (*shibh al-ʿamd*), or by error (*khaṭa'*). These punishments are tightly controlled, with a judge not able to replace or reduce the punishments. All he may offer is the choice between inflicting *ḳiṣāṣ* and offering *diya* to the relatives in the case of deliberate actions, and offering *diya* when injury resulted from undeliberate actions.

The well-publicised case of the two British nurses accused of murder in Saudi Arabia in 1997 seems to have suffered from this "no judge option" stalemate. The case did not progress until after the victim's brother accepted the proffered compensation in lieu of the death penalty. This restriction seems to justify classifying *ḳiṣāṣ* and *diya* among the textually-fixed punishments. However, some scholars like ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAwda considers them to be different in type from that of *ḥudūd*. The difference in the classification of the two punishment may be said to arise from the proximity and the personal effect that crimes involving bodily harm can impose on individuals. Despite this, the classification of punishment remains concerned with textual definition and not with criminal psychology, and as a result it appears to fit most convincingly among *ḥudūd* crimes.

In all the punishments described above, the tendency is to protect society and to ignore completely the interests of the individual criminal. On the grounds of combating social corruption (*shuyūʿ al-fasād*), punishments were made fixed and incapable of alteration, even by the ruling political authority.

(2) The tendency towards the protection of individual interest seems to be more apparent in the second basic form of *ʿuḳūba*, which are those punishments which are not legislated or specified by a text. These include all punishments which are left to the judge's discretion (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]). Any offence or violation of individual or public rights, be it by word, action or even sign, can be dealt with under *taʿzīr*. This kind of *ʿuḳūba* also governs all acts that might affect the social and religious norms of the society. It represented a practical and effective tool in the hands of minor judges and *muḥtasibs* [see ḤISBA]. Ibn Taymiyya underlines the informal and casual nature of *taʿzīr* when he states that there is no lower limit and it can be as simple as not greeting the offender (*tark al-salām*). This informality seems to have been lost because of an inclination among some legal systems that apply Islamic law to codify *taʿzīr*. The *sharīʿa* courts in Malaysia are an example which illustrate this tendency. Although there is no apparent legal bar preventing this, it seems

likely that the codification of *taʿzīr* would conflict with its spirit as a functional form of Islamic penal law. This could lead to *taʿzīr* eventually becoming a rigid set of rules and not an actual *ʿuḳūba*.

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(Mawil Y. Izzi Dien)

AL-ʿULĀ, a town of the Ḥid̲j̲āz in north-western Arabia, lying in what was the early Islamic Wādī ʾl-Ḳurā, at the southeastern end of the Ḥarrat al-ʿUwayriḍ and below a hill called Umm Nāṣir (lat. 26° 38' N., long. 37° 57' E., altitude 674 m/2,210 feet).

The area is extremely rich archaeologically, and clearly flourished in pre-Islamic times as a major centre along the caravan route southwards from Syria, with ancient Dedan at the base of the D̲j̲abal al-K̲h̲urayba, to the south of what was al-Ḥid̲j̲r [*q.v.*] and is now Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ some 18 km/12 miles north of al-ʿUlā. The mediaeval Islamic town of (al-)Ḳurḥ was also located at al-Mābiyāt or al-Mibyāt at a similar distance to the southeast of al-ʿUlā, in the identification of ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣīf [see ḲURḤ]. Large numbers of Dedanite, Lihyanite [see LIḤYĀN], Thamudic [*q.v.*], Minaean and Nabataean inscriptions have been found in the region.

The early Islamic al-ʿUlā must have been only a small place; the Prophet is said to have prayed there en route from Medina to Tabūk. Al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (4th/10th century) mentions it as al-ʿAwālī (*Bilād al-ʿArab*, ed. Ḥamad al-D̲j̲āsir and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 397). Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 144) has only a brief and uninformative entry on it, but his younger contemporary Ibrāhīm b. S̲h̲ud̲j̲āʿ al-Ḥanafī more explicitly states that it was a small town with a *ḳalʿa* and its own *amīr*, whilst Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, i, 260-1, tr. Gibb, i, 162-3) describes it as a flourishing place where the pilgrims bound for Medina halt for refreshment. The fort was restored by the Ottoman governor of Damascus in the 11th/17th century as a protection against marauding Bedouin.

Doughty was there in 1876 (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ch. VI), followed by other Western travellers and scholars such as Huber and Euting, up to Jaussen and Sauvignac's survey of the al-ʿUlā and al-Ḥid̲j̲r region 1907-10. The Ḥid̲j̲āz railway [*q.v.*] passed near to al-ʿUlā, with a (long derelict) station. The present-day population of al-ʿUlā (now the administrative centre of the distinct) seems to originate from the Ḥid̲j̲āzī tribe of Ḥarb.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

ULAḲ (T.), a term applied to the post-Mongol state courier system in large parts of western Asia, and particularly in the Ottoman empire (for the comparable system in the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, see BARĪD; and for the Mongol institution, YAM). This noun form *ulaḳ* stems from Tkish. *ula-* "to fasten securely, tether", and as a technical term appears e.g. in the decrees and documents of the Golden Horde Khans. It spread widely, from Ottoman usage to the Balkan languages and Greek, and from eastern Turkish usage as far as Mongolian and Chinese; see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, 102-7 no. 521.

The *ulaḳ*, the official courier service of the Ottoman empire, developed in an *ad hoc* and piecemeal way during the first centuries of the empire's existence, having much in common with the comparable institutions of the Mongol and ʿAbbāsid periods. The Ottomans, with some reason, believed that their *ulaḳ* system derived from the Mongols (cf. the historical excursus of the Ottoman Grand Vizier and reformer of the *ulaḳ*, Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, *Tewārīk̲h̲-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, Istanbul 1341, 371-80). Down to the era of Meḥemmed II, state couriers (also termed *ulaḳ*) were issued with simply-phrased courier orders (*biti; ulaḳ ḥükmi*) empowering them to travel on state business over (specified or unspecified) routes, implicitly by commandeering remounts as necessary at places en route. Thereafter, the phraseology of these orders becomes greatly developed, down to the 12th/18th century (cf. J.H. Mordtmann, in *MSOS*, xxxii/2 [1929], and, in greater detail, a still unpublished study by the present author). The system was obviously open to considerable abuse, particularly of the *reʿāyā* at the hands of the couriers, and reforms of their "shameless tyranny" (*nāhemwār ẓülm*), undertaken in particular by Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a (see R. Tschudi (ed.), *Das Âṣafnâme des Luṭfī Pascha*, Berlin 1910, text, 11), saw the gradual introduction from the middle years of Süleymān's reign of a network of staffed posting-stations (*menzil-k̲h̲āne*) on the major routes (*ulu yollar*) of the empire. The system, as it reached maturity, was based on the six major roads (*ṣag̲h̲, orta* and *ṣol ḳollar*, the "Routes of the Right, Middle and Left [Hands]") which radiated from Istanbul to the frontiers of the empire. In Rumeli these were, respectively, to the lower Danube and, ultimately, to Özü (Očakov), the Crimea and Azaḳ (Azov); to Belgrade and, ultimately, to Hungary; and to Thessaloniki and either the Morea or the Adriatic (see, on the *ṣol ḳol*, the important collection of studies in Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman period (1389-1699)*, Rethymnon 1996). In Anatolia, the three *ḳollar*, in their final versions, projected east and south from Istanbul to Erzurum and the Caucasus; to Diyār Bakr and ʿIrāḳ; and to Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo. "Branch routes" linked the *ulu yollar* with administrative centres which lay to one side or other of the main routes, or provided occasional radial connections between two adjacent *ḳollar*. Along the main routes, the maintenance and upkeep of which was an ever-present concern of the state, *menzil-k̲h̲ānes* were established at intervals of between six and twelve hours' riding, i.e. at distances of between 20 and 70 km, depending on the terrain. In frontier districts, or in thinly-populated steppe and semi-desert areas, the distances between *menzil-k̲h̲ānes* was often greater and they could be up to 24 hours' riding or *ca.* 150 km apart (see, for a listing of the *ḳollar* and their individual *menzil-k̲h̲ānes*, the brochure by Rıza Bozkurt, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar, ulak ve iaşe menzilleri*, Ankara 1966). Horses and labour service for these post-stations were provided often by *menzil-kes̲h̲* villages in their vicinity or by locally-levied taxes.

Along these routes, and making full use of the

menzil-khānes and the remount and accommodation services which they provided, passed the courier, military and diplomatic traffic of the state; in time of war, the same routes were followed by the armies of the sultan, en route to a particular front. Exemption of "privileged" *re'āyā* from *ulaḳ* service, either quartering of couriers or the provision of remounts, is characteristic of Ottoman *mu'āf-nāmes* ("letters of exemption") from an early period (cf. R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i sulṭānī ber müceb-i 'örf-i 'osmānī*, Ankara 1956).

The abuses to which Luṭfī Pasha drew attention in the mid-10th/16th century: the forcible requisitioning of posthorses for the courier service; the supply of posthorses to unauthorised individuals; and the excesses and depredations committed by high officials and their extensive retinues when using the *ulaḳ*, seem to have been equally widespread in later centuries, to judge by the large numbers of *'arḍuḥāls* submitted to the Porte by the *ḳāḍīs* of localities situated on the various *ḳollar* and the resulting sultanic orders addressed to them (cf. Bistra Cvetkova, *Obściazenie podatkowe rai w Bulgarii w czasie niewoli tureckiej, zwiazane z utrzymaniem zajazdow (menzili)*, in *Przegląd Orientalisticzny*, ii/26 [1958], 193-8). In time of war, pressure on strategic sections of the system became greatly increased; accordingly, in the latter stages of the war with Austria and the Sacra Liga powers (1683-99), particularly significant and long-lasting financial and administrative reforms of the *ulaḳ* system were made by the later Köprülü [*q.v.*] Grand Viziers; on these see C.J. Heywood, *The Ottoman menzilhane and ulak system in Rumeli in the eighteenth century*, in Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık (eds.), *Türkiye'nin sosyal ve ekonomik tarihi (1071-1920)*, Ankara 1980, 179-84; specific fiscal illustrations for particular *menzil-khānes* in idem, *The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman period: the menzilḫānes of the ṣol ḳol in the late 17th/early 18th century*, in E. Zachariadou, *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman rule*, 129-44; for the Anatolian *ulaḳ* network, see Yücel Özkaya, *XVIII yüzyılda menzil sorunu*, in *AÜDTCFD*, xxviii/3-4 [1970 (1977)], 339-68. Thereafter, the system continued more or less unaltered until the reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] and, ultimately, the invention later in the 19th century of the electric telegraph. Already by the late 18th century the term *ulaḳ* itself seems to have passed into desuetude, being replaced by the imported appellation *ḳūrīr*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the forms of the classical post-Mongol courier institution lingered on in use in e.g. the former lands of Moghulistān until the later 19th century: for the text and translation of an Eastern Turkī courier order issued in A.H. 1291 from Kāshghar by Muḥammad Ya'ḳūb Beg (*Copy of passport issued at Kashghar*), which has many features in common with Ottoman *ulaḳ ḥükmīs* of an earlier era, cf. R.B. Shaw, *A grammar of the language of Eastern Turkistan*, in *JRASB* (1877), no. 3, 321-3.

Bibliography (apart from references in the text): There are numerous incidental references to and descriptions of the Ottoman *ulaḳ* system in the vast literature of European descriptive writing on the Ottoman empire, from Chalcocondyles in the mid-15th century onwards; see J.H. Mordtmann, *Die jüdischen Kira im Serai der Sultane*, in *MSOS*, xxxii/2 (1929), 1-38, at 23-5. For the oldest Ottoman *ulaḳ ḥükmī* so far published, see Fr. von Kraelitz/Greifenhorst, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkische Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *SBWAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, cxcvii/3 (1921), 106-7 (document dated 903/1497). An older courier order, dated 887/1482, survives in the archives of the Top Kapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul (TKS E.5568). References to the administration of the *ulaḳ* are plentiful in the surviving volumes of the *Mühimme Defterleri*, from the mid-10th/16th century onwards and have been utilised, with reference to the Palestinian section of the Anatolian *ṣagh ḳol*, by U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 28, 101, 124-7. The surviving detailed records of the Ottoman *ulaḳ* and *menzil-khāne* administration, preserved in the Prime Minister's Archive (Bashbakanlik Arshivi [see BASHVEKĀLET ARSHIVI]), Istanbul, date only from inception of the reforms of the system introduced at the very end of the 11th/17th century. Thereafter, both the records of individual provincial *menzil-khānes* (cf., especially, the Mu'allim Djewdet (Cevdet)—Nāfi'a and Kāmil Kepedji (Kepeci) *taṣnīfs*) and of the central administration and record keeping of the service (the *aḥkām defterleri-menzil*, or records of *ulaḳ ḥükmīs* issued, and the smaller number of *niẓām defterleri*, recording the early 12th/late 17th-early 18th century reforms) are both plentiful and informative. There are also large numbers of single documents (*awrāḳ*) scattered throughout the archive's holdings (for a brief survey of this material, see C.J. Heywood, *Some Turkish archival sources for the history of the Menzilhane network in Rumeli during the eighteenth century (Notes and documents on the Ottoman Ulak, I)*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi, Beşeri Bilimler*, iv-v [1976-7], 39-55).

(C.J. HEYWOOD)

'ULAMĀ' (A.), pl. of *'ālim*, active participle of *'alima*, "to know, to be aware of", denotes scholars of almost all disciplines (*lugha, bayān, ḥisāb*, etc. [*q.vv.*]). However, the term refers more specifically to the scholars of the religious sciences (*faḳīh, mufassir, muftī, muḥaddith, mutakallim, ḳāri'*, etc. [*q.vv.*]), considered here exclusively in the context of Sunnism, where they are regarded as the guardians, transmitters and interpreters of religious knowledge, of Islamic doctrine and law; the term also embraces those who fulfil religious functions in the community that require a certain level of expertise in religious and judicial issues, such as judges and preachers (*ḳāḍī, khaṭīb* [*q.vv.*]), the imāms of mosques, etc. The *'ālim* is often seen as opposed to the *adīb*, just as religious knowledge (*'ilm* [*q.v.*]) is clearly distinguished from the practice of "profane literature" (*adab* [*q.v.*]).

1. In the Arab world.
2. In Persia [see MUDJTAHID, and ĀYATULLĀH, in Suppl.].
3. In Ottoman Turkey.
4. In Muslim India.
5. In South-East Asia.
6. Amongst the Han Chinese, Chinese-speaking Muslims.
7. In West Africa.

1. In the Arab world.

(a) *"Knowledge" and the scholars.*

While the verb *'alima* is well attested in pre-Islamic poetry, *'ālim* is not employed there as a participial substantive denoting a category of people who possess a particular knowledge, unlike *'arrāf, ḥāzī, kāhin, khaṭīb* and *shā'ir* [*q.vv.*]. The frequency with which the root *'-l-m* occurs in the Ḳur'ān and the equivalence encountered there between practical knowledge and religious knowledge, or indeed between knowledge and faith (LVIII, 11; II, 26; VI, 97-9), could not but be significant for the development of religious thought in Islam (Rosenthal, *Knowledge*, 12-32).

In fact, a general tendency was to be observed among practitioners of the religious sciences to consider as certain knowledge only that inherited from

the Prophet, albeit with nuances conditioned by their theological orientation. Thus the Baghdādī Mālikī Ibn Khuwayzmandād (d. 390/999) went so far as to demand the burning of books of *kalām*, of poetry and of grammar, as being unreliable disciplines, inferior to the traditions transmitted from the Prophet (Ibn Hadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥadīthiyya*, Cairo 1970, 207). For Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the science *par excellence* is that which derives from the Prophet; all the rest is either useless, or does not deserve to be called science. The jurist of Mu'tazilī tendency al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] comments that numerous prophetic traditions on "the study of science" concern only religious knowledge (*Adab*, 36-49). For Ibn Rushd, on the other hand, certain verses of the Ḳur'ān are an inducement to the study of philosophy (*Faṣl al-maḳāl, init.*)

(b) *Identity-consciousness and hierarchisation.*

The *'ulamā'* have long been seen as a very distinct group, a regulated and structured body, expressing the popular voice, constituting the "solid framework of permanent government behind these changing dynasties" (Macdonald). In fact, during the first two centuries of Islam, they consisted of a relatively small number of people, engaged in the elaboration of *fiḳh* and concentrated at Medina, in the south of 'Irāḳ and in the caliphal capitals, and general lines of informal consensus were more easily established than was subsequently to be the case. This consensus (*idjmā'* [*q.v.*]) gave them weight, but did not transform them into an institution comparable to a legislative body (Mottahedeh, 138-9). However, they had a consciousness of their identity which marked them as a distinct group (Berkey, 13-14).

Furthermore, traditions were attributed to the Prophet which emphasised the precedence and preeminence of knowledge and of the *'ulamā'*, most of them probably dating from a period in which the influence and the prestige of the latter was not yet well established (Marlow, 25). To a man from Medina, visiting him in Damascus with the object of collecting traditions, Abu 'l-Dardā' conveyed the following tradition, attributed to Muḥammad: "Scholars are the heirs of the prophets who have endowed them with knowledge as a legacy. He who has chosen knowledge has taken a generous share, and he who has taken a path towards the acquisition of knowledge, for him God will smooth a path to Paradise" (*Concordance*, iv, 321a; cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 196/xvi, ed. Shākir and al-Zayn, Cairo 1995, 71, nos. 21612-3: al-Bayhaḳī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, ed. M.S.B. Zaghlūl, Beirut 1990, ii, 262-4, nos. 1696-8; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Djāmi'*, i, 37). This tradition, absent from Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, was apparently unknown at Medina. Also attributed to the Prophet are statements that scholars are superior to "martyrs" (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 30-2), that the best members of his community are the scholars and that among the latter the best are the *fuḳahā'* (al-Māwardi, *Adab*, 39), that knowledge is superior to cultic practices (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 21-7; *Concordance*, iv, 320a). In the second half of the 3rd/10th century, the conviction was established that prophets are only superior to accredited scholars (*al-faḳīh al-'ālim*) in terms of their prophetic mission (Gilliot, *Le Commentaire coranique de Hūd b. Muḥakkam*, in *Arabica*, xliv [1997], 204-5).

It is true that the *'ulamā'* were progressively constituted as such by the study and practice of *fiḳh* [*q.v.*], but their essential characteristic was definitely the knowledge of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*], this being the "science" *par excellence* in this religious context, all the more so in that its mode of transmission was reckoned to associate them with the first Muslim generations and with the Prophet (al-Rāmahurmuzī, 161-2; Mottahedeh, 141). This link created by the transmission of *ḥadīth* contributed more than any other factor to the awareness which scholars of the religious sciences had of the dignity of their mission, as is demonstrated, in particular, by the favour enjoyed by those traditionists who had "high" chains of authority (*'uluww al-ḥadīth*) (al-Nawawī, *Taḳrīb*, ch. 29; Marçais, 193-9; Mottahedeh, 141-2). This insistence on *ḥadīth* is not surprising; indeed, all scholars studied the Ḳur'ān and the *sunna*, but not all were specialists in law, and those engaged in theology were fewer still (Mez, 162-3).

The practice of "wandering in search of knowledge" facilitated contacts between students and masters of the diverse regions of the Muslim world, and gave an "international" cachet to the community of scholars (Gilbert, *passim*) which contributed not a little to a consciousness of identity among the scholars and to the standardisation of knowledge and of its transmission. Numerous major scholars were also engaged in the composition of poetry (see, however, R. Drory, *The Abbassid construction of the Jahiliyya*, in *SI*, lxxxiii [1996], 33-49, on the rivalry between poets, transmitters of poetry and scholars), or produced works of *adab*. In addition, universal and local histories and their continuations (*ta'rīkh*, *ṣila* [*q.v.*]), the books on classes or generations of scholars (*ṭabaḳāt* [*q.v.*]), were most often written by *'ulamā'*, especially traditionists, which endowed the latter with major influence in the codification of knowledge and of ethics (Gilbert, 110-11). Those who were engaged in a more specialised fashion in the study of *ḥadīth* shared a kind of communal identity which often gave rise to a kind of "leadership", a "primacy" (*ri'āsa; ra'īs al-muḥaddithīn, riyāsat al-'ulamā'*; Chamberlain, 154-6), which depended to a great extent on the number and quality of licences of transmission (*idjāza* [*q.v.*]) obtained from accredited masters. This primacy also existed in more specialised disciplines, such as law and theology. It is thus that Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*]), one of the "renovators" (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]) of the early 3rd/9th century, is considered the one "to whom fell the primacy of the Shāfi'īs (in Baghdad)" (*intahat ilayhi riyāsat aṣḥāb al-Shāfi'ī*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, year 306/918-19). This same primacy in law was devolved to Abū Bakr al-Abharī (d. 375/986; *op. cit., sub anno*), for the Mālikīs of Baghdād, among whom he held precedence (*al-muḳaddam fīhi*); to Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 403/1012; *op. cit., sub anno*), among the Ḥanafīs. As for the *ḳāḍī* al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥalīmī (d. 403/1012), he found himself endowed with a double primacy in Transoxania, that of the traditionists and that of the dialectical theologians (*ra'īs al-muḥaddithīn wa 'l-mutakallimīn*; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xvii, 231). On the basis of the example of the Ḥanafī Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 370/981; *Muntaẓam, sub anno*), such a "prime figure" is sometimes called "the best of his age" (*imām 'aṣrihi*), or the *shaykh* of his region or of his city. Primacy in the domain of the religious sciences was sometimes combined with primacy in "piety" (*taḳwā*), in the exercise of ritual practices (*'ibāda*), or in asceticism (*zuhd*), or in Ṣūfism (Mottahedeh, 145-50).

(c) *Genesis and evolution.*

Muslim tradition was anxious to establish uninterrupted continuity between the knowledge of the Prophet and that of later generations, by way of the Companions and the Followers. In this scheme of things, numbers are employed in an apparently meticulous fashion: knowledge of the Companions, that of the principles of transmission, that of narratives, that of exegesis, were seen as the inheritance, respectively,

of six Companions, Followers, or Followers of Followers (according to al-ʿAbbās al-Durī, d. 271/884; al-Daladjī, 47-8, *Falaka*, quoting al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, 43-4). Similarly, reference is made to the six or the twelve *fuḳahā'* of Medina (al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, 43-4). Or furthermore, according to ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī (d. 234/849): "The knowledge of the Companions of the Prophet concerning the prescriptions of the law fell to three [Companions], by whom it was acquired": Ibn Masʿūd, Zayd b. Thābit and Ibn ʿAbbās; then it passed to the generation of Mālik b. Anas, by way of al-Shaʿbī (d. 94/713), Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/715), al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), al-Aʿmash (d. 148/765), Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) [*q.vv.*], etc. (Ibn al-Djawzi, *Talḳīḥ*, 458-9).

In the early years of Islam, even though *ʿālim* can have the adjectival sense of "erudite" in general, or in religious subjects in particular (*ʿālim bi*), it is most often associated with the knowledge and the transmission of traditions and of *ḥadīth*; furthermore, it is not often that the qualities of *ʿālim* and of *faḳīh* [*q.v.*] are attributed to the same individual, the latter expressing in particular "personal" ideas of the way religion should be practised, the former referring rather to precedents, conclusions reached by others in the past (Juynboll, 74, and ch. 2 on the *ḳāḍīs*). It is stressed, however, that such-and-such a person was not only *ʿālim* and *faḳīh*, but also *ḳāri'* and *mufassir*, thus Ibn Djuraydj (d. 150/767 [*q.v.*]; Motzki, 246).

The ʿAbbāsids, with the exception of al-Ma'mūn [*q.v.*] (see MIḤNA; Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph*, 58-96, on the transition from the caliphal *sunna* to the Prophetic *sunna*, under the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids) preferred to have the *ʿulamā'* and the army on their side, rather than the bureaucracy (Marlow, 104; for the *ʿālim/kātib* [*q.v.*] antagonism, Mottahedeh, 143; Petry, 205, 209). They had begun with all the necessary apparatus: troops, secretaries, theologians and religious prestige, and Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, in his *Risāla fī 'l-ṣaḥāba*, composed at the outset of the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, proposed, among other things, a trial of strength with the *ʿulamā'*, urging the caliph to use his authority to impose legal and religious uniformity (Goitein, *Turning point*, 161-4; Crone, *Slaves*, 69-70; van Ess, *TG*, ii, 24-5; Marlow, 99-104). Ultimately the *ʿulamā'* were not suppressed, and it was indeed the *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*] (Manicheans and their associates) who were victims of the inquisition of al-Mahdī.

During the first five centuries of Islam, the *ʿulamā'* developed their own practices and organisations independently of the state (Gilbert, 113). It is a fact that the Umayyads (an exemplary case being that of al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*]; M. Lecker, *Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī*, in *JSS*, xli [1996], 21-61), and then the ʿAbbāsids, had recourse to scholars, counsellors and ambassadors, and employed the *ʿulamā'* as judges, but they did not found lasting institutions with personnel dedicated to the study of religion and of law (Gilbert, 113-14). It also happened that benefactors acted as the patrons of scholars or of educational projects and institutions, but it was primarily through the efforts of independent *ʿulamā'* and a minority among them who enjoyed the support of individuals or of the state that codified practices and an "international" structure took shape among scholars during the first centuries of Islam (Gilbert, 114).

The political traumas of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries contributed not a little to the consolidation of the power of the *ʿulamā'*, who, together with other urban élites, played an important role in the life of Muslim cities. Towards the mid-5th/11th century, whereas hitherto they had been essentially a religious élite, they now also became a social and political élite. In many cities, families of *ʿulamā'* united with families of landowners, bureaucrats and merchants, guaranteeing the stable guidance of these cities for several generations (Lapidus, 22-9).

On the one hand, with the disintegration of the ʿAbbāsid state, a kind of divorce took place between religion and power. The state was no longer capable of enforcing its claims in matters of religious authority. While in the ʿAbbāsid metropolises the *ʿulamā'* had needed to deploy considerable energy to maintain their position in relation to institutions of political power, in the cities of the Būyid dominions they were more free to assert themselves (Crone, *Slaves*, 85).

Yet on the other hand, the former order of scholarly activity evolved with the institutionalisation of the international network of contacts between scholars and with their professionalisation. This phenomenon first developed as a result of the foundation of colleges and pious foundations (*madrasa*, *waḳf* [*q.vv.*]; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 24-38), although this did not in essence affect the system of instruction (*tarbiya* [*q.v.*]; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 97-117; Gilliot, *Théologie et littérature*) in Islam, which remained much as it had been before, i.e. largely informal and based on the relationship between masters and disciples (Berkey, 18, 85-94; Gilliot, *Transmission*).

However, while in the first centuries scholars had been obliged to earn their living through the exercise of secular occupations (Cohen, 35-45), or by reliance on individual patronage, the new institutions of education and transmission of knowledge and the places offering accommodation to students or teachers (*madrasa*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, *khānaḳāh*, *ribāṭ*, *zāwiya* [*q.vv.*] assisted the latter financially and materially (Gilbert, 118-9; Makdisi, *Humanism*, 232-8; Chamberlain, 61-66). This did not prevent some scholars from continuing to pursue professions in crafts or in commerce (Petry, 241-4).

The professionalisation of the *ʿulamā'* proceeded apace, for example, in Cairo in the second half of the 8th/13th century. Between this period and the beginning of the 11th/16th century, appointments to posts in education were often controlled by the Mamlūks or by the intellectual élite itself (Berkey, ch. iv). Among the *ʿulamā'* of Cairo during this period, there was seen the emergence of a kind of "intermediate" class (Lapidus); while there was no real separation between the various circles, this élite was not particularly interested in the problems of the masses, nor in the pursuit of power, although there were occasions when it intervened on behalf of the populace, and the latter felt a special empathy for those among the scholars in whom commonly-held values were believed to be discernible.

Despite the evidence of social mobility, this scholarly élite also experienced certain forms of self-reproduction, if not in-breeding, and this led to the emergence of veritable dynasties of scholars (Bulliet, 55-60; Mottahedeh, 135, *passim*; Berkey, 126-7; A.K.S. Lambton, in *SI*, v [1956], 134, for quasi-hereditary posts of *ḳāḍī*): the Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Bulukīnī, Ibn Djamāʿa, Ibn Ḳudāma, Ibn Ṣaṣrā [*q.vv.*]; for the latter, see Petry, 232-40), the Bakrīs in Egypt in the 10th/16th century (M.T. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīḳ*, Cairo 1905; Winter, 222-3), the al-ʿAdjamīs in Aleppo (Eddé), the ʿĀṣim al-Thaḳafīs in al-Andalus (Fierro), the Ibn Abī ʿĪsās in Cordova (Marin, 291, n. 1-2, with other references).

Personal relations between scholars also played a role in appointments, as is evident from the favours enjoyed by Walī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿIrāḳī (d. 826/1423)

on the part of the friends of his father Zayn al-Dīn (Berkey, 120-1). Some were anxious to guarantee lucrative posts for their children (Makdisi, *Colleges*, 170-1).

Evolution towards professionalism reached its culminating point under the Ottomans, who established a hierarchy of *muftīs*, presided over by the senior *muftī* of Istanbul, the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] (see further on the Ottoman religious institution, section 3. below, and 'ILMIYYE). As regards the intellectual situation of the *'ulamā'* towards the end of the so-called "classical" period, from the 7th/13th and especially from the 8th/14th century onward, the preliminary symptoms of stagnation or of sclerosis become evident. Thus Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), in his survey of the religious sciences (*Muḳaddima*, ch. vi, ii, 364-iii, 80, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 411-iii, 103), in numerous instances deplores the decadence of theology in his time. But long before this, the incompetence of scholars who preferred appearance to knowledge had been a widespread theme, sometimes inspired, admittedly, by pride or envy (Berkey, 183-8). It could be said that sclerosis set in during the 9th/15th century, if by this it is meant that few original works were produced, and that the decline in creativity, already perceptible during the two preceding centuries, became an established fact. It is appropriate, however, to show caution in this regard, since some talented polygraphers, of whom the best example is al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505 [*q.v.*]), made worthwhile contributions to the religious sciences at this time (Gilliot, *Evolution*).

For the *'ulamā'* of al-Andalus, see Monès and Urvoy. For the rivalries of scholars of the different *madhhabs* or persuasions, see Laoust, *Pluralismes*, 1-133; Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 293-383; Chamberlain, 92-107; Pouzet, *Damas*, 108-12. For various positions in regard to Ṣūfism, see TAṢAWWUF.

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(CL. GILLIOT)

2. In Persia [see MUDJTAHID, and ĀYATULLĀH, in Suppl.].

3. In Ottoman Turkey.

While the early Ottoman *ʿulamāʾ*, in particular, broadly shared the formation, functions and outlook of their counterparts in other Islamic societies, by far their most distinctive feature came to be the formalisation of their role in the state through the development under successive sultans, beginning with Meḥemmed II (1451-81 [*q.v.*]), of an (eventually) thoroughgoing and highly elaborated *cursus honorum* of learned offices—the so-called *ʿilmiyye* [*q.v.*]—on a scale quite unprecedented in Islam. (It should be observed that so striking is this feature of the Ottoman scene that the existence of *ʿulamāʾ* who chose to stand outside the learned hierarchy, or at the least refused to be fully drawn into it, tends to go unremarked.) If this arguably purposeful, certainly large-scale incorporation of the *ʿulamāʾ* by the state into its service led to sometimes fruitful collaboration with the secular authorities (as in the case, for example, of Kemāl Pasha-zāde and Abu 'l-Suʿūd Efendi [*q.vv.*] in the reign of Süleymān I (1520-66 [*q.v.*]), the creation and elaboration of the *ʿilmiyye* may be said also to have had the ultimately subversive effect of closely defining a class and providing it with a clearly defined set of material goals. As a result, by the 18th century a virtually closed aristocracy of the *ʿulamāʾ* had come into being which had little to do with the traditional roles of the *ʿulamāʾ* as transmitters of Islamic learning, as exemplars of piety, or as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. Deprived of many of their sources of power and wealth by the reforms of Maḥmūd II (1808-39 [*q.v.*]) and of the Tanẓīmāt (1839-76 [*q.v.*]), the *ʿulamāʾ* lived in uneasy coexistence with new structures in the fields of, for example, education and the administration of justice throughout the remainder of the 19th and the early 20th centuries until their corporate existence was brought to an end in the early years of the Republic, with the reforms following the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924.

Bibliography: Both the structure and (briefly) the history of the Ottoman learned institution are discussed in the article ʿILMIYYE. In addition to it, and the sources there cited, reference should be made, *inter alia*, to the articles FATWĀ. ii. Ottoman Empire; ḲĀḌĪ; ḲĀḌĪ ʿASKAR; and SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM. For further information on the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *ʿilmiyye* to the end of the 16th century, see H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 165-202; R.C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, London 1986, esp. 27-72. For the 17th and 18th centuries, see M.C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety: the Ottoman Ulama in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis 1988. For an overview of the *ʿulamāʾ* during the reform period, see R.L. Chambers, *The Ottoman Ulema and the Tanzimat*, in N.R. Keddie (ed.) *Scholars, saints, and Sufis*, Berkeley, etc. 1972, 32-46; and for references to the role of the *ʿulamāʾ* in the post-Tanẓīmāt period, see E.J. Zürcher, *Turkey, a modern history*, London 1993, index *s.vv.*

(R.C. REPP)

4. In Muslim India.

Here the *ʿulamāʾ* occupied a prestigious position and were actively involved in promoting the religious sciences, so much so that Rashīd Riḍāʾ [*q.v.*] remarked that when the science of *ḥadīth* was on the decline in the Islamic lands, the Indian *ʿulamāʾ* resuscitated it (*Miftāḥ kunūz al-sunna*, Beirut 1985, 12). The author of the *Tādj al-maʾāthir* called them "a gem in the ring of *sharīʿat*", while Fakhr-i Mudabbir assigned them a place below the prophets but above the rulers, and quoted the following three sayings of the Prophet to highlight their position: (i) "The *ʿulamāʾ* are the heirs of the Prophets". (ii) "If there were no *ʿulamāʾ* the people would have loitered about in the world like wild animals". (iii) "The best rulers are those who go to the door of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the worst *ʿulamāʾ* are those who go to the door of the rulers" (*Tārīkh-i Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh*, London 1927, 9-12).

In popular parlance, the phrase *ʿulamāʾ-o-mashāyikh* was used for two distinct types of men of religion, one looking after the external and the other after the spiritual aspect of religion. The *ʿulamāʾ* were categorised as *ʿulamāʾ-i ākhirat* and *ʿulamāʾ-i dunyā* (Baranī, *Tārīkh*, 154-5). The former led an abstemious life of pious devotion to religious learning and kept away from courts; the *ʿulamāʾ-i dunyā* involved themselves in material pursuits and consorted with kings. Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ [*q.v.*] once remarked about them: "Knowledge is in itself a noble thing, but when it is used for earning money and the scholars go about from door to door, respect for it vanishes" (*Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, 182). Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*] called such scholars *ʿulamāʾ-i sūʾ* and held them responsible for the misery of the community and the religious confusion that prevailed in his day (*Maktūbāt*, Lucknow 1877, i, 46-7, 70). Anxious to win royal favours, such *ʿulamāʾ* gave *fatwās* to justify their actions. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the Slave King Kayḳubād's court gave a *fatwā* which rendered as obligatory prayers and fasts for the sultan (Baranī, *Tārīkh*, 154). Miyān Muṣṭafā, a Mahdawī *ʿālim* of the 16th century, treated such *ʿulamāʾ* as *rahzan* (bandits) (*Djawāhir al-taṣdīḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1367/1948, 25, 53, 61). However, the *ʿulamāʾ* who spent their lives in imparting religious knowledge and kept away from the courts were held in high esteem. They dedicated themselves to producing religious works and led lives of penitence and poverty.

As specialists in the Islamic sciences. The *ʿulamāʾ* of the higher category specialised in some branch of Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh* or *kalām*—and gained fame as *mufassir*,

muḥaddith or *muftī*. 'Alā' al-Dīn Mahā'imī (author of the *Tabṣīr al-Raḥmān wa-taysīr al-Mannān*), Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī (author of the *Baḥr-i mawwādj*), Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [*q.v.*] (author of *Fatḥ al-khabīr bi-mā lā budda min ḥifẓihi fī 'ilm al-tafsīr* and translator of the Ḳur'ān into Persian), Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī (author of the *Tafsīr-i Maẓharī*) and others were known for their exegetical studies.

Among the *muḥaddithūn* the names of Raḍī al-Dīn Ṣaghānī (author of the *Mashāriḳ al-anwār*), 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (author of *Lama'āt al-tanḳīḥ 'alā Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*), 'Alī Muttaḳī (author of the *Kanz al-'ummāl*), Ṭāhir Pattanī (author of the *Madjma' biḥār al-anwār fī gharā'ib al-tanzīl wa-laṭā'if al-akhbār*), Shāh Walī Allāh (author of *al-Musawwā*, *al-Muḥallā* and the *Sharḥ Tarādjim abwāb al-Bukhārī*) were famous for their contribution to *ḥadīth* studies.

In the sphere of law, the contemporary *'ulamā'* of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ and, three centuries later, Awrangzīb, made notable contributions. The *Fatāwā-yi Tatār-Khāniyya* of 'Ālim b. 'Alā' (ed. Ḳāḍī Sadjdjād Ḥusayn, 5 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1984-9) and the *Fatāwā-yi 'Ālamgīriyya* (Kānpūr 1350/1931-2) by a group of distinguished *'ulamā'* under the direct supervision of Awrangzīb, are works of great importance. Though works on *fiḳh* had appeared during the time of Balban (e.g. the *Fatāwā al-Ghiyāthiyya*) and the Khaldjī sultans (the *Fatāwā Ḳara-Khāniyya*), it was during the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ that legal studies developed. Of the various problems investigated by the *'ulamā'*, the question of the ownership of land in India examined by Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn Thānesarī (*Taḥaḳḳuḳ-i arāḍī-yi Hind*, ed. Sa'īd Ashraf Ḥasanī, Karachi) deserves special mention.

In the sphere of *kalām*, Shāh Walī Allāh's *Ḥudjdjat Allāh al-bāligha* reflects the author's understanding of the problems of the 18th century. (For his distinctly original sociological concepts, see Nizami, *The historical role of three Auliya of South Asia*, Karachi 1987, 35-60, and also idem, *Shah Wali Allah of Delhi. His thought and contribution*, in *IC* [1980], 141-52.)

The teaching institutions of some *'ulamā'* became famous for the study of some specific branch of religious learning, like the *madrasa-yi Raḥīmiyya* of Shāh Walī Allāh for *ḥadīth* studies and the *Farangī Maḥal* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] one for *fiḳh* studies. Some scholars devoted themselves to specific classics of their field of study; thus Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ concentrated on the *Mishkāt*, and Shāh Walī Allāh on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, and scholars from different regions turned to them for instruction in these works.

Considered in the broad perspective of their studies, the *'ulamā'* of the first phase in Muslim India were in general involved mostly in preparing commentaries and summaries of classical works; in the next phase they were concerned with legal studies and combatting sectarianism; in the third phase they concentrated on *ḥadīth* studies; while in the 18th century scholastic theology (*'ilm-i kalām*) was their main concern. Each trend was inspired by the specific needs of Muslim society at the particular times.

As modest-living and ascetic teachers. There were *'ulamā'*, like Mawlānā 'Alā' al-Dīn Uṣūlī and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid, both teachers of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', who rejected court life and turned to giving instruction in their own mud houses. Uṣūlī carried on teaching even when starving (*Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, 165-6; *Khayr al-madjālis*, 180, 190-1). Balban summoned Mawlānā Zāhid and requested him to serve as his personal *imām*. "Our prayer is all that is left to us, does the sultan want to take that also from us?", replied the Mawlānā (*Siyar al-awliyā'*, 106). *'Ulamā'* of this category tended to be more respected by the people.

At rulers' courts. Many Muslim rulers kept round themselves *'ulamā'* as a sign of their dignity and prestige. Iltutmish spent one crore (? of *tankas*) on them (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 165). Balban, Sikandar Lōdī and many other sultans in Dihlī and the provinces visited the houses of the *'ulamā'* and heard their sermons. Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī criticised at the court of Iltutmish some customs and practices of the sultans. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ kept a team of *'ulamā'* by his side and obtained their concurrence before executing anybody. According to 'Iṣāmī, other *'ulamā'* had issued a *fatwā* legalising rebellion against this ruler.

There were some posts in the administration like those of *Ṣadr-i Djahān*, *Shaykh al-Islām*, *muḥtasib*, *ḳāḍī*, *khaṭīb*, and teachers in government *madrasas*, which were the exclusive province of the *'ulamā'*.

International contacts. It appears that *'ulamā'* of Indian origin gained wider recognition in Muslim lands elsewhere quite early. In the 6th/12th century, al-Sam'ānī gave (*Ansāb*, facs. ed., 237, 313, 497, 543) several *nisbas* of scholars such as Daybulī, Sindhī, Lāhūrī and Manṣūrī. After the Mongol invasion, many *'ulamā'* migrated from Central Asia and Persia to India. Referring to scholars in Lahore, Ḥasan Niẓāmī says that "out of every hundred persons ninety were *'ālim* and out of every ten, nine were *mufassir* of the Ḳur'ān" (*Tādj al-ma'āthir*, ms.; see also 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Madras, 114-15). During the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī, some scholars of Dihlī had, according to Baranī, attained a stature equal to that of Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, and scholars from different parts of the Islamic world came to study at their feet. Conversely, the Indian *'ulamā'* kept in contact with Islamic centres of learning elsewhere, and Shaykh 'Alī Muttaḳī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith, Shāh Walī Allāh and others visited the Ḥidjāz.

Political involvement. From the time of Shāh Walī Allāh, who wrote political letters to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*] and Indian potentates to strive for the resurrection of Muslim political authority in India, the *'ulamā'* became deeply involved in political struggles. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz declared against the British government of India; Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī [*q.v.*] approached the Rādjā of Gwāliyār [*q.v.*] to join hands in the struggle against foreign domination. In the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8 many *'ulamā'* were active, and subsequently, in the conspiracy trials of Ambala, Patna and other places, many *'ulamā'* were convicted, and some of them exiled to the Andaman Islands or Malta (see *IC* [1990], 29-63).

As organisers of religious debates (*munāẓarāt*). During the Sultanate and the Mughal periods some *'ulamā'* had involved themselves in Islamic sectarian controversies, but during the 19th century they were drawn into *munāẓaras* with the Hindus and the Christian missionaries. *'Ulamā'* like Raḥmat Allāh Kayrānwī, Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī, Ḥāfiẓ 'Alī Farrukhābādī and others were involved in these, and a profuse literature arose on such controversies.

Responses to Western science and education. Since these had come with British rule, the *'ulamā'* for long hesitated to accept them. However, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī, who had declared India to be *dār al-ḥarb*, did not hesitate to praise British achievements in science and technology. The *fatāwā* of 'Abd al-Ḥayy Farangī Maḥallī show the reaction of *'ulamā'* to new circumstances of resulting from the spread of Western ways of life (see Nizami, *Socio-religious movements in Indian Islam 1763-1898*, in *IC* [1970], 131-46).

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(K.A. Nizami)

5. In South-East Asia.

As in other parts of the Muslim world, this general term encompasses a variety of specific functions, including judge, scholar and publisher and teacher and instructor at all intellectual and social levels. As possessors of knowledge in the widest sense the *ʿulamāʾ* might be government functionaries or they might be active outside government. It is not uncommon in South-East Asia for the individual *ʿālim* to act in both spheres throughout his life. The *ʿulamāʾ* always represented a possible alternative locus of authority to the organs of state. While there is no general history of *ʿulamāʾ* in South-East Asia, the following topics seem to be crucial in any account of their function.

(a) *The pre-modern and colonial Muslim world.*

First, in the field of literature we have extensive text traditions in all genres [see INDONESIA; MALAYSIA; PATANI]. From the late 18th and particularly in the 19th century, the materials are especially strong in *fiḳh* and local *fatāwā*. Much yet remains to be studied in these areas. Second, in the field of education (and by extension publication) the *ʿulamāʾ* established extensive networks of schools and publication houses right through Muslim South-East Asia. They maintained strong internal links and also had links to Mecca, Medina and, later to al-Azhar. The profession was commonly exercised as a family affair. Third, and especially important as to the *ʿulamāʾ* being an alternative locus of authority, is their political function. In the pre-European period, the *ʿulamāʾ* were instrumental in providing an alternative (West Asian-Muslim) model for kingship and rule. In addition, they insisted on the primacy of Islam as the only proper source of authority in the Malay and Javanese kingdoms. These demands did not always sit easily with the political realities of the time. In the colonial period, the *ʿulamāʾ* were a focus for resistance to European rule [see PADRI for an example; generally, see INDONESIA].

(b) *The post-colonial and modern Muslim world.*

The position and status of Islam has been immeasurably improved with the demise of colonialism. For the first time since the pre-modern Sultanates, Islamic political parties and activities are no longer proscribed and have a real chance of exercising political power. However, the *ʿulamāʾ*, because they interpret Islam and express it in political terms, are all the more an alternative source of authority. Malaysia and Indonesia are secular states, and the tension between this fact and the Islamic imperative has been and will remain a consistent feature of modern politics. The state has reacted in two ways. First, by attempting to co-opt the *ʿulamāʾ* into state service, as in appointments to teaching institutions, and to government advisory bodies such as "Councils of Ulama", or "Councils of Religion" which have specific advice and regulatory functions. In addition, Departments/Offices of Religion have been established in Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Indonesia and the Philippines, which all provide considerable career opportunities for *ʿulamāʾ*. Second, the states have permitted overt political activity by Islamic groups. The Islamic political parties (PMIP, and later PAS in Malaysia and the NU, Masjumi and later PPP in Indonesia) have never held outright power. Instead, they fulfill the historical role of *ʿulamāʾ* in offering the Islamic political, intellectual and moral alternative, often now in Western-derived forms, in which many of them have recently been educated.

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(M.B. Hooker)

6. Amongst the Han Chinese, Chinese-speaking Muslims.

Generally speaking, learned Chinese Muslims, though many of them were Confucian literati, are usually called *ʿālim* (or A-lin in Chinese) distinguished from the Islamic clergy title *imām* or *ahung*. Because of their long assimilation into the host Han culture in a non-Islamic environment, Muslims in China have never fully developed their institutions such as *madrasas*, *ḳāḍīs* and *muftīs*, as in other Islamic lands, and Islam has been confined to personal religious practice. As a result of assimilation, Chinese Muslims usually acquired a Confucian education and adopted its ethics in order to survive in the majority Han society. Chinese Muslims were probably not aware of the formation of a body of *ʿulamāʾ* existing outside China, as the term did not appear in Chinese Islamic works until the

beginning of the 20th century. After several centuries of assimilation, most Han-speaking Muslims were becoming ignorant of their religion. Hence some Muslim intellectuals became worried about the decline of Islam, and launched the so-called "Renaissance Movement" or "Islamic revival". Amongst the Muslim literati, Wang Tai-yü (d. 1657 or 1658), Ma Chu (1640-1710?), Liu Chih (1662-1736) and Ma Fu-ch'u (1794?-1874) are regarded as the leading figures in the history of Chinese Islam, being extolled as "The Four Grand *'Ulamā'*". They began translating Islamic works from Persian into Chinese, and tried to encourage writing on Islamic subjects in Chinese.

Wang Tai-yü was apparently the pioneer here. Wang indicated in his books that his writings were aimed at bringing true religion to his fellow Muslims and at clarifying Islam to the Chinese Confucianists who were usually biased against other faiths. His most important works are: (1) *Chêng-chiao Chên-chuen* ("The true interpretation of Islam"), an interpretation of the *S̲h̲arī'a* and basic doctrines of Islam, and defence of Islam against the Confucianists, Taoists and Buddhists' attacks; and (2) *Ch'ing-chên Ta-shue* ("The advanced knowledge of Islam"), focussing on the doctrine of *tawḥīd* and Islamic cosmology.

According to his biography, Ma Chu was especially active in the movement, seeking to revive Islam through politics. He wrote a few books mainly on Confucian politics, but only one on Islam: *Ch'ing-chên Chih-nan* ("The compass-guide to Islam"). In this, Ma Chu tried to prove that Islam is superior to other Chinese religions by comparing Islamic doctrines and ethics in these faiths. He spent four years travelling around China proper preaching Islam to Muslims and to Han literati, so that his book became widely circulated and praised. He even tried to seek an audience with the Emperor so that he could make Islam known to him, and secure the raising of Islam to the status of Confucianism, but failed.

Liu Chih has been reckoned by modern scholars as the inaugurator of the Islamic sciences in China. He has even been revered as the spiritual founder of the Chinese native Ṣūfī order, Hsi-tao-tang. It is said that he wrote more than 500 *chüan* (volumes) on Islamic subjects, but only three books have survived: (1) *T'ien-fang Hsing-li* ("The philosophy of Islam"); (2) *T'ien-fang Tien-li* ("Islamic law and traditions"); (3) *T'ien-fang Chih-sheng Shih-lu* ("Biography of the Islamic Prophet"). The first book was compiled from various Arabic and Persian sources, mainly Ṣūfī and S̲h̲ī'ī works, and was popular amongst the Han élites, since Liu's theories coincided with the cosmology of neo-Confucianism. The second book is more a comprehensive manual for Chinese Muslim life. The third one may be a translation from *Tard̲j̲ama-i Mawlūd-i Muṣṭafā* (probably a translation of Sa'īd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī's Arabic work).

Unlike the other three, Yūsuf Ma Fu-ch'u (or Ma Te-hsing) was an *imām-'ālim*, and the founder of the Yunnan school of Islamic education (the other two are those of Shantung and Shen-hsi). He studied Islam first in Shen-hsi, then went to Mecca on pilgrimage and for learning the "true Islamic sciences". Unlike the other three, who absorbed Confucian education in childhood and then turned to Islam, Ma Fu-ch'u studied Confucianism at the age of 40. As a syncretist, Ma Fu-ch'u tried to harmonise Islamic and Confucian ethics in his teachings, because he thought this was the only way of survival in the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. Nevertheless, he insisted that Muslims should observe strictly Islamic duties while adopting Confucian traditions. He is regarded the most prolific scholar in the late 19th century, and about 40 of his works have survived. He was probably the first ever to try to translate the Ḳur'ān into Chinese, but this was abandoned when he was executed by the Manchu-Ch'ing government during the Panthay [*q.v.*] rebellion. The *Sü-tien Yao-hui* ("The abridgement of four Islamic classics") is probably his masterpiece, and provides the best evidence of his religious and scholarly accomplishments, presenting his syncretism and Islamic apologia. Ma Fu-chu's achievement in Chinese Islam was outstanding; before him, the qualifications of *'ālim* and *imām* had never been combined in one person. One might suggest that he tried to turn the *'ulamā'* into a more cohesive body.

The works of these four scholars have become Chinese Islamic classics from which later generations have drawn their thought. Because of Ma Fu-ch'u's initiation, the institution of *'ulamā'* thus came partially into being. When global travelling grew in the 20th century, more frequent contacts with Muslims in other Islamic lands made Chinese Muslims place more emphasis on *'ulamā'*, but trends of secularisation and westernisation in modern China have meant that traditional *madrasa* education has been replaced by a modern Western one, so that the enthusiasm was never fully given shape. In any case, the modern Chinese state is unlikely to allow Muslims to set up their own religio-political or religio-educational systems, as being potential centres of political challenge.

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(CHANG-KUAN LIN)

7. In West Africa.

In West Africa, although ancient centres such as Dia in Masina, Takidda [*q.v.*], and Tādmakkat in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas had older traditions of Islamic learning, it is only in 9th/15th century Timbuktu [*q.v.*] that a recognisable body of *'ulamā'* first emerges, dominated by two prominent Ṣanhād̲j̲a families: the descendants of Muḥammad Aḳīt, and those of Anda Ag̲h̲-Muḥammad. Between them they filled the offices of *ḳāḍī* of the city and *imām* of the Sankore mosque for close to two centuries. During this period, Timbuktu emerged as the major Islamic teaching centre of West Africa, leading some to speak of a Sankore university. However, although much of the teaching took place in the Sankore quarter, there is no indication of an organisational structure, officially-appointed teachers or student hostels. The institution of *waḳf* or *ḥubus*

which allowed the establishment of public teaching institutions in other areas of the Islamic world seems to have been unused in West Africa. Scholars held classes in their houses or in the mosque, references to *madrasas* (*Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān*, 34, 78-9) apparently referring to private classes rather than to public institutions.

The formational curriculum of the aspiring *ʿālim* in Timbuktu, and to a large extent elsewhere in West Africa, was grounded in the study of Mālikī *fikh*: the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī, the *Mukhtaṣar farʿī* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib with the *Tawḍīḥ*, a commentary by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, whose *Mukhtaṣar* was the principal work of reference in the field in much of the *bilād al-Sūdān* down to the 20th century. These were supplemented by *Tuḥfat al-ḥukkām* of Ibn ʿĀṣim on judicial procedure, the *Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj on normative conduct, and *al-Miʿyār al-mughrib*, the great collection of Mālikī *fatāwā* by al-Wansharīsī; *uṣūl al-fikh* was studied from the Shāfiʿī text *Djāmiʿ al-ummahāt* of Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī. *Tawḥīd* was studied from the various *ʿaḳāʾid* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *manẓūma* of Aḥmad al-Djazāʾirī; *ḥadīth* comprised the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim and the *Alfiyya* of al-ʿIrāḳī on the technicalities of transmission. The chief work of Arabic grammar was the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik; of prosody, the *Khazradjiyya* of ʿAbd Allāh al-Khazradjī; of Ṣūfism, the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī; of prophetic piety, the *Shifāʾ* of *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ; of logic, the *Djumal* of al-Khūnadjī; and of astronomy as related to the calendar, the *naẓm* of Abū Muḳriʿ. Many of these works could also be found in the curriculum of Fulbe teachers two centuries later, such as that pursued by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Fodiye (1178-1245/1764-1829) in north-western Hausaland, though the list of works which he studied in Arabic grammar is considerably larger (see M. Hiskett, *Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their jihād*, in *BSOAS*, xix [1957], 550-78). In southern Mauritania, a contemporary of his, Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Fullānī of Futa Djallon (1166-1218/1753-1803), pursued a curriculum of *fikh* which included the above works and many more, as well as a wide range of works of *tafsīr* (al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī, al-Ḳurṭubī, al-Baghawī, Ibn Djuzayy, Ibn ʿAṭiyya), a very extensive curriculum of *ḥadīth* including numerous commentaries, and a curriculum in Arabic language which included such fundamental texts as the book of Sībawayhi, the *K. al-ʿAyn* of Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and the *Ḳāmūs* of al-Fīrūzābādī; and in literary studies, the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad and the *Āmālī* of al-Ḳālī (Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī, *Ḳaṭf al-thamar*, Ḥaydarābād 1328/1910).

Such an extensive training was probably uncommon, but until further research is done, we cannot be sure just how uncommon. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī was unusual in that he left West Africa at the age of twenty and took up residence in Medina, where he became a prominent teacher in the *ḥadīth* movement which denounced the authority of the *madhāhib*, decrying *taḳlīd* and calling for following (*ittibāʿ*) of the Prophet's practice through individual scrutiny of the *ḥadīth* literature to determine the legitimacy of actions (see his *Īḳāẓ ulī 'l-himam wa 'l-abṣār li 'l-iḳtidāʾ bi-sayyid al-muhādjirīn wa 'l-anṣār*, Beirut 1398/1978). His writings were taken to India, where protagonists of the Ahl-i Ḥadīth movement proclaimed him the co-*mudjaddid* of the 12th century of the *hidjra* along with Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (see Muḥammad Ashraf al-Ṣiddīḳī al-ʿAẓīmābādī, *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd ʿalā sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Dihlī 1323/1909, iv, 181). He was not the only West African *ʿālim* to settle and teach in the Middle East: Muḥammad b. Muhammad al-Kashnāwī (d. 1154/1741-2) taught in Mecca and died in the Djabartī household in Cairo; in the 20th century the Tidjānī scholar Alfa Hāshim (d. 1349/1931) made *hidjra* from French occupation to settle and teach in Mecca. Many others, over the centuries, studied with scholars in the Ḥidjāz or Egypt whilst making the pilgrimage to Mecca; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī received many in the 9th/15th century, and maintained written contact with others (see E.M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xv [1971], 193-8); Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī likewise maintained West African links.

West African *ʿulamāʾ*, especially before the 20th century, were much concerned with distinguishing believers from unbelievers [see TAKFĪR. In West Africa] and preventing backsliding. A constant theme of their writings is that of *tadjdīd*, regeneration of the faith. The notion first appears in the replies which the North African scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 909/1503-4 or 910/1504-5 [*q.v.*]) wrote for Askiya *al-ḥādjdj* Muḥammad of Songhay. Dyula *ʿulamāʾ* of the Suwarian tradition (deriving from the 9th/15th century teacher *al-ḥādjdj* Sālim Suwari) made *tadjdīd* an ongoing obligation for their communities. The reformist scholar ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye (d. 1232/1817 [*q.v.*]) styled himself a *mudjaddid*, and wrote extensively on distinctions between believers and unbelievers, and the eradication of beliefs and actions contrary to the Sunna (see, for example, his *Iḥyāʾ al-sunna wa-ikhmād al-bidaʿ*, Cairo n.d. [*ca.* 1962]). Al-Suyūṭī's *urdjūza* on the *mudjaddidūn* was known in West Africa, and scholars of the Kunta clan [*q.v.*] extended it to include West African scholars for the 10th and 11th centuries of the *hidjra*. An anonymous *urdjūza* of the 13th/19th century entitled *Tuḥfat al-mustarshid fī dhikr mā li 'l-dīn min mudjaddid* (B.N., Paris, ms. arabe 5615, fols. 100a-103b), and probably written in southern Mauritania, includes a number of West African names beginning with Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [*q.v.*]) for the 10th century of the *hidjra* and ending with al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (d. 1226/1811).

Relations between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the holders of political power were until the 18th century generally circumspect and at times cordial. In Songhay, after the discordant relationship between Sunni ʿAlī (r. 1464-92) and the *ʿulamāʾ*, the rulers of the 10th/16th century (the Askiya dynasty) showed marks of respect, sometimes visiting the *ʿulamāʾ* of Timbuktu and making gifts to a wide range of holy men. In Bornū under the Sayfawa rulers, the office of Chief Imām (*al-imām al-kabīr*) was evidently a state office from the 10th/16th century. Gifts of land and exemption from taxation and harrassment by the ruler's agents were sometimes granted in royal charters (*maḥram*), as they were farther east in Dār Fūr and the Fundj state of Sinnār on the Blue Nile. In the 18th century, West African *ʿulamāʾ* became more actively involved in the political sphere. They were instrumental in establishing Islamic polities in Futa Djallon and Futa Toro at this time, while in the 19th century *ʿulamāʾ* such as ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Fodiye, Aḥmadu Lobbo (d. 1844 [*q.v.*]) of Masina and *al-ḥādjdj* ʿUmar b. Saʿīd (d. 1864), themselves assumed leadership of states whose creation they had fostered through *djihād*, adopting in all three cases the caliphal title *amīr al-muʾminīn*.

In the 20th century, West African *ʿulamāʾ* adopted various positions vis-à-vis colonial rule, some avoiding direct contact with colonial institutions and personnel, others working closely with them; in either case motivations for such positions were complex, but

the stands the *'ulamā'* took were generally supported, explicitly or implicitly, by reference to *sharī'a* norms. While older teaching traditions have not yet completely died out, many aspiring scholars in the second half of the present century have gone for study to al-Azhar, or more recently to institutions of higher learning in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Arab world. In the new nation-states, the roles of the *'ulamā'* have been considerably restricted, especially in the legal sphere, though they can still make their voices heard through national Islamic bodies such as the Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs (Nigeria), the Association Malienne pour l'Unité et le Progrès de l'Islam (Mali), and the Conseil Supérieur des Chefs Religieux (Senegal).

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AL-'ULAYMĪ [see mudjīr al-dīn al-'ulaymī].

'ULAYYA bt. al-Mahdī, a daughter of the caliph, gifted musician and a poet. She was born in 160/777 and died in 210/825. Her mother Maknūna had been a *djāriya* and professional singer in the service of the Marwānids in Medina before she was sold to the 'Abbāsid prince in Baghdād. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] and the later caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were 'Ulayya's half-brothers. In her youth, she was married to one of her 'Abbāsid relatives, Mūsā b. 'Īsā, who had served as a governor in different places before settling in Baghdād, three years before he died in 183/799. Her intelligence and wit, as well as her taste and elegance (*ẓarf*), were much admired at court, where she was held in the highest esteem by al-Rashīd. She also trained female singers for his palace and had her own disciples. When the caliph died in 193/809, she reduced her artistic activities, and only rarely is she mentioned in the company of the succeeding caliphs al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. Seventy-two of her songs were still known to the singer 'Arīb in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. A small *dīwān* of her poetry is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. More than 200 verses attributed to 'Ulayya, mostly treating of courtly love and wine, have been preserved by al-Ṣūlī and by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī in the *Aghānī*. A collection of her song texts was also quoted by the latter.

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'ULDJAYTŪ KHUDĀBANDA [see öldjeytü].

ULEMA [see 'ulamā'].

ULU DĀGH, modern Turkish Ulu Dağ, a small but imposing mountain range in northwestern Anatolia, to the south-east of Bursa [*q.v.*] and now in the *il* or province of Bursa. It is some 32 km/20 miles by 13 km/8 miles in extent, and its forest-clad slopes rise to a peak of 2,493 m/8,170 feet (lat. 40° 05' N., long. 28° 58' E.), the highest point of western Anatolia. It is the classical Mysian Olympus, but its more modern fame is as a winter ski resort.

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'ULŪDJ 'ALĪ, Mediterranean corsair, Ottoman administrator and Grand Admiral of the Turkish fleet (*Ḳapudan Pasha* [*q.v.*]; b. *ca.* 926/1520 in Calabria, d. 995/1587 in Istanbul). In western literature, his name has been routinely distorted or Italianised, the most frequent form being Occhiali. The name Ḳilidj 'Alī ("'Alī the Sword"), preferred by modern Turkish historiography, was conferred on him in the aftermath of the Battle of Lepanto [see 'aynabakhtī], together with the post of Ḳapudan Pasha, as a reward for scoring a partial victory in the otherwise disastrous defeat.

Like many other North African corsairs, 'Ulūdj 'Alī began his career as a convert to Islam after being taken prisoner, at the age of 16, and serving as a rower on a galley. His original name, Giovan Dionigi Galeni, was at that point changed to 'Ulūdj 'Alī (Ar. *'ulūdj*, pl. of *'ildj* "barbarian", possibly in this context with the connotation of being of Christian or non-Arab origin). The fame and wealth he gained in running down Christian shipping propelled him to the ranks of the Turkish naval élite, a step symbolised by his attachment, from 955/1548 onwards, to Turghud Re'īs [*q.v.*]. His official career was launched with that of his sponsor, when in 958/1551 he accompanied him to Istanbul and received a salary together with the right to carry one *fener* (lantern, as a sign of imperial service) on his ship. From then on, 'Ulūdj 'Alī participated in the principal naval campaigns, such as the victory at Djerba (967/1560) and the siege of Malta (Shawwāl 972-Ṣafar 973/May-September 1565). Later that year, he was given the important post of *beylerbeyi* of Algiers, a function that soon included the challenge of helping the Muslims of Spain and dealing with Spanish presence and influence in Tunisia. He successfully intervened in the latter country by overcoming the Spanish garrison at Goletta [see ḤALḲ AL-WĀDĪ] and installing an Ottoman governor in Tunis; he could offer only token help, however, to the coreligionists in Spain who had risen against Christian rule. These events, gaining momentum in 1569, happened to coincide with the Ottoman plans for the conquest of Cyprus, and 'Ulūdj 'Alī was one of those summoned to join that campaign.

'Ulūdj 'Alī, with his contingent of Algerian ships, commanded the left (seaward) wing of the fleet at the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571). While the Turkish defeat may be partly attributed to the mediocre leadership of the Ḳapudan Pasha Mu'adhdhin-zāde 'Alī Pasha, 'Ulūdj 'Alī's brilliant manoeuvres not only saved his ships but even mauled the galley of Gianandrea Doria, commander of the Christian fleet's right wing. As Ḳapudan Pasha, 'Ulūdj 'Alī then undertook a vigorous rebuilding of the Ottoman fleet and led successful naval campaigns in the following years. The recovery culminated in 982/1574 when the Turks retook Tunis, captured a year earlier by the Spanish under the command of Don Juan of Austria.

'Ulūdj 'Alī retained the post of Ḳapudan Pasha until his death. He endeavoured to expand the arsenal at Ḳāsimpasha in Istanbul [see TERSĀNE], and like many other members of the Ottoman ruling class, used some of his acquired wealth to sponsor the construction of religious or civic buildings. A noteworthy remaining event of his active life was his sailing to the Crimea in 990/1582 with the task of installing Islām Giray as Khān on the throne of this vassal state. He is buried in a *türbe* near the Tophane *iskele* on the Bosphorus by the side of a mosque whose construction, financed by him, was reportedly entrusted to the famous architect Sinān.

'Ulūdj 'Alī typifies the special brand of Ottoman mariners who, having first proved their worth as independent *ghāzī*-corsairs, were recruited into the Ottoman navy and played a catalytic role in its triumphs. His name figures in the roster of the most illustrious captains, from the 15th up to the 18th century: Kemāl Re'īs, Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, Turghud Re'īs, Selman Re'īs, Ḥusayn Pasha Mezzomorto and Djezā'irli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]. They are, however, only the tip of the iceberg, since behind them were hosts of other captains of similar provenance. Most had another feature in common, that of training in the waters off North Africa, the area of maritime *ghazā'* par excellence.

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(S. SOUCEK)

'ULŪFE (A., T.), a term of Ottoman financial and military organisation.

The Ottoman military classes can be divided, according to methods used for their remuneration, into two broad categories: possessors of *dirlik* [*q.v.*] residing in the provinces who received land grants with revenues expressed as an annual sum; and members of the imperial household (*ḳapu ḳulu* [see GHULĀM. iv; ḲUL]. The latters' wages (*'ulūfe* < *'alaf* "provender or grain rations for mounts") were denominated as a daily amount (*yewmiyye*) and distributed according to three-monthly pay periods (each set, for accounting purposes, as a fixed term of 85 days, see Djewād, *Tārīkh-i 'Askerī*, 84). This basic pay for members of standing military regiments at the Porte was continuous in both peace and war and was separate from special campaign allowances (*ḳumanya*) and sultanic largesse (*bakhshīsh* [*q.v.*]) used to mark times of celebration such as accessions to the throne or campaign victories. Use of the term *'ulūfe* for salary also separated military from administrative personnel, since the latters' wages were usually termed *waẓīfe* (pl. *waẓā'if*). The difference between soldiers and others was further reinforced by the terms of payment: three-monthly for the former group (called also *mewādjib-khwarān*) and monthly for those assigned to clerical and administrative tasks, called *müshāhare-khwarān* (for this distinction, see 'Ayn-i 'Alī, *Risāle*, 97, 99 *et passim*).

A detailed guide to how the system worked in practice is provided in an anonymous treatise of the early 11th/17th century called the *Ḳawānīn-i Yeñičeriyān*. According to this source, all Janissaries at their induction into the corps (*be-dergāh*) received the basic rate of pay for new recruits of 3 *aḳčes* per day (fol. 39b, ll. 1-2). Subsequent pay raises (called *teraḳḳī*) were awarded based on length of service and exceptional merit. The maximum pay award for Janissaries in the mid-11th/17th century was 12 *aḳčes* per day (see the second *Risāle* [of *ca.* 1050/1640] by Ḳoči Bey, 84). Pay rates at levels above 7 *aḳčes* per day were traditionally left to the discretion of the Janissary commander, but oversight of the initial registration, and of replacement to fill vacancies (*maḥlūl*) of rank-and-file Janissaries paid between 3 and 7 *aḳčes* per day, remained a treasury prerogative (*Ḳawānīn*, fol. 128a, ll. 2-3). Despite such measures, however, the explosive growth of the Janissaries and the six standing cavalry regiments at the Porte (*altî bölük sipahileri*) in the 11th/17th century left considerable scope for abuse and corruption (for figures showing their growth between 982-1070/1574-1660, see 'Azīz Efendi, 46).

Controlling the expansion in the ranks of the higher-paid cavalrymen (their base pay at the time of induction ranged between 10 and 15 *aḳčes* per day as compared with the Janissaries' 3 to 7, see *Ḳawānīn*, fol. 77a, ll. 1-6) remained a consistent government objective in the 11th/17th century. For example, on a single occasion in 1068/1658 the administration struck 7,000 *altî bölük sipahīs* from the rolls [see KÖPRÜLÜ, at Vol. IV, 258]. Such cost containment

measures could not, however, halt the general trend, apparent also among the Ottomans' European contemporaries, towards central funding for technically proficient, regularly paid, standing professional armies. By the time of the Tarkhundju "budget" of 1064/1653-4 (text in the *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn* of Aḥmed Ferīdūn, ii, 304-7) the Ottomans were devoting 56% (368.3 out of 656 million *aḳčes*) of regular state treasury expenditure to the payment of salaries (*mewādjib*) (composed of both *ʿulūfe* and *waẓāʾif*, see above). Contemporary geo-political realities made it inevitable that a large proportion (roughly 3/4) of this 56% was allocated to the two principal military services: 154.6 million *aḳčes* (23.6%) to the Janissaries and 124.6 millions (19%) to the six cavalry regiments.

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2. Study. Aḥmed Djewād, *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī-yi ʿothmānī. Kitāb-i ewwel. Yeñičeriler*, Istanbul-Paris 1299/1882. (R. Murphey)

ULUGH BEG, Muḥammad Ṭaraghāy b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (796-853/1394-1449), Tīmūrid governor of Transoxiana, briefly Tīmūrid sultan, and patron of mathematics and astronomy. He was born near Sulṭāniyya on 19 Djumādā I 796/22 March 1394, apparently the eldest son of Shāhrukh [*q.v.*] and his wife Gawharshād, and, although not in line for succession, was called Ulugh Beg, the Turkic equivalent of Tīmūr's title *Amīr-i Kabīr*. Like other young princes, Ulugh Beg was brought up among Tīmūr's wives, probably by Sarāy Malik.

1. The early course of historical events.

In Rabīʿ I 807/Sept-Oct. 1404, Tīmūr held a wedding for several grandsons, including Ulugh Beg, who married his cousin Agha Bīkī bt. Muḥammad Sulṭān, a Čingisid on her mother's side. On his departure for China, Tīmūr appointed Ulugh Beg governor of the northern Syr Darya and "Moghulistān up to Khitāy", whose conquest he was presumably to complete. Andīdjān and Kāshghar were assigned to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh.

After Tīmūr died on 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405, Samarḳand was taken over by his grandson Khalīl Sulṭān. Ulugh Beg joined Shāhrukh in Khurāsān where he and Shāhrukh's *amīr* Shāhmalik were appointed to aid Tīmūr's designated successor, Pīr Muḥammad b. Djahāngīr, take the throne. In late 811/spring 1409, after Khalīl Sulṭān had been defeated by some of Tīmūr's *amīrs* on the northern borderlands, Shāhrukh took Transoxiana. Pīr Muḥammad was now dead, and Shāhrukh took the capital for himself, then returned to Harāt, leaving Ulugh Beg as governor of Transoxiana and Turkestan under the tutelage of Shāhmalik. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 812/April-May 1410, they were defeated by the *amīrs* of the northern marches. Shāhrukh came and routed the enemies, but more troops and several campaigns were necessary to render the region secure. Ulugh Beg had begun to chafe under Shāhmalik's tutelage, and once peace was restored in autumn 814/1411, Shāhrukh took Shāhmalik back to Harāt.

Ulugh Beg remained governor in Samarḳand until Shāhrukh's death in 850/1447. Ḥiṣār-i Shādmān in southern Transoxiana was a separate province, as was Khwārazm. Badakhshān remained under its own princes, responsible to Harāt. The disaffected princely governor of Andīdjān, Mīrak Aḥmad, allied with the Moghuls; through a mixture of military action and persuasion, Ulugh Beg and Shāhrukh succeeded in stationing direct agents of Ulugh Beg in Kāshghar and Andīdjān in Rabīʿ I 819/May 1416.

Ulugh Beg's borders were threatened by the Djočids to the north and the Moghuls to the east. These powers suffered from frequent internal strife, inviting interference from the Tīmūrids; they were likewise quick to support Tīmūrid dissidents. With the Moghuls, Ulugh Beg was moderately successful. He helped several pretenders to power, and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 827/November 1424 began a successful campaign against Shīr Muḥammad Khān, his former protegé, who had refused to extradite the rebellious governor of Kāshghar. On this campaign, Ulugh Beg acquired the nephrite used for Tīmūr's grave cover and left a triumphant inscription at Djīzak commemorating the expedition.

Ulugh Beg was less fortunate with the Djočids. In Rabīʿ II 822/May 1419, he received Borāḳ, a fugitive pretender to the throne of the White (or Blue) Horde, and set off in Shaʿbān/August-September to help him to the throne, but turned back. Borāḳ failed to gain the throne then, but by 1425 had established himself securely. In 829/1426 he laid claim to Sighnāḳ [*q.v.*], the former capital of the Horde, now in Tīmūrid hands. Shāhrukh did not allow Ulugh Beg independent action against Borāḳ, but sent additional troops under his brother, Muḥammad Djūkī, in Rabīʿ II 830/February 1427. The princes were defeated by Borāḳ and fled in panic. Shāhrukh investigated the defeat and temporarily removed Ulugh Beg from his post. After this, Ulugh Beg ceased campaigning in person.

Borāḳ died *ca.* 832/1428-9; shortly thereafter, Abu 'l-Khayr Khān rose to power over the Uzbek confederation, and in 833 or 834/1430-1, the Uzbeks took northern Khwārazm. The Tīmūrids expelled them but in 839/1435 they retook and kept northern Khwārazm, and by 1440 were entrenched on the Syr Darya raiding Tīmūrid territories. By the end of Ulugh Beg's governorship, they were pillaging regularly almost to Samarḳand and Bukhārā. About 838/1434-5 Ulugh Beg lost Kāshghar to the Moghuls.

2. The government of Transoxiana under Ulugh Beg, and his death.

We know little about the administration of Ulugh Beg's province. He spent his winters usually in Bukhārā, primarily in hunting, which he loved, and other seasons in Samarḳand. Like other governors in Khwārazm, Fārs and Yazd, he kept the *khuṭba* and coinage in Shāhrukh's name. Bartol'd's judgement that Ulugh Beg was essentially independent is probably an exaggeration. His powers were comparable to those of other governors, limited by controls from the centre. Shāhrukh's name appeared on internal decrees and appointments; Shāhrukh and his wives brought up young princes, arranging their education and marriages. Governors undertook the defence and expansion of their frontiers, but required permission for major campaigns. They accompanied Shāhrukh on his own campaigns, or contributed troops. The splendour of Samarḳand and other regional courts suggests that a good portion of revenue remained within the province, but we know very little about tax administration. Later sources report very modest land taxes under Ulugh Beg, but this probably refers to a temporary reduction. Ulugh Beg levied the *tamgha* [*q.v.*] or Turco-Mongolian tax on trade.

Ulugh Beg had several Čingisid wives, of different lines, and regularly used the title *Güregen* ("royal son-in-law"). According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, he maintained a Čingisid puppet *khān* in Samarḳand. Contemporary histories, documents and coins do not substantiate this. Lists of Čingisid *khāns* of the Tīmūrids end with Tīmūr's last puppet *khān*. During Ulugh Beg's brief rule as sultan, he put only Tīmūr's name on coins together with his own. Some Tīmūrid historians suggest that Ulugh Beg honoured Turco-Mongolian customs contrary to Islam, but he was also knowledgeable about the Ḳur'ān and the Islamic sciences, and maintained good relations with the *ʿulamāʾ*. The power of the Naḳshbandī Ṣūfī order [see NAKSHBANDIYYA] was growing; there is evidence of friction between its *shaykhs* and Ulugh Beg's functionaries, but we know little about Ulugh Beg's own relations with the order (J. Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqšbandiyya in Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin-New York 1991, 240-2).

When Shāhrukh died in 850/1447, he had been ill for several years and competition for succession had begun. Ulugh Beg, the only surviving son, heard of the death from his own son ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, in Shāhrukh's suite; he hastened to Khurāsān, but was unable to establish control. In summer 851/1447 Ulugh Beg made peace, acquiring only Balkh, where he stationed ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. In spring 852/1448, Ulugh Beg and ʿAbd al-Laṭīf took Harāt, which was soon attacked by the Turkmen prince Yār ʿAlī, earlier in Shāhrukh's suite. Ulugh Beg relieved the city, but in late Ramaḍān 852/late November 1448 permitted his army to plunder the outskirts because some of the population had co-operated with the enemy. He then learned that Abu 'l-Khayr Khān had attacked the region of Samarḳand, destroying several of his palaces, and departed, leaving ʿAbd al-Laṭīf in charge. Within a few months, Ulugh Beg lost Khurāsān.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf became angry with his father, who had slighted him in favour of his younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. From Balkh, he openly defied Ulugh Beg, who entrusted Samarḳand to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and advanced to the Oxus. The armies faced each other for some time, until Ulugh Beg was recalled to Samarḳand by an attack from Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] and disorders within the city due to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's treatment of his *amīrs*. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf took Tirmidh and Kish, and advanced on Samarḳand. In Shaʿbān 853/Sept.-Oct. 1449, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf defeated Ulugh Beg near the Dimashḳ suburb of Samarḳand; when Ulugh Beg tried to return to the city, he was locked out by his commander. He retreated to his border fortress Shāhrukhiyya, but here his governor threatened to seize him, so he returned to Samarḳand.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf appointed a Čingisid puppet *khān* and had him judge Ulugh Beg, acquiring a *fatwā* against him from most of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The *khān* found Ulugh Beg guilty of contravening the *Sharīʿa*; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf allowed him to depart on the Pilgrimage, but had him killed. Dawlatshāh dates Ulugh Beg's death to 8 Ramaḍān 853/25 October 1449, but it is inscribed on his tombstone as 10 Ramaḍān. His body was later returned to Samarḳand and buried in the Gūr-i Amīr. After a brief rule, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was killed by Ulugh Beg's *amīrs*, and soon thereafter, Abū Saʿīd seized power in Transoxiana.

3. Ulugh Beg as patron.

Tīmūr took pains with the education of his children and grandchildren, and the latter became knowledgeable patrons. Ulugh Beg attracted a coterie of poets in Čaghatay and Persian, including the well-known ʿIṣmat Allāh Bukhārāʾī. At his court, as in Yazd and Harāt, there was a revival of earlier Turkic literature. In calligraphy, miniature painting and historical writing Ulugh Beg's patronage seems to have been limited. The *Tārīkh-i arbaʿ ulūs*, a general history emphasising the Čingisid houses, is sometimes attributed to Ulugh Beg, but was probably simply written at Ulugh Beg's court. The original is lost; excerpts remaining in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and a later anonymous work suggest that it was short but otherwise similar to the histories produced in several Tīmūrid courts.

Ulugh Beg was an active architectural patron. In *ca.* 820/1417-18 he began building two *madrasas* which still stand, in Bukhārā and on the Rīgistān of Samarḳand, both supported by large *waḳfs*. About the same time, he built other structures now gone: a *khānaḳāh* and bath by the Rigistān and two gardens with palaces. In 823/1420 he began work on his observatory, the most advanced of its age in the Middle East, furnished with a huge stone arc as a sextant. Ulugh Beg also added to the tomb complexes patronised by Tīmūr. He built a gallery in the Gūr-i Amīr and re-oriented the Shāh-i Zinda, adding a monumental portal in the south towards the city. In Shahr-i Sabz, he constructed a mosque and a mausoleum intended for his own descendants.

Ulugh Beg was a talented practitioner of mathematics and astronomy, able to judge the quality of scholarly work. He collected a group of sixty or seventy scholars engaged in the design of instruments and the discussion of astronomical and mathematical problems, including the theories produced by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] at Marāgha. The senior scholar was Salāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Maḥmud Ḳāḍīzāda Rūmī, head professor in Ulugh Beg's *madrasa*, and probably responsible for introducing the teaching of astronomy and mathematics there. The most outstanding was Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī [*q.v.*] who came from Kāshān in *ca.* 823/1420. He soon became a leading figure and invented several instruments for the observatory, most notably a planetary equatorium.

Under the active directorship of Ulugh Beg, al-Kāshī and Ḳāḍīzāda led the astronomical observations until al-Kāshī died in 832/1429; Ḳāḍīzāda soon died thereafter. The observations were continued by ʿAlī Ḳūshči, a student of Ḳāḍīzāda and Ulugh Beg. Ulugh Beg completed the astronomical tables, the *Zīdj al-Sulṭānaʾī* or *Zīdj-i Ulugh Beg* (among other names), probably *ca.* 1441. Based largely on new observations, these became the standard star tables, widely used throughout the Islamic world and translated into Latin.

Ulugh Beg was famous for his remarkable memory and active intellect. As a military commander, he was indecisive, abandoning many projected campaigns at his borders and failing to protect his realm from nomad depredations. This cost him popularity: when he returned to Samarḳand after his defeat by Borāḳ in 830/1427, some people suggested that the gates be closed against him, and his followers quickly abandoned him when he was defeated by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf.

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(Beatrice F. Manz)

ULUGH KHĀN (Tk. "Great Khan"), a title borne by various of the ethnically Turkish Dihlī Sultans in 7th-8th/13th-14th century Muslim India, including the Slave King Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87 [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and then, as a prince, Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (724 or 725-52/1324 or 1325-51 [*q.v.*]. It was further borne by non-Turks, including several Ḥabshīs, hence of servile black East African origin, above all in the sultanate of Gudjarāt [see ḤABSHĪ, at Vol. III, 16a]. (Ed.)

ULUS, a word in Turkic languages and Mongolian with several related meanings.

Written *ulush* in ancient (pre-Mongolian empire) Turkic, it originally had a geographic connotation, meaning "country" (and later even "district", "town" or "village") as opposed to the term *el* "people". When the term came into Mongolian, changing its phonetics to *ulus* in the process, it acquired the latter meaning. As such, it is found in *The secret history of the Mongols*, referring to both the Mongol peoples themselves (§ 272) and neighbouring nations who were absorbed by them (§§ 110, 196). Essentially, a more exact translation would be "the people subject to a certain ruler" (E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Mangholun Niuca Tobach'an*..., Leipzig 1939, 163). A more comprehensive and imperial variant is the later expression *yeke mongghol ulus*, "the great Mongol nation", found first on the seal of Güyük in 1246 (*ulus* here has been translated as "empire" by some scholars, but see I. de Rachelwitz, *Qan, qa'an and the seal of Güyüg*, in *Documenta Barbarorum*, ed. K. Sagaster and M. Weiers, Wiesbaden 1983, 274-5). A Turkish variant of this formula exists on a coin minted at Tiflīs in 622/1244, during the regency of Töregene Khātūn [*q.v.*], within the following phrase: *ulugh monkol ulūsh bek* "commander of the great Mongol nation" (D.M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatics of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 130, New York 1955, 35-7; but cf. his translation). It was also applied to the various appanages given to the sons of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*], but the intended reference again was not to geographic entities *per se* but to the nomads controlled by each house. These *uluses* became increasingly autonomous of the Great Khān, and expressions such as *ulus-i Djočī* and *ulus-i Čaghatay* became the way that these essentially independent states were known by the Mongols (and their historians) (e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tevarikh*, ed. E. Blochet, Leiden and London 1911, 111, 184). Thus the term *ulus* can often be translated henceforth as "state" and this meaning remains in modern Mongolian, along with "people", "empire", "country" and "dynasty" (F. Lessing, *Mongolian-English dictionary*, Berkeley 1960, 873). The word returned to some of the Turkic languages in the post-Mongol imperial period with the Mongolian spelling and usage.

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(R. Amitai)

ʿULYĀʾIYYA, a name applied to a sect of Shīʿī extremists (*ghulāt* [*q.v.*]), founded by the Kūfan heretic Bashshār al-Shaʿīrī [*q.v.*], a contemporary of the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765 [*q.v.*]). According to the Twelver Shīʿī (Imāmī) heresiographers, this man was repudiated by Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ because he deified ʿAlī and assigned to Muḥammad the rôle of ʿAlī's messenger; he was also accused of preaching libertinism, the denial of divine attributes, and metempsychosis (Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 59-60, 63; al-Kashshī, *Ridjāl*, ed. Ḥ. al-Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1969, 398-400). In the Sunnī sources (al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963, 14-15; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, ed. M.M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 252; al-Shahrastānī, 134) names and details concerning the doctrine of the sect are partly confused. The spelling of the name of the sect is doubtful (ʿUlyāʾiyya, ʿUlyāniyya; ʿAlyāʾiyya, ʿIlbāʾiyya) and its meaning is obscure. According to al-Ḳummī, 60, the sect owes its name to that of a sea bird into which Bashshār was changed as a punishment for his heresy. Probably the name should be connected with that of the deified ʿAlī, perhaps through an Aramaic link (*ʿAlyā*) or the like. As far as the doctrines are concerned, the sect seems to have been the forerunner of the later sects of the Isḥāḳiyya and Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*]; this is confirmed by the fact that Isḥāḳ al-Aḥmar and Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr, the respective eponyms of these sects, both were qualified as "ʿUlyāʾīs" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 258; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ, loc. cit.*).

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(H. Halm)

ʿUMĀN, conventionally Oman, a sultanate situated in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, with a second area, separated from the first by parts of the United Arab Emirates, at the tip of the Musandam peninsula. The country, with a population of some 2,000,000 inhabitants, occupies some 312,000 km^2 in all, and has a coastline along the Gulf of Oman and the Indian Ocean of about 1,700 km/1,060 miles in length. The head of state is Sultan Ḳābūs b. Saʿīd, the fourteenth ruler of the Āl Bū Saʿīd dynasty [*q.v.*]. The country is divided ethnically and culturally into two: the Ibāḍī north, comprising the capital area, the Bāṭina coast and the Ḥadjar region; and the Shāfiʿī/Sunnī southern region of Ẓafār [*q.v.*] (conventionally Dhofar), including the islands of Maṣīra and those of Kuria-Muria/Khūriyā Mūriyā off the southern coast. The official state language is Arabic, although in the south-

ern region Djibbālī and Mahrī [*q.v.*] (Mehri) are very widely spoken, and Ḥarsūsī [see ḤARĀSĪS], in Djiddat al-Ḥarāsīs, Baṯharī, on the southern coast, and Hobyōt, in the mountains bordering the Republic of Yemen, are also spoken. (G.R. SMITH)

1. Geography.

The cultural and religious divide mentioned above is reflected also in the geography of the modern Sultanate of Oman.

The orography of ʿUmān proper is dominated by a chain from Raʾs Musandam or Ruʾūs al-Djabal in the northwest and running through the Western Hadjar mountains, with their highest section forming to Djabal Akhḍar, then through the Eastern Hadjar mountains and the small, semi-detached outlier of the Djabal Khamīs and the Djaʿalān district at the southeastern tip of ʿUmān, ending in the promontory of Raʾs al-Ḥadd.

These mountains, made up of dark limestone of the Jurassic and lower Cretaceous periods overlying a core of serpentine, would appear at first sight to represent a broken fragment of an outer arc of the Zagros [*q.v.*] range of southern Persia. But the trend of the mountains of ʿUmān does not accord with the west-east trend of the mountains of Persian and Pakistani Balūčistān on the other side of the Gulf of Oman, and if they do belong to the same system, they must have been thrown up at an earlier period than the mountains of Persia. The ʿUmān mountains fall steeply to the coast or the coastal plain and are broken up into distinct massif formations by transverse rifts. One such cleft separates the Djabal Akhḍar from the Eastern Hadjar range, and this passage, drained to the south by the Wādī Ḥanīfayn and to the north by the Wādī Samāʾil, carries the main route from Muscat/Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] to Nizwa [*q.v.*] and the interior. The Djabal Akhḍar, some 80 km/50 miles long, comprises the highest part of the whole Hadjar range, with several peaks over 2,000 m/6,560 feet high, including the highest one, the Djabal Shamm, to the west of al-Rustāḳ [*q.v.*] at 3,018 m/9,900 feet. As its name ("Green Mountain") implies, the Djabal Akhḍar is the best-watered part of the range, and spots with favoured exposure to precipitation, brought in winter by occasional cyclones, may get up to 50 cm/20 inches of rain and even snow. There are juniper woodlands, and valleys irrigated by water conveyed in subterranean channels (*aflādj*, sing. *faldj*), analogous to the *kārīz*s or *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] of Persia, thereby permitting the cultivation of cereals, apricots, figs, pomegranates and, above all, dates.

The coastal plain is known as the Bāṭina "inner region", i.e. that lying between the Gulf of Oman and the mountains, a tract of sand and gravel extending from Khōr Fakkār in the northwest to the vicinity of Sīb just to the west of Masḳaṭ. At its widest, where the Western Hadjar mountains swing away from the coast, it is 35 km/21 miles wide and 10 km/6 miles wide at each end. This strip is heavily cultivated for virtually its entire length, with water obtained from the slopes by means of *aflādj*. It is here, on the coast, that such important centres of population as al-Rustāḳ, Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*], al-Khābūra and Masḳaṭ are situated. There are many drowned valleys, such as indent the coasts around Raʾs Musandam and at Masḳaṭ, providing excellent harbours (the Elphinstone inlet in Raʾs Musandam extends inland for 16 km/10 miles). It is harbours like these that have for long facilitated ʿUmān's flourishing maritime trade connections with lands as far afield as India and East Africa.

The landward slopes of the mountain range are gentler in relief than the edges facing the Bāṭina, but get scantier rain and are less favourable for human habitation and activities. The stretch of some 160 km/100 miles along the landward slopes of the Western Hadjar mountains and the Djabal Akhḍar is known as the Ẓāhira "back region". This is a piedmont region of sand and gravel, with some cultivation along the upper courses of the wadis coming down from the mountains, but most of it is suitable only for camel and goat grazing. Hence there is no continuous series of oases, as on the eastern face of the Yemeni mountains in southwestern Arabia, and only a few towns such as Nizwa and Ibrī. The region merges imperceptibly on its west with the "Empty Quarter" [see AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ]. To the southeast of the Ẓāhira, and inland from the Eastern Hadjar mountains, is the Sharḳiyya or "eastern province", with sandy plains and gravel hills, and, to its south, the dunes of the Ramlat al-Wahiba.

The other great region of the modern Sultanate of Oman is that of Ẓafār [*q.v.*], conventionally Dhofar, now the Southern Province (al-Djanūbiyya) of the Sultanate. This is an extensive plateau, at its northwestern edges running into the "Empty Quarter". At its southwestern end, adjacent to the political frontier with the modern Yemen Arab Republic and merging into the Ḥadramawt [*q.v.*], Ẓafār includes the densely-wooded Djabal Ḳāra or Qara mountains, which rise to 1,500 m/4,900 feet, and, straddling the frontier with the Y.A.R., the Djabal al-Ḳamar. The coastal region, up to 25 to 30 km/15 to 19 miles wide, catches rain during the months of June to September from the Southwest Monsoon, and the alluvial soil of the Salāla [*q.v.*] area is particularly fertile, with extensive date groves; here, at Salāla, is situated the administrative capital of the Province. Off the coast lies, at the northeastern end of this Southern Province, the quite large island of Maṣīra [*q.v.*], and further south, the group of the smaller Kuria-Muria islands [see KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN].

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2. History.

The following is an historical survey of ʿUmān. The history of Ẓafār, quite different, will be dealt with under that entry. Although the Graeco-Roman accounts call the country by the name Omana (e.g. G.W.B. Huntingford (ed. and tr.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London 1980, chs. 32, 38, 106), that of Magan is frequently mentioned in the context of Mesopotamia-India trade. Archaeology would appear to confirm Magan as ʿUmān, a maritime power and an important supplier of timber, copper and diorite in the third millennium B.C.

Legend speaks of migrations eastwards from the Yemen during the first millennium and of Ḥimyar control of south-east Arabia down to the 6th century B.C. when the area fell under the authority of dynasties centred on the Persian side of the Gulf. The history of ʿUmān becomes clearer with the large-scale

migration, mainly of the Azd, from the Sarāt and Tihāma [*q.v.*] in the Yemen across the southern Peninsula to the south-east. The migration movements are usually in tradition associated with Mālik b. Fahm, an individual who may or may not have been a genuine historical figure. The first waves may have firstly settled in the Dja'lān in the south-east of the country and on up the coast to Ḳalhāt [*q.v.*]. Later they came into contact with the Persian occupiers of the north of the country and the Bāṭina coast with their centre at Ṣuḥār [*q.v.*] and battle between the Arabs and the Persians was joined at Salūt in the southern Djawf (see Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement*, map on 14). The defeated Persians were given one year in which to withdraw completely to the coast and evacuate 'Umān once and for all. It might be suggested that the first migrations took place in the first century A.D. and that the complete Arabisation of 'Umān was finally achieved by about the time of the advent of Islam.

After some Azd delegations to Medina, the famous conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, is reported to have visited 'Umān and met the two Djulandā kings, 'Abd and Djayfar, sometime between 6-10/627-32 in Ṣuḥār, and this as much as anything else is said to have persuaded the Omanis to accept Islam. The early Islamic history of 'Umān is far from clearly defined. The country seems to have been controlled by members of the Djulandā family and/or by governors despatched from the caliphs in the Holy Cities and Damascus.

Before 80/700 'Umān had already become a place of refuge for different groups opposed to the Umayyad caliphate, in particular the Khawāridj [see KHĀRIDJITES], including many following the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*], and the situation deteriorated to such an extent in the opinion of the Umayyads that the famous al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] invaded 'Umān, probably about 86/705. A tough régime followed, and the Umayyads considered they had sufficient hold on the country to use it as a place of exile; other members of the young Ibāḍī movement were sent thither and they lost no time in spreading their message among the 'Umānīs. The movement was further strengthened in 'Umān by the practice of sending out from Baṣra the so-called *ḥamalat al-'ilm* ("carriers of knowledge"), all 'Umānīs in origin and fully versed in the increasingly sophisticated doctrines of the Ibāḍiyya. The movement took hold more firmly in 'Umān and remains the predominant religious doctrine in the north of the country.

In the confusion which followed the ousting of the Umayyads from the caliphate by the 'Abbāsids and after the failure of an Ibāḍī imāmate in Ḥaḍramawt in 131/748, the 'Umānīs established such an imāmate in 'Umān and elected al-Djulandā b. Mas'ūd as *imām* in 132/749-50. A declaration of independence followed which immediately caused a radical change of policy towards 'Umān on the part of the 'Abbāsids in Baghdād. Early on the governors of the latter in 'Umān had been benign and tolerant of the local population and their Ibāḍī ways; but they could not tolerate an independent state so close to home. Khāzim b. Khuzayma, a Tamīmī, was chosen by the caliph to lead the military expedition which was supposed to deal both with the Khawāridj of Ibn Kāwān Island in the Gulf and also with the Ibāḍīs of 'Umān. The Imām al-Djulandā was killed in battle by Khāzim's army (possibly by the hand of Khāzim himself) at Djulfār (modern Ra's al-Khayma [*q.v.*], then part of 'Umān) in 134/752 and the First Ibāḍī Imāmate collapsed after only two years.

The period after the collapse of the First Imāmate in 'Umān is one of confusion and intense tribal conflict, with the 'Abbāsids trying as far as they were able to keep the country within their control. From the Yaḥmadī clan of the Azd, who, unlike the leaders of the First Imāmate, contained most of the leading Ibāḍīs and scholars, there arose in Nizwā [*q.v.*] in 177/793 a new *imām*, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Affān, the first *imām* of the Second Ibāḍī Imāmate in 'Umān which was to endure for a century. However, keeping the imāmate within Yaḥmad aroused much tribal resentment outside it. As time went on, the chosen *imāms* were of worse quality, often weak from old age. The Nizārī tribes of northern origin fought the southern ones, Yemenis, creating at one stage two different *imāms*; all this time, trade was curtailed by the troubles and the economy of the country suffered. In 280/893, the 'Abbāsid governor of Baḥrayn, Muḥammad b. Nūr, was sent to bring 'Umān back under the caliph's control. In savage fighting, Nizwā was taken and the country became once more a province of the caliphate.

For some four centuries, 'Umān was subjected to a number of invasions from outside, including further interventions on the part of the caliphate, while the imāmate struggled to retain as much of the interior as possible. The position in the 9th/15th century appears, for example, to have been a Nabhānī ruler in the north of the country, an *imām* with his capital in Nizwā, and the Persians controlling the coastal areas.

The arrival of the Portuguese in the area in the 10th/16th century dramatically changed the situation. The Portuguese took such strategic coastal towns as Masḳaṭ [*q.v.*] (Muscat), where they built the twin forts of Djalālī (996/1587) and Marānī (997/1588) overlooking the harbour, Ṣuḥār and Ḳalhāt. In 1026/1617, the imāmate fell into the hands of Nāṣir b. Murshid of the Ya'āriba who established his capital at al-Rustāḳ and a new dynasty, set to pacify the interior of the country and to fight, with some success, against the Portuguese. It took until 1060/1650, however, to rid 'Umān of the latter when Imām Sulṭān b. Sayf, the cousin and successor of Nāṣir b. Murshid, expelled the Portuguese from the Masḳaṭ area where they had fortified themselves. Imām Sulṭān went on to build up the 'Umānī navy and greatly encouraged sea trade. It was he, too, who, mainly in order to make life difficult for the Portuguese, embarked on naval expeditions to India and East Africa. It was during the imāmate of a successor, Sayf (1104-23/1692-1711), that 'Umānī sea power reached its zenith and that the Portuguese were constantly harassed wherever they could be found. Successful naval operations under Sayf were undertaken to India and Persia, and an expedition was made in 1110/1698 to East Africa, including Mombasa [*q.v.*], where 'Umānī authority was established, Pemba, Zanzibar and Kilwa [*q.vv.*]. Imām Sayf's death in 1123/1711 in a sense was the beginning of the end of the Ya'rubī dynasty. Internecine family strife and a massive civil war among the tribes, the Hināwīs versus the Ghāfirīs of Nizār, finally brought an end to the dynasty in 1164/1749.

The election of Imām Aḥmad b. Sa'īd ushers in the dynasty of the Āl Bū Sa'īd [*q.v.*], the family which continues to rule 'Umān to the present day. His reign was marked by further commercial activities and naval expeditions to East Africa where Mombasa, Kilwa and Zanzibar were placed under governors from 'Umān. After Aḥmad's death in 1199/1783, his second son Sa'īd retained the title of *imām* and his reli-

gious leadership, but his son Ḥamad ruled in Masḳaṭ until he died in 1207/1792. In 1213/1798 ʿUmān signed a political agreement with Britain in order to exclude French warships during the French Revolution and in order to establish the East India Company at Bandar ʿAbbās which, with the neighbouring coastal region of Persia, belonged at the time to ʿUmān. In 1811, Imām Saʿīd b. Aḥmad died and it is about this time that the title of *imām* was dropped.

It was under the rule of Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1804-56 [*q.v.*]) that ʿUmānī overseas possessions reached their most extensive, with parts of southern Persia as well as Zanzibar under Masḳaṭ's control. Commerce prospered and Masḳaṭ became a major Gulf trading centre. After Saʿīd's death in 1856, however, ʿUmān proper was ruled over by Thuwaynī and East Africa by Madjīd, both his sons. It was in fact to be a whole line of direct descendants of Thuwaynī who ruled in Zanzibar, right down to 1964 when the dynasty lost its East African possessions. The loss of much of the wealth to an independent Bū Saʿīdī state in East Africa and the constant pressure on the part of the British to suppress the slave trade, culminating in an agreement in 1873 for the abolition of the trade throughout ʿUmānī dominions, brought discontent within the country. The Ibāḍī religious leaders were unhappy with the tolerant policies of the Āl Bū Saʿīd and several insurrections took place in the late 19th and the early 20th century which on occasions required British intervention on the side of the sultan.

In 1932 Sulṭan Saʿīd b. Taymūr succeeded to the sultanate. The interior remained under the religious rule of *imām*s still centred on Nizwā, although in 1955 the sultan took over full control of central ʿUmān and the *imām* was forced into retirement. A revolt in 1957, said to be with the help of Saudi-trained forces, was crushed with British help in Firḳ, and by early 1959 Sultanate and British forces were in occupation of al-Djabal al-Akhḍar. This led to a steady build-up of British forces in the Sultanate, financed from Britain until 1967 when the first oil shipments left ʿUmān for export. Although Sultan Saʿīd did attempt to develop the country, his moves were too slow for the public demand. He retired to Ṣalāla [*q.v.*] in Ẓafār and never returned to Masḳaṭ. In July 1970, Sultān Ḳābūs acceded to the throne and instigated widespread plans for the development of the country with the aid of the oil revenues now coming in. The Sultanate was recognised as a fully independent country and in 1971 was admitted to the Arab League and the United Nations. It is widely recognised that the development plans have been largely successful.

Bibliography: For the basic statistics concerning ʿUmān, see Ministry of Information, *Sultanate of Oman throughout twenty years*, Muscat n.d. An authoritative general history of ʿUmān is Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamīd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, 5th ed. Kuwait 1974; useful general surveys are the brief *A short history of Oman from the earliest times*, Muscat 1972 (weak on pre-10th/16th century history) and D. Hawley, *Oman and its renaissance*, London 1977, 13-51 (with an extremely valuable genealogical chart of the Āl Bū Saʿīd on p. 40). J.C. Wilkinson, *Water and tribal settlement in South-East Arabia, a study of the* Aflāj *of Oman*, Oxford 1977 has some excellent historical material, in particular at 122-36. For the early Islamic history see the excellent, though as yet unpublished, dissertation, ʿIṣām ʿAlī Aḥmad al-Rawwās, *Early Islamic Oman (ca. 622-280/893), a political history*, University of Durham 1990; Wilkinson, *The Julanda of Oman*, in *Jnal. of Oman Studies*, i (1975), 97-109. Other specialist histories are ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalfān b. Ḳayṣar, *Sīrat al-Imām Nāṣir b. Murshid*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ḥasīb al-Ḳaysī, Muscat 1977, for the imāmate of the Yaʿrubī Nāṣir b. Murshid in the early 11th/17th century; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd b. Sirḥān, *Annals of Oman to 1728*, ed. and tr. E.C. Ross, repr. from the Calcutta 1874 ed., Cambridge 1984, for 18th and 19th century history; Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad b. Ruzayk, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fī sīrat al-sāda Ālbūsaʿīdiyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir and Muḥammad Mursī ʿAbd Allāh, Muscat 1977, for the history of the Bū Saʿīdī dynasty. (G.R. SMITH)

3. Social structure [see Suppl.].

4. The modern Arabic dialects.

The modern Arabic dialects of ʿUmān form a structurally coherent group, distinguishable from those of the Gulf littoral on the one hand, and central Arabia on the other. None the less, ʿUmānī dialects can still be clearly sub-divided into two basic types: "sedentary" (S) and "bedouin" (B). This ancient bedouin-sedentary socio-economic distinction is now virtually defunct in the rest of the Arab world, but is still dialectally salient in ʿUmān. The ʿUmānī S dialects are spoken in the towns and villages of the mountainous north of the country (e.g. Nizwā, ʿIbrī, Bahlā, Rustāḳ, Izkī), while the B dialects are spoken in the western and southern deserts, and in some of the associated coastal towns (e.g. Ṣūr, in Djaʿlān). There are also areas where centuries of social (and therefore dialectal) contact have resulted in a "mixed" dialect which has both S and B elements: the coastal towns of the Bāṭina *par excellence* (e.g. Saḥam, Ṣuḥār, Khābūra and Muscat itself), and Sharḳiyya towns such as Ibrā' and al-Ḳābil lying on the main east-west road in the hinterland of the Ḥadjar mountains, which forms a border between the sown and the desert. The dialect of Ṣalāla in Ẓafār again appears to be mixed, although there are no recent reliable studies available. The chart below illustrates some of the main phonological and morphological features shared by all (or virtually all) ʿUmānī dialects, and those which distinguish the B and S subgroups:

Shared features:

1. Interdental consonants *th*, *dh*, *ẓ* retained (like most Arabian dialects).
2. 2nd f.s. suffix is *-š*, as in much of southern Yemen, and the Baḥārna dialects (not *-č* or *-ć* as in the rest of central, northern and eastern Arabia).
3. *-in(n)-* infix in suffixed participial structures, e.g. *kātbinnuh*, f. *kātbatinnuh* "I/you/he/she has written it" (as in southern Yemen, the Baḥārna dialects, and parts of southern ʿIrāḳ).
4. Absence of resyllabification of closed CaG non-final syllables, e.g. *ḳahwa* "coffee" (as in most of southern Yemen, not *ghawa* as in most of central northern and eastern Arabia).
5. Feminine plural forms occur regularly (unlike eastern Arabia, but like central Arabia).
6. Internal passive forms occur commonly (unlike eastern Arabia, but like central Arabia).
7. *Tanwīn* (usually *-in*) common (unlike eastern Arabia but like central Arabia).
8. Survival of certain vocabulary items lost in other modern dialects, e.g. *rā* "to see", *tā* "to come", *sār* "to go".

Distinguishing features:

	S	B	Example
9. *ḳ*	*ḳ*	*g*	*ḳatal*/ *gital* "he killed"

10. *dj*	*g*	*y*	*gār/yār* "neighbour"
11. CvCvCv(C)	CvCvCv(C)	CCvCv(C)	*raḳaba/rguba* "neck"
12. imperfect verbs m. pl.	*-ū*	*-ūn*	*yikitbū/yikitbūn* "they write"
f.s.	*-ī*	*-īn*	*tikitbī/tikitbīn* "you write"
13. 3rd m.s. suffix	*-uh*	*-ah*	*trisuh/trisah* "fill it!"
14. prefix, hamzated verbs	*yō-*	*yā-*	*yōkil/yākil* "he eats"
15. prefix, V and VI themes	*yit-/tit-/nit-*	*yti-/tti-/nti-*	*nitʿallam/ntiʿallam* "we learn"
16. question marker	ə	-	*fi l-bētə?* "in the house?"

The S dialects of the mountainous north (the group to which the dialect described by Reinhardt at the end of the last century belongs) bear a strong typological resemblance, at least in some major features of phonology and morphology, to those of other ancient sedentary groups living on the periphery of the peninsula (Ḥaḍramawt and Dathīna, as described by Landberg, the Shīʿī Baḥārna of eastern Arabia). The ʿUmānī S reflexes of Classical *ḳ, k* and *dj* (= *ḳ, k, g*) probably represent the oldest dialectal development of the Old Arabic phonology. Broadly speaking, the ʿUmānī B dialects have much in common with those of the central Arabian desert and the eastern Arabian groups which have emigrated from there to the coast over the last 200 years (most of the present-day Sunnī populations of Kuwait, Bahrain and the UAE). Thus the geographical distribution of dialect features probably reflects ancient patterns of settlement in Arabia overlaid by more recent population movements. In particular, the *-š* 2nd f.s. suffix (the *kashkasha* of the mediaeval grammarians), widespread throughout the southern half of Arabia, seems to be a very ancient feature which originated in Yemen, possibly originally as a common substrate feature of a number of ancient south Arabian languages (which now only survive with a few hundred speakers each), whence it was exported to Bahrain and ʿUmān. The survival of feminine plural forms, internal passives and *tanwīn* in both the S and B dialects, rare outside Arabia, provides further evidence of the extreme linguistic conservatism of the ʿUmānī dialects.

The occupational changes which have occurred since the change of régime in 1970 (especially the drift of the young male population away from the land to employment in industry, the service sector and the military); the effective reunification of the coast with the interior; and the increasingly close political and communication links with other Gulf states—all these factors have tended to blur the dialectal distinctions sketched above and led to the spread of a form of dialect based on the educated speech of the Capital Area, which itself had already long been a linguistic mélange formed out of diverse elements (including Indian languages and Swahili). This "national" dialect is an ʿUmānī-influenced variety of the educated Gulf koinè now increasingly heard in the states of the Gulf Co-operation Council.

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ʿUMAR (I) B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB, the second caliph (*r.* 13/634-23/644), one of the great figures of early Islam, a driving force behind the early conquests and the creation of the early Islamic empire.

There is some contradiction among the historical and biographical traditions on ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and many of these contain exaggerated or legendary details. However, a consistent character emerges out of this material: stern, strong-willed, prone to anger, devoted to Muḥammad, the Ḳurʾān and Islam, ʿUmar seems to have had a coherent political programme during and even before his caliphate.

ʿUmar reportedly began as an enemy of the cause which he later supported with all his might. Once, upon hearing his sister Fāṭima and her husband Saʿīd b. Zayd reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān, he fell (as often) into a rage, which was soon followed by his conversion to Islam. This sudden reversal, together with his later position in the history of Islam, has led to ʿUmar's being known as "the St. Paul of Islam" (see Lazarus-Yafeh in *Bibl.* below), though the two seem actually to have had little in common other than their stubborn energy in championing the cause against which they had originally fought. ʿUmar's conversion is often placed in his 26th year, four years before the *hidjra* [*q.v.*] in 1/622; the resulting figure of 30 for the beginning of the new age may have its own significance (Conrad, *Abraha and Muhammad*). As a member of the ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, a minor clan of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], and the son of a Makhzūmī mother, ʿUmar could not assert much influence, though he may have tried to do so (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7, 91-2). It was only after the migration to Yathrib/Medina that ʿUmar emerged as a principal organiser of the new theocratic state. He played the part of counsellor more than that of soldier; although he took part in Badr, Uḥud [*q.vv.*] and later battles, little is recorded of his military exploits, unlike the cases of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] and other Companions. He is said to have claimed that at least three Ḳurʾānic verses were revealed at his request (II, 125; XXXIII, 53; and LXVI, 6), and everything indicates that he had the Prophet's ear. Despite the differences in their characters, harmony prevailed between ʿUmar and Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] during this period. Even ʿUmar's becoming, like Abū Bakr, father-in-law to the Prophet through the marriage of his daughter Ḥafṣa, provoked no jealousy between them. ʿUmar was unquestionably the superior intellect in the circle around the Prophet, and he avoided the limelight both during Muḥam-

mad's lifetime and during the brief caliphate of Abū Bakr. However, Lammens' theory of a "triumvirate" of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] which would have dominated the Prophet and monopolised his authority, either directly or through his wives ʿĀʾisha bt. Abī Bakr and Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar [*q.vv.*], has not been generally accepted. Meanwhile, ʿUmar greatly extended his influence through strategic marriages (Lecker).

Upon the death of the Prophet in 11/632, ʿUmar played a central role in the events leading to the acclamation of Abū Bakr as caliph [see AL-SAKĪFA]. During Abū Bakr's caliphate, ʿUmar remained close to the centre of power, advocating hard-line positions which the caliph did not always adopt. Upon Abū Bakr's death in 13/634 he achieved the caliphate in his own right. The question of whether or not the dying Abū Bakr designated ʿUmar as his successor has been much discussed by jurists and historians. Caetani (*Annali*, iii, 128) and Levi Della Vida (in the *EI*[1] version of this article) stated that ʿUmar easily assumed power *de facto* and immediately received the recognition of a majority of the Companions, in a manner similar to the nomination of a leader according to old Arab custom. Caetani also saw ʿUmar, both before and during his caliphate, as favouring the old Meccan aristocracy of Ḳuraysh (the Umayyads). Against this view, Madelung (*Succession*, 55) has pointed to resistance against ʿUmar's elevation to the caliphate on the part of members of Ḳuraysh, including field commanders such as Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], upon whom Abū Bakr had depended; Abū Bakr would have had no choice but to designate ʿUmar in order to guarantee his succession.

When ʿUmar became caliph, the movement of conquest was already well under way. The decade of his rule saw the extension of this movement over Syria, Egypt, ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra, and far into Persia and other countries. The Arabic sources tend to ascribe a greater degree of central control to the caliph than was technically and perhaps even politically feasible at the time (Caetani, v, 32; Noth, *Tradition*, 12, 55-7, *passim*; idem, *Früher Islam*, 80-100). ʿUmar was nonetheless a strategic and political genius. He showed his harsher side in demoting Khālid b. al-Walīd, as he had done previously during Abū Bakr's caliphate with Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*]. He appointed able commanders such as Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], whose relatively weak tribal and local affiliations made it impossible for them to set up as independent rulers in the new territories. In other instances, ʿUmar allowed members of the Meccan aristocracy to hold important positions, as when Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] succeeded his own brother Yazīd as governor in Damascus in 18/639, and when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] took the initiative in the conquest of Egypt. Here ʿUmar recognised the limits of his own power, a sign of political aptitude; and he also sent an old Companion, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], to keep an eye on ʿAmr. But for the most part, ʿUmar did not appoint respected Companions to high commands but preferred to keep an eye on them from close by, while granting them the revenues from the conquered royal domains of ʿIrāḳ and Syria [see ḌAYʿA; IḲṬĀʿ; ṬALḤA].

As the conquests proceeded, ʿUmar mostly remained in Medina. An exception to this was a journey to Syria, dated to various times between 15/636 and 17/638. There is much divergence in the sources regarding this journey (or journeys). ʿUmar apparently stopped at al-Djābiya [*q.v.*], where he consulted his commanders and then, according to some versions, received a delegation from Jerusalem, who would agree to a treaty with the Muslims only if ʿUmar guaranteed it; or else, according to other accounts, he went on to Jerusalem and there received the submission of the city. Busse has shown, however, that Jerusalem had probably surrendered at least a year before, and that divergent accounts of ʿUmar's stay in Jerusalem may be related to stages in the Islamisation of the city's holy places (see AL-ḲUDS). A text, existing in a number of versions, in which ʿUmar receives the submission of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to the Muslims and formally sets out the rights and obligations of both parties, became known as the Pact or Covenant of ʿUmar (*ʿahd ʿUmar*), a foundational text of the *dhimma* [*q.v.*]. Much of the Pact has been shown to have originated in later times; here, as elsewhere, developments extending over generations have been concentrated into idealised pictures associated with the revered figure of the second caliph. For indeed, ʿUmar's caliphate has traditionally been regarded as the time in which nearly all the major political institutions of Islam had their origin, which cannot have been so in every instance.

Yet the Muslim state and the lives of its inhabitants did undergo profound changes during ʿUmar's reign. As before, the conquerors adapted (often with little change) the existing administrative structures in the new territories, as well as coinage, personnel, languages of administration and so on. But now came the institution of a register (*dīwān* [*q.v.*]; Puin, *Der Dīwān*) containing the names of all those entitled to military pensions or stipends (*ʿaṭāʾ* [*q.v.*]; see also DAFTAR; DJAYSH). In drawing up the *dīwān* and dividing revenues among the Muslims the principle of *sābiḳa*, precedence in Islam (length of adherence to the cause) was observed, together with (and partly in contradiction to) tribal and family affiliations. The institution of the *dīwān* is almost universally ascribed to ʿUmar, as is a deliberate policy—for the Sawād of ʿIrāḳ but arguably elsewhere as well—of preventing the Muslim Arabs from dispersing and settling as a landed aristocracy in the newly-conquered regions. ʿUmar intended instead that they should cluster together in towns, remaining available for further military expeditions and retaining a distinct identity as Muslim warriors. Meanwhile, they would receive stipends (*ʿaṭāʾ*) from the proceeds of taxation on the conquered peoples. Thus, while the conquered peoples enjoyed protection in their persons and property, together with the right to practise their religions, the conquered lands as a whole became a kind of trust in perpetuity for the benefit of future generations of Muslims. The land-ownership theory behind all this is complex (see FAYʾ; Schmucker, *Untersuchungen*), but there is no reason to doubt that its original impetus came during ʿUmar's caliphate. ʿUmar is likewise given credit for founding the new garrison towns, the *amṣār* which quickly grew into flourishing urban centres [see AL-BAṢRA; AL-KŪFA; AL-FUSṬĀṬ; MIṢR. B]. Subsequent generations of jurists and administrators added to this complex but conceptually unified system of military service, taxation and land tenure, but they continued to view it as ʿUmar's creation.

ʿUmar's other accomplishments are said to have included the creation of the office of *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], the new calendar which dated from the *hidjra* [see TAʾRĪKH. I. 1. iii], and a great number of religious and civil ordinances regarding prayer, pilgrimage, fasting (see ḤADJDJ; RAMAḌĀN; ṢALĀT; ṢAWM; TARĀWĪḤ), penal law and indeed nearly every conceivable area. We cannot know how much of this is historically accurate,

but certainly ʿUmar has always figured as an authority of the first rank. His role in the collection of the Ḳurʾān has been debated, but was certainly important. ʿUmar also ordered the expulsion of the Christian and Jewish communities of Nadjrān and Khaybar [*q.vv.*], and forbade non-Muslims to reside in the Ḥidjāz for longer than three days.

Under ʿUmar the office of caliph (see KHALĪFA) gained in solidity and prestige. Abū Bakr had styled himself *khalīfa* in the sense of successor to the Prophet (though see Crone-Hinds, 19-20, 111-12); this title remained, of course, but ʿUmar also assumed the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*] "Commander of the Faithful". On occasion, the sources convey a sense that ʿUmar held more prestige and authority than a strict Islamic understanding of the matter would really have allowed; or to put it differently, at times his role seems less that of a St. Paul and more that of a St. John the Baptist, in danger of encroaching on the unique authority of the Founder. Uneasiness over such a role may possibly lie behind the *ḥadīth* "If God had wished for there to be another prophet after me, it would have been ʿUmar" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* i, 29, iv, 154; al-Muḥibb, *Manāḳib*, i, 259; cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, 7). Similarly, the epithet often associated with ʿUmar, *al-Fārūḳ*, is generally understood to mean "the one who distinguishes truth from falsehood" or "the true faith from the false," but Sachau and Levi Della Vida (in *RSO*, iv, 1074-6) already detected an association between Arabic *fārūḳ* and Syriac *pārōḳā*, "saviour, redeemer" and related words in Semitic languages denoting a messianic element. Traditions on ʿUmar as al-Fārūḳ are indeed connected with the *ahl al-kitāb*, especially the Jews, though the epithet is also said to have been given him by the Prophet; and some of the accounts of ʿUmar's entry into Jerusalem have a messianic flavour (see Cook-Crone, 5-6; Bashear).

As caliph, ʿUmar was only *primus inter pares*, and numerous anecdotes illustrate his accessibility. He nonetheless enjoyed a vast authority deriving from the respect and awe in which people held him. A stern, uncompromising character—in many anecdotes he chastises with a whip—he was no doubt more feared than loved. He was certainly famous for his temper, as in the story of his conversion, mentioned above, and in the episode of his throwing stones at the Muslim commanders at al-Djābiya when they appeared before him clad in silks and brocades (see Busse, *ʿOmar as conqueror*, 59, for a possible messianic aspect of some versions of this story). To the extent that ʿAlī and others opposed him, they did so quietly.

Apparently, ʿUmar gave little thought to the succession. He may have had Abū ʿUbayda in mind, but the latter died in any case of the plague in the year 18/639. ʿUmar was assassinated, at the height of his powers (his age is given variously as 53, 55, 60, 61 and 63), on 26 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 23/3 November 644, by Abū Luʾluʾa, a Christian slave of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*], then governor of Baṣra. The sources give as Abū Luʾluʾa's motive a tax against which he had appealed in vain to the caliph. Caetani (v, 40-51) thought that Abū Luʾluʾa was the instrument of a conspiracy of Companions which included ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. One of ʿUmar's sons, ʿUbayd Allāh (who died at Ṣiffīn in 37), believed in such a conspiracy, but he seems to have gone insane, and Levi Della Vida and Madelung (*Succession*, 69-70) have shown that the suspicion was unfounded.

On his deathbed, ʿUmar called for a council or *shūrā* [*q.v.*] to choose a successor, though this too has been disputed, as has the question of whether he actually proposed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān [*q.v.*], the council's eventual choice. At any rate, it is consistent with all that we know regarding ʿUmar that he would have insisted on the principle of *shūrā*, together with that of *sābiḳa*, already mentioned. Throughout his caliphate ʿUmar adhered to these two principles (Madelung, 58-9, 76-7), and yet there was contradiction between them. Thus we find ʿUmar advocating the equality of all believers before God (*fī dhāt Allāh*, al-Ṭabarī, i, 2217), while at the same time favouring particular groups in the allocation of offices and revenues.

ʿUmar did much to provide—if not as completely as is sometimes thought—a social and political framework for the religious edifice which had begun to rise in the days of Muḥammad. But the rapid expansion of Islam which occurred during ʿUmar's caliphate put that same framework at risk. Major questions remained unresolved, including that of relations between the early converts and the first Helpers (*Anṣār* [*q.v.*]) on the one hand, and the ambitious Meccan aristocracy on the other; emerging jealousies between the first Arab conquerors in the newly-conquered lands and the waves of immigrants who came after them; and the general question of whether the Arab forces scattered throughout the immense territories would accept subordination to the central authority in Medina. Modern discussions of these questions see the ruling élite as largely unified and concerned with maintaining its power over the tribesmen (Donner), or else as deeply divided (Madelung). Either way, severe tensions remained for which ʿUmar's successor, ʿUthmān, would later pay the price.

Shīʿī tradition has never concealed its antipathy to ʿUmar for having thwarted the claims of ʿAlī and the House of the Prophet. Sunnī tradition, however, reveres ʿUmar not only as a great ruler but also as one of the supreme models for all the Islamic virtues. He appears often in Sunnī *ḥadīth*, both transmitting from the Prophet and as an authority on his own, and sometimes in association with his son ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [*q.v.*], a great jurist in his own right. In many *ḥadīth*s and in the speeches and sermons attributed to ʿUmar in biographies and chronicles, he expresses concern with intention, *niyya* [*q.v.*]—a theological topic much discussed in later ages, and perhaps an instance of later retrojection upon ʿUmar—and in general with what we might call the internalisation of norms. Probably less anachronistic on the whole are ʿUmar's exhortations to his fellow-Muslims to follow the simple, rough style of living which he himself practised (*shiddat al-ʿaysh*, Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 199-200). This stopped short of self-deprivation: himself an active and vigorous man, ʿUmar is said to have denounced extreme ascetics and *mutawakkilūn* (another likely anachronism) for their weakness and dependence, and he was quoted as saying that he preferred to die while travelling in search of legitimate gain (*abtaghī min faḍli ʾllāhi*, cf. Ḳurʾān, II, 198, LXII, 10, LXXIII, 20), rather than in the *djihād* (al-Shaybānī, *Iktisāb*, Cairo 1938, 14, 37; *Kasb*, Damascus 1980, 40-1, 61; on ʿUmar's engaging in commerce while caliph, see Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 199, ll. 19-20). A distinctive type of symbolic poverty may be associated with ʿUmar, different from that of other Islamic rulers, including the other Rāshidūn (I. Mattson) [see AL-KHULAFĀʾ AL-RĀSHIDŪN, in Suppl.].

Always the paradigmatic just ruler for Sunnīs, ʿUmar appears in some 20th-century works as a model for democratic leadership and other modern values. Thus in greatly different circumstances, this austere, majestic figure continues to inspire respect and awe in the community of believers.

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA-[M. BONNER])

'UMAR (II) B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ashadjdj, fifth caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*], reigned 99/717 to 101/720.

'Umar was probably born in Medina, around 60/680, although some sources say that he was born in Egypt. He spent his early years in both places, especially in Ḥulwān in Egypt, where his father resided as governor in the years 65-86/686-705. Nevertheless, it was in Medina that 'Umar was educated, and it was there that he allegedly first associated with prominent pious figures and *muḥaddithūn*. After 'Umar's father died, his uncle, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik [*q.v.*], summoned 'Umar to Damascus to confirm a marriage between 'Umar and the caliph's daughter Fāṭima. Shortly thereafter, 'Abd al-Malik's son and successor al-Walīd I [*q.v.*] named 'Umar as governor of Medina. Both of these acts may be seen as propitiatory gestures designed to soften relations between two rival branches of the Marwānid family.

'Umar arrived at his new post in Medina in Rabī' I 87/February-March 706; his jurisdiction later included Mecca and Ṭā'if as well. Little is known of his activities as governor, but it is said that he immediately set out to govern in close association with the *fuḳahā'* of the Prophet's city. Most accounts depict 'Umar as a just governor, often leading the pilgrimage, and being especially reverent to pious figures like Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab [see FUḲAHĀ' AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'A. VI, in Suppl.], although others describe the young 'Umar as worldly and over-indulgent. In 88/707, 'Umar oversaw the expansion of the Mosque of the Prophet at al-Walīd's request. However, Umar's lenient government in the Ḥidjāz may well have been his undoing there. It was to the Ḥidjāz that some 'Irāḳīs fled to avoid the harsher treatment of al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the powerful and irascible governor of 'Irāḳ, and it was under pressure from al-Ḥadjdjādj that 'Umar was recalled from his post in Sha'bān 93/May-June 712.

'Umar appears to have spent the next years of his life attached to the Umayyad court in Damascus, where, with the influential Radjā' b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], he was an unofficial counsellor to the caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik [*q.v.*]. In 97/716, for example, he accompanied Sulaymān on his pilgrimage to Mecca, stopping in Jerusalem on their return. When Sulaymān became ill at Dābiḳ [*q.v.*] in northern Syria while on campaign in 98/716, Radjā' was able to persuade him to name 'Umar as his successor with Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik [*q.v.*] to follow, in contradiction to 'Abd al-Malik's earlier wish that the succession remain solely among his own descendants. Although this sudden change evoked some opposition from the line of 'Abd al-Malik, the oath of allegiance to 'Umar was secured, and 'Umar was proclaimed caliph on 10 Ṣafar 99/22 September 717.

During his short reign as caliph, 'Umar's activities involved both military matters and domestic concerns. 'Umar has often been portrayed as a pacifist caliph, but it was more likely his concern over the dwindling caliphal treasury that dictated his stance on military affairs. Thus, in 99/717, 'Umar did order the armies engaged in the costly and probably fruitless siege of Constantinople to be lifted, and the frontier with Byzantium to be withdrawn to the region of Malaṭya. However, he was still willing to send troops in that same year against the Turks, who had launched destructive attacks into Ādharbāydjān, and the traditional summer raids continued unabated. Similarly, in 100/718, he ordered first an 'Irāḳī and then a Syrian army to be sent against Khawāridj rebels under Shawdhab (or Bisṭām) al-Yashkurī in 'Irāḳ, although some sources relate that the rebels were placated through diplomatic means.

'Umar was also active in the internal affairs of the caliphate. Like other caliphs, he appointed and removed provincial governors as he saw fit. The most famous example is 'Umar's removal and imprisonment of the Azdī notable Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [see MUHALLABIDS], who had evidently reneged on promises of revenues that he had raised as Sulaymān's governor of 'Irāḳ and the East. But 'Umar is best known for his fiscal policies, although these policies still remain unclear. His famous "fiscal rescript" is not a document, but a text preserved in Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam's

[*q.v.*] later biography of the caliph, and the details of this text remain open to different interpretations. However, it seems clear that, in this rescript as in other fiscal matters, ʿUmar was concerned with increasing the revenues accruing to the state while also ensuring that new converts to Islam would be granted the same lenient fiscal status of other Muslims. In any event, ʿUmar's successors did not pursue his policies further, and their long-term significance for the fiscal régime of the caliphate was small.

En route from Damascus to Aleppo, perhaps heading for his nearby estate at K͟hunāṣira [*q.v.*], ʿUmar took ill, some sources alleging that he was poisoned by the family of ʿAbd al-Malik. He died on 20 or 25 Rad͟jab 101/5 or 10 February 720 in the village of Dayr Simʿān (near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān), where he was buried in a plot that he himself had purchased. The ruins of his tomb, of uncertain date, can still be seen today.

ʿUmar's significance lies as much in the complexity of his later image as it does in his accomplishments as caliph. On the one hand, to later generations, ʿUmar was an exemplar of the Muslim virtues of piety, equity and humility. The fact that his mother, Umm ʿĀṣim, was the granddaughter of the Rightly-Guided caliph ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb [*q.v.*] was frequently stressed. The links and similarities between the Umayyad caliph and his revered namesake were often mentioned and elaborated, to the point that some commentators included him among the ranks of the caliphs designated as Rightly-Guided [see AL-K͟HULAFĀʾ AL-RĀS͟HIDŪN, in Suppl.]; indeed, there is some evidence suggesting that ʿUmar viewed himself as the redeeming Mahdī [*q.v.*] and a renewer (*mud͟jaddid*) of Islam as the community approached the end of the first Islamic century (see P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's caliph*, Cambridge 1986, 114 and index).

On the other hand, anecdotal evidence abounds which depicts ʿUmar, especially the youthful ʿUmar, as a typical Umayyad prince of his day, fond of pomp and luxury. These latter accounts, however, may be a mere counterpoint to the image of the mature ʿUmar, serving to further heighten the image of the virtuous caliph. ʿUmar's reputation for piety and his interest in religious affairs also extended beyond Muslim audiences, and it is this image of ʿUmar that certainly accounts for the Christian polemical pseudo-correspondence that was attributed to him and the Byzantine emperor Leo III. To the belles-lettrists and historians of the ʿAbbāsid era and later, ʿUmar was something of an enigma: a prince of the despised Umayyad house, and yet a pious statesman worthy of nostalgia and imitation. As such, he is one of the few early historical personages who became the subject of discrete biographical works early on.

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(P.M. COBB)

ʿUMAR (B. ʿABD ALLĀH) B. **ABĪ RABĪʿA** AL-MAK͟HZŪMĪ, an Umayyad *g͟hazal* [*q.v.*] poet of renown, reputedly a member of the Meccan aristocracy whose paternal uncle, according to Ibn Ḳutayba (*al-S͟hiʿr*, 348), was Abū D͟jahl ʿAmr b. His͟hām b. al-Mug͟hīra [*q.v.*]. His father and brother held administrative posts in South Arabia (whence his family's wealth is said to have derived) and Baṣra respectively. In his verse, ʿUmar usually refers to himself as ʿUmar, Abu 'l-K͟haṭṭāb or al-Mug͟hīrī and once as Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (P. Schwarz, *Der Diwan des ʿUmar Ibn Abi Rebiʿa*, Leipzig 1901-9, i, 189, poem 278, v. 4), although he seems to have preferred to be known by the name of his grandfather. Schwarz (*op. cit.*, iv, 5-7) sees in his name a connection between him and the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb [*q.v.*]: tradition, which Schwarz broadly supports, held that the poet was born on the day on which the caliph was assassinated, i.e. in 23/644.

Poem 1 in the *dīwān* is said to have been composed by the young ʿUmar at the instigation of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*]: it is a *rāʾiyya* of seventy-three verses, heavily indebted to the *nasīb* of the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, in which characteristic features of ʿUmar's *g͟hazal* are in evidence; the seductive prowess of the proud poet (an object of adoration for both poet and beloved), the desert *mise-en-scène* (even for municipal dramas), the blend of all-consuming ardour (similar in spirit to the love known as *ʿUd͟hrī* [*q.v.*]) and the performative, physical love known as Ḥid͟jāzī, the dialogue of beloved with companion(s), the nocturnal invasion of the woman's tent (here very reminiscent of Imruʾ al-Ḳays's poem), combined in the manner of a bipartite, polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] to conclude with a desert *raḥīl* [*q.v.*], identified by Th. Bauer (*Altarabische Dichtkunst. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Struktur und Entwicklung am Beispiel der Onagerepisode*, Wiesbaden 1992, i, 71) as structurally valid and not lacunose. This was the self-professedly artistic format (focused on animal portraits) of the pre-Islamic poets. A further characteristic of ʿUmar's poetry is parody, of both tradition and self: the travel-hardened Bedouin hero of vv. 14-16 needs the help of his beloved and her sisters to escape—in one version, dressed as a woman; his concluding desert-journey (in which animal portraits do not appear) is, by implication, to keep his tryst with Nuʿm at ʿAzwar (v. 41). See D. Cowell, *Narrative art in ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa*, in G. de Lama (ed.), *Middle East 1*, Colegio de México 1982 (30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North America 1976), 78-93, and J.E. Montgomery and J.N. Mattock, *The metaphysical ʿUmar?*, in *JAL*, xx (1989), 12-13. Typical also of this parody is poem 195, v. 10, in which a rival for the attentions of Nuʿm (herself a gazelle) is described, as he deprives the poet of his kill, in language appropriate to the hunter in traditional animal portraits.

Little is known about ʿUmar's life. He reputedly passed much of it in either Medina or Mecca: the

account in the *K. al-Aghānī* concentrates on the latter, though this information may be derived from an over-literal reading of poems in which these places and their environs are mentioned (for a list, see Schwarz, iv, 13-16), on the assumption that the locutor of the poem (if authentic) and ʿUmar are one and the same. The same strictures apply to other toponyms in ʿUmar's poetry (*ibid.*, iv, 15): they do not in themselves constitute proof that the poet visited them. Indeed, the encounter with Djamīl [*q.v.*] in Syria is patently legendary. ʿUmar died in either 93/712 or 103/721. One tradition has him repent of his mis-spent youth and devote the latter part of his life to Islam. The sources, indeed, do not question his devotion to Islam, which features prominently in much of his *ghazal*.

ʿUmar's *dīwān* represents the most conspicuous and voluminous example of Ḥidjāzī *ghazal*, although it is not without its accretions and falsifications. The emergence of this phenomenon, together with its bed-fellow ʿUdhrī *ghazal*, has been variously explained, largely in socio-economic terms (the disintegration of tribal society, though this was not as profoundly impacted upon by Islam as has been supposed; the influx of Persian and Levantine slaves, with their artistic traditions, into al-Ḥidjāz; the emergence of a leisured aristocracy and a *jeunesse dorée*: see S. Enderwitz, *Liebe als Beruf. Al-ʿAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf und das Ġazal*, Beirut 1995, 12-16) and in political terms (the relocation of imperial power from Medina to Damascus) and has been tied to the prevalence of Mecca and Medina as settings for ʿUmar's amorous escapades. There is no proof that ʿUmar's verse was composed in either place: they may be imaginative settings (*pace* J.-C. Vadet's characterisation of him as a pure Ḥidjāzī, in terms both literary and geographical: *L'Esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 112); on the fictionality of ʿUmar's poetry, see further Enderwitz, *op. cit.*, 124-6. It is not known whether independent love poems were composed in the pre-Islamic period, although mediaeval literary opinion avers that the *nasīb* was incorporated into the polythematic ode early in the 6th century. Consequently, the poetic tradition in which ʿUmar was composing is obscure and modern explanations of the emergence of *ghazal* do not consider this; Wagner remarks that Abū Dahbal al-Djumaḥī [*q.v.*] and Ḳays b. Dharīḥ composed independent love songs before ʿUmar (*Grundzüge*, ii, 61). J.-C. Vadet's account (43-118) at least has the merit of considering aesthetic considerations, although he overstates the importance of the influence of singer on poet in terms of subject-matter, though not of metre, commissioning or popularising. R. Jacobi has discussed the role of Abū Dhu'ayb [*q.v.*] in the transition from *nasīb* to *ghazal* (*Die Anfänge der arabischen Ġazalpoesie: Abū Ḏu'aib al-Huḏalī*, in *Isl.*, lxi [1984], 218-50; eadem, *Time and reality in* nasīb *and* ghazal, in *JAL*, xvi [1985], 1-17), and ʿUmar's Ḥidjāzī *ghazal* can be explained exclusively in literary terms, as the appropriation (perhaps reclamation) of the *nasīb* as *mufākhara* [*q.v.*] (typified by Imru' al-Ḳays) from the *ḳaṣīda* (although ʿUmar also feels free to use themes and motifs of the *nasīb*, e.g. concluding one poem, Schwarz no. 9, with the deserted encampment) and from the past (in the manner of Abū Dhu'ayb, although ʿUmar's lack of sentimentality in his occasional treatment of the past is singular, e.g. Schwarz no. 299): his oft-mentioned poetic characterisation of women and their independence renders them more of a challenge for, and therefore upon possession more of a testimony to, his erotic (heroic) élan. ʿUdhrī *ghazal* is also a literary development from the pre-Islamic heritage, in counteraction to the ephemeralness of Ḥidjāzī love. It would be unwise to exclude consideration of the *ghazal* as a literary and antinomian response to the eschatological prescriptions of the Ḳur'ān.

A taxonomic analysis of the 333 poems and 109 fragments in ʿUmar's *dīwān* should be effected on the principles established by Th. Bauer for Abū Tammām [*q.v.*] (*Abū Tammām's contribution to ʿAbbāsid* ġazal *poetry*, in *JAL*, xxvii (1996), 13 ff.), focused on his four categories of courting, message, report (type 1: description; type 2: event) and complaint, thereby establishing the relative frequency of poems of amorous adventure (i.e. narratives, often of astonishing inventiveness and unpredictability) and of declarations of undying or unfulfilled love and facilitating a proper appreciation of the role of ʿUdhrī love in his *ghazal*. Such an analysis has partially been undertaken by Audebert (see *Bibl.*), though from different premises. The selective process of transmission may also have eliminated many poems which do not conform to the received picture of ʿUmar; still extant, for example, are some pieces of tribal *mufākhara* (e.g. Schwarz, nos. 197, 205), panegyric (e.g. Schwarz, no. 247) and a *marthiya* [*q.v.*] (Schwarz, no. 222), suggesting poetic activity of a more traditional sort. The complete picture of ʿUmar the poet has yet to be drawn.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see C. Audebert, *Réflexions sur la composition des poèmes de ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa*, in *Cahiers de linguistique d'Orientalisme et de Slavistique*, v-vi (1975), 17-29, ix (1977), 1-14; eadem, *Rime et parallélisme dans un poème de ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ou le jeu de l'attente déjouée*, in *Annales de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, 1980, 355-67; R. Jacobi, *Theme and variations in Umayyad* ghazal *poetry*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1992), 109-19; T. Seidensticker, *Anmerkungen zum Gedicht ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa nr. 299 ed. Schwarz*, in W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler, *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag. Studien zur arabischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart 1994, 131-44. (J.E. MONTGOMERY)

ʿUMAR B. **ʿALĪ** [see IBN AL-FĀRIḌ].

ʿUMAR B. **AYYŪB** [see AL-MUẒAFFAR, AL-MALIK].

ʿUMAR B. **ḤAFṢ** [see MUHALLABIDS. iv].

ʿUMAR B. **ḤAFṢŪN**, leader of a famous long-running rebellion in the province of Reíyo (Málaga) in Muslim Spain who, in 267/880, rebelled against the Umayyad *amīrs* of Cordova, and two years before his death in 305/918, eventually surrendered conditionally to the *amīr*, later caliph, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir.

Towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, mainly as a result of the weakness of the Umayyad amirate, al-Andalus experienced several uprisings, mostly by neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*). The rebellion of the *muwallad* ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn was the most dangerous due to the fact that it dragged on for almost half a century, gradually assuming a national character, and that Ibn Ḥafṣūn was mainly supported by local Christians (*ʿadjam*) and *muwallads* and was frequently in collusion with the adversaries of the amīrate both within Spain and beyond.

According to Ibn Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], our main source on the rebellion, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's full name was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (Spanish augmentative Ḥafṣūn) b. ʿUmar b. Djaʿfar al-Islāmī. ʿUmar's great grandfather, Djaʿfar, had converted from Christianity to Islam, hence the epithet *islāmī* attached to his name. Alfonso, Djaʿfar's great-grandfather, is described as a Visigothic count (*ḳūmis*).

ʿUmar's father owned a farm in the district of

Ronda but, after his bad-tempered son had caused the death of a neighbour's son, he moved with his family and settled in the Serranía de Ronda not far from Bobastro [see BARBASHTURU]. Following another misdemeanour, ʿUmar fled to Tāhart, capital of the Rustamids [*q.v.*], in North Africa where he was apprenticed to an Andalusian tailor for a few weeks before deciding to return home. Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya's remark that ʿUmar's departure was prompted by his fear of being detained by the Rustamid ruler of Tāhart "whose allegiance was to the Umayyads" is a credible explanation for ʿUmar's sudden decision to return to al-Andalus, since close political and economic relations existed between the Umayyads of Cordova and the Rustamids throughout the 3rd/9th century.

On returning home, ʿUmar joined an uncle who enlisted some forty men with whose help ʿUmar established himself in Bobastro, an old castle halfway between Antequera and Ronda, standing on a high and precipitous rock overlooking the ravine of the Guadalhorce, the site of which was identified by Simonet as Las Mesas de Villaverde, some 7 km/4 miles to the east of Ardales and some 8 km/5 miles to the north of modern Carratraca. It was from Bobastro that ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn launched his rebellion in 267/880 against the *amīr* of Cordova, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (*r.* 238-73/852-86). Having been persuaded to surrender three years later, Ibn Ḥafṣūn joined the *amīr*'s army and is said to have participated in an expedition in the Upper March against Alfonso III of Asturias and the *muwallad* rebel Muḥammad b. Ḳasī. Finding himself mistreated by the city prefect upon his return to Cordova, Ibn Ḥafṣūn defected a year later, reoccupied Bobastro and soon dominated the whole area between Algeciras and Murcia.

In an appeal to the people in the province of Reiyo—then mostly Christians and neo-Muslims—Ibn Ḥafṣūn is quoted as having said, "Already for too long you have endured the yoke of the sultan who robs you and overburdens you with taxes, while the Arabs humiliate you and treat you as slaves. My sole ambition is to avenge your wrongs and deliver you from your bondage." (*Bayān*, ii, 114). Ibn Ḥafṣūn's followers are said to have constituted the lowest stratum of society and, to secure their support, he promised them—in the manner of Robin Hood—land and spoils. The chroniclers, however, list a number of virtues which endeared Ibn Ḥafṣūn to his followers, such as humility, fair dealing, honouring the brave, readiness to forgive and protection of women.

In the second year of his reign, the *amīr* al-Mundhir (*r.* 273-5/886-8) overcame Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who sued for peace but soon reneged, whereupon the *amīr* laid siege to Bobastro during which, six weeks later, he died, probably poisoned at the instigation of his brother ʿAbd Allāh who succeeded him.

The latter's authority, however, barely extended beyond his capital, as Ibn Ḥafṣūn had occupied several fortresses and townships along the Guadalquivir, including Poley—known later as Aguilar—whence he launched ceaseless forays into the Campiña of Cordova. Meanwhile, on account of a personal grudge against the *amīr*, Servando (*Sharband*), whose father and namesake was the *comes* of the Mozarabs in Cordova, sought refuge with Ibn Ḥafṣūn, who entrusted him with launching incursions in the vicinity of the capital, in the course of which Servando was killed. Servando's defection, however, does not seem to have found any response amongst the Mozarabs of Cordova.

Ibn Ḥafṣūn reached the zenith of his power in 278/891 when he installed himself in Poley, and it was then that he began to exchange correspondence and gifts with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, the Aghlabid *amīr* of Ifrīḳiya. Ibn Ḥafṣūn aspired to replace the Umayyad *amīr* and proclaim his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdād, thereby assuming in al-Andalus a role akin to that of the Aghlabid *amīr*s, i.e. real independence with nominal allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids.

The decision of the *amīr* ʿAbd Allāh to lead his troops in person against Ibn Ḥafṣūn was a brave one that was to determine the very survival of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus. Though twice the size of the *amīr*'s army, Ibn Ḥafṣūn's forces were routed in the encounter at Poley (1 Rabīʿ I 278/13 July 891). The *amīr* proceeded to lay siege to Bobastro, where Ibn Ḥafṣūn had taken refuge. Within only one year from the battle, however, Ibn Ḥafṣūn regained full control of the provinces of Reiyo, Elvira and Jaén.

In 285/898, Ibn Ḥafṣūn negotiated an alliance with the *muwallad* rebel in the Upper March, Muḥammad b. Lope b. Ḳasī, but it came to nothing as Ibn Ḳasī fell in an engagement with the Tudjībid governor of Saragossa (Ramaḍān 285/October 898).

Ibn Ḥafṣūn is said to have forsworn Islam openly in 286/899 and to have converted, together with all members of his family, to Christianity, the religion of his ancestors. As a result, most of his *muwallad* supporters deserted him and the jurists (*fuḳahāʾ*) proclaimed a *djihād* against him. Henceforth, Ibn Ḥafṣūn is invariably referred to by Andalusian chroniclers as the infidel (*kāfir*), apostate (*murtadd*), atheist (*mulḥid*) and polytheist (*mushrik*).

The charge of apostasy, however, was not levelled against Ibn Ḥafṣūn until after the fall of Bobastro some thirty years later. According to Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Aʿmāl*, 32), Ibn Ḥafṣūn is said to have "relied completely on Christians and to have, allegedly, assumed the faith of his ancestors."

Although Ibn Ḥafṣūn may have secretly converted to Christianity, it is most unlikely that he publicly renounced Islam, for how can that be reconciled with his simultaneous proclamation of allegiance to the Idrīsids in northern Morocco, his alliance with Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādj, the Arab lord of Seville, and his proclamation of allegiance, a few years later, to ʿUbayd Allāh, the new Shīʿī caliph in Ifrīḳiya? Moreover, had Ibn Ḥafṣūn really apostasised, the Umayyads would no doubt have immediately exploited such an event in order to rally Muslim public opinion throughout al-Andalus against him.

In the last decade of ʿAbd Allāh's reign (r. 275-300/888-912), Ibn Ḥafṣūn lost the initiative. The *amīr* recaptured Jaén, Archidona (Belda) and Baza, while his troops ravaged the district of Bobastro.

On succeeding to his grandfather, the young *amīr* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (*r.* 300-50/912-61) was confronted with several rebels, chief of whom was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn, "head of dissension (*fitna*) and of fanatical solidarity (*ʿaṣabiyya*) with the Christians and *muwallads*" (*Ḥulla*, ii, 159).

The policy adopted by the new *amīr*, combining flexible diplomacy (*mudārāt*) with firmness, proved fruitful. In the first year of his reign, he recovered Ecíja and defeated Ibn Ḥafṣūn near Elvira. In the following year, Seville was recovered from Ibn Ḥadjdjādj, thereby depriving Ibn Ḥafṣūn of an important Arab ally. On entering Algeciras (301/914), the *amīr*'s commander set fire to several vessels used by Ibn Ḥafṣūn for traffic with Morocco. On the *amīr*'s orders, the navy was to patrol the coast from Algeciras to Murcia so as to stop provisions reaching the rebel from North

Africa, and as a precautionary measure against the Shīʿī threat.

Eventually, Ibn Ḥafṣūn sought peace (303/916) from the *amīr*, who entrusted the task of negotiating peace terms to his Christian physician and *wazīr*, Yaḥyā b. Isḥāḳ, and to his *ḥādjib*, Badr b. Aḥmad. It would seem that Ibn Ḥafṣūn was pressed to take this step by his Christian supporters, led by Djaʿfar b. Maḳsim (Maximo), bishop of Bobastro.

The terms agreed upon seem to have been quite favourable to Ibn Ḥafṣūn, for he and his descendants after him were to retain Bobastro as well as 162 other fortresses (*Muḳtabas*, v, 115).

Unvanquished, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn died in Bobastro on 16 Shaʿbān 305/1 February 918, after a rebellious career which spanned almost forty years. He was survived by four sons, three of whom—Djaʿfar, Sulaymān and Ḥafṣ—successively ruled Bobastro and intermittently rebelled against the *amīr* of Cordova. Eventually, Ḥafṣ surrendered and joined the *amīr*'s expedition in Galicia. Bobastro finally fell on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 315/ 19 January 928. Two months later, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered Bobastro; ʿUmar's body was disinterred and it was found that he had been buried according to Christian rites, a point which was taken as clear evidence of his apostasy. His body was removed to Cordova and crucified between the bodies of two of his sons.

The great mosque built by Ibn Ḥafṣūn at the outset of his rebellion was demolished, as it had allegedly been built with the proceeds of Muslim spoils. New mosques were now built in Bobastro while existing churches were demolished. Fortresses throughout the province of Reiyo were likewise destroyed and their Christian occupants deported to the lowlands which they had occupied prior to Ibn Ḥafṣūn's rebellion.

ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn appears to have been an adventurer, an opportunist and man of ambition who aspired to achieve independence. His real aim throughout was to achieve for himself in al-Andalus what had been achieved by the Aghlabid *amīr*s of Ḳayrawān, i.e. *de facto* independence with nominal allegiance to a remote caliphate. Initially, circumstances were favourable to him, but after his defeat at Poley (278/891), his power steadily declined.

Al-Nāṣir's conciliatory but firm policy, the blockade of the Straits, the incessant attacks on Bobastro and its district, the recurrent famines and epidemics, the divisions within the ranks of his followers and the exhaustion of the people by the long-running struggle—all these factors combined led to the eventual failure of the rebellion. Yet, under the peace agreement concluded with al-Nāṣir, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn retained Bobastro and quite a large number of fortresses for himself and his descendants. He was not beaten in battle nor was Bobastro captured by force. Al-Nāṣir probably saw fit to conciliate ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn by keeping him in control of Bobastro as his vassal so that he could free himself to deal with the other rebels and to concentrate on the new Shīʿī power which posed a far greater threat both to the Maghrib and al-Andalus.

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(Amin Tibi)

ʿUMAR b. HUBAYRA [see ibn hubayra].

ʿUMAR b. IBRĀHĪM al-KHAYYĀMĪ [see ʿumar khayyām].

ʿUMAR b. SAʿĪD al-FŪTĪ (*ca*. 1796-1864) a distinguished scholar and *mudjāhid* of the Tidjāniyya *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] in the western Sudan. ʿUmar was born in Halwar in Futa Toro (present-day Senegal) to a modest scholarly family of the Fulbe [*q.v.*] ethnic group. He was initiated into the Tidjāniyya in Mauritania by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nāḳil. A turning point in ʿUmar's life was his pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he set out, according to traditions cited by Ly-Tall (*Un Islam militant*, 83), in 1825. While in the Ḥidjāz (1828-30) ʿUmar was attached to Muḥammad al-Ghālī, the Tidjānī *khalīfa* for al-Ḥidjāz. In his book *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm* (i, 194-5) ʿUmar relates that besides instructing him in the special teachings of the Tidjāniyya, Muḥammad al-Ghālī appointed him *khalīfa* of the Tidjāniyya for the western Sudan. On the way back from Mecca, ʿUmar spent about six years (1832-8) in Sokoto [*q.v.*], during which he had very close contacts with sultan Muḥammad Bello, whose daughter he married.

ʿUmar b. Saʿīd's career as a *mudjāhid* was related to the self-esteem which he developed as a result of his relations with Muḥammad al-Ghālī and Muḥammad Bello and to his acquaintance with the *djihād* tradition of Sokoto, but it did not result directly from these. For after leaving Sokoto and spending some time in Masina, ʿUmar settled down to the life of a religious teacher in a community of his own which

he created in 1840 in Jegunko in Futa Djallon [*q.v.*]. There he completed in 1845 his most important work, *Rimāḥ ḥizb al-raḥīm*. The project of launching a *djihād* seems to have taken shape in 'Umar's mind during a voyage which he made through Senegambia in 1846-7, during which he won followers and spent some time in his home town of Halwar. In 1849 he moved his community to Dingiray to the east of Jegunko in the territory of the Maninka kingdom of Tamba. Robinson suggests that through moving his community to a territory ruled by a non-Muslim king, 'Umar intended to create propitious conditions for starting his *djihād*. Indeed, after settling in Dingiray, he had it fortified and had his followers armed with weapons which he bought from British traders in Freetown and French traders along the Senegal river respectively. The 'Umarian community achieved its first military success against the forces sent in September 1852 by Yimba, the king of Tamba, to capture Dingiray (Robinson, *The holy war of Umar Tal*, 112-31).

The wars of 'Umar b. Sa'īd cannot be described in any detail here. Suffice it to say that from June 1854 he started his expansion northwards into Senegambia. Two defeats which he suffered in 1857 at Medine and in 1859 at Gemu at the hands of the French made him change the direction of his conquests towards the Middle Niger. After conquering the pagan kingdom of Segu [*q.v.*] in March 1861, 'Umar became involved in a conflict with Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, the Muslim ruler of Masina, and his ally the chief of the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī al-Kuntī in Timbuktu. In this way 'Umar's *djihād* developed into a conflict with the Ḳādiriyya over hegemony in the Middle Niger region, in the course of which Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī conducted a religious campaign against 'Umar, denouncing especially his launching of *djihād* against fellow Muslims (cf. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, 168-71). In May 1862 'Umar b. Sa'īd defeated and killed Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, but shortly afterwards he was besieged in the latter's capital Hamadullahi by the rebellious people of Masina supported by Aḥmad al-Bakkā'ī. 'Umar fled with a small party of followers from Hamdullahi on 6 February 1864, but was killed a few days later by his pursuers. Segu remained under the rule of 'Umar's son Aḥmad until the French forces under Archinard arrived there in 1893.

Through his writings (cf. Willis, *The writings of al-Hajj 'Umar*), but more importantly through making strict adherence to Islamic norms the basis of religious solidarity amongst his followers and justifying the launching of *djihād* against Muslim rulers through their deviation from these norms, 'Umar b. Sa'īd became an important reformer of Islamic religious life in the western Sudan. The Tidjāniyya had had followers in the western Sudan before him, but it was his great prestige as religious scholar and holy warrior which laid the foundations for its becoming the only *ṭarīḳa* which could rival the much older Ḳādiriyya for the allegiance of the Muslims in this region.

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(JAMIL M. ABUN-NASR)

'UMAR B. SHABBA b. 'Abīda b. Rayṭa (Rā'iṭa) al-Numayrī al-Baṣrī, Abū Zayd, expert in *akhbār* on history as well as poets and poetry, very important source for some of the most prominent works of Arabic literature and himself author of *akhbār* collections which mostly survive in the quotations of later authors (173-262/789-878). His father's name was Zayd, "Shabba" being a nickname taken from a song that his father's mother used to sing for him when he was a boy. 'Umar was born at Baṣra as a *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr, as mentioned by Yāḳūt (*Irshād*, vi, 481-2) and al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfī*, xxii, 488-9). He must have received a thorough education before he went to Baghdād, where he lectured as a *muḥaddith* (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 208-10). Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (b. 240/854) emphasises his reputation as a reliable and serious scholar. He also reports that he himself, together with his father, used to write down, or copy, materials at 'Umar's lectures (*katabtu 'anhu*; see *al-Djarḥ wa 'l-ta'dīl*, Ḥaydarābād, iii, 116). 'Umar also taught the *ḳirā'āt* (Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrā'*, no. 2407), and as an *adīb*, he produced some poetry. Verses in honour of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad (d. *ca.* 271/884-3), who served al-Mutawakkil and later became vizier under al-Mu'tamid, are preserved in biographical literature. His interest in literary matters is abundantly documented in later sources, and he is said to have copied the *dīwān* of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (Sezgin, ii, 513-14).

Al-Khaṭīb mentions that 'Umar settled at Sāmarrā' near the end of his life. However, this must have been some twenty-five years before his death in Djumādā II 262/March 878, because, as he reports himself to Abū 'Alī al-'Anazī (i.e. the *adīb* al-Ḥasan b. 'Ulayl, d. 290/902), 'Umar was soon after his coming to Sāmarrā' submitted to the *miḥna* [*q.v.*], which was in fact ended by al-Mutawakkil as early as between 234/848-9 and 237/851-2. Al-'Anazī, who was a student of 'Umar b. Shabba at Sāmarrā', also reports that he did not bow to pressure, and as a punishment (some of) his books were torn to pieces. In protest against this ill-treatment, he abstained from lecturing for a certain period. Not all of his books were lost, however. Ibn al-Nadīm (*al-Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 125-6) says that when he died, his son Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad, who was an able poet (al-Ṣafadī, vii, 261-2), sold his father's books.

Most important is 'Umar's role as an authority for *akhbār* on history and literary matters. He was a prolific author, as we learn from the titles of his books given in the *Fihrist* (*loc. cit.*) and in the lists of Yāḳūt, al-Dhahabī (*Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, xiii, 371-2) and al-Ṣafadī. The subject matter indicated by these titles concerns history, particularly focused on urban centres (Baṣra, al-Kūfa, Medina, Mecca), narrative material about poets and their poetry, and the *'arabiyya*. The abundant quotations from 'Umar in such works as the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī and, to a lesser degree, the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* of al-Balādhurī, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Aghānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, and *al-*

Muwashshah of al-Marzubānī, contain material in conformity with these titles, and it is likely that they are taken from collections which ʿUmar b. Shabba produced and used in his teaching. However, only the *Akhbār al-Madīna*, which al-Dhahabī himself had seen in part, has survived in a late and damaged manuscript (*Taʾrīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, 4 vols. Beirut 1410/1990). It contains *akhbār*, quoted with full *isnāds* and without any comments, about the life of the Prophet, of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. The murder of the third caliph is not included; the title *Maktal ʿUthmān* mentioned in the *Fihrist* could be a continuation of this book. Al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, who both extensively quote ʿUmar for other topics, do not seem to have used this particular collection. It comes as a surprise that only one of the titles given by Ibn al-Nadīm and in the above-mentioned lists is found quoted by a later author: al-Ṭabarī (ii, 168) refers to the *Akhbār ahl al-Baṣra*. Yāḳūt also refers to this book in general terms, but does not quote from it (F.J. Heer, 32), and al-Sakhāwī knew of this book as well (Rosenthal, 462).

The huge amount of quotations from ʿUmar in the *Aghānī* proves Abu ʾl-Faradj's substantial dependence on these materials. He does not mention any title of a book by ʿUmar, but received the material from different informants who had probably produced recensions of ʿUmar's collections, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ* and the *Aghānī*. In a similar manner, materials pertaining to the *kitāb Muḥammad wa-Ibrāhīm ibnay ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan* are preserved in the quotations of Abu ʾl-Faradj's *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (S. Günther) and al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* (T. Nagel). Al-Ṭabarī's work also contains fragments, or materials, from ʿUmar's *Umarāʾ al-Kūfa* as well as from his *Kitāb al-Kuttāb*, which seems also to have been used by al-Djahshiyārī for his *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* (S. Leder).

The fact that ʿUmar's works are not directly quoted is in part due to the rules of *isnād* quotation. We may also infer that ʿUmar, who applied the methods of the transmission of *ḥadīth*, passed on to his disciples *akhbār* which he had gathered and arranged according to different topics throughout his entire life. He thus spread his materials in various collections by way of *riwāya* [*q.v.*], instead of bringing books into circulation which were "his" works in terms of elaborated structure, introduction, etc. The existence of a variety of collections comprising roughly the same materials must also be considered in order to explain parallels between al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, as well as Ibn Ḳutayba and Abu ʾl-Faradj. These have as their common source neither ʿUmar's books nor the authorities he quotes, but arise from collections which are described as accessible to experts in these matters but which are not specified.

Bibliography: In addition to the literature quoted in the article, see Brockelman, S I, 209; Sezgin, i, 345-6; M. Fleischhammer, *Quellenstudien zum kitāb al-Aghānī*, Halle (Saale) 1965 (unpublished ms.); S. Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den "Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyīn" des Abū l-Farağ al-Iṣfahānī (st. 356/967)*, Hildesheim 1991, 220-5; F.J. Heer, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jāqūt's Geographischem Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1898, 32; Djāsim Ḥamādī al-Mashhadānī, *Mawārid al-Balādhurī ʿan al-usra al-umawiyya fī Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Mecca 1406/1986, i, 306-13; S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṯam ibn ʿAdī*, Frankfurt 1991, 125, 151-5, 209; idem, *Frühe Erzählungen zu Mağnūn*, in *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. W. Diem and Abdoldjawad Falaturi, Wiesbaden 1990, 150-61; T. Nagel, *Früher Bericht über den Aufstand von Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh*, in *Isl.*, xlvi (1970), 227-63; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Arabic historiography*, Leiden 1952, 462, 473, 475, 480. (S. LEDER)

ʿUMAR BĀ MAKHRAMA [see MAKHRAMA. 3].

ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM, renowned Persian scholar and poet of the Saldjūḳ period (*ca.* 439-517/1048-1123).

1. Biography

Al-Imām Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī is thus named in the *Mīzān al-ḥikma* which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī composed in 515/1121, often mentioning Khayyām for his scientific works. Abū Ḥafṣ is a *kunya* customarily associated with the name ʿUmar, and al-Khayyāmī is the form which would be expected in an Arabic work; it would be pointless to speculate on the origin of this name, as to whether, for example, this was a man belonging to a family of tent-makers or not, just as someone with the surname al-ʿAṭṭār is not necessarily associated with the manufacture of perfume. In Persian, this name naturally becomes Khayyām. Al-Khāzinī (see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma, s.v.*) definitely had personal links with Khayyām. In the indices of catalogues, his name will be found, according to the case, in entries beginning with ʿU, ʿO, Kh, X or H.

Thanks to two other contemporaries of Khayyām, Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī-i Samarḳandī (*Madjmaʿ al-Nawādir* or *Čahār maḳāla*, written *ca.* 551/1156, ed. Ḳazwīnī, 100-4) and ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī (*Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, written after 548/1153, ed. Shafīʿ, fasc. i, 112-4, 163), some dates and biographical elements are available regarding this scholar and the renown which he enjoyed in his time. ʿAlī Bayhaḳī, called Ibn Funduḳ (who is also the author of the important history of eminent families of Bayhaḳ), gives him the title of *al-Dustūr al-Faylasūf Ḥudjdjat al-Ḥaḳḳ*. The dates are as follows: in 506/1112 Niẓāmī, who was then in the service of Khʷādja Imām ʿUmar Khayyāmī, heard his master predicting his death in circumstances which subsequently came about. According to Niẓāmī again, at Marw, in 508/1114, the reputation of Khayyām exceeded that of all the astrologers and astronomers at the court of the sultan. In 530/1135, Niẓāmī had occasion to visit the tomb of his former master, a clearly described and moving experience. According to one manuscript "it was four years" (longer according to another) since the death of Khayyām. The three appreciative accounts of Khayyām given by Niẓāmī, in his chapter on astronomers/astrologers, are inspired by the admiration which he felt for his one-time master. For his part, ʿAlī Bayhaḳī (499-565/1105-69), appreciably younger than Khayyām, presents a first biography of the scholar. He remembers having accompanied his father in 507/1113 to a salon (*madjlis*) conducted by Khayyām, who questioned him (or more likely, his father, see M. Ḳazwīnī, introd. to *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, 19-22, regarding a quotation from Abarkūhī on this point) on a *bayt* relating to an astronomical topic. "This was a man expert in philosophy (*ḥikmat*), in mathematics in all its forms, and in medicine." He was a native of Nīshāpūr, he writes, like his father and his grandfather. Skilled in teaching and in the composition of works, he was of strict character and valued his knowledge highly. Through the intermediary of a disciple of Ibn Sīnā, he was influenced by the latter's doctrine, as will be shown below. He was a scholar who was frequently consulted. Among the examples given by ʿAlī Bayhaḳī, one is the response which he gave to a question put to him by the great

master of Muslim scholasticism al-Ghazālī. He often made his way to Iṣfahān to visit the observatory constructed there by Malik Shāh after 467/1076 (see further on this, below). Finally, Bayhaḳī gives a detailed horoscope of the birth of Khayyām, on the basis of which Swāmī Govinda Tīrtha (1941) calculated that Khayyām must have been born on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 439/18 May 1048. Similarly, on the later basis of information given in the *Ṭarab-khāna* of Yār Aḥmad (written in 867/1460), it has been reckoned possible to date his death at 12 Muḥarram 526/14 December 1131) (on this point see the doubts of M. Muʿīn, 1333/1954). The date of 439 is entirely plausible; that of 526 is dubious. General opinion places the death of Khayyām around 517/1123. It seems that after the death of Malik Shāh, he lived some distance away from the court.

To these items of information others may be added, such as the known date of two of his treatises (469/1077 and 472/1080), or indeed the mention of Khayyām made by the renowned Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (467-538/1074-1143) in his treatise *al-Ẓādjir li 'l-ṣighār*, where he comments that Khayyām enjoyed frequenting his circle, that he was familiar with the thought of the Arab poet Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (a pertinent literary observation) and, finally, that he was of obstinate character (*lidjādja*). More important in the life of Khayyām was the date 467/1074. Dealing with the events of this year, the historian Ibn al-Athīr, in his *Kāmil* (written before 631/1233), was the first to speak of the congress of scholars organised by Malik Shāh from 465/1072 onwards for the purpose of reforming the calendar [see DJALĀLĪ], setting the date for the festival of Nawrūz [*q.v.*] and planning the construction of an astronomical observatory at Iṣfahān. The object was both scientific and economic (fixing the date for the levying of taxes). "Among them," says Ibn al-Athīr, "there were ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Iṣfizārī, Maymūn b. al-Nadjīb al-Wāsiṭī and others." Thus the meeting was probably not attended by Niẓām al-Mulk or Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, despite the legend to this effect retailed by e.g. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in his *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*. Also worth mentioning is a letter written to Khayyām by the Persian poet and mystic Ḥasan (or Madjdūd) Sanā'ī-i Ghaznawī (d. 525/1131 [see SANĀ'Ī]), a character of no lesser eminence than he himself, who had suffered bad experiences during a visit to Nīshāpūr, in particular when he was accused of having induced his servant to rob a money-changer. He complained to Khayyām, as a personage of influence in the town capable of defending his interests (the letter, written in elegant Persian, was published by Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, reproduced in ʿAbbāsī, 1338/1959, 223-8). In brief, the biography which may be composed on the basis of information from contemporaries or from those who lived shortly after Khayyām is that of an important scholar, of as yet unsuspected poetical talents. Later biographers were to exploit these early elements, reproducing them and sometimes amplifying them imaginatively, as did, in the early 7th/13th century, al-Shahrazūrī in his first article on Khayyām, and al-Ḳifṭī in his *T. al-Ḥukamā'*.

2. The Quatrains

The recent celebrity of the quatrains attributed to Khayyām is inversely proportional to the authenticity of many of them. Care is required, however, when tackling the puzzle posed by the hypothetical reconstruction of the poetical corpus of Khayyām not to obscure a major literary fact, that of the Khayyāmian tradition. In fact, the study of authenticity runs the risk of scuttling a rich tradition which has worked for several centuries according to the procedure and the mentality of an initial literary nucleus which can scarcely be other than the creation of a single individual, who certainly seems to be ʿUmar Khayyām, as may be deduced from a number of indications. While it was easy to preserve the scholar's scientific production, the retention of poems of a more personal nature, nudging at the frontiers of orthodoxy, could only be done with caution. There exists no text of reference offering the essential poetical works of Khayyām. There exist sparse quotations, painstakingly collected by anthologists, forming a small corpus which is very coherent in form and in content. Beyond this, there was an abundance of quatrains of the same type, regarded as worthy, for a limited period of time, of the tradition thus constituted, and demanding to be understood. Subsequently, the situation deteriorated; inferior imitations were produced, quatrains of other poets, dependent on other inspirations, were blended into the corpus, and the final stage saw the clever fabrication of "ancient" manuscripts.

Quatrain is the term used, inaccurately, to denote the Persian *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*]. It consists, as is well known, of two distiches (*bayt*), composed in turn of two hemistiches (*miṣrāʿ*). The four hemistiches have the same basic metre, specific to the quatrain (reading from right to left): - - \- -\ o - o\ - o o\ - -. This quantitative metre has five feet. It is obligatory that feet no. 1 and no. 4 are strictly invariable. In the entirety of the Khayyāmian tradition, foot no. 2 consists of two shorts and one long; exceptions (two longs alone) are rare. Foot no. 3, in the same tradition, alternates freely, within the same quatrain, between short-long-short and long-short-short; it is unusual to find two longs in this position. In the same tradition and within the same quatrain, foot no. 5 can be formed of two longs or of two shorts and one long. No rule exists to impose order on variation; for example, the third *miṣrāʿ* is not necessarily required to be distinguished from the three other *miṣrāʿ* by a specific variation of the metre. As for the rhyme, S.ʿA. Mir Afḍalī (1374/1995) has shown statistically that before the 7th/13th century, this third *miṣrāʿ* is not yet necessarily at variance with the rhyme of the *rubāʿī*. Of the 1,358 Persian quatrains known between the 5th/11th century and the 6th/12th century, 1,347 have the rhyme *a-a-a-a*, and only eleven have *a-a-b-a*. It is to this tradition that quatrains of the time of Khayyām belong, and here there is an additional means of pursuing the quest for authenticity. The rhyme in *a-a-b-a* is thus not absent, but it is not common, as will be seen. The rhyme scheme *a-a-b-a* was subsequently to become the rule, however, either as a result of the work of new poets, or on account of new arrangements of ancient quatrains by copyists.

The history of the quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām has been marked by a particular event, this being a free translation of these poems into English which enjoyed unparallelled success. Khayyām was not unknown in Europe; his name was mentioned in Basel in 1583. In 1816, H.G. Keene produced the first English translation of the quatrains, revived in German by Von Hammer Purgstall a few years later. But E.B. Cowell, who taught Persian to Edward Fitzgerald (1809-83) and was Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, discovered in 1856 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a manuscript from the Ouseley collection (no. 140), dating from the 9th/15th century and containing 158 quatrains explicitly attributed to Khayyām. From 1859 onwards, Fitzgerald began to publish his translation,

on the basis of this manuscript and with the aid of a more recent Indian copy containing 510 quatrains. Fitzgerald's fifth version appeared in 1889. Only the first bore the rubric *translated*, without the name of the translator; the others were to be signed and described as *rendered*—a more accurate term in that this was a poetical rendering into English of what Fitzgerald understood to be the message of the quatrains. The number and the choice of quatrains varied from one version to the other. In total, the English poetical work ran to 310 editions and millions of copies. For a translation, it was a phenomenal success.

The reverberations were considerable, but it was not until 1897 and the appearance of Z. Žukovski's article on what he called "the wandering quatrains" (in *al-Muẓaffariyya. Festschrift Baron V. Rosen*) that the question was raised as to the authenticity of 82 quatrains attributed to ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām. E. Denison Ross (1900), then E.G. Browne (synthesis in *LHP*, ii, 246-59), took up the question, the latter concluding, with others, that an adequate answer could not be found. After the edition and translation of numerous quatrains by F. Rosen in 1925, on the basis of a dubious manuscript known as the "Berlin" one, the copy of a copy containing 329 items arranged alphabetically, Arthur Christensen (*Critical studies*, 1927) re-examined the entire question. Facing the major difficulty posed by the fact of only late manuscripts of the quatrains existing, the best option was to choose the most reliable manuscripts and seek to establish connections between the texts in terms of the succession of quatrains established in each case. The absence of alphabetical arrangement among the quatrains, for example, is, as is well known, a sign of the antiquity of a text. On the other hand, a quatrain may be considered authentic if it is found in at least five texts of the best group of these manuscripts. By means of successive eliminations, Christensen arrived at a total of 121 quatrains showing characteristics of authenticity in form and content. The excellent *EI*[1] article published by V. Minorsky in 1936 s.v. *ʿOmar K̲h̲aiyām*, shows the stage which had been reached in his studies at that point. But in Persia as in Europe, research was henceforward directed towards ancient texts capable of delivering, at least in quotation, original works. Here, in chronological order, are the ancient pieces and the significant evidence. A characteristic trait showing the antiquity of a quatrain is the fact that it does not contain the name of K̲h̲ayyām. General use of the *tak̲h̲alluṣ* [*q.v.*] dates from the 7th/13th century, and not being by any means a panegyric poet, K̲h̲ayyām had no need to impress a patron with self-generated publicity. When K̲h̲ayyām's name appears in a quatrain, it is natural to suspect pseudepigraphy or the substitution by a copyist of *k̲h̲ayyām* for a word such as *ayyām*. K̲h̲ayyām is not always named by the author who cites a quatrain, and it at this point that recourse must needs be had to tradition.

First to be mentioned is the fact that, in the anthology which he composed in 572/1176 (*K̲h̲arīdat al-Kaṣr*), ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī mentions K̲h̲ayyām among the poets of K̲h̲urāsān who wrote in Arabic. The poem of four Arabic *bayts* which he quotes is certainly consistent with the thinking of the poet, in its evocation of the quest for reconciliation of self with the realities of destiny. This would be supplemented by other Arabic *bayts* of K̲h̲ayyām which al-S̲h̲ahrazūrī was subsequently to cite in the second article which he devoted to K̲h̲ayyām in his *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, written before 611/1214 (quotations and translations in ʿAlī Das̲h̲tī, *Damī bā K̲h̲ayyām*, 92-98).

But even before 534/1139, thus before Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, and a few years after the death of K̲h̲ayyām, Aḥmad-i Samʿānī produced a remarkable Persian quatrain in his *Rūḥ al-arwāḥ* (ed. N. Māyil-i Harawī, 78, 293), which the entire tradition, from the 7th/13th century onward, has attributed to K̲h̲ayyām. A masterpiece of Persian literature, the work dealt with the divine names, and the quatrain concluded the chapter on the name of Creator (*al-bārī*); it is quoted again in the chapter dealing with divine mercy. It takes the form of an ironical perspective on those who inquire about the causes of the world without thinking of the cause of His action and dealing only with pretexts (*rubāʿī* no. 19 in Das̲h̲tī, *Damī bā K̲h̲ayyām*, with significant variants. References here will be to this work at times, but with account being taken, as the case requires, of more ancient quotations).

Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 586/1190) is the well-known author of major spiritual *mat̲h̲nawī*s in Persian; his *Ilāhī-nāma* is the one which he wrote concerning the end of his life. Like K̲h̲ayyām, he was from Nīs̲h̲āpūr. One of many anecdotes in his poem (215, 5169-83) is that of the man who could see what was happening in tombs. To test him, a dignitary led him to the tomb of ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām. There the man saw the scholar in a state of utter confusion having to confront his ignorance, although throughout his life he had prided himself on his knowledge. Subsequently ʿAṭṭār extends the sayings of the visionary in the form of a long homily: since neither the beginning nor the end of life is clear, no one will find in this inferior world either head or tail. The sky is a ball without beginning or end, the earth is a foul valley where all men lose their way, the world is misery, the Wheel [of fate] plays with us. Such is ʿAṭṭār's version of the nucleus of the thinking promulgated by K̲h̲ayyām's quatrains—a curious version, indeed.

Ẓahīrī-i Samarḳandī wrote some ten years before 600/1203 his *Sindbād-nāma*, a fine example of Persian prose embellished with pieces of verse. Among the latter, and without the author being named, five quatrains are found which tradition attributed to K̲h̲ayyām at a very early stage. These *rubāʿī*s (Das̲h̲tī, nos. 29, 16, 12, 22, 18), of ancient composition, add to the theme of the precariousness of a world devoid of reason, that of the consequences of withdrawing from it; since no one will return to the world below to reveal the secrets of other places, it is imperative that all enjoy their share of good living, in particular the pleasures of wine and romance. Not to do so would be a mistake. The poems also evoke the theme of the earth as dust; the cup and the pitcher are made from the remains of humans who were proud. Ẓahīrī repeated *rubāʿī* no. 29 in his *Ag̲h̲rāḍ al-siyāsat* (155).

It is with Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Rāzī [*q.v.*] that the name of K̲h̲ayyām appears as the author of a quatrain (Das̲h̲tī, no. 1, with perceptible variants). In the last part of a treatise written in 600/1203 (*al-Tanbīh ʿalā baʿḍ al-asrār*...), in a commentary on sura XCV which relates to the last things, the author quotes this audacious *rubāʿī* which he attributes to K̲h̲ayyām by name: "Disposer of the elements,/ Why did the Master of the world/ Vow the destruction of these assemblages of atoms?/ If they were fair of form/ And well-conceived, why then/ Dismantle them? And if not.../ if not, who is to blame?" (following the Fr. tr. of G. Lazard). Coming from such an authority, the quotation and the attribution to K̲h̲ayyām carry considerable weight. The *rubāʿī* poses a question poetically, but this is to be understood as a rhetorical question, the response to which is not in doubt—or possibly

as a metaphysical question to which there is no answer. It is impossible to forget the existence and the breadth of the tendency of "free thinkers in classical Islam" (see on this subject, D. Urvoy, Paris 1966), when contemplating this famous quatrain.

This same *rubāʿī* was to be taken up by another Rāzī, Nad̲j̲m al-Dīn Dāya, in the work in Persian which he completed in 620/1223 (*Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, 31), adding to it another *rubāʿī* (Das̲h̲tī, no. 2) which he also attributed to K̲h̲ayyām, as a means of further justifying his indignation as a believer confronting such manifestations of atheism. The second *rubāʿī* cited ("In the circle whither we enter and whence we depart") could have followed the passage dedicated by ʿAṭṭār to K̲h̲ayyām.

The 7th/13th century was the time when there appeared, in the pattern which has been seen to evolve, the best-formed quatrains. Without naming K̲h̲ayyām, Rāwandī, in his *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* of 599/1202 (425), presents a Bacchic quatrain ("A mouthful of old wine is better than the new empire", absent from Das̲h̲tī). Before 622/1225, Warāwīnī, in his *Marzbān-nāma* (ed. Raws̲h̲an, 501), without naming K̲h̲ayyām, quotes the fine quatrain (absent from Das̲h̲tī) spoken by a fisherman, complaining of his old age to a fish. In 629/1231, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Āharī, in *al-Aktāb al-kuṭbiyya* (ed. Dānis̲h̲-Paz̲h̲ūh, 121), attributes to K̲h̲ayyām two Ṣūfī quatrains, one of which is definitely the work of Sanāʾī. On the other hand, without naming K̲h̲ayyām, he quotes from two of his quatrains, one being that cited (above) by the two Rāzīs (Das̲h̲tī, no. 1), the other retained by tradition "Heaven has nothing to offer me [here below]" (absent from Das̲h̲tī).

A new development took place in the K̲h̲ayyāmian tradition with the proliferation of anthologies. That of K̲h̲alīl-i S̲h̲irwānī, the *Nuzhat al-mad̲j̲ālis* (written before 649/1251), a collection of 4,000 *rubāʿīs*, includes a *bāb* devoted to K̲h̲ayyām by name and containing 31 quatrains, presented as a choice made from those of the poet. While five are problematical, the other 26 quatrains are of the best quality (see M. Farzāna, *K̲h̲ayyām-s̲h̲ināk̲h̲t*, Tehran 1974, 153-65). There must have been other anthologies in which K̲h̲ayyām had his place. One which has survived and which dates from the following century (741/1340), was written by Muḥammad b. Badr al-D̲j̲ād̲j̲armī, *Muʾnis al-aḥrār* (ii, 1144-6). It is composed of a choice of the poems of a great many authors, among whom K̲h̲ayyām is mentioned and his work illustrated by the quotation of 13 quatrains, some of which have been mentioned above, and all of which are of superior quality. But five out of the 13 quatrains have already discarded the rhyme scheme *a-a-a-a* in favour of *a-a-b-a*.

Henceforward, K̲h̲ayyām enters the storehouse raided by other men of letters for quotations which serve their purpose. Thus ʿAṭāʾ Malik D̲j̲uwaynī, the historian of the Mongols, in his *Tārīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ahāngus̲h̲āy* (i, 128, written before 681/1281) puts into the mouth of a spectator of the atrocious massacres committed by the Mongols at Nīs̲h̲āpūr the superb *rubāʿī* beginning *Tarkīb-i piyāla ki*... (Das̲h̲tī, no. 3), attributed to K̲h̲ayyām by name. For his part another eminent historian, Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 718/1318) in his *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-tawārīk̲h̲* (in the section devoted to the Ismāʿīlīs, ed. Dānis̲h̲-Paz̲h̲ūh, Tehran 1356/1977, 110-11) quotes an anecdote explaining the reasons for the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. The whole episode is supposed to be based on the fact that these two individuals, in their childhood, were close friends of ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām; when he was at the zenith of his power, Niẓām al-Mulk kept the promise he had made to help his friends in regard to K̲h̲ayyām only, not to Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. This fictitious account is the origin of the legend which was to develop of the three companions (cf. H. Bowen, *The* sargudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the "Tale of the three school-fellows"*..., in *JRAS* [1931], 771-82), and it may have been inspired by the story of the three companions of the fig-tree recounted in the 4th/10th century by al-D̲j̲ahs̲h̲iyārī (*K. al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, ed. Cairo, 96). It is found fully developed in the work of Dawlat S̲h̲āh (*Tad̲h̲kirat al-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 153). Sayfī-i Harawī wrote in 720/1320 a history of Harāt (ed. Ṣiddiḳī, 129) in which he quoted, without naming K̲h̲ayyām, a quatrain subsequently held by tradition to be attributable to bim "The misery of the world is poison (*zahr-ast*), and wine is my antidote to poison". Yet another historian, Mustawfī-i Ḳazwīnī, in his *Tārīk̲h̲-i Guzīda* (written in 730/1329), devoted a feature to K̲h̲ayyām, presented as a scholar and a poet, and quoted two of his *rubāʿīs*, one the famous "Every atom upon the earth has been a being on the face of the sun" (Das̲h̲tī, no. 4), and the other a more dubious one, supposedly composed at the time of his death by "K̲h̲ayyām who stitched the tents of wisdom...".

Also worthy of mention among the original recorders of the quatrains of K̲h̲ayyām is ʿUbayd-i Zākānī [*q.v.*], the satirical poet of the 8th/14th century. In his *Ak̲h̲lāk al-as̲h̲rāf*, ed. Iḳbāl-i Ās̲h̲tiyānī, Tehran 1953, 14, 19, without naming K̲h̲ayyām, he supplies the quatrain (Das̲h̲tī no. 16) already recorded by Ẓahīrī in his *Sindbād-nāma*, and another of dubious authenticity which tradition does not retain.

Though the links in the chain are lacking, it is not hard to envisage the process whereby, over two centuries, the collection of quatrains attributed to ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām was considerably expanded. The celebrated Oxford manuscript used by Fitzgerald, dating from 865/1460, contains 158 *rubāʿīs*. In manuscripts also dating from the 9th/15th century, in Istanbul, in the B.N. of Paris or in private collections in Tehran and Lucknow, collections have been found ranging from 56 to 315 quatrains. Subsequently, the tally expanded still further, exceeding the figure of 500. But an interesting turn of events, which put the brakes on this expansion, came between 1947 and 1952, when three manuscripts came on the market, dating respectively from 604/1208, 613/1216 and 658/1259. Also announced in Tehran in 1959 was the existence of a manuscript dating from 654/1256. K̲h̲ayyām was named as the sole author of quatrains totalling 252 items. V. Minorsky took the bearings of this issue (*The early collections of O. Khayyam*, in *Yādnāme-yi Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 107-23) on which there is little point dwelling, although Minorsky's encouraging conclusions, which include the following, may be noted: the comparative tables between these manuscripts, drawn up by A.J. Arberry, will serve as references for research, and credit is due to the imitators of K̲h̲ayyām for having preserved a living tradition based on a root which was well documented.

The English translation by A.J. Arberry of the Cambridge manuscript, erroneously dated to 604/1208, then the French translation by Pierre Pascal, with an edition of the manuscript in Rome in 1958, then the edition of the manuscript by Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī in Tehran in 1959 and by Aliev and Osmanov, with Russian translation, at Moscow in the same year, are useful works in that they present the provisional corpus of quatrains relating, with a few evident exceptions, to the K̲h̲ayyāmian tradition. The figure of 252 *rubāʿīs* is clearly disproportionate in terms of the num-

ber of *rubāʿīs* found in texts between the 6th/12th and 8th/14th centuries which could have been composed by K͟hayyām—an approximate total of 25 items, of which fewer than ten are explicitly mentioned by the sources as being the work of the poet himself, if the *Nuzhat al-mad͟jālis* of S͟hirwānī is left out of the equation.

What is needed is a revised edition of the Cambridge manuscript which takes account of the readings offered by the ancient texts. It would be necessary to eliminate the quatrains which are not part of the K͟hayyāmian tradition, such as nos. 131-2, 134, 151-8, etc. (Moscow ed.). Also required is a clearer identification of what is most central in the K͟hayyāmian tradition, not only in the text itself, but in the evident influence of this tradition on the thinking of major authors such as Ḥāfiẓ. It is seen, for example, that the invisible is that which is questioned by the man whose knowledge reveals his ignorance. This invisible is presented as inadmissible, since it is a secret kept elsewhere; it is a destiny which, in justifying itself, denounces the one whom it overwhelms. All men need a share of terrestrial good fortune, and the therapy for guilt is to enjoy this share immediately. Religious practice is then devoid of cause and effect (no. 140), profitable time is only that of the moment (no. 200, for example), and thinking of God evokes the idea that in His place the poet would have made the world otherwise (no. 228, for example). Several quatrains place the poet among those who are in neither total certainty nor total doubt, but steer a path between the two extremes.

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(Ch.-H. de Fouchécour)

3. Mathematics

The main contributions by K͟hayyām in science are related to mathematics and astronomy. His first extant mathematical treatise is a "Treatise on the division of a quadrant of a circle" (*Risāla fī taḳsīm rubʿ al-dāʾira*), which was devoted to the theory of algebraic equations. Algebra, as important part of mathematics, appeared in the treatise of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-K͟h*ʷ*ārazmī under the name *al-d͟jabr wa 'l-muḳābala* [*q.v.*]. Al-K͟h*ʷ*ārazmī himself solved only linear and quadratic equations, but some classical and mediaeval mathematicians solved separate cubic equations; thus the first cubic equation $x^3 = 2a^3$ was solved in the 4th century B.C. by Menaechmus and led him to the invention of conic sections.

The single manuscript of this treatise by K͟hayyām is located in the Library of Tehran University. It was published, with a French translation by R. Rashed and A. Djebbar. In it, a geometric problem of division of a quadrant of a circle was reduced to the cubic equation $x^3 + 200x = 20x^2 + 2000$. The complete classification of cubic equations with positive roots was also given, and the equation in question was solved by intersection of an equilateral hyperbola and a circle. K͟hayyām found also the approximate numerical solution of this equation. There are also Persian, English and Russian translations.

The complete theory of cubic equations was set forth by K͟hayyām in his Arabic "Treatise on the proofs of problems of algebra and almucabala" (*Risāla fī 'l-barāhīn ʿalā masāʾil al-d͟jabr wa 'l-muḳābala*) written in Samarḳand and dedicated to the judge Abū Ṭāhir, extant in manuscripts in Paris, Cairo, London, Leiden and the Vatican, and published by F. Woepcke. There are also English, Russian, and Persian translations. This treatise contains the complete classification of linear, quadratic, and cubic equations with positive roots. This classification consists of 25 equations: one linear $ax = b$; five quadratic $ax^2 = bx$, $ax^2 = c$, $ax^2 + bx = c$, $ax^2 + c = bx$, and $ax^2 = bx + c$; five cubic equations which can be reduced to linear and quadratic: $ax^3 + bx^3$, $ax^3 = bx^2$, $ax^3 = cx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx$, $ax^3 + cx = bx^2$; and 14 cubic equations which cannot be reduced to linear and quadratic: $ax^3 = d$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + cx$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + d$, $ax^3 = cx + dx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = d$, $ax^3 + cx = d$, $ax^3 = bx^2 + cx + d$, $ax^3 + bx^2 + cx = d$, $ax^3 + bx^2 + d = cx$, $ax^3 + cx + d = bx^2$, $ax^3 + bx^2 = cx + d$, $ax^3 + cx = bx^2 + d$, $ax^3 + d = bx^2 = cx$. In all these equations, all coefficients, a, b, c, d are positive. For quadratic equations, K͟hayyām gives solutions according to the treatises of al-K͟h*ʷ*ārazmī and T͟hābit b. Ḳurra; for cubic equations which are not reduced to linear and quadratic ones he gives solutions by means of conic sections: parabolas with diameters parallel to axes 0x or 0y, circles, and equilateral hyperbolas

with axes or asymptotes parallel to axes 0x and 0y. For instance, the equation $x^3 + d = bx^2$ he solves by means of the parabola $y^2 = D(b-x)$ and the equilateral hyperbola $xy = D$, where $D^3 = d$. For each equation he considers cases, when this equation has one, two, or no positive roots (for our example in these cases, the hyperbola and parabola touch at a point, intersect at two points, and do not meet, respectively). The case when a cubic equation has three positive roots, Khayyām does not notice.

Before his "Treatise on the proofs of problems of algebra and almucabala", Khayyām wrote a treatise on arithmetic. In this he mentioned that the Indians know methods for extracting square and cubic roots based on small induction and knowledge of the products of the first nine numbers, and that he had written a treatise with the proof of these Indian rules and generalised them for finding "bases of square-squares, square-cubes, cube-cubes and so on, as much and as many as you like", that is, for the extraction of roots of any integer power. Since such methods in the works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Djamshīd al-Kāshī are based on the binomial formula for $(a + b)^n$, this treatise apparently contained also the exposition of the binomial formula. This treatise is not extant, but its title was apparently "Difficult problems of arithmetic" (*Mushkilāt al-ḥisāb*); this last is written on the title page of the Leiden University Library ms. containing a manuscript of Khayyām's geometric treatise. Therefore in V. Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. *ʿOmar Khaiyām* it was written erroneously that a manuscript of this treatise is extant and located at Leiden.

Khayyām's geometric treatise is his "Commentary on difficulties in introductions to the Book of Euclid" (*Sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt kitāb Uklīdis*), finished at Iṣfahān in 469/1077, with manuscripts located in Paris, Leiden and in the Ḥaydarābād Sālār Djang Library; the Arabic text was published by T. Erani in Tehran and by A.I. Sabra in Alexandria. There are also Russian and incomplete English translations of this treatise. The treatise is devoted to commenting on Euclid's *Elements* and consists of three chapters: (1) on parallel lines, (2) on the definition of ratio and (3) on compound ratios, these three problems being indeed the most difficult ones in the *Elements*.

The first relates to Euclid's postulates. In his introduction to the first book of his *Elements*, Euclid formulates five postulates, that is, geometric axioms: (1) any two points can be joined by a straight line, (2) any straight line can be continued indefinitely, (3) there is a circle with any centre and any radius, (4) all right angles are equal and (5) if a line intersects with two lines in a plane and forms interior one-side angles less than two right angles, these lines, if they are continued, will meet. The fifth postulate is formulated in a more complicated way than the first four, and many mathematicians tried to prove it as a theorem. In the introduction to this chapter, Khayyām formulates five "principles borrowed from the Philosopher". This Philosopher is undoubtedly Aristotle, since four of these five principles are in Aristotle's works. Only the fourth principle is not found there: "Two convergent straight lines meet and it is impossible for two convergent straight lines to diverge in the direction of convergence"; evidently this "principle" was formulated by Aristotle in a work no longer extant. This principle is equivalent to postulate V of Euclid, but is more obvious. Khayyām proposes a proof of Euclid's postulate V based on it. Note that many proofs of postulate V were based on the logical error of *petitio principii*, that is, it implicitly contains an assertion equivalent to the postulate to be proved. Khayyām was one of the first mathematicians whose proof did not contain this error and who explicitly replaced postulate V by an equivalent assertion. In his proof, Khayyām first considered a quadrilateral with equal sides, with two right angles at the base and two equal angles at the upper side, and three hypotheses on these upper angles, i.e. the hypotheses of acute, obtuse, and right angles, and he refutes the first two hypotheses by means of the fourth "principle of the Philosopher". From the existence of the rectangle he easily proves the postulate V. Note that the hypotheses of acute and obtuse angles are fulfilled in hyperbolic and elliptic non-Euclidean geometries respectively, and in his proof Khayyām actually proves the first theorems of these non-Euclidean geometries. The Khayyām quadrangle was later used by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, J. Wallis and G. Saccheri, and is therefore known also as the "Saccheri quadrangle".

The second of these problems is the problem of definition of the equality of two ratios of continuous magnitudes. In ancient Greece, there were two solutions of this problem, those of Theaetetus and Eudoxus. The way of Theaetetus was forgotten by the time of Khayyām, and Khayyām discovered it anew and proved the equivalence of both definitions. Note that Theaetetus's definition admits the calculation of approximate rational values with any required degree of precision.

The third of these problems is the problem of the definition of "compound ratios". In Book V of his *Elements*, Euclid defined "double", "triple", and "multiple" ratios for a/c, if $a/b = b/c$, for a/d if $a/b = b/c = c/d$, etc., and in Book VI he wrote that a ratio a/b is "compound" from ratios c/d and e/f if there are magnitudes k, l, m such that $a/b = k/m$, $c/d = k/l$, and $e/f = l/m$. For the creation of a new theory of these ratios, Khayyām introduced an abstract 1 and connects with each ratio a/b of continuous magnitudes an abstract magnitude g, such that $(1/g) = (a/b)$. He calls the magnitude g "number" but "not a number absolute and true" (for him "absolute and true" numbers were only integer numbers). Thus he introduces generalised numbers which now are called "real numbers". He calls a ratio "compound" from two given ratios if the "generalised" number for the first ratio is the product of analogous numbers for the second and third ratios; undoubtedly, since he could calculate approximate rational values of ratios, he understood by "the product of two generated numbers" the number determined by a product of approximate rational values of ratios forming the compound ratio. The notion of real numbers appeared in Europe only in the works of Descartes, Wallis, Newton and Leibniz, and became the basis for the creation of differential and integral calculus.

Thus Khayyām's commentary on Euclid played a very important and creative role for the discoveries of European mathematicians such as non-Euclidean geometry and calculus.

4. Astronomy and the calendar

In 466/1074 Khayyām was invited by the Saldjūḳ sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*] to his capital for organising an astronomical observatory and for reforming the Persian solar calendar necessary for agricultural work. The new observations of the motion of the sun led to a more accurate measurement of the length of the solar year, and the spring equinox of 471/1079 became the first day of the new era called "Malikī" or "Djalālī" (in honour of Malik Shāh, who also had the honorific of Djalāl al-Dawla). The reform was not

carried out finally, but the alternation of leap years in this calendar was normally 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32 (this calendar diverges from the astronomical solar calendar by one day every 5,000 years, whereas this divergence is reached after only 3,333 years in the Gregorian calendar). The observatory was destroyed after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092.

In this observatory, Khayyām compiled his "Astronomical tables for Malik Shāh" (*Zīdj Malik-Shāhī*) mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa. Only one fragment of these tables is extant: the catalogue of 100 of the brightest stars, located in an anonymous manuscript written by the Ismāʿīlīs (now in the B.N., Paris); there is a Russian translation of this catalogue.

After the destruction of his observatory, Khayyām wrote in Persian his *Nawrūz-nāma* "Book of the New Year", devoted to the Persian solar calendar. There is a single manuscript in Berlin; the text was published in Tehran in 1933. Undoubtedly, this treatise was written to attract the attention of the successors of Malik Shāh to problems of the Persian solar calendar and to prompt them to restore the observatory.

5. Mechanics, natural sciences, music

In the period when the capital of the Saldjūḳ sultanate moved to Marw, the works of Khayyām relating to mechanics were written. There worked in Marw, at the court of Sultan Sandjar, Khayyām's pupil ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*], the author of the "Astronomical tables for Sandjar" and a treatise on mechanics, "The balance of wisdom". Al-Khāzinī's "Balance of wisdom" contains the texts of two of Khayyām's treatises on mechanics "The balance of wisdoms" (*Mīzān al-ḥikam*) and "On right balance" (*Fī 'l-ḳusṭās al-mustaḳīm*). Both are devoted to the theory of the level balance, and there are also separate manuscripts of the first treatise under the title "On the art of defining quantities of gold and silver in a body consisting of them" (*Fī iḥtiyāl maʿrifa miḳdāray al-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa fī djism murakkab minhumā*). Khayyām solved this problem by weighing the alloy in air and in water, and he named the balance for this weighing the "balance of wisdom", whence also the title of al-Khāzinī's book. In the second treatise, a balance with a moveable weight is considered. The first of these treatises has been published in Arabic text and translated into English, German, and Russian; the second is also published in Arabic text and in Russian translation.

The treatise on music "Reasoning on kinds [formed] by quarts" (*al-Ḳawl ʿalā 'l-adjnās allatī bi 'l-arbaʿa*) is extant in two Arabic manuscripts in Manisa and in Tehran University Library; it is published in Arabic text and Russian translation. Perhaps this treatise is a fragment of the "Treatise on difficulties from the book on music" (*Sharḥ al-mushkil min kitāb al-mūsīḳā*) mentioned in the treatise of Khayyām on geometry.

The historians al-Bayhaḳī and al-Tatawī mention also natural scientific (physical or biological) and geographical treatises of Khayyām, *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-ṭabīʿiyyāt* "Concise treatise on nature" and *Lawāzim al-amkina* "Necessary information on places". Khayyām was also a physician and treated the sons of Malik Shāh, Berkyaruḳ, Muḥammad and Sandjar.

6. Philosophy

Besides philosophical quatrains, Khayyām also wrote philosophical treatises, in which he appears as a pupil of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), that is, as an adherent of Eastern Aristotelianism. The first treatise "On being and obligation" (*Risālat al-kawn wa 'l-taklīf*), was written in 472/1080 at the request of the judge and *imām* of Fars, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nasawī, who was also a pupil of Ibn Sīnā. Al-Nasawī asked Khayyām to explain his opinion on God's wisdom in the creation of the world and man, and on the obligation of men to pray. This request may possibly be explained by the contents of some quatrains composed by Khayyām or ascribed to him, and the judge, as a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, wanted to free Khayyām from suspicions of heresy. Khayyām substantiates the necessity of God, like Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā, as being the final cause, the cause of all causes, because the chain of causes must have an end, that is, it cannot be infinite or circular. He names this chain of causes the "chain of order" and says that the upper links of this chain are noble (the uppermost link is God), and the lower links are not noble (the lowest link is dust). The necessity to pray Khayyām explains by the necessity always to remember God and to obey His laws.

The second treatise, "An answer to three questions: the necessity of contradiction in the world, determinism and permanence" (*Djawāb ʿan thalāth masāʾil: ḍarūra al-taḍādd fī 'l-ʿālam wa 'l-djabr wa 'l-baḳāʾ*) is connected with the first treatise. Apparently Khayyām's answer satisfied the imām, and he proposed to Khayyām three new, more difficult, questions. The first is the problem of evil in the world. Khayyām believes that even an all-powerful God cannot operate without evil and to refuse a great good owing to a small evil is itself a great evil. An analogous problem was discussed later by Leibniz in his *Theodicy*. Regarding determinism, Khayyām says only that "determinism first looks as if it were nearer to truth, but indeed declines into the absurd and is very far from the truth". The problem of permanence, that is, the stability of phenomena, is one of the most important problems of all philosophical systems; Khayyām, like all Muslim philosophers, was reduced to explaining permanence by the will of God.

In this treatise, Khayyām considers the important problem of universal notions. Ibn Sīnā believed that universal notions are threefold: "before things", in the mind of God, like Plato's ideas, "in things", and "after things", in the mind of men, that is, as an abstraction of concrete things. Khayyām considers only two forms of the existence of general notions, "in things" and "in the soul", that is, in the mind of men. In mediaeval Europe, the doctrine of Ibn Sīnā was apprehended by the "realists", who believed that universal notions really exist, i.e. in the mind of God, e.g. by Aquinas, and the doctrine analogous to that of Khayyām, i.e. the doctrine that universal notions are only names, was the doctrine of the "nominalists".

Both these treatises are written in Arabic. Their Cairo manuscripts are now lost, but were printed at Cairo in 1335/1917 in the collection of treatises of Ibn Sīnā, Khayyām, and other Muslim philosophers called *Djāmiʿ al-badāʾiʿ*, and reprinted in the books of al-Nadwī and, with English translation, of Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also Persian and Russian translations.

The third of his philosophical treatises, "The light of intelligence concerning the subject of universal knowledge" (*al-Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿaḳlī fī mawḍūʿ al-ʿilm al-kullī*), also in Arabic, is likewise printed in the above-mentioned collection, and reprinted by al-Nadwī. There are also Persian and Russian translations. The manuscripts of Khayyām's fourth philosophical treatise, "On existence" (*Risāla fī 'l-wudjūd*), also in Arabic, are located in Berlin and the Tehran Madjlis Library, reprinted by al-Nadwī, and, with English translation, in the book of Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also Russian translations.

His fifth philosophical treatise is written in Persian, with manuscripts in London, Paris, the Tehran Madjlis Library and in the Khayyām Library. These manuscripts have three titles: *Risāla fī kulliyyāt al-wudjūd*, *Darkhwāst-nāma*, and *Risāla-yi silsilat al-tartīb*. It is also published in the books of al-Nadwī and, with English translation, by Swami Govinda Tirtha. There are also French and Russian translations. It was written for the son of Mu'ayyid al-Mulk, vizier to the later Saldjūks, and contains a detailed exposition of Ibn Sīnā's theory of "chain of order": the links of this chain are connected with celestial spheres, each link has a mind and soul, and is moved by activity and love. It also contains the classification of existing bodies and, following al-Ghazālī, a classification of "men who strive to know truth", comprising (1) the *mutakallimūn*, (2) scientists and philosophers, (3) the Ismā'īlīs and (4) the Ṣūfīs (although Khayyām himself was a scientist and philosopher, in this treatise, following al-Ghazālī, he believes that the highest place belongs to the Ṣūfīs).

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(B.A. ROSENFELD)

'UMAR MAKRAM, AL-SAYYID (*ca.* 1755-1822), the charismatic leader of the common people in Cairo between 1791 and 1809. He mediated the return to power in 1791 of the banished *amīrs* Ibrāhīm Bey [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey, with whom he maintained a long and friendly relationship, became Egypt's *naḳīb al-ashrāf* [*q.v.*] in November 1793 and continued a political career that took him to a peak of political influence in the chaotic period between the arrival of the French in 1798 and his banishment in 1809.

He helped to organise popular resistance to the French, fled Cairo twice, in 1798 and 1800, and returned triumphantly with the Ottoman governor in 1801. Re-appointed *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in April 1802, he played a major role in organising the armed resistance of the citizenry against the Ottoman governor Khurshīd Aḥmad Pasha, in offering the governorship to Muḥammad 'Alī [*q.v.*] in 1805, in rallying the people behind the new governor when the central government tried to transfer him the following year, and in leading resistance to the British in 1807. He was one of Muḥammad 'Alī's major intermediaries with the dissident Mamlūk *amīrs* who controlled the countryside and became a primary agent in assigning and collecting taxes and "loans" for Muḥammad 'Alī.

As al-Sayyid 'Umar's popularity increased among the common people, whom he tried to protect from the excesses of the period, he felt secure enough to oppose some of Muḥammad 'Alī's demands for increased taxes, and in a particular dispute that erupted in 1809 refused to attend the governor in the citadel. Perceiving him as a political threat, Muḥammad 'Alī courted al-Azhar's [*q.v.*] scholars who, jealous of al-Sayyid 'Umar's popularity, political influence and wealth, connived with the governor to dismiss and banish him. He was expelled to Damietta in Augnst 1809 and moved to Ṭanṭā in April 1812. His dismissal ended the influence which the *'ulamā'* exerted on Muḥammad 'Alī. He was permitted to return to Cairo in January 1819 prior to undertaking the Pilgrimage, but was still popular among the people. He was banished again to Ṭanṭā in April 1822 and died there that same year.

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(D. CRECELIUS)

'UMAR AL-NU'MĀN, an Arabic romance of a chivalric nature which forms part of the *1001 Nights* (nights 44 to 146 in the Būlāḳ ed., Chauvin no. 277), but also with independent attestations.

The intrigue, which is particularly complex (résumé in Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, vi, 112-24), falls within the general framework of the Arab-Byzantine wars, like the romance of Dhu 'l-Himma [*q.v.*], but unlike this last, has no reference to any recognisably historical substratum; the events narrated are in a vague past "before the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān" but after the advent of Islam. This said, the romance deals with several themes and motifs common to Dhu 'l-Himma (see R. Paret, *Der Ritter-Roman von 'Umar an-Nu'mān und seine Stellung zur Sammlung von 1001 Nacht*, Tübingen 1927, ch. ii; M. Canard, *Delhemma, Sayyid Baṭṭāl et 'Omar al-No'mān*, in *Byzantion*, xii [1937], 183 ff.), as also with the great Arabic epic romances, like 'Antara, Baybars and even Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*]. In addition to what can be called proper chivalric themes, an important role is given to ruses, manipulations and disguising; in the story, these are essentially the devices of Dhāt al-Dawāhī, mother of the Byzantine king of Caesarea, an implacable enemy to 'Umar and his family. This elderly personage, malevolent and diabolically full of ruses, clearly reminds one of Dalīla, the protagonist of the story of the same name of the *1001 Nights* (Chauvin, no. 147); but it also closely recalls, except for the sex, the *ḳāḍī* 'Uḳba of Dhu 'l-Himma and the priest Djawān of Baybars. As against this maleficent personage, the first part of the story brings forward the chivalric figure of the Byzantine Amazon Abrīza, granddaughter of Dhāt al-Dawāhī, who gives hospitality to Sharr Kān, eldest son of 'Umar al-Nu'mān, and protects him against her own father's troops before accompanying him to Baghdād. This thematic material appears, however, combined with a complicated family intrigue, sc. the

latent conflict between 'Umar's two sons, Sharra Kān, son of a legitimate wife, and Ḍaw al-Makān, son of a concubine, which is to be resolved in the next generation, and after many vicissitudes, by the marriage of the daughter of the first, Ḳuḍiya Fa-Kān (herself the issue of an involuntary incestuous marriage with Nuzhat al-Zamān, full sister of Ḍaw al-Makān), with the son of the second, Kān wa-Kān. This last regains the throne of his grandfather 'Umar, which had been seized by a usurper, with the help of the Byzantine king of Caesarea, Rūmazān, who avers that he himself was born of a fleeting liaison between 'Umar and Abrīza. This schema is in fact a more complicated version of the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (Chauvin, no. 270).

The insertion of the romance of 'Umar al-Nu'mān into the *Nights* has especially engaged the attention of orientalists because of the questions which it raises concerning the elaboration of the collection. For one thing, the story contains in effect several tales set within a frame, with the number varying with the different recensions. The most frequently found are: "The awakened sleeper" (Chauvin, no. 155), "The hashish eater" (no. 278) and "Tādj al-Mulūk" (no. 60, itself containing "'Azīz and 'Azīza", no. 71). Several mss. add to this list "Ghānim" (no. 188), which the late Egyptian recension (ZER, the "Zotenberg Egyptian Recension"), notably represented by the Būlāḳ edition, places, in its own series, just before "'Umar al-Nu'mān" (cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, ch. iii). Secondly, the presence and the position of "'Umar" in the *Nights* constitutes a test which allows us to classify the ms. recensions. The tale seems to be absent from the oldest recension, represented by the Galand ms. (ed. M. Mahdi, 3 vols., Leiden 1984; cf. especially, ii, 294-5), admittedly incomplete. On the other hand, it figures in the mss. considered as intermediate in date between the oldest recension and ZER (cf. D.B. Macdonald, *A preliminary classification of some MSS of the Arabian Nights*, in *A volume of Oriental studies presented to E.G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 304-21, and idem, *The earlier history of the Arabian Nights*, in *JRAS* [1924], 353-97). Amongst this group figures the Tübingen ms., which allows us to restore a long passage of "'Umar" which has disappeared from ZER (cf. Paret, *op. cit.*, ch. i). In these mss., however, it seems to be further on in the text than in ZER and, in particular, in Būlāḳ. One of them, the Benoît de Maillet ms., shows in this place serious disturbances in the numbering of the nights, indicating that the copyist combined several different recensions of the collection, one of which contained, amongst other things, the romance of 'Umar al-Nu'mān (cf. A. Chraïbi, *Note sur l'édition des Mille et une nuits de M. Mahdi*, in *SI*, lxxii [1990], 172-97). It all seems as if this ms. bears witness to a stage when "'Umar al-Nu'mān" began to be integrated within the "standard" recension of the *Nights* without having yet found the definitive place which it has in ZER.

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(J.-P. GUILLAUME)

'UMAR-SHAYKH MĪRZĀ, the name of two Tīmūrid princes.

1. 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā I, usually given as the eldest son of Amīr Tīmūr and said to have been born in 1354. He receives scattered notices in the histories of Tīmūr, such as Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma*, for a good showing in battle in Turkistan and at the Battle of Ḳundurča.

In 795/1393 he was appointed governor of Shīrāz. He was killed at Khurmātū in Kurdistān in Rabī' I 796/January 1394. First buried in Shīrāz, his body was later taken to Kish (Shahr-i sabz) for interment. Among his sons who played prominent roles in Tīmūrid history were Pīr Muḥammad, Rustam and Iskandar, and he was the ancestor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā of Harāt.

Bibliography: *Mu'izz al-ansāb* (ms., B.N. Paris); Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*.

2. 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā II Küragān, born in 860/1456 in Samarḳand, the fourth of the Tīmūrid sultan Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā's many sons. To cement relations between the Tīmūrids and the Čaghatayid *khāns* of Mogholistān, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā married three of his sons to three daughters of Yūnus Khān of Mogholistān. In this exchange, 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā was married to Ḳutlugh-Nigār Khānïm in 880/1475-6, and by this marriage he gained the title of *küragän* (Čingizid son-in-law). Ḳutlugh-Nigār Khānïm became the mother of Khānzāda Begim, who was married to the Uzbek Muḥammad Shaybānī (or Shībānī) Khān, and of Bābur [*q.v.*], who founded the Mughal dynasty in India.

As a child, 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā was appointed governor of Kābul. Later, duplicating Amīr Temür's appointment of his son 'Umar-Shaykh as governor of the Farghāna Valley, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā appointed his son 'Umar-Shaykh as governor there under the tutelage of Khudāberdī Tūghčī Temürtash. After Abū Sa'īd's death in 1469, 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā quarrelled often with his brother Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā, who had inherited the throne in Samarḳand, and usually summoned his father-in-law Yūnus Khān to assist him. Once 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā had induced Yūnus Khān to come and had assigned him a livelihood in Akhsī; but when Sulṭān-Aḥmad retreated, 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā rebelled against Yūnus Khān, and the two fought (at a date unspecified in the sources) at the Battle of Täkkä Segritkü, in which 'Umar-Shaykh was taken prisoner but was magnanimously set free by his father-in-law.

On 4 Ramaḍān 899/8 June 1494, 'Umar-Shaykh Mīrzā's dovecote in Akhsī(kat) on the Syr Darya collapsed with him in it, and he was hurled down the ravine into the river to his death. His *amīrs* immediately appointed Bābur as his successor. Bābur characterises his father as a pious Ḥanafī who was devoted to the Naḳshbandī Khwādja 'Ubayd Allāh, fond of literature, so fat that he could scarcely fasten his coat and generous to a fault.

Bibliography: Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*.

(W.M. THACKSTON)

'UMĀRA B. WATHĪMA b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt al-Fārisī, Abū Rifā'a, mediaeval Islamic historian, b. at Fusṭāṭ, where his father had installed himself, d. 23 Djumādā II 289/4 June 902.

Few biographers mention him separately from his father. His birth date is unknown, nor is anything definite known of his life. On the other hand, we owe to him one of the oldest compilations on the history of the Biblical prophets, the oldest which has survived in Islam in book form: the *K. Bad' al-khalḳ wa-ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (ed. R.G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques en Islam*, 1978). 'Umāra was part of the school of disciples of the great Egyptian masters, such as Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Djuhanī (d. 222/836 or 223/837), the secretary to al-Layth b. Sa'd, the great Maecenas and "uncrowned prince" of Egypt, with access to the celebrated private library of another great master, 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a, one which contained many original mss. and copies of originals of Egyptian provenance and from other Islamic lands

(see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa*, 26 ff.). ʿUmāra's other masters were connected with his own father, who was the most important amongst them and on whom we have much more information; ʿUmāra transmitted the whole of his book. For more detail on the father and his book, and for bibliography, see WATHĪMA B. MŪSĀ.

(R.G. Khoury)

ʿUMĀRA al-YAMANĪ, Abū Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥakamī, Nadjm al-Dīn, Arabic poet and prose writer, b. 515/1121 at Murṭān in Yaman, killed at Cairo in 569/1174.

In 531/1136-7 he began to study Shāfiʿī *fikh* at Zabīd, and then worked as a teacher, as a jurisprudent giving *fatwā*s and as a trader, travelling between Zabīd and Aden, this being in the time of Nadjāḥid rule there [see NADJĀḤIDS]. As well as connections with these last, he thus also acquired connections with the Shīʿī Zurayʿid ruler in Aden Muḥammad b. Saba' as well as with ʿAlī b. Mahdī of the Mahdids [*q.v.*], and was already addressing verses to local figures. Threats to his life compelled him to leave for Mecca and the protection of its *amīr* al-Ḳāsim b. Hāshim b. Fulayta, on whose behalf he started travelling to Fāṭimid Egypt in 549/1155, arriving in Cairo just after the murder of the caliph al-Ẓāfir and the regency of the Armenian commander Ṭalā'iʿ b. Ruzzīk [*q.v.*] for the child al-Fā'iz. After a second journey in 552/1157 he was to remain there for the rest of his life. Although still apparently adhering nominally to his Sunnī and Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, he adjusted to the intellectual and religious climate of Fāṭimid Egypt and began addressing eulogies to both the caliph and Ṭalā'iʿ; in those for the latter, like his master a Shīʿī, he mourned the *Ahl al-Bayt*, and after Ṭalā'iʿ's death, which he hymned in several impressive *marthiya*s or threnodies, he praised his son Ruzzīk. When the vizieral line of Ṭalā'iʿ was overthrown, ʿUmāra remained *persona grata* at the Fāṭimid court, having adapted to the new régime under the Arab Shāwar [*q.v.*], and likewise wrote eulogies of him.

Much information on ʿUmāra's contemporaries can be gleaned from his poems (*Dīwān*, ed. H. Derenbourg, very incomplete, his *Memoirs* (*al-Nukat al-ʿaṣriyya fī akhbār al-wuzarā' al-miṣriyya*) and nine *rasā'il* or epistles (see Derenbourg, *ʿOumâra du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre*, i, *Autobiographie et récits sur les vizirs d'Egypte. Choix de poésies*, Paris 1897; ii (*Partie arabe*) *Poésies, épitres, biographies, notices en arabe par ʿOumâra et sur ʿOumâra*, 1902; (*Partie française*) *Vie de ʿOumâra du Yémen* [unfinished], 1904. The *Memoirs*, in particular, written in the first person and interspersed with ʿUmāra's own poetry, paint an interesting picture of court life and intrigues in Cairo. Another prose work of his is the *Ta'rīkh al-Yaman* (also known in its time as *al-Mufīd fī akhbār Ẓabīd*), ed., tr. and notes by H.C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history by Najm ad-Dīn ʿOmārah al-Hakamī, also the abridged history of its dynasties by Ibn Khaldūn and an account of the Karmathians of Yaman by Abu ʿAbd Allah Baha ad-Din al-Janadi*, London 1892. It covers events in both northern and southern Yaman and a period of time stretching from before the author's time into his lifetime. It was written in 563/1167-8 at the instigation of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], who had been Ruzzīk's chancellor and was later to become chief secretary for the Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. ʿUmāra's *Memoirs* contain what are sometimes sharp evaluations of leading personages in the state, whilst his poetry ranges from eulogies of these statesmen to satires on those who tried to keep him from the ruler or who were niggardly in paying his court allowances and a few *ghazal*s or love poems, including a moving elegy on his wife's death.

When the Ayyūbids came to power in Egypt, ʿUmāra tried to adjust to the new régime under Shīrkūh and then Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.vv.*], but did not have much success with his poems addressed to them, hence composed an *ʿayniyya* of complaint, *shikāya*, to the sultan; a *lāmiyya* lamenting the fall of the Fāṭimids and expressing Ismāʿīlī religious concepts cannot have helped his position. In one verse of a poem, lamenting the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid's death, he regretted the increase of what he called "the welfare of the depraved one" (*ṣalāḥ al-fāsid*), thereby giving offence to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself (see ms. St. Petersburg, fol. 56b). Another verse was seized on by the orthodox *ʿulamā'*, who secured a *fatwā* against ʿUmāra accusing him of *kufr* (though al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Muḳaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī, Beirut 1991, viii, 755, considered this verse to have been inserted by the poet's enemies). This in itself might explain ʿUmāra's conviction and subsequent crucifixion by the sultan in 569/1174, but it is also possible, allege the historians, that he took part in an intended coup against the Ayyūbids; in any case, the intercession of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, who had speedily learnt to serve new masters, could not save him.

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2. Studies. Muḥ. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Fī adab Miṣr al-fāṭimiyya*, Cairo 1950; Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, *ʿUmāra al-Yamanī*, Cairo 1966; M.J.L. Young *et alii* (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Arabic literature. Religion, learning and science in the ʿAbbasid period*, Cambridge 1990, 184-5; P. Smoor, *The poet's house. Fiction and reality in the works of the "Fāṭimid poets"*, in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, Venice, x (1992), 45-62; idem, *"Master of the Century". Fāṭimid poets in Cairo*, in U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, Leuven 1995, 139-62; Brockelmann, I², 406-7, S II, 570. A historical novel dealing mainly with ʿUmāra was written by ʿAlī al-Djārim, *Sayyidat al-ḳuṣūr, ākhir ayyām al-Fāṭimiyyīn bi-Miṣr*, Silsilat Ikra', Cairo n.d.

(P. Smoor, shortened by the Editors)

al-ʿUMARĪ [see IBN FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ʿUMARĪ].

ʿUMAYR b. SHUYAYM [see AL-ḲUṬĀMĪ].

UMAYYA b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, **ABU 'L-ṢALT** al-Dānī al-Ishbīlī, Spanish Muslim scholar who has left especially significant works in the fields of medicine, the natural and astronomical sciences and music (460-528/1068-1134).

1. Life

Probably born at Denia, he acquired a vast knowledge from his teacher, the *ḳāḍī* al-Waḳḳāshī [*q.v.*], inheriting from him an encyclopaedic knowledge of the sciences. He may have studied at Seville, but in 489/1096 arrived in Fāṭimid Egypt, where the caliph's vizier al-Afḍal had a lively interest in astronomy and soon introduced Abu 'l-Ṣalt to the caliphal court. It was in Egypt that he lectured and composed his most important works. But in *ca.* 500/1106-7 he fell into disgrace, allegedly, says Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, because he failed to make materialise his promise to raise and keep afloat a ship with its valuable cargo which had

sunk off Alexandria. He was imprisoned by the angry caliph for three years, which he used for study and composition. On being freed, he intended to return to al-Andalus via al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], capital in Tunisia of the Zīrids, but was so well received by the ruler ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā that he remained at his court, as eulogist and chronicler, for the rest of his life, dying there. Abu 'l-Ṣalt had a son, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was also a great poet. On both the historical and literary levels, Abu 'l-Ṣalt was an important source for many later authors, such as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, etc., and in their works numerous fragments of his works are given.

He was an abundant and eclectic author—medical man, philosopher, astronomer, musician, historian and poet, though he had no interest whatever in the religious sciences.

2. Works

Medicine. (a) *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, of which Latin and Hebrew trs. were made, partial ed. Ibrāhīm b. Murād, in *al-Ḥayāt al-Th̲aḳafiyya*, iv/3 (1979), 153-68, ed. al-Kh̲aṭṭābī, in *al-Agh̲dh̲iya wa 'l-adwiya*, 8. See Steinschneider, in *Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und für Klinische Medicin*, xciv (1883), 28-50. (b) *K. al-Intiṣār li-Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ ʿalā Ibn Riḍwān.* (c) *Fi 'l-ṭibb wa 'l-tandj̲īm wa 'l-alḥān.* (d) *K. al-Intiṣār fī uṣūl al-ṭibb.* On his place in the history of medicine, see Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 74-5.

Philosophy. (a) *Taḳwīm al-dh̲ihn*, a treatise on Aristotelian logic, Span. tr. and study by A. González Palencia, *Rectificación de la mente*, Madrid 1915.

History. (a) *al-Risāla al-miṣriyya*, describing all he saw and those he met in Egypt, dedicated to the Zīrid prince Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, father of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, often cited by al-Maḳrīzī in his *Kh̲iṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo 1951, and also in Hārūn, *Nawādir al-makh̲ṭūṭāt*, i, 5056, partial tr. in A.L. de Prémare, in *MIDEO* (1964-6), 179-208. (b) *al-Dībādj̲a fī mafākh̲ir Ṣanhādj̲a*, on the Zīrid dynasty, known from citations in later North African historians; see Idris, *Zīrīdes*, i, Introd. pp. xvii ff. (c) *Fi 'l-adab wa 'l-ʿarūḍ wa 'l-taʾrīkh̲.* (d) *Taʾrīkh̲*, cited by Ibn al-Abbār and al-Balafīḳī.

Literature. (a) *K. Ḥadīḳa*, a poetical anthology on the model of al-Th̲aʿālibī's *Yatīma*, extracts cited by ʿImād al-Dīn in his *Kh̲arīdat al-ḳaṣr, ḳism sh̲uʿarāʾ Miṣr*, Cairo 1951-2, and ed. al-Dasūḳī and ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, Cairo 1964. (b) *K. al-Mulaḥ al-ʿaṣriyya*, dedicated to the poets of al-Andalus. (c) Eulogising poems addressed to al-Afḍal and Yaḥyā b. Tamīm, plus many other poems on varied themes. All these are now lost, but with numerous extracts in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and al-Maḳḳarī. (d) *Dīwān*, ed. M. al-Marzūḳ, Tunis 1974, and see J. Calvo Puig, in *Canfali* (1985), 16. (e) Different meanings of the word *nukta.* (f) *Dīwān rasāʾilihi.* (g) *Fi 'l-funūn.*

Astronomy. (a) *R. fi 'l-ʿamal bi 'l-asṭurlāb*, analysis in J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees fisiques i matèmatiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona 1931, 75-81. (b) *Ṣifat ʿamal ṣafīḥa dj̲āmiʿa taḳawwama bihā dj̲āmiʿ al-kawākib al-sabʿa*, the last of the equatoria of al-Andalus, studied by E.S. Kennedy, in *Physis*, xii (1970), 73-81, repr. in *Studies in the exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 481-91, and by M. Comes, *Ecuatorios Andalusíes: Ibn al-Samḥ, al-Zarqalluh y Abū-al-Ṣalt*, Barcelona 1990, 1991. (c). *K. al-Wadj̲īz fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, a summary of astronomy, regarded, however, as useless by the Fāṭimid astronomer Ibn al-Ḥalabī. (d) *Adj̲wiba ʿan masāʾil suʾila ʿanhā fa-adj̲āba*, the solution of six astronomical problems with the help of geometrical drawings.

Geometry. (a) *K. fi 'l-handasa* (*wadj̲īz*). (b) *al-Iktiṣār fi 'l-handasa.* (c) A *mukh̲taṣar* of Euclid's *Elements*, according to Ibn Kh̲aldūn.

Music. (a) *R. fi 'l-mūsīḳā*, see on it H. Avenary, in *Musica Disciplina*, vi (1952), 27-32, and in *Yuval*, iii (1974), 7-84; also I. Adler, *Hebrew writings concerning music in manuscripts and printed books from Geonic times up to 1800*, in *Répertoire internat. des sources musicales*, série B, ix/2, Munich 1975, 9-35.

According to the Arabic sources, Abu 'l-Ṣalt played the lute very well, and he seems to have introduced Andalusī music into Tunisia. He seems also to have undertaken the composition of an encyclopaedia on the scientific disciplines of the *Quadrivium*, and from some indications in Hebrew translations of his works, it apparently dealt with geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and music. The major part of the Hebrew translation made in 1395 by Benvenist ben Lavi of an arithmetical commentary by Abu 'l-Ṣalt (and also of a musical text) is in fact a translation of the relevant section of Ibn Sīnā's *Sh̲ifāʾ*. See T. Langermann, *Un nouvel extrait de l'ouvrage des nombres amiables. Le témoignage des textes hebreux médiévaux*, in *Arabic Science and Philosophy*, vi (1996), 63-87. On Abu 'l-Ṣalt and the history of science in Muslim Spain, see J. Samsó, *Las ciencias de los antiguos en al-Andalus*, Madrid 1992, 310-17. Abu 'l-Ṣalt is cited by many Jewish authors, such as Samuel of Marseilles and Isaiah ben Isaac ben Nathan of Cordova (both 14th century) and Profiat Duran (15th century).

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2. Studies and reference works. Pons Boigues, 198-201 no. 159; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 115 no. 272; Steinschneider, in *Virchows Archiv*, xciv, 28-65; J.A. Sanchez Pérez, *Biografías de matemáticos arabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1921, 130-2; Brockelmann, I², 641, S I, 889; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*¹, ii, 23; M.J. Rubiera Mata, *Literatos del Sharq al-Andalus. Abu-s-Ṣalt de Denia e Ibn Dihya de Calpe*, in *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, xxxvi (1982), 33-43; M.I. Fierro, *HATA* (database of Andalusī scholars, in course of preparation). (Mercè Comes)

UMAYYA b. ʿAbd Sh̲ams, ancestor of the Umayyads, the principal clan of the Ḳuraysh of Mecca. His genealogy (Umayya b. ʿAbd Sh̲ams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy) and his descendants are given in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U, V, and Ibn al-Kabbī, in Caskel-Strenziok, i, nos. 8 ff. Like all other eponyms of Arab tribes and clans, his actual existence and the details of his life have to be accepted with caution, but too great scepticism with regard to tradition would be as ill-advised as absolute faith in its statements. As those Umayyads who were living at the beginning of the Muslim epoch were only in the third generation from their eponym (e.g. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya), there is nothing improbable in the latter's being a historical personage; besides, there is nothing in tradition to suggest he was a mythical individual or a later invention. The name Umayya is common in Arab nomenclature, and is found in both northern and southern tribes; the meaning which anti-Umayyad polemic gives to it (a diminutive of *ama* "slave-girl") would make it a sobriquet; we also have the positive form Banū Ama as the name of a tribe (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ish̲tiḳāḳ*, 34).

The early genealogy of the Umayyad clan

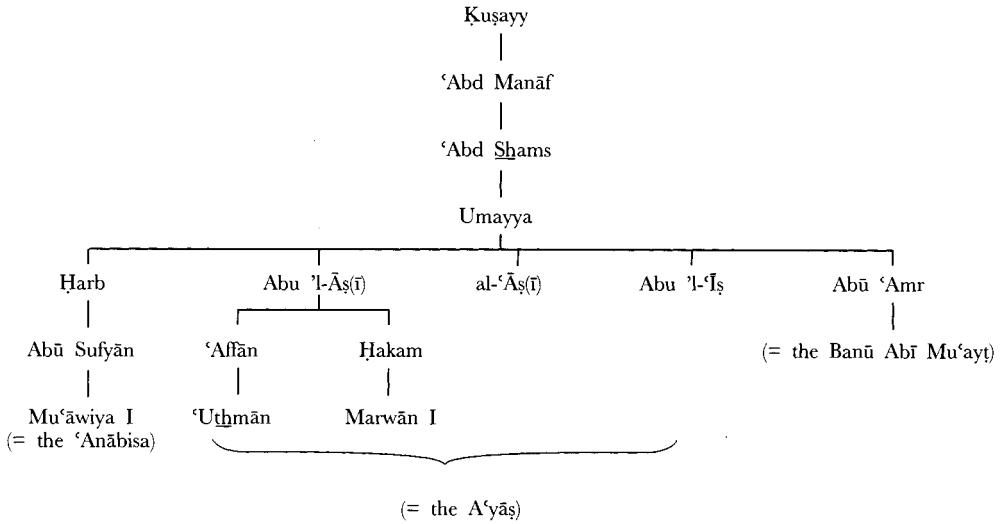
Kuṣayy
|
ʿAbd Manāf
|
ʿAbd Shams
|
Umayya

Ḥarb — Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣ(ī) — al-ʿĀṣ(ī) — Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ — Abū ʿAmr

Ḥarb → Abū Sufyān → Muʿāwiya I (= the ʿAnābisa)

Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣ(ī) → ʿAffān → ʿUthmān; Ḥakam → Marwān I

Abū ʿAmr → (= the Banū Abī Muʿayṭ)

(ʿUthmān ... Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ: = the Aʿyāṣ)

Umayya was the cousin on the father's side of Hāshim b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and tradition relates that, being jealous of the latter's influence, he challenged him to a *munāfara*, the judge of which was to be a *kāhin* of the Khuzāʿa. Being defeated, Umayya had to exile himself from Mecca for ten years (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1090; Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 43-4). This story is evidently only an anticipation of the rivalry between the Umayyads and Hāshimids (ʿAlids and ʿAbbāsids) which forms the centre of the political struggle in the Arab empire during the first two centuries of the Hidjra (see al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Tanāzuʿ wa ʾl-takhāṣum fīma bayna Banī Umayya wa-Banī Hāshim*, ed. Vos, Leiden 1888, Eng. tr. and commentary, C.E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of contention and strife..."*, Manchester 1981); it looks like a legend of learned origin. Similarly, the story of the embassy of Umayya and his nephew ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and other chiefs of the Ḳuraysh to the Ḥimyarite king Sayf b. Dhī Yazan after the latter had defeated the Abyssinians (al-Azraḳī, in *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 99; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 75-7; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1293/1876, i, 131-3, etc.) is only intended to enhance the prestige of the Ḳuraysh and to prophesy the coming of Islam. Lastly, the truth seems very problematic to us of the stories of alleged eye-witnesses who had seen Umayya, a decrepit old man going through the streets of Mecca leaning on his son Abū ʿAmr (according to the historian al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, this was really his slave whom he afterwards adopted; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 967; *Aghānī*[1], i, 7-8).

We come down to historical ground with the statement (Azraḳī, 71, etc.) that Umayya, like his father ʿAbd Shams, commanded the Meccan army in time of war (*al-ḳiyāda*), a post which was later transmitted to his son Ḥarb and his grandson Abū Sufyān. Although we perhaps should not interpret this literally as implying a permanent military post (it seems to have been rather an occasional appointment), and although we find alongside of descendants of Umayya as military leaders, numerous members of other clans and even *ḥulafāʾ* (clients) (see on this question, Lammens, *Les "Aḥābīs" et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, Beirut 1928, 273-93), there is nothing improbable in the story, especially if we regard the *ḳiyāda* as the direction of the military affairs of the community rather than the actual command of troops in the field. As a matter of fact, the descendants of Umayya never lacked talent either for military organisation or for politics.

At the beginning of Islam, the clan of the Banū Umayya appears as the most powerful in Mecca; it was represented by two main branches: the Aʿyāṣ and the ʿAnābisa (plural *a potiori* from the name ʿAnbasa common in the family). The former claimed to be descended from a son of the eponym whose names come from the same or a similar root (a common occurrence in Arabic nomenclature): Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ, al-ʿUwayṣ, al-ʿĀṣī and Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī; the others were represented by families of Ḥarb, Abū Ḥarb, Sufyān, Abū Sufyān (with his name ʿAnbasa, uncle of the celebrated Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb), ʿAmr and Abū ʿAmr (the latter, whose name is said to have been Dhakwān, was probably, as already mentioned, an adopted son of Umayya). From a son of Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī, al-Ḥakam, are descended, through Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the Umayyad caliphs who succeeded Marwān, as well as the *amīrs* (later caliphs) of Andalusia. Some branches of the family of the caliphs settled in Egypt and Persia; although the greater part of the family was exterminated in 132/750 by the ʿAbbāsids, some of its members survived into much later times: among these were Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, a descendant of a brother of Marwān I; his Shīʿī views contrasted strangely with his descent. Another son of Abu ʾl-ʿĀṣī ʿAffān, was the father of the caliph ʿUthmān; his descendants are numerous (among them the poet al-Ardjī; cf. *Aghānī*[1], i, 153-66), and several of them held important offices under the Umayyads. Of the line of al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, the most celebrated member is Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān, whose misdeeds were one of the main causes of the rebellion against the latter. The family of Abu ʾl-ʿĪṣ also produced a number of notable individuals under the Umayyads who were all descended from Asīd b. Abi ʾl-ʿĪṣ.

As to the ʿAnābisa branch, its most illustrious family is undoubtedly that of Ḥarb, whose son Abū Sufyān

plays so remarkable a part in the story of the origin of Islam. Through his son Muʿāwiya, he is the founder of the dynasty of Sufyānid caliphs, which early became extinct with Muʿāwiya II, son of Yazīd I. Another son of Yazīd, Khālid, has a legendary reputation as the founder of Arabic alchemy, and a grandson, Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sufyānī, was slain by the ʿAbbāsids at Medina in 132/750 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 54). Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, who was Muʿāwiya's predecessor in command of the army of Syria in ʿUmar's reign, left no descendants. Of the other sons of Abū Sufyān, ʿUtba, ʿAnbasa, Yazīd, Muḥammad, ʿAmr, only the two first had issue. A collateral branch of the Banū Umayya, descended from Abū ʿAmr b. Umayya, whose paternity, as we have seen, was not absolutely certain, included among its members al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba b. Abī Muʿayṭ b. Abī ʿAmr, governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān and later a favourite of Muʿāwiya during his caliphate, also known as a poet (*Aghānī*[1], iv, 175-90). His father ʿUḳba had been made prisoner at the battle of Badr and put to death by Muḥammad, who could not forgive the insults which he had heaped upon him at the beginning of his preaching in Mecca; the shameful memory of the father weighed heavily on the son, and is often revived in ʿAlid polemics against the Banū Umayya. A son of al-Walīd, Abū Ḳaṭīfa ʿAmr, is also known as a poet (*Aghānī*[1], i, 7-18). All the members of the line of Abū ʿAmr settled in ʿIrāḳ and al-Djazīra.

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(G. Levi Della Vida-[C.E. Bosworth])

UMAYYA B. ABI 'L-ṢALT b. Abī Rabīʿa, pre-Islamic poet and member of the Thaḳīf [*q.v.*] tribe of al-Ṭāʾif, related, through his mother Ruḳayya bt. ʿAbd Shams, to the Meccan aristocracy, with whom he enjoyed a close affinity, if his panegyrics on the notables ʿAbd Allāh b. Djuʿdān and Ḥarb b. Umayya [*q.v.*] and his threnody for the Meccans slain at Badr [*q.v.*] are genuine.

Umayya's existence has never been questioned (he is lauded in a poem by Surāḳa b. Mirdās [*q.v.*]), although every aspect of the traditional picture of him (given by Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Shiʿr*, 279 as "he had read the ancient scriptures of the scriptures of Allāh and loathed the worship of effigies... In his poetry he would tell tales (*ḳiṣaṣ*) of the prophets and produce many terms unfamiliar to the desert Arabs which he had derived from the ancient scriptures and stories which he had derived from those of the People of the Book") has been subjected to sceptical scrutiny. Some 900 of his verses are extant, his poetry having been collected in *dīwān* form by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. T. Seidensticker, *The authenticity of the poems ascribed to Umayya Ibn Abī al-Ṣalt*, in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and modernity in Arabic language and literature*, Richmond 1996, 87-101, argues "that there might well be some authentic material" (96) among them.

Five elements should feature prominently in an assessment of what may plausibly be expected of Umayya's poetry: the religio-cultural environment of al-Ṭāʾif, Umayya's traditional identification as a *ḥanīf* [*q.v.*], his dealings with Muḥammad, the fragmentariness of his poetic remains and the motives for falsification. Umayya was a contemporary of Muḥammad, and they were reputedly hostile rivals: this would preclude influence on the latter by the former, as stipulated by Cl. Huart, *Une nouvelle source du Qoran*, in *JA*, ser. 10, vol. iv (1904), 125-67: see E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung. Band II. Die arabische Dichtung in der islamischer Zeit*, Darmstadt 1988, 8-9. Umayya's non-traditional, so-called "religious" verse (if genuine) may attest to the circulation, in Mecca and its environs, if not throughout the peninsula, of the *ḳiṣaṣ* [see ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀʾ] elements of the Ḳurʾān. There is at times considerable divergence between Umayya's poetic version of a tale and that in the Ḳurʾān. Legendary material contained in *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] is often adduced as a source, though this material must itself have a source, and J.W. Hirschberg's championing of pre-Islamic Haggadic material remains attractive (*Jüdische und christliche Lehren im vor- und frühislamischen Arabien*, Cracow 1939). Discussions of Ḳurʾānic echoes and ideas in Umayya's poetry should take account of research into such features of the poetry of the Mukhadramūn [*q.v.*]: see J.E. Montgomery, *The vagaries of the Qaṣīdah* (forthcoming), ch. 6, and might necessitate a revision of Umayya's *floruit* and his (spurious?) laudation of the Prophet. Only snippets of his verse have survived and although some long poems have been reconstructed, it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to their narrative style and techniques and also to determine whether the legendary "religious" material ever formed part of a (traditionally conceived) polythematic *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*]. F. Schulthess (*Umajja ibn Abi ṣ Ṣalt*, Leipzig 1911, 5-6) thought that he could discern in the clumsiness of Umayya's versification proof that he had taken his narrative materials from prose versions. Any emotional or character analysis of Umayya on the basis of such shakily attested texts is unwise.

Bibliography: Given in the text. See further the Bibl. given by Seidensticker in the article cited.

(J.E. Montgomery)

UMAYYA B. KHALAF b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa al-Djumaḥī, rich trader and chief of the clan of Djumaḥ in Mecca at the time of the Prophet.

He is known in early Islamic historical writing and the *Sīra* as an opponent of Muḥammad at the opening of his prophethood. He was a member of the delegation of Ḳuraysh to Abū Ṭālib complaining about Muḥammad's activities in Mecca. At the time of the first revelations he is said to have mocked the Prophet and defamed him, *hamazahu wa-lamazahu*. Consequently, Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] sees this as having been the occasion for the revelation of sūra CIV (*al-Humaza*). Traditional Ḳurʾān exegesis is not so sure as Ibn Isḥāḳ about this (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī on sūra CIV). According to the *Sīra* and to exegesis, he was moreover one of the Meccan *ashrāf* to whom sūra CIX was addressed. His name is regularly linked with Bilāl [*q.v.*], Muḥammad's *muʾadhdhin* and one of the best-known representatives of the *mustaḍʿafūn*, the social group of the weakest Meccans, whom Umayya is said to have caused to be tortured after Bilāl's conversion. It was to be Bilāl—but according to other accounts, Khubayb b. Yasāf—who killed Umayya with his own hands at the battle of Badr [*q.v.*]. Although the relevant reports on this are controversial, they nevertheless state indubitably that Umayya's killing at Badr was understood as an

act of revenge on the part of the so-called *mustaḍʿafūn*. Umayya appears, moreover, in history as the *raʾīs al-kufr*.

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UMAYYADS (Banū Umayya), the dynasty of caliphs which, from its centre in Syria, ruled the whole of the Arab Islamic territories from 41/661 to 132/750. All of the caliphs during this period are descendants of Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams [*q.v.*], a pre-Islamic notable of the tribe of Ḳuraysh of Mecca, but they represent two distinct lines within the clan of Umayya: the first three caliphs, descended from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*], are referred to as Sufyānids; the remaining eleven, descendants of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], as Marwānids. For convenience, a list of the Umayyad caliphs and the dates generally given for their caliphate is provided below; for detailed information on each caliphate see the article s.v.

41-60/661-80	Muʿāwiya I b. Abī Sufyān
60-4/680-3	Yazīd I b. Muʿāwiya I
64/683	Muʿāwiya II b. Yazīd I
64-5/684-5	Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam
65-86/685-705	ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān I
86-96/705-15	al-Walīd I b. ʿAbd al-Malik
96-9/715-17	Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik
99-101/717-20	ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
101-5/720-4	Yazīd II b. ʿAbd al-Malik
105-25/724-43	Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik
125-6/743-4	al-Walīd II b. Yazīd II
126/744	Yazīd III b. al-Walīd I
126/744	Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd I
127-32/744-50	Marwān II b. Muḥammad b. Marwān I

1. The Umayyads in Western scholarship

Serious modern study of the period of the Umayyad caliphs began with the publication of Wellhausen's *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* in 1902. In that work, Wellhausen sought to recover the earliest layers of Muslim tradition relating to the period, to assess the historical value of variant accounts of events, and to write Umayyad history on the basis of the most reliable surviving evidence. It was made possible by the completion of the Leiden edition of the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī, which drew on, and made available to its readers, a large selection of no longer extant material from the late Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid period compiled by traditional scholars. Wellhausen's book conveys a rather favourable image of the Umayyads and their officials as pragmatic politicians, creators and leaders of an empire based on the idea of Arab domination over non-Arabs, and largely unconcerned with religious matters unless forced to be by their pietist opponents. That image was shared by a number of Wellhausen's contemporaries and presented in a more exaggerated form in the many publications of the Belgian Jesuit scholar Lammens.

Although studies of aspects of Umayyad history not very different in method from that of Wellhausen (but making use of the greater number of traditional sources made available since his time) continue to appear, understandings of the period have naturally changed and developed in what is now more than ninety years since his book was published.

Wellhausen had assumed that an event could be reconstructed once the earliest available account of it had been discovered. Much of the work of Goldziher and Schacht, however, has shown that the religious and legal traditions about early Islam often represent a retrojection of later ideas and circumstances, and recent work, notably that of Albrecht Noth, has focused on the literary character of the traditional historiography, drawing attention to its stereotyped themes and forms and its nature as a continuously developing tradition difficult to assign to individual scholars, times or places. These arguments, although not specifically concerned with the period of the Umayyads, have nevertheless led some to question the basis upon which Wellhausen sought to isolate individual biases and viewpoints within the tradition and also the possibility of recreating the Umayyad period in detail from source material which dates, in the form in which we have it, from after the dynasty had been overthrown. Discussions of the motivation or moral evaluation of events or of individuals are especially difficult given the fundamentally hostile attitude to the Umayyads in the tradition (see below).

Responding to such problems, Patricia Crone has suggested the adoption of a prosopographical approach and exploitation of the minutiae which the Muslim literary sources contain about things such as the tribal and family background of individuals and their connexions through marriage. Another response has been a renewal of interest in other types of evidence (which Wellhausen also used)—non-Muslim literary materials, coins, inscriptions, art and archaeology. The Umayyad period is the first one of Islamic history for which such evidence is relatively substantial.

Wellhausen and others shared a view of the Umayyad empire as an expression of Arab national consciousness (as Levi Della Vida in his article *Umaiyads* in *EI*[1] termed it) and an embodiment of the principle of the rule of Arabs over non-Arabs. That has sometimes been conceived in racial terms and the overthrow of the Umayyads portrayed as the defeat of the Arabs by their subject peoples, particularly the Persians. While it still seems true, however, that the Umayyad state was founded on the principle of the rule of conquerors (Arabs) over conquered (non-Arabs), the term "Arab" is now understood as much as a cultural as an ethnic category, and the way in which under Umayyad rule Arabs and non-Arabs became assimilated to form a new Islamic society seems the most significant aspect of the period. As people of originally non-Arab descent formed genealogical links with Arab clans and tribes, as Arabic became the normal means of communication in large areas ruled by the Umayyads, and as the Arabs moved out of their garrisons and merged into the societies they had conquered, so a new "Arab" identity came to be formed, although its bearers would probably not have referred to themselves as Arabs.

The idea that the caliphs had little concern for religion, already criticised by Levi Della Vida, seems to have been the result of a too ready acceptance of the Muslim traditional view that the Umayyads generally were enemies of Islam. The work of Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds has drawn attention to the Umayyad (and later) caliphs' claim that they were God's deputies on earth. But questions about the way

in which Umayyad rule contributed to or affected the development and spread of Islam remain. In general, it is likely that Islam as it came to crystallise in the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate owes much to circles opposed to the Umayyads, although they responded to initiatives coming from the dynasty and its supporters. Schacht's discussion of "Umaiyad practice as the starting-point of Muhammadan jurisprudence" (in his *Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, ²Oxford 1967, 190 ff.) portrays the early Muslim legal scholars endorsing, modifying or rejecting Umayyad practice as they thought fit. In particular the anachronism of regarding the Umayyads as representatives of Sunnī Islam is obvious, since the Sunnī tradition did not emerge in a developed form until after the fall of the dynasty, and the Umayyad conception of caliphal authority was at odds with that developed later by the Sunnī scholars. We can only see the Umayyads' own understanding of the religion of which they claimed to be the leaders indirectly, because Muslim tradition reflects the views of the dynasty's opponents rather than that of the caliphs. In his article in *EI*¹, Levi Della Vida stated that "it was precisely under their regime and partly under their stimulus that Islam established itself as a universalist religion", but it is not easy to generalise about the exact relationship between Umayyad rule and the development of various aspects of Islam.

Stress on the way in which Islam, both as a religion and as a culture, was still developing, and on the importance of the Umayyad period for its development, has brought a greater interest in elements of continuity between the pre-Islamic and Islamic Middle East. The Umayyad caliphate itself is now often understood as part of the period of transition between the classical world of Greece and Rome and that of Islam, frequently referred to as Late Antiquity.

2. The Umayyads in Muslim tradition

The image of the Umayyads which Muslim tradition presents is generally a negative one although sometimes alleviated by material which is implicitly or explicitly more favourable and which may be accounted for in various ways. Among a number of Ḳurʾānic passages sometimes explained as alluding to them, the most commonly cited is probably "the tree cursed in the Ḳurʾān" (*al-shad̲j̲ara al-malʿūna fi ʾl-ḳurʾān*) in sūra XVII, 60.

Symbolically, the enmity between the branch of Ḳuraysh to which the Umayyads belonged (the Banū ʿAbd S̲h̲ams) and the Banū Hās̲h̲im, the branch which engendered the Prophet, the ʿAlids and the ʿAbbāsids, is represented by the blood which flowed when the Siamese twin brothers ʿAbd S̲h̲ams and Hās̲h̲im, sons of ʿAbd Manāf, were separated by a sword cut. The historical conflict between the Umayyads and representatives of the "House of the Prophet" is thus portrayed as having its roots in the time of the two ancestors. According to the tradition, although they had been outdone in generosity and nobility of spirit by their Hās̲h̲imī rivals, by the time of the rise of the Prophet's power in Medina the Umayyads and Banū ʿAbd S̲h̲ams in general had established themselves as the leaders of the Ḳuras̲h̲ī opposition to Islam. Abū Sufyān, the father of the first Umayyad caliph, is shown as leader of the Meccan armies which attacked the Prophet at the battles of Uḥud and al-K̲h̲andaḳ [*q.vv.*], while the story of Muʿāwiya's mother, Hind bt. ʿUtba [*q.v.*], who chewed the liver of the slain uncle of the Prophet, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, at Uḥud, is notorious.

As the power, authority and prestige of the Prophet in Medina increased in spite of their opposition, tradition tells us, the leading Umayyads reluctantly and at a late stage bowed to the inevitable and accepted Islam with questionable sincerity. Accounts vary concerning the precise moment when individual Umayyads like Abū Sufyān and his two sons Yazīd and Muʿāwiya finally professed Islam, but generally it is associated with the events leading up to the Prophet's conquest of Mecca. The derogatory name *al-ṭulaḳāʾ*, sometimes applied to the Umayyads by their opponents in the traditional reports, is explained as a reference to the fact that, in theory, they had become the property of the Prophet as a result of his conquest of Mecca but he had then magnanimously chosen to set them free (*ṭallaḳahum*). The Ḳurʾānic phrase *al-muʾallafa ḳulūbuhum* (IX, 60 [*q.v.*]), with reference to one of the categories of those entitled to receive payments from the collection of alms (*ṣadaḳāt*), is also often (but not always) associated with the Umayyads' acceptance of Islam: it is explained that the Prophet wished to attract certain prominent opponents, among them Abū Sufyān, to Islam by making them gifts, that being a necessity for maintaining their adherence.

Having accepted Islam, certain Umayyads, including Abū Sufyān, are reported to have been entrusted with important tasks and offices by the Prophet and the early *Rās̲h̲idūn* caliphs [see AL-K̲H̲ULAFĀʾ AL-RĀS̲H̲IDŪN, in Suppl.]; in particular, Yazīd and Muʿāwiya were sent by Abū Bakr [*q.v.*] among the leaders of the army sent to Syria. Nevertheless, the traditional texts, in varying degrees, imply that the rise of Muʿāwiya to the caliphate in Syria was a result of trickery and scheming as much as of his own talents. The murder of the caliph ʿUt̲h̲mān, it is sometimes suggested, was exploited, perhaps desired or even orchestrated, by his Umayyad relatives in order to call ʿAlī's title to the caliphate into question, and the rather ambiguous reports about the raising of the *maṣāḥif* at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*] and the ensuing meeting of the arbitrators [see AD̲H̲RUḤ] merge to convey the impression that Muʿāwiya and his supporters duped the pious but gullible proponents of ʿAlī.

The negative portrayal of the Umayyads in tradition is evident above all in the refusal to recognise their rule as true caliphate and to insist that it was merely kingship (*mulk*): they were secular kings like the Byzantine and Sāsānid rulers. This accusation is associated particularly with Muʿāwiya's introduction of the principle of hereditary succession when he named his son Yazīd to succeed him, the assumption being that the Sunnī theory of an elective caliphate had previously been established and that Muʿāwiya was acting against it. A similar assumption underlies the view that the use by the Umayyads of the title *K̲h̲alīfat Allāh* was a corruption of the proper title *K̲h̲alīfat Rasūl Allāh* motivated by arrogance. The same motive is also adduced to account for such things as the custom of the Umayyads and their governors to sit on the *minbar* [*q.v.*] while delivering a *k̲h̲uṭba* and, furthermore, to put the *k̲h̲uṭba* before the prayers on the two *ʿīds*. Individual Umayyads, like Yazīd, are attributed with habits and characteristics such as drunkenness and wantonness which were repulsive from an Islamic point of view, but the emphasis on these in some reports is perhaps more a reflection of, than a reason for, the traditional refusal to accept the Umayyads as caliphs in a full sense.

As for the policies and actions of the Umayyads, there are several which, for Muslims of later time, would carry the message that these were not properly Islamic rulers. The army sent by Yazīd to the

Ḥidjāz, which sacked Medina and went on to besiege Mecca, bombarding the holy city with rocks from catapults (*manḏjanīḳ*) and damaging the Kaʿba so badly that it had to be demolished and rebuilt, is an obvious example. A similar bombardment is reported when Mecca was again besieged by an Umayyad army commanded by al-Ḥadjdjādj some ten years later. The killing of the grandson of the Prophet, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, together with a large number of his household and supporters, at Karbalāʾ [*q.v.*] is another crime laid at their door. The recurrent refusals to allow the non-Arabs to enter Islam as *mawālī* [see MAWLĀ] would appear similarly as un-Islamic. The caliph al-Walīd II was even accused of shooting at the Ḳurʾān with an arrow.

Literary works were produced containing lists of these and other misdeeds of the Umayyads before and after their entrance into Islam, sometimes comparing them with the succeeding dynasty of ʿAbbāsid caliphs. Among such works were the *Risāla fī ʾl-nābita* (*Risāla fī banī Umayya*) of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] and the *Kitāb al-Nizāʿ wa ʾl-takhāṣum fīmā bayna banī Umayya wa-banī Hāshim* of al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*]. A similar but shorter text was the so-called *Kitāb fī shaʾn banī Umayya* which was issued by the ʿAbbāsid al-Muʿtaḍid in 284/897 at the same time as he ordered the cursing of Muʿāwiya from the *minbars* (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164-78).

Any general summary of the image of the Umayyads in Muslim tradition must also, however, take account of elements which might alleviate the negative judgments resulting from the above. Among the caliphs of this dynasty, ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and, to a lesser extent, Yazīd III b. al-Walīd, are presented more favourably and given legitimacy as caliphs in the tradition. The former in particular, a grandson of the first ʿUmar on his mother's side, is a significant figure in Sunnī tradition and is sometimes referred to as the fifth of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. Even certain Umayyad caliphs to whom tradition does not grant legitimacy might be respected for aspects of their achievements. Thus the ʿAbbāsid al-Manṣūr is said to have admired the fiscal prudence and administrative capacity of the Umayyad Hishām, while some positive judgement of both Muʿāwiya and ʿAbd al-Malik is implied in the designation "year of unity" (*ʿām al-djamāʿa*) for the years in which they ended the discord and civil war (*fitna*) which each had faced before establishing himself as caliph.

Any attempt to understand the image of the Umayyads in Muslim tradition must take account of a number of factors. In the first place, the historical tradition which has come down to us largely emanates from circles hostile to the dynasty, was transmitted and committed to writing mainly by religious scholars, and achieved the form in which we know it under the caliphate of the ʿAbbāsids. On the other hand, the rise to predominance of the Sunnī form of Islam and the increasing differentiation between it and the Shīʿī tradition, opposition between Sunnī traditionalists and some of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and a general concern for the historical legitimation of the Sunnī Islamic community as the direct descendant of that of the Prophet, may have been factors working to moderate the general hostility of the tradition to the Umayyads.

Above all, however, in attempting to understand the treatment of the Umayyads in tradition account has to be taken of the changing nature of Islam. The Umayyads were judged according to criteria which were a concomitant of the development of Islam during their rule.

3. Historical survey

Given the origins and character of the historical tradition, and the date in which it achieved the form in which we know it, discussions of Umayyad history need to be tentative. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the events reported in the Muslim literary tradition, the names referred to and, generally, the dates supplied, reflect an historical reality. When it is possible to check the basic details against the evidence of such things as coins, inscriptions and non-Muslim literary works, they are generally confirmed.

The Sufyānid period

The most likely explanation for the emergence of Syria [see AL-SHĀM] as the political centre of the Arab empire following the First Civil War was the fact that it had been the seat of Muʿāwiya, the victor in the Civil War, for over 20 years before he obtained the caliphate. Beyond that, and partly explaining Muʿāwiya's victory, there were conditions which made Syria different from the other territories conquered by the Arabs. Syria must have had a relatively large Arab population, some of it dating from before the conquest, distributed across the whole country rather than enclosed within garrison cities. Furthermore, central Syria was dominated by one tribal group, the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*], rather than divided between a multiplicity of competing ones. Taken together, these facts would have allowed Muʿāwiya to establish his court in an existing administrative centre, to continue the administrative tradition which had existed under Byzantine rule, and to avoid the need constantly to play off the local tribal groups against one another.

From Syria, Muʿāwiya and his immediate successors exercised control through a small number of powerful governors. Prominent among them were the Thaḳafīs [see THAḲĪF] Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*] and then Ziyād's son ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. These governors appointed sub-governors and sought to control the Arab tribes by means of the powerful tribal notables, the *ashrāf* [see SHARĪF]. The non-Arabs, the majority of the population, were regarded mainly as a source of revenue for the élite, the Arabs.

It has become common to portray this period as one during which the caliphs were little more than glorified tribal *shaykhs*, indicated by the standard references to Muʿāwiya's *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] and the delegations (*wufūd*) of tribal notables to his court. Muʿāwiya himself may have encouraged this image, for the so-called Maronite Chronicle refers to his refusal to wear a crown (*CSCO*, Scr. Syri, 3rd series, iv, 71 (text) = 56 (tr.)), and the reference to him as *protosymboulos* by the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes is well known. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the human and material resources available to Muʿāwiya made his power and authority much greater than that of even the most important tribal leaders.

In their administration, the Sufyānid caliphs seem to have continued largely with the personnel and systems which they had inherited from the Byzantines and Sāsānids. Government records [see DĪWĀN] continued to be maintained in the languages used before the coming of the Arabs, and coins minted under the previous régimes continued in circulation [see DĀR AL-ḌARB]. The Maronite Chronicle refers to the refusal of the Syrians to accept a coin issued by Muʿāwiya since it did not bear a cross (*CSCO*, Script. Syri, 3rd series, vol. iv, 71 = 55-b).

Apart from that connected with Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*], the period saw little opposition to Umayyad rule until after the death of Muʿāwiya. During his own lifetime he had been largely successful in preparing the suc-

cession of his son Yazīd, but on the latter's accession opposition was manifested, not by tribal figures, but by a small group of descendants of some of the leading companions of the Prophet in Medina. Chief among them were al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.vv.*]. Al-Ḥusayn's revolt was crushed at Karbalāʾ, but Ibn al-Zubayr fled to Mecca and was still refusing to accept Yazīd's caliphate when the latter, who had sent an army to the Ḥidjāz [see AL-ḤUṢAYN B. NUMAYR; MUSLIM B. ʿUKBA] in order to enforce recognition of him by Ibn al-Zubayr and others, died. Although Yazīd was succeeded in Syria by his son Muʿāwiya II, the new caliph received limited recognition and was shortlived. The death of Yazīd in effect marked the temporary collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and opened the period of the Second Civil War.

The Second Civil War

The period between the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya and the final defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692 saw the takeover of the caliphate by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and then his son ʿAbd al-Malik, of the Abu 'l-ʿĀṣ branch of the Umayyad family. Those two oversaw the gradual reimposition of Umayyad control in all of the territories which had been ruled by Muʿāwiya. The way in which the succession was transferred to Marwān and then to his descendants was complex and is to some extent obscure, but ultimately depended on the fact that he was supported by the leader of the Ḳuḍāʿa, Ḥassān b. Mālik [*q.v.*], and on the victory of the forces of the Ḳuḍāʿa over those of the rival confederation of Ḳaysī tribes, supporting Ibn al-Zubayr, at the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] in 64/684.

Marwān, who ruled only for about nine months, restored Umayyad control over Egypt, but ʿAbd al-Malik's achievement in destroying Zubayrid rule in ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz was a more drawn-out process, interrupted by the need to enforce his authority in Syria, where his right to the caliphate was challenged by his relative ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. The defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ in 71/691, however, was followed by the dispatch of an army under al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*] against the rival caliph himself, who was killed in the fighting which led to al-Ḥadjdjādj's capture of Mecca in the following year.

The Second Civil War was significant for the future of the Umayyad caliphate in a number of ways. First, the breakdown of Umayyad authority and the struggles over the succession had been accompanied by the polarisation, for the first time, in Syria, in ʿIrāḳ and in Khurāsān, of the Arabs into two main hostile tribal groups. These had different names in different regions: in Syria, Kalb (the dominant tribe of Ḳuḍāʿa) and Ḳays, in ʿIrāḳ and the east, Tamīm and Azd [*q.vv.*] or, more generally, Muḍar and Yaman [*q.vv.*]. The formation of these groups, probably ultimately a result of migrations and struggles for influence, land, and wealth which had been taking place under the Sufyānids, now acquired a new importance as the various parties involved in the civil war sought to establish and maintain their position by winning the support of one tribal group or another.

Secondly, the movement led by al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*], who had seized control of al-Kūfa during the Zubayrid interregnum in ʿIrāḳ, although it had been suppressed, had demonstrated the potential importance of the *mawālī* for the first time and, furthermore, provided the basis from which sprang the later movement of the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], instrumental in organising the revolt which was eventually to overthrow the Umayyad caliphate.

Thirdly, the collapse of Umayyad authority revealed the weakness of the rather loose and decentralised administrative structure which had characterised the Sufyānid period. Throughout the territories over which the Umayyads claimed authority, the lack of commitment to the Umayyads on the part of many of the *ashrāf* had been demonstrated. The extension of central authority and movement towards a more formally-organised army under the Marwānids was probably a reaction to that.

The Marwānid restoration

The caliphates of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son al-Walīd, linked by the presence of al-Ḥadjdjādj as governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east from 75-95/694-714, were distinguished by significant developments in the administration and in the public face of the Umayyad state. It is to this period that the introduction of the first properly Islamic coinage and the beginning of the keeping of the government records in Arabic are dated, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem [see AL-ḲUDS], built by ʿAbd al-Malik in 72/691-2, represents the emergence of a recognisably Islamic style of architecture. Furthermore, its inscriptions are the first dateable evidence of substantial Ḳurʾānic material and of the use of the word *islām*, apparently as the designation of the religion which the caliph represented. Other major public buildings dating from this period are the Aḳṣā mosque, the mosque of Damascus (incorporating the former church of St. John), and the mosque of the Prophet in Medina [see MASDJID].

The breakdown of order in ʿIrāḳ during the Second Civil War had allowed the appearance of a significant Khāridjī threat [see AZĀRIḲA; KHĀRIDJITES; SHABĪB B. YAZĪD] and al-Ḥadjdjādj's first major task in ʿIrāḳ was to defeat it, using the military talents of al-Muhallab [*q.v.*]. To that end he put considerable pressure on the local *ashrāf* who were refusing to participate in the campaigns against the Khāridjīs and, furthermore, brought troops from Syria to ʿIrāḳ. Thus a new way of ensuring Umayyad authority in the provinces was introduced. Subsequent reinforcements brought from Syria made necessary the construction of a new garrison town to quarter them [see WĀSIṬ].

It was probably the resentment of the *ashrāf* at the intensification of government pressure which was the main cause of the revolt which al-Ḥadjdjādj had to face from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath and the army with which he had been sent to Afghānistān [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH]. This revolt, which attracted diverse elements opposed to the government and took on a significant religious tone, eventually aimed at removing not only the ʿIrāḳī governor but also the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik himself, and it came close to achieving its aims. Its defeat only led to the further strengthening of government control.

A significant element in Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt was the non-Arab *mawālī*. Some 19th century scholars even interpreted his movement as an expression of their discontent, and, although that interpretation no longer seems tenable, it is true that under al-Ḥadjdjādj the problem of the non-Arabs who wished to enter Islam (whatever that involved at the time) became increasingly apparent. We hear of the attempt by many non-Arab cultivators to leave their lands and enter the garrison cities of ʿIrāḳ, attempting to join the Arab soldiers there as clients and claiming the status of *mawālī*. Al-Ḥadjdjādj's response was to round them up and have them sent back to their lands. The motive for this flight from the land to the towns was certainly a desire to avoid taxation as well as to find an alternative source of income, and al-Ḥadjdjādj's actions represent a realisation of the consequences for

the treasury if the non-Arabs were allowed to abandon their lands and villages in this way. The manifestation of the problem at this time may well reflect the increasing fiscal demands of the state as well as greater efficiency in tax collection in the early Marwānid period.

The nature and development of the taxation system [see ḌARĪBA; DJIZYA; KHARĀDJ] under the Umayyads has been a subject of debate. D.C. Dennett sought to refine what he saw as the over-simple presentation of Wellhausen, and argued that there was a variety of systems of taxation, differing from province to province, but that, almost everywhere, at the level of the taxpayer there was a dual system of poll tax and land tax. In spite of the detail amassed by Dennett and the clarity with which it is presented and interpreted, however, it is difficult to see that his conclusions make a great difference to our understanding of the actions of the non-Arabs who wished to leave their lands and accept Islam. Acceptance of Islam would only result in a substantial alleviation of or escape from taxation if it was acompanied by flight from the land.

The development of factionalism in the army and the continuing problem of the mawālī

Hostility between Muḍar and Yaman became more prominent in the eastern territories of the caliphate in connection with the career of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-Azdi [see MUHALLABIDS]. As a result of his efforts to establish a strong position for his family and tribe in Khurāsān, Ibn al-Muhallab came to be regarded as a champion of the Yaman in general. His complicated and vacillating relationship with the Umayyad caliphs and their representatives culminated in his revolt, centred on Baṣra, in the caliphate of Yazīd II. Although, like Ibn al-Ashʿath, he won the support of diverse elements, his identification with the Yaman had the result that his defeat was regarded as a humiliation for them, and the coming of the Ḳaysī ʿUmar b. Hubayra [see IBN HUBAYRA] as governor to ʿIrāḳ resulted in the installation of predominantly Ḳaysī governors in the east. Furthermore, the army which had been sent from Syria to defeat the revolt, being drawn from the Syrian-Mesopotamian frontier region, was also predominantly Ḳaysī. Revenge for the Muhallabids was one of the slogans of the Yamanī supporters of the movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 132/749-50.

From this point onwards, the appointment of governors in ʿIrāḳ and the east was associated with changes in the position of one of the factions relative to the other. The appointment of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, however it was intended, was interpreted as a reversion to a pro-Yamanī policy, while the removal of Khālid in favour of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī in 120/738 signalled the restoration of Muḍarī domination.

The nature of the groups designated by names such as Yaman and Muḍar has been debated. The assumption that they represented real tribal alliances has been challenged by Patricia Crone's argument that they should be understood as factions in the army, certainly related to the tribal groups whose names they bear, but not identical with them. A group in the army called Tamīm would be likely to have originated from the tribe of Tamīm but their aims and interests were not identical with those of Tamīmīs outside the army. M.A. Shaban's suggestion that the groups had distinct political programmes, the Yaman being broadly against military expansion and in favour of liberal policies towards the *mawālī*, the Muḍar favouring an imperialist and pro-Arab policy, has also been strongly argued against by Crone.

The acceptance of Islam by non-Arabs, at various times and places, continued to be a problem and seems to have taken on a more religious significance with the passage of time. The attempts of Umayyad governors to deny or restrict the rights claimed by the *mawālī* came increasingly to be portrayed by opponents of the dynasty as attempts to deny access to Islam in a religious sense, and the pious depicted the Umayyads as enemies of Islam. Complaints about the behaviour of the governor of Khurāsān al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī [*q.v.*], who sought to limit or ignore the claims of the local *mawālī* to be freed from payment of the *kharādj* and to receive pay for their fighting alongside the Arabs in the army, were led by Abu 'l-Ṣaydā' al-Ḍabbī, who is portrayed as a spokesman of the pious. In response to the complaints, the caliph ʿUmar II removed al-Djarrāḥ from his governorate. A similar episode about a decade later when al-Ashras b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sulamī was governor of Khurāsān led to a rising which, in conjunction with an invasion by the Turks, resulted in the loss of territory and considerable military embarrassment. It is remarkable that local non-Arab leaders are reported to have urged the Umayyad governor to be firm against the demands of the *mawālī*, fearing that they would be unable to met the financial demands made on them by the government if large numbers of their communities were allowed to become "Arabs" and share in the privileges of the Arabs. Discontent among the *mawālī* could be used by Arab opponents of the Umayyads [see AL-ḤĀRITH B. SURAYDJ] and was eventually a powerful element in the movement which overthrew their caliphate.

It is generally accepted that ʿUmar II pursued a more sympathetic policy towards the demands of the *mawālī* than did other Umayyad rulers. In tradition, he appears as a champion of the equality of Arabs and non-Arabs within Islam. The nature of the evidence, however, makes it difficult to be precise about the measures he adopted. The fiscal decree reported by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (see H.A.R. Gibb, *The fiscal rescript of ʿUmar II*) leaves many unanswered questions and its authenticity is debatable, and the shortness of his caliphate perhaps limited the effect of any measures he introduced. However we regard his caliphate, the episode associated with al-Ashras al-Sulamī shows that he did not solve the problem, and it is reported that when Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] became governor of Khurāsān he found many Muslims paying taxes while some non-Muslims were able to avoid them.

The Third Civil War

The ingredients of the Third Civil War, which began with the rebellion against al-Walīd II in 126/744 and lasted until Marwān II had, by about 129/747, established control over the central provinces of the caliphate, were in some respects similar to those of the second. It did not, however, conclude with the re-establishment of Umayyad rule on a firm footing but with the beginning of its end. Although Marwān II emerged victorious, the events leading up to that can, in retrospect, be seen to have fatally weakened the Umayyad caliphate in its heartlands and made it incapable of resisting successfully the revolt which shortly afterwards began in its far north eastern province of Khurāsān. The most important consequences were that the Yamanī-Muḍar factionalism, which after the First Civil War had been confined to the eastern caliphate, now infected Syria again, and that the unity of the Umayyad house itself was shat-

tered. Different members of the family competed and fought for the caliphate, and possibly fortuitous and accidental alignments between contenders and factions came to harden so that by the time of his victory Marwān II was positively identified with the interests of Ḳays (Muḍar). In general, the result of the period between 744 and 747 was to reduce Syria to the level of the other provinces. The special conditions which had given strength to Muʿāwiya, and supported the dynasty thus far, no longer pertained. In the fighting major Syrian centres like Ḥimṣ, Damascus and Jerusalem were damaged, and it is of more than symbolic significance that Marwān II established his court at Ḥarrān [*q.v.*] in the Djazīra rather than in Syria.

The fall of the dynasty

Although there are still many obscurities and unanswered questions about the development and nature of the movement which destroyed the Umayyad caliphate [see ʿABBĀSIDS], in general terms the fall of the dynasty can be understood as a result of the conjunction of a number of the themes which had developed during its period of power.

One of those was the factionalism among the fighting men. Mistrust of Marwān II and his Ḳaysī régime (his governor in ʿIrāḳ was Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, whose father had supplanted the Azdī Ibn al-Muhallab in the same post) by Yamanīs in the Khurāsānī army led to a revolt against the governor of the province, Naṣr b. Sayyār. The governor was pushed out of the provincial capital, Marw, and, although an agreement between him and his opponents among the soldiers was patched up when they heard the news of the rising of the Hāshimiyya in the villages outside Marw, it was not long before the leader of the Hāshimiyya was able to exploit the divisions and, in effect, to recruit the Yamanīs to his cause.

The Hāshimiyya was another manifestation of support for the claims of ʿAlids and members of the *ahl al-bayt* to the imāmate against those of the Umayyads. In particular, it was linked with the movement led by al-Mukhtār in Kūfa at the time of the Second Civil War. Support for the Hāshimiyya appears to have come initially from the mixed Arab and non-Arab population of Khurāsān, alienated by Umayyad policies towards the non-Arabs who wished to accept Islam. By the time the revolt in Khurāsān began in 129/747, the driving force behind, if not the official leader of, the Hāshimiyya there was Abū Muslim [*q.v.*].

By allying with the Yamanī faction in the army, led by the Azdī ʿAlī b. Djudayʿ al-Kirmānī, Abū Muslim was able to enter Marw and shortly afterwards to send an army commanded by Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*] westwards in pursuit of Naṣr b. Sayyār and his supporters who had fled to Nīshāpūr. That army, having taken Nīshāpūr, continued its progress through north-western Persia and into ʿIrāḳ, defeating Umayyad armies at Ḳūmis and Nihāwand, and eventually took Kūfa, where, in Rabīʿ II 132/November 749, Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ was proclaimed as the first ʿAbbāsid caliph.

At the beginning of the following year, the defeat of the Umayyad army at the decisive battle on the Upper Zab led to the flight of Marwān II through Syria to Egypt, pursued by an ʿAbbāsid force. Of the Syrian towns, only Damascus offered much resistance to the new power. Tracked down in Egypt, Marwān II and a few followers were killed.

4. Arabisation and Islamisation under the Umayyads

The importance of the period of the Umayyad caliphate lies chiefly in the fact that it was during it that the lands extending from central Asia to the Maghrib and al-Andalus were first significantly Islamised and Arabised, both processes which could be analysed as consisting of various components and achieving various levels of fulfilment. The most obvious indicator of Islamisation would be acceptance of Islam by an individual or a community, while Arabisation would be most obviously indicated by adoption of Arabic as the normal language for everyday use. At this most obvious level, it is clear that at the beginning of the Umayyad period there must have been a relatively small number of people who regarded themselves as Muslims or who spoke Arabic; by the fall of the dynasty both categories had expanded considerably. Our evidence for both processes is patchy and questionable and our conclusions necessarily impressionistic, but that general conclusion seems sound.

Although often connected, Islamisation and Arabisation in this period were not necessarily simultaneous processes, and not all the regions under Umayyad rule were affected by them to the same extent or at the same speed. Islam developed as a way of life in which religion was an important but not the only element, so that for some communities Islamisation might be envisaged as a process of cultural adaptation not necessarily involving a formal acceptance of Islam; and the development and spread of Arab identity in the regions under Arab rule had consequences not always identical with the spread and development of the Arabic language itself.

When one reads about individuals or groups entering or accepting Islam in the Umayyad period (or attempting to do so), it is therefore advisable to avoid the primarily religious connotations of the word "conversion"; the concept of Islamisation allows us to envisage a process of social change which may or may not have included a conscious change of religious identity but which would often have prepared the way for it. In its primary sense, the Arabic word *islām* means "submission" and, at a time when Arab armies were establishing their political and military control over large areas of western Asia and north Africa, the ambiguity of the word seems obvious. In a similar way, the concept of Arabisation may usefully include such things as the adoption of the Arabic script and of a substantial Arabic vocabulary by a people, such as the Persians, who nevertheless did not come to speak Arabic.

Neither process should be envisaged as a simple imposition by the conquerors on the conquered or as a mere borrowing from the rulers by their subjects. Both Islamisation and Arabisation took place as a society and culture embracing Arabs and non-Arabs, conquerors and subjects, formed, and both elements of the population were affected by them. To say that the Arabs were subject to Arabisation and Islamisation just like the non-Arab peoples over whom they ruled may seem paradoxical, but makes sense if one considers that both Islam and the forms of Arabic known to us were an outcome of the emergence of the new society and culture. As the Arabic language [see ʿARABIYYA] came to be used by non-Arab populations under Arab rule, the language evolved into different forms and dialects as it was developed and expanded for new purposes and subjected to local variations of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. In the same way, Islam should be understood as a religion and way of life which developed as the Arabs and non-Arabs gradually coalesced into a common society, both influencing and contributing to it.

In our Muslim literary sources the territorial expansion of Arab Muslim rule is the aspect of Islamisation and Arabisation under the Umayyads which receives the most consistent attention. In the west, following the foundation of the *miṣr* of al-Ḳayrawān [*q.v.*] in 50/670, the Berbers of the Maghrib were gradually subdued and recruited to fight alongside the Arabs. By the late 1st/early 8th century, in the caliphates of ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd, Arab control of the region was secure enough for Arab and Berber armies to cross to the Iberian peninsula and begin the conquest of what was to become al-Andalus. Around the same time, major advances were made in Afghānistān and Transoxania. Al-Ḥadjdjādj was responsible for sending armies under generals such as Ibn al-Ashʿath, Ḳutayba b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim [*q.vv.*] which laid the foundations for the subsequent development of caliphal authority and of Islam in central Asia. The caliphate of Hishām saw the strengthening of Arab Muslim control in Soghdia and Ṭukhāristān against a threat from the Turkish tribes of the Türgesh [see TURKS]. In contrast, the Umayyad attacks upon Byzantine territory to the north of Syria, involving attacks on Constantinople [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA] itself, were unsuccessful.

The entry into Islam of the non-Arab population under the rule of the Umayyads is less fully documented. In the traditional Muslim sources, it is alluded to mainly by reports about the actions of Umayyad governors and officials trying to hinder the non-Arabs from acquiring the status of *mawālī*. In Christian sources, the spread of Islam is suggested by occasional reports telling of the people of a particular town or region abandoning their faith at a particular time, by discussions concerning whether a person who had apostasised to the religion of the Arabs and wished to return to Christianity needed to be rebaptised (an abjuration ritual for such cases has been preserved, see E. Montet, in *RHR*, liii [1906] and F. Cumont, in *ibid.*, lxiv [1911]), and by appeals by Christian religious authorities for their followers to avoid too close a contact with the Arabs (e.g. Athanasius of Balad, cited in Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 13).

One difficulty lies in envisaging what was involved in the acceptance of Islam. Since the religion and culture of Islam was forming at the same time that it was spreading, Islamisation involves development as well as extension. The Sunnī form of Islam, with its emphasis on the *sunna* of the Prophet as a source of law and upon the religious scholars as the tradents and interpreters of the law, seems to have begun to develop in the later Umayyad period and in opposition to the actions and claims of the Umayyad caliphs [see FIḲH]. So far as one can tell from the sources, there was relatively little attention paid, at least by the earlier Umayyad caliphs and their representatives, to the Prophet as a source of authority. That the Umayyad idea of caliphal authority gave the caliph superiority over the Prophet is suggested not only by the *Khalīfat Allāh* title but by specific reports in the literary sources which have caliphal representatives stressing the superior position of a *khalīfa* over a *rasūl* (see e.g. Khālid al-Ḳasrī quoted in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). Movements sometimes regarded as manifestations of Shīʿism under the Umayyads are so diverse in aims, practices and doctrines that, taken together with the fact that there is no Sunnism with which to contrast them, it is difficult to see them as having much more in common than the idea that legitimate authority belonged to the family of the Prophet rather than that of the Umayyads (W.M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* [1960]). It was only in ʿAbbāsid times that the Sunnī and Shīʿī traditions stabilised in the forms we consider as characteristic.

Evidence of development in the area of ritual and practice under the Umayyads is relatively sparse and susceptible of various interpretations [see e.g. ḤADJDJ; ḲIBLA; RAMAḌĀN; ṢALĀT; ṢAWM]. The same might also be said regarding matters of theology and belief, but the evidence at least suggests that debates and arguments about such questions as the status of the Muslim who has sinned [see ĪMĀN], anthropomorphism [see TASHBĪH], and human free will and divine predestination [see ḲADARIYYA] were taking place in the Umayyad period and possibly affected, at least in the forms they took, by the policies and claims of the caliphs.

Perhaps the most obviously striking feature of the Umayyad concept of Islam which is not compatible with later understanding, however, is that it was the religion of the Arabs and that entry to it involved assimilation to Arab society. For a non-Arab non-Muslim to enter Islam, it was necessary to become the client of an Arab and thereby become attached to an Arab tribe. Religious and ethnic identity were thus closely linked in a way similar to that in Judaism. The move from this concept to one which distinguished between religious adherence and ethnic identity, and made Islam a religion open to all whether Arab or not, is the most important development of the Umayyad period. It occurred beyond the control of the caliphs and has much to do with the weakening of Umayyad authority and the image which the dynasty came to acquire in Muslim tradition.

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(G.R. Hawting)

UMAYYADS. In Spain.

The Umayyads of Spain ruled in al-Andalus 138-422/756-1031, the following being a table of the rulers:

138/756	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Dākhil
172/788	Hishām I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, Abu 'l-Walīd
180/796	al-Ḥakam I b. Hishām I, Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī
206/822	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II b. al-Ḥakam I, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Mutawassiṭ
238/852	Muḥammad I b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Abū ʿAbd Allāh
273/886	al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad I, Abu 'l-Ḥakam
275/888	ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad I, Abū Muḥammad
300/912	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III b. Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Nāṣir
350/961	al-Ḥakam II b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Mustanṣir
366/976	Hishām II b. al-Ḥakam II, Abu 'l-Walīd al-Mu'ayyad, first reign
399/1009	Muḥammad II b. Hishām II, al-Mahdī, first reign

400/1009	Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, al-Mustaʿīn, first reign
400/1010	Muḥammad II, second reign
400/1010	Hishām II, second reign
403/1013	Sulaymān, second reign
407/1016	*ʿAlī Ibn Ḥammūd, al-Nāṣir, Ḥammūdid*
408/1018	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV b. Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā
408/1018	*al-Ḳāsim Ibn Ḥammūd, al-Maʾmūn, Ḥammūdid*, first reign
412/1021	*Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī, al-Muʿtalī, Ḥammūdid*, first reign
413/1023	*al-Ḳāsim, Ḥammūdid*, second reign
414/1023	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V b. Hishām, al-Mustaẓhir
414/1024	Muḥammad III b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Mustakfī, d. 416/1025
416/1025	*Yaḥyā, Ḥammūdid*, second reign
418-22/1027-31	Hishām III b. Muḥammad, al-Muʿtadd, d. 428/1036
Mulūk al-Ṭawāʾif	

1. The establishment of the new dynasty

The governors of the Iberian peninsula, whether they were directly dependent on Damascus or whether they had assumed jurisdiction from the governor of Ifrīḳiya, enjoyed considerable autonomy because the area was so remote. The fall of the Umayyad dynasty in Syria, overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids, only served to reinforce this autonomy.

It took on the appearance of actual independence from the time of the government of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, who combined all the conditions necessary to become the founder of a dynasty in Andalusia. He was a Ḳurashī [*q.v.*], the great-grandson of the great ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, the son and nephew of the conquerors of al-Andalus, whose uncle, Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda, was one of those who killed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son and successor of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, and he was elected governor with the almost unanimous support of the Arabs of al-Andalus. But this unanimity rapidly disappeared thanks to the sectarian politics of his lieutenant al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim.

Another, even more far-reaching factor was added to this, the arrival on the scene of the young Umayyad, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya, the grandson of the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik: he had fled ʿAbbāsid persecution and had been wandering around the north of Africa accompanied by a faithful servant, his emancipated slave, Badr. He had tried as a fugitive to establish himself in Ifrīḳiya but the governor of that province, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥabīb al-Fihrī, forced him to continue his flight, fearing correctly that if he allowed him to settle in that province the same fate would overtake him as destiny had reserved for his cousin Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Seeing that his hopes of seizing government in Ifrīḳiya were dashed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān commenced his wanderings amongst the various Berber tribes of the Maghrib, an experience which convinced him not to try to restore Umayyad government in these regions. The task of creating a "state" from nothing and of unifying the numerous Berber tribes was evidently much more laborious than that of seizing a province which was already supporting a certain political organisation. Given that Ifrīḳiya, because of the rapid and determined action of its governor, was out of the question, there was only one possible region left to satisfy the ambitions of the fugitive, and that was al-Andalus.

When Badr had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to investigate his master's chances of success, the welcome he received from the Umayyads was enthusiastic and they themselves contacted the strongman of al-Andalus, al-Ṣumayl, to negotiate the conditions under which the Umayyads could come to the Peninsula. At the start, al-Ṣumayl was in favour of this, but he quickly realised that his presence in al-Andalus would lead sooner or later to the end of the controlled anarchy which prevailed there, and in which he was able to function perfectly. He therefore announced that he was totally opposed to the project, after which the Umayyads decided to support the faction opposed to al-Ṣumayl. This was traditionally identified as the Yemenite party, though they were almost exclusively Umayyads, who did all the work until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya had crossed the Strait and had become firmly established. From this time onwards, numerous people joined his cause, but previously nobody besides his close followers had been able to show clearly the position he held.

At the end of the summer of 138/755, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān landed at Almuñecar and took refuge without delay in the home of one of his followers, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUthmān at Torrox, which was in a very mountainous and inaccessible region. Until then the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān knew nothing about the whole affair and ignored the advice of al-Ṣumayl, who had urged him to act speedily against the newcomer before he managed to gain firmer support. He decided to wait until the end of the winter, for his troops had only recently returned from one campaign and were reluctant to undertake another. This delay proved fatal for the governor, who was obliged to watch the gradually increasing forces of the Umayyad pretender, until the final foreseeable result, the overthrow of Yūsuf and of al-Ṣumayl, who came again to the region of Cordova on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 138/14 May 756. At first the life and also the liberty of the Fihrite were respected, but when he quickly attempted revolt he was again defeated and then at last killed.

From this time onwards the destiny of the Umayyads of al-Andalus was to be closely bound up with the town of Cordova. The revolt of Cordova, that is, of its suburb (*al-Rabaḍ*), was to be the most dangerous of those which the first three sovereigns had to oppose before they could achieve peace in the territory, but it was also to be the last. It was Cordova which much later, in the most difficult moments of the reign of ʿAbd Allāh, allowed the dynasty to survive and wait for better times. It was also Cordova that became weary of the interminable succession of transitory caliphs during the *fitna* and decided to terminate the government of the Umayyads. It is very significant that after the Cordovans had proclaimed that their city had ceased to be the capital of the Umayyad dynasty, no serious attempt was made in any other town to restore the Umayyad caliphate. The Umayyads disappeared from the scene; but out of this divorce Cordova came off worse and never again regained the political role which it had enjoyed during the first three centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula.

It is possible to distinguish three major stages in the histroy of the Umayyads of al-Andalus. The third is obviously the *fitna* and the troubled years which followed it, from the first removal from power of Hishām II in 399/1009 until the abolition of the caliphate in 422/1031. As for the first two stages they coincided broadly with the traditional division into the period of the *amīrs* and the period of the caliphs, even though the validity of such a categorisation may be challenged inasmuch as it neither uniquely nor

principally draws attention to the adoption of the title of caliph by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. These two periods are at one and the same time relatively similar and yet different; they are similar because both reproduce the usual cycle of ascension, then splendour, then decadence; but they are also different because of, among other things, the localisation of the centre of interest of its governors and the problems which they confronted.

For the first Umayyads, the *amīrs*, the object of their attention was al-Andalus, and all their activity was carried out within its frontiers. Later, once their successors the caliphs had restored peace in the Peninsula at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, they embarked on aggressive foreign politics which were designed to obtain control of the distant Mag̲h̲rib. This initially produced relative success but later was indirectly one of the causes of the *fitna*.

2. The Umayyad amīrate

From the accession to the throne of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I to the death of his grandson, al-Ḥakam I in 206/822, the history of al-Andalus is reduced to a recital of the perpetual succession of revolts and uprisings which culminated in the famous day of the Suburb of Cordova. For three quarters of a century, tireless efforts were made by the three Umayyad sovereigns in the face of all sorts of opposition to ensure the total domination of the territory. To do this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiya had to quash revolts by the partisans of Yūsuf, by some of those who had fought on his side against Yūsuf, by the Berbers, and even by partisans of the ʿAbbāsid cause, not forgetting the internal conspiracies within the Umayyad family itself. The result of all these revolts, and perhaps the cause of some of them, was that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān did not want to show preference by relying for support on one of the many parties fighting at that time for the domination of the country. He quickly formed an army made up of slaves and Berbers which freed him from his exclusive dependence on the *d̲j̲undīs*. However, it seems that he did not suppress the system of military service which the members of the different *d̲j̲undīs* had to perform in turn.

At the end of his reign in 172/788, the dynasty appeared to be firmly established and all difficulties surmounted. His opponents had been killed or conquered and no exterior threat was looming. However, the reign of al-Ḥakam I was to provide proof that all dissidents had not been stifled as had been thought, and before that the brief period of government of His̲h̲ām I produced dynastic problems which took a long time to resolve.

His̲h̲ām I [*q.v.*] was not the eldest son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was born in al-Andalus and was thirty years old when his father died, whereas his brother was more than forty. Most of the chronicles show that His̲h̲ām had been named by his father as his successor, yet the possibility cannot be dismissed that his accession to the throne may have owed much to the speed with which he came to Cordova when he heard of the death of his father. His̲h̲ām was in Mérida and his brother Sulaymān at Toledo. Whatever the reasons, it is certain that the elder son was not pleased with how events had gone. Helped by a younger brother ʿAbd Allāh, nicknamed al-Balansī (the man from Valencia), he started a revolt in Toledo, a city which had always been ready to offer asylum to anyone prepared to rebel against the might of Cordova. Toledo had already revolted once in the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, and it was to continue to do so repeatedly, but this latest attempt by Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh failed and was quickly stifled. Both of them were exiled to North Africa, from where they would return on the death of their brother His̲h̲ām to contest the throne with their nephew al-Ḥakam. Sulaymān was killed, but ʿAbd Allāh established his headquarters at Valencia; he made a somewhat timid reappearance at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, but died a natural death before this action could be accorded any importance.

The reign of His̲h̲ām I was relatively peaceful, marked only by minor troubles in the Upper March, problems with the Berbers of Ronda, and several unexceptional reprisal campaigns against Christians in the north. However the reign of his son and successor al-Ḥakam I [*q.v.*] was to be very different. As already stated he began his reign by opposing the aspirations of his two uncles to become involved in curbing the secessionist tendencies of the three Marches, the principal towns of which were Saragossa, Toledo and Merida. The submission of Toledo on the renowned "day of the ditch" in 181/797 is particularly famous; on that occasion a considerable number of important citizens of Toledo were executed on the initiative of the governor of the city, a *muwallad* called ʿAmrūs b. Yūsuf in the presence of the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, who had arrived in the town with an army which he was leading to the frontier. This was used as a pretext for the governor to gather together on the spot all those Toledans who had had recourse to arms. The subduing of Toledo was rather more bloody than effective, and fifteen years later it had scarcely any value for that town again caused problems for Cordova. Apart from the special ferocity with which the Toledans were suppressed, it is certain that these revolts in the regions farthest away from the Umayyad capital, particularly Toledo and the Upper March, were a constant feature of the general history of al-Andalus, until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III arrived to forestall such centrifugal tendencies; nevertheless in the future, after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, they were to go on reappearing uncontrollably.

It has been suggested that the conflicts with the cities of the Marches were not exceptional and that it seemed to be the custom for it to fall to the *amīr* of the day to find some solution to them. It was al-Ḥakam I who was confronted with the first great crisis of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, a crisis motivated by the discontent of the Cordovan population, who formed a conspiracy to bring down the *amīr* in 189/805. The latter retaliated by executing 62 people among whom were several distinguished *fuḳahāʾ*. But this was only an early warning. Some years later a real uprising took place against al-Ḥakam, the Revolt of the Suburb (202/818), the culmination of a series of increasingly serious incidents between the population and the troops of the *amīr*. Finally all the revolts were brought to an end, though not without difficulty, and harsh punishment was meted out to the participants. Three hundred of them were executed and the entire population of the suburb was forced to leave Cordova, while that district was completely razed to the ground.

The Arab chronicles attribute popular discontent against the raising of new, severe taxes on the population as the original cause of this revolt. What is more, those taxes were to be collected by a Christian about whom very little was known but who was to play a very important role in that period. This was the *comes* Rabīʿ, who was also commander of the Palatine Guard of al-Ḥakam, which was made up of slaves. We are not sufficiently well informed to accept unreservedly

that aggravation over the taxes was the only or principal cause of discontent. It was more the case of the last straw that broke the camel's back, and the discontent had much more distant origins. Indeed, since the time of the conspiracy of 189/805 various relatively serious incidents had occurred. Popular rumour blamed the *comes* Rabīʿ as the cause of all the problems, but the *amīr* made not the slightest alteration to his policy in the wake of the Day of the Suburb, and he kept the Christian in his post to show that the serious danger which had threated his throne had in no way perturbed him. When his son and successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II acceded to power, apparently a few days after the death of his father in 206/822, he ordered Rabīʿ to be crucified. Apart from its practical and ethical implications this measure seems to have demonstrated his undoubtedly clear wish to be reconciled with the Cordovans and to make a final and unequivocal end to the distance which had been created between the city and the Umayyad dynasty.

The thirty years' reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*] embodied the first golden age for al-Andalus. A complete appeasement of the Muslim territory was not obtained, for various attempted risings were reported in the Marches, especially in the Upper March. There the family of the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] made its appearance and went on to secure its seignorial rights over the region, claiming an autonomy that was sometimes recognised but sometimes also disputed by the *amīr* of Cordova. The campaigns against the Christians followed one another in an almost routine fashion. Unproductive victories alternated with failures of little significance. The only unpredictable event of the reign was the appearance of the Normans, who came to sack Seville in 229/844 by sailing up the river with a fleet of about fifty boats. The Umayyad troops were first taken by surprise, but once this had passed they arrived quickly on the scene to rout the pirates [see AL-MADJŪS]. On the whole, the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II was relatively peaceful, which allowed the sovereign to proceed with the reorganisation of his administration inspired (though probably less than is usually thought) by the ʿAbbāsid model. New magistrates were created, court protocol was regulated, procedural norms were established for the chancellery, etc., so that the developing political and economic structure could be placed in the hands of a body of civil servants whose ranks were constantly being augmented. All this seems to have produced a notable increase in state expenditure, but in contrast to the period of al-Ḥakam the increase in fiscal revenue grew proportionally, so that no financial disequilibrium ensued.

When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II died in 238/852 there was an atmosphere of court intrigue concerning the succession. However, once his son Muḥammad had been proclaimed as successor, all opposition rapidly disappeared and for many years to come the situation in al-Andalus preserved the status quo of the previous regime. Toledo, always a rebellious city, was the only source of trouble, when a new revolt broke out a few days after the accession to the throne of the *amīr* Muḥammad. This revolt was unusual in that it went beyond the confines of the city and the rebels managed to seize Calatrava (which was very quickly recovered) and then went on to rout a Cordovan army at Andújar. The reaction of the *amīr* was swift and the following summer he overcame the Toledans at the battle of Guazalete, an important victory though one which in no way put a stop to the secessionist aspirations of the city. Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made his appearance in that period in the Lower March, though more as a local leader than as a rebel. In the Upper March the Banū Ḳasī remained loyal to the *amīr* of Cordova, though sometimes only in name.

In the final years of the reign of Muḥammad, however, this panorama of relative normality was to change radically. Individuals like Ibn Marwān, who had previously been little more than bandits, became increasingly bold; they sought to take advantage of the deep dissatisfaction among the population of certain rural areas and the inability of the Umayyad army to confront these small bands successfully. They seized more and more of the outlying, rich territories.

By the time of the death of Muḥammad in 273/886 the situation was no longer a cause for alarm. At that time his son al-Mundhir was at Alhama, besieging some rebels, among whom was ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*]. He acceded to power with the firm intention of putting an end to these revolts. His first objective was rightly Ibn Ḥafṣūn, the leader of a sizeable army who had taken possession of a vast territory. During the summer of 275/888 the rebel was besieged in his fortress at Bobastro [see BUBASHTRU, in Suppl.], having lost other strongholds, such as Iznájar and Archidona. Realising his perilous position he decided to solicit help from the *amān* of al-Mundhir. This was granted him, but at the last moment Ibn Ḥafṣūn broke the treaty, fled from the *amīr*'s camp and took refuge again at Bobastro. At that point, with the siege again in place, al-Mundhir suddenly died. When the *amīr* had begun to notice the first symptoms of his illness his brother ʿAbd Allāh had hurried from Cordova, but he found it difficult to reassemble the army in the capital amongst such trouble and disorder.

The accession to the throne of ʿAbd Allāh was the beginning of a long series of conflicts which were seriously to endanger the Umayyad dynasty. A great number of revolts broke out all over al-Andalus which the Cordovan state proved unable to cope with, to the extent that at various times the *amīr* even lost effective control of the city of Cordova. Fortunately for the authorities, most of the rebels were too preoccupied with internal questions or with conflicts with their neighbours to try hard to destroy the ruling dynasty. Only Ibn Ḥafṣūn attempted to seize Cordova, but he was promptly defeated at the battle of Poley (278/891) by an army chiefly made up of Cordovan volunteers.

Thus defeat in no way put an end to the rebellion which lasted until the beginning of the reign of al-Nāṣir, but rather allowed ʿAbd Allāh to preserve his capital city. If it had fallen this would have meant the end of the Umayyads of al-Andalus, but it would probably also have provoked the beginning of a general civil war, for Ibn Ḥafṣūn, though he had numerous partisans, at the same time elicited total rejection from other sectors of opinion. ʿAbd Allāh managed to ward off this mortal blow but his capacity for action remained very limited. He was so constrained by circumstances that all he could do was to try to manoeuvre events in the most favourable direction. In this way he sometimes arbitrated between his adversaries but sometimes he let them wear each other down in internal conflict. He conceded to the strongest a *de facto* autonomy within their territories, and he despatched his army to fight against the weakest. In short he was weak but he knew it and tried not to exceed his own limitations.

His aims were not helped by internal quarrels within his own family, which ended in the death of his sons Muḥammad and al-Muṭarrif and the assassination of some of his brothers. But despite all this, when he

died in 300/912, his grandson ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the son of the previously assassinated Muḥammad, succeeded him, and the political situation, though far from being good, appeared to be stabilised. The greater part of al-Andalus lay outside the effective control of Cordova but everyone seemed satisfied with the state of things and relative peace reigned.

3. The Caliphate

From the time he was proclaimed caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] made his intentions clear. Without waiting for the coming of spring, he sent detachments to combat the rebels in the region nearest Cordova. The most important of these contingents, under the order of his *ḥādjib* Badr, peacefully occupied the city of Ecija in the middle of winter (on 1 January 913, two and a half months after his accession to power). The measures taken after the conquest of this city were a good indication of the policy he would adopt in future for most of his conquests. Indeed, he favoured a policy of appeasement and agreed to avoid excessive retribution on a population which had surrendered to him without very much resistance. Though the walls of the town were destroyed, those of the citadel were preserved, and the Umayyad governors were installed there.

With the arrival of spring, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān personally led a campaign against the small rebel groups of the *kūras* of Jaén and Granada, many of whom were allies of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. In the months that followed, the town of Seville was recovered, and here the same policy was used as with Ecija, sc. no reprisals against the population but the destruction of the city wall. In the first year of his reign ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had succeeded in breaking the isolation of Cordova and in commencing an authentic "reconquest" destined to bring the whole of al-Andalus under the authority of the Umayyads. This was not an easy task and the difficulties entailed in this enterprise combined with other unexpected problems, like the famine which prevailed in the Peninsula in the early years, or the aggressiveness of the king of Léon, Ordoño II, who destroyed Evora in 301/913, and only just failed to do the same in Mérida two years later.

But these difficulties in no way altered the plans of the *amīr* of Cordova, whose first objective was to secure control of the south of al-Andalus. This required firmly putting an end to the insurrection of Ibn Ḥafṣūn. During the first fifteen months of his reign he concentrated all his efforts to this end, firstly by fighting against Ibn Ḥafṣūn himself and then, after the latter's death in 305/918, against his son. The fortress of Bobastro was permanently seized by the Umayyad troops in 319/928, and despite all that this revolt had represented to the Umayyad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān granted *amān* to Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn.

During all these years the Christians had not ceased attacking the frontiers, but the reaction of Cordova was limited to two campaigns which were led in person by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, one in Muez in 308/920, and the other in Pamplona. Furthermore on a few occasions less important expeditions were undertaken, one of which resulted in the terrible rout of the vizier Ibn Abī ʿAbda in 305/917 at Castro Muros. Once the south of the Peninsula was pacified, the Marches, which up until that time had been constantly rebelling against the power of Cordova, formed the next objective. Mérida submitted in 316/928; Badajoz surrendered to the Cordovan troops in 318/930; Toledo resisted until 320/932; and Saragossa capitulated in 326/937 (the text of the treaty is still extant).

The whole of al-Andalus was now back under the control of the Umayyad dynasty, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from then on proclaimed caliph, could afford to pay less attention to internal politics and devote himself to external problems. For the first time in the history of the Umayyads of al-Andalus the main attention of the sovereign was not drawn abroad to the Christians in the north but to the neighbouring Maghrib, a region which up until then had hardly existed in the eyes of the Andalusians. Contrary to what could have been expected from the deep incursions of Ordoño II into Muslim territory at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula no longer represented a serious danger, at least to the Muslim state, even though the personal position of the caliph had been affected by his resounding defeat at Alhandega in 327/939, to the point where he no longer led any more military expeditions. Despite this, neither the unfortunate battle nor the frequent victories of the caliph's armies produced any significant changes in the frontier demarcation, and the only results were booty and captives.

The danger to the Umayyad dynasty did not come from its Christian adversaries in the north, but from the Fāṭimids of Ifrīḳiya, who gradually extended their acquisition of land over the vast territory of the remotest Maghrib. This constituted a danger at least in the eyes of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who saw in it not only the risks of military confrontation, but also the threat of the Shīʿī propaganda, which was probably even more dangerous than their armies. As long as the Umayyad sovereign had been occupied with the struggle against the revolt of the Banū Ḥafṣūn, his intervention in the Maghrib had been limited to supporting from a distance the petty North African kings who opposed the advance of the Fāṭimids. But once the south of the Peninsula had been pacified and was under control, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir had his hands free to put into practice different politics in respect of the southern bank of the Strait of Gibraltar. The peaceful occupation of Ceuta in 319/993 represented the beginning of the Umayyad intervention in the Maghrib, which would last until the end of the dynasty.

The capture of Ceuta should not be seen as the establishment of a bridgehead from which to launch the conquest of the Maghrib. It does not seem to have been the intention of al-Nāṣir (nor that of his successors al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir and Hishām al-Muʾayyad) to seize territory on the other side of the Straits. Their strategy was rather based on the establishment of a protectorate for the Berber tribes with the intention of setting up a security zone on the southern borders without any expansionist ambitions. In other words, the control that Cordova meant to exert on the Maghrib lay more in diplomacy than in military force, which is wby it seems logical to suppose that the adoption of the title of caliph by al-Nāṣir was connected with this policy.

Traditionally, the victory over the Ḥafṣūnid rebels and the proclamation of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III as caliph are linked. However, it is certain that, if the conquest of the rebel fortress of Bobastro is to be considered an important event for the pacification of the realm, it must be seen as merely the first step on a long road towards that goal. The capture of Bobastro took place in 315/928 and the proclamation of the caliphate in 316/929. At this point the Marches were not under control, and prior to the capture of Saragossa in 326/937 it was not possible to say that al-Nāṣir was effectively in control of the whole country. Even if only

within the context of his internal policies, the adoption of the title of caliph cannot be explained satisfactorily. However, even in the struggle for power which was played out in the Maghrib at that time, recourse to the high position of caliph as an argument in the judicial and religious propaganda takes on its full significance, especially in view of the fact that the rival to be conquered, the Fāṭimid sovereign, also gave himself the title of caliph.

As a general rule, the North African policy of the Umayyads was not particularly profitable. It only served to establish unstable and fleeting allliances with Berber leaders of dubious trustworthiness who were unable to oppose any real resistance to the Fāṭimids. Al-Andalus was sheltered, but the attention of the Fāṭimid Mahdī was directed more to the east than to the Maghrib, and even less towards al-Andalus. In fact the threat to the Umayyad dynasty was not imminent. However, the human resources employed to serve the North African policy, while not negligible, were never enormous, and it was only at the end of the government of the *ḥādjib* al-Manṣūr, in the reign of Hishām III, that Umayyad troops intervened in an active and direct manner. They even managed to seize Fez during a campaign directed by the son of the dictator ʿAbd al-Malik. But it appears that the economic cost of this policy was considerable, and the successes appeared frequently to be more costly than the defeats. Support for tribal chiefs had to be generously paid for, adherents had to be bought and help had to be recompensed. Moreover, the Umayyad army permanently billeted in Ceuta also represented an important expense for the state coffers.

The North African adventure was in the end one of the factors that contributed the most to the brutal fall of the Umayyad dynasty. Not only by the fact of the economic extortion which the pursuit of this policy exacted but also because Cordova began to be inhabited by an endless stream of Berber mercenaries who were numerous and influential and who formed a foreign element in Cordovan society. They were to play a decisive role in triggering the *fitna* which put an end to the Umayyad state.

The reign of the successor to al-Nāṣir, al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (350-66/961-76), was undoubtedly the period of greatest splendour in all aspects of Andalusian history. That part of the volume of the *Muḳtabis* which has been preserved and which is devoted to it is a minutely detailed chronicle of the activity of a court which was apparently happy and absolutely free of any problems. In its pages, the Christians in the north appear merely as humble vassals who came to the capital to present their homage to the sovereign, or even to ask him to intervene as arbiter in their internal quarrels. But constantly interspersed between these accounts are to be found accounts of the war in Africa, which in that period took the form of harsh confrontation with the Idrīsid al-Ḥasan b. Gannūn. Attention is drawn by the repeated mention of the sending of troops and especially of money.

There is also a very significant paragraph in a letter from the caliph himself to his general Ghālib, who led the Andalusian troops in the Maghrib: "Do not worry about the money or the troops as both will arrive at regular periods [. . .]. Even if it meant emptying the coffers full of treasure and the brimming granaries of al-Andalus the caliph would send you all they contained" (see the translation of García Gómez, *Anales Palatinos*, 165). The detailed statements which Ibn Ḥayyān made of these constant despatches of significant sums of money demonstrate that the words of the caliph were not pure rhetoric, but that they reflected his firm resolve to maintain at any price his influence on the Maghrib. It is not easy to assess precisely how much influence the financial cost of the North African policy had on the fall of the dynasty. It is, however, beyond question that this policy had another consequence, evidently related to the triggering of the *fitna*: the incorporation of important contingents of Berber troops into the Cordovan army. The same Ibn Ḥayyān, who probably wrote this very volume of the *Muḳtabis* in the middle of the *fitna*, explained in a well-known passage how the process began:

> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir had always been opposed to the recruitment of Berbers into the army; there was only a reduced number of soldiers of Berber origin called the "men of Tangiers" and they occupied the lowest position in the hierarchy. In the beginning al-Ḥakām al-Mustanṣir took the same line, not hesitating at public demonstrations to pour scorn on anything relating to the Berbers. But at a certain point his opinion changed radically and he became their most ardent supporter, and then he set about incorporating them into his army in considerable numbers. When Ibn Abī ʿĀmir came to power this tendency was increased to take account of the desire of the most powerful *ḥādjib* to have at his disposal a personal army which would raise no obstacle to his desire to marginalise completely the caliph Hishām al-Muʾayyad (see the translation of García Gómez, *Al-Ḥakam III y los beréberes*, in *al-Andalus* [1948], 209-26).

It is certain that from the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I the Umayyads used mercenaries in their armies as much to limit the power of the groups that made up the *djund* as to have a reliable personal guard. These mercenaries were mainly slaves, whether freed or not, prisoners of war and Berbers, but there were always in the ranks other individuals of very diverse origin, without any sort of internal cohesion and totally private links. The new power of recruitment of al-Ḥakam corresponded to a total break with the previous régime, because from that time onwards these people whom he incorporated into his army were no longer isolated individuals but family groups or complete clans, endowed to a very great extent with internal solidarity and whose allegiance to those who paid them was always less than their allegiance to their *ḳawm*. On the one hand the Berbers of the Cordovan army were very united among themselves, but on the other hand the relationship with the Cordovan population was at best cold and often strained. It is therefore not surprising that opposition between Andalusians and Berbers finally broke out. It was the first act, and the most important act, of the *fitna*, which in a very few years put an end to the Umayyad dynasty and to the Cordovan state. But before this terrible end, there were years when Cordova continued to exist and in which the military power of the state appeared to be indestructible.

On the death of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir in 336/976, his only surviving son Hishām II al-Muʾayyad [*q.v.*] acceded to the throne. He was then a child of eleven years. The logical consequence to this situation, where the sovereign was a minor, was a series of numerous intrigues in court, in which some tried to replace the caliph with another member of the Umayyad family more fit for government, and others tried to seize the government for themselves. The final victor of all these intrigues was Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir, a person who had held ever more important posts in the administration since the reign of al-Ḥakam, until he

obtained the post of *ḥādjib* with absolute power and he could adopt the title of al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

The most outstanding and specific characteristic of the government of al-Manṣūr was the tireless military activity against the Christian kingdoms. He personally led more than fifty campaigns, during which he penetrated deeply into enemy territory, reaching cities as far away as Santiago de Compostela, Astorga, León, Pamplona and Barcelona. However, just as during the whole history of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus, these resounding victories did not result in any territorial gain for Hispanic Islam. The objectives of these campaigns were to weaken the enemy and especially to obtain booty and captives, perhaps in a desperate attempt to compensate for the enormous expense to the public treasury occasioned by the intervention in North Africa.

On the death of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir in 392/1002, the Umayyad state seemed to be on solid foundations. Within its frontiers there was total peace. The Christians were terrorised and humiliated. In the Maghrib the situation was also quite good. During the six years of his government the successor to Ibn Abī ʿĀmir, his son ʿAbd al-Malik [see AL-MUẒAFFAR], followed his father's policy without any significant changes, but his premature death in 399/1008 marked the beginning of the ruin of the Umayyad state.

4. The *fitna* and the demise of the dynasty

After his death it was his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, known as Sanchuelo, who replaced ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar in the office of *ḥādjib*. His qualities as governor were shown to be very much inferior to those of his father and brother. During the six months of his mandate he managed to squander the political heritage which he had received from his predecessors and to lead al-Andalus to the brink of civil war. His conduct was not only despotic and iniquitous but he also forced Hishām II to appoint him as heir to the caliph, an action which finally earned for him the hatred of all sections of Cordovan society. While he was on campaign against Christian territory, the population of the capital rose up against him, under the orders of one of the numerous Umayyad descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, and this last was to make his appearance on the scene during these years of trouble, taking the title of Mahdī. Revolts overwhelmed the city without any opposition, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿĀmir was arrested and executed when he tried to return to Cordova, having been abandoned by the Berber troops who had been his last support.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī secured the abdication of Hishām II and remained sole caliph; but immediately he became the target of a conspiracy provoked by an unfortunate policy which engendered hostility towards him from, among others, the Berbers. They decided to put an end to the reign of al-Mahdī and to look for a candidate in the Umayyad family. The man chosen was another great-grandson of al-Nāṣir, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam al-Mustaʿīn, who seized Cordova in Rabīʿ I 400/November 1009. From then until the leaders of Cordova decided to finish with the caliphate at the end of 422/1031, there was an interminable series of political changes. Those involved were firstly the three caliphs of the *fitna*: Hishām II, al-Mahdī and al-Mustaʿīn; then the members of the family who was descended from the Idrīsids, the Banū Ḥammūd; and then, finally, some other Umayyads like al-Mustaẓhir, al-Mustakfī and al-Muʿtadd.

During these years the most notable event was the bloody sacking of Cordova by the Berber troops of al-Mustaʿīn in Shawwāl 403/May 1013. In addition to this terrible blow to the city the incessant conspiracies, revolts and uprisings which took place at that time led the Cordovan leader to decide to abolish the caliphate. All this reinforced the belief that every effort to restore the Umayyad state was doomed to failure. For many years all the struggles for the throne of Cordova did not get beyond the level of internal quarrels in the city, for the rest of Andalusia had taken an independent path. Once again, the tendency towards disintegration which had marked the entire history of Andalusia, though it seemed to have been surmounted during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, triumphed, this time permanently.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The basic, almost unique text for information on the Umayyad period in al-Andalus is the work of Ibn Ḥayyān, brought together under two titles, *al-Muḳtabis*, a compilation of all the earlier history, and *al-Matīn*, a chronicle of events personally witnessed by the author. Unfortunately, the greater part of this historian's work has not been preserved. We only have fragments of four of the volumes of the *Muḳtabis*, sc. those on the reigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II to Muḥammad I (ed. Makkī, Beirut 1973), ʿAbd Allāh (ed. al-ʿArabī, Casablanca 1990), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (ed. Chalmeta, Corriente and Subh, Madrid 1979) and al-Ḥakam II (ed. al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1965). As for the *Matīn*, nothing remains except for numerous, lengthy citations in other authors, above all Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhīra* (ed. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1979). In reality, we can aver that almost all we know of the chronicles on the history of the Umayyads in al-Andalus comes from Ibn Ḥayyān, because he gathered together everything which had been previously written and because he served as a direct or indirect source for most subsequent works.

2. Studies. All the general studies on al-Andalus devote particular attention to this period, such as Lévi-Provençal's *Hist. Esp. mus.*, which remains the most detailed one, but which should be completed with the help of more recently-edited texts, and the work of M.ʿA.A. ʿInān, *Dawlat al-Islām fi 'l-Andalus*, i-ii, Cairo 1969; R. Arié, *España musulmana* (*siglos VIII-XV*) = vol. iii of the *Historia*, ed. Tuñon de Lara, Barcelona 1982; and J. Vallvé, *El califato di Cordóba*, Madrid 1992. On the Umayyad family, see Ṣ.D. al-Munadjdjid, *Muʿdjam Banī Umayya*, Beirut 1970; E. Terés, *Dos familias marwâníes en al-Andalus*, in *al-And.*, xxxv (1979), 93-117; and A. Urquica, *La familia umaya en al-Andalus*, in *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, v (1992), 373-432. For the question of the caliphate, see M. Fierro, *Sobre la adopción del titulo califal por ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III*, in *Sharq al-Andalus*, vi (1989), 33-42; and D.J. Wasserstein, *The caliphate in the West. An Islamic political institution in the Iberian Peninsula*, Oxford 1993, see also two reviews of this last work, by E. Manzano, in *BSOAS*, lix (1996), 143-4, and L. Molina, in *Al-Qanṭara*, forthcoming. For chronology and genealogy, see Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 11-13 no. 4.

See also the greater detail and more specific Bibls. in the articles on individual Umayyads and ʿĀmirids.

(L. MOLINA)

UMM AL-ḲAYWAYN, a shaykhdom of the Gulf, named after its coastal capital situated between ʿAdjmān (23 km) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ra's al-Khayma (42 km) [*q.v.*], and since 1971 one of the seven United Arab Emirates (UAE). Its territory extends some 30 km

along the coast and stretches some 50 km inland (south-east). Some 45 km inland lies the oasis of Falād̲j̲ al-Muʿallā, the emirate's most fertile area. The emirate's surface of 777 km² (1% of the UAE total) makes it larger only than ʿAd̲j̲mān. In population (3,700 in 1968; 29,299 in 1985 census, or 1.8% of the UAE's population), wealth and political weight, Umm al-Ḳaywayn is the smallest of the seven s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms. It also remains the least developed and most traditional. Fishing is the traditional industry (the town was an important boat-building centre in the early 20th century), along with some pearling, date growing and light industry. Since the 1980s, cement production and related activities have become the dominant sector of the economy. The first oil well was drilled in 1981, but the emirate's only hydrocarbon resources in 1997 remained its 10% share (representing 3,000 b/d in 1975, but down to less than 1,000 b/d by 1995) in the Mubārak field off Abū Mūsā island. With a Gross Domestic Product since the 1970s on average only 0.5% of the UAE's total, the emirate's expenditure is in large part covered by Abū Ẓaby/Abū Ẓabī [*q.v.*].

A majority of the population belongs to the Āl ʿAlī tribe (also found elsewhere); the tribe's and the emirate's ruling family is the Āl Muʿallā, which saw its status recognised by Britain in 1820, after al-S̲h̲āriḳa [*q.v.*] failed to impose its control. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Rās̲h̲id b. Aḥmad Āl Muʿallā has ruled since the death in 1981 of his father, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Aḥmad b. Rās̲h̲id Āl Muʿallā, who had been Amīr since 1929. Along with the other s̲h̲ayk̲h̲doms, Umm al-Ḳaywayn became a signatory to the 1820 General Treaty of Peace with Britain, followed by the Perpetual Truce in 1853, and the Exclusive Agreements in 1892—the latter, in fact, at least partly inspired by reports that French representatives had obtained a site in the s̲h̲ayk̲h̲dom.

Bibliography: D. Hawley, *The Trucial States*, London 1970; M. Sadik and W. Snavely, *Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates*, Lexington 1972; J. Anthony, *Arab states of the Lower Gulf*, Washington 1975; R. Said Zahlan, *The origins of the United Arab Emirates*, London 1978; F. Heard-Bey, *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*, ²London 1996.

(G. NONNEMAN)

UMM K̲H̲ALĪL [see S̲H̲AD̲J̲AR AL-DURR].

UMM AL-KITĀB (A.), an expression which means literally "the mother of the book". It appears three times in the Ḳurʾān (III, 7; XIII, 39; XLIII, 4), but has no equivalent in the earlier Semitic languages.

1. In general usage

It appears in about forty *ḥadīt̲h̲s*, but it should be noted that, there also, the expression retains an enigmatic character. This explains why all authors (*mufassirūn*, philologists, mystics, etc.) generally interpreted it in a number of different ways. It most often denotes the heavenly prototype (*aṣl*) of the Ḳurʾān, and is identified as "The Well-Guarded Tablet" (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]), on which the future fate of all creatures is consigned. This interpretation, which is corroborated by several *ḥadīt̲h̲s*, is expressed especially well in sūra XIII, 39: "God effaces or confirms what He wishes: The *Umm al-Kitāb* is with Him" (cf. e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut n.d., xiii, 171; al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1967, ix, 331-3; al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-tanzīl*, Beirut n.d., ii, 252; see also L. Massignon, *La passion de Hallāj*, 2nd ed. Paris 1975, iii, 133). In an extension of this meaning, certain authors, particularly the mystics, define the *Umm al-Kitāb* as the first intellect (*al-ʿaḳl al-awwal*) or the supreme Pen (*al-ḳalam al-aʿlā*) which writes down the destinies on the tablet (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*, ms. cited by S. al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿd̲j̲am al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1981, 122; al-Ḳās̲h̲ānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1981, 32; al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Beirut 1991, 50). In this respect, the *Umm al-Kitāb* corresponds equally well to "pre-existent divine knowledge" (*al-ʿilm al-azalī*; cf. al-Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa 'l-sabʿ al-mat̲h̲ānī*, Beirut 1398/1979, xiii, 64).

In a parallel course, Muslim authors emphasise an etymology of the word *Umm* to denote "that which puts together and synthesises" (the terms *d̲j̲āmiʿ* and *d̲j̲umla/id̲j̲māl* are used alternatively). In conformity with the Islamic tradition, which claims to recapitulate previous messages, they therefore see in the *Umm al-Kitāb* not only the celestial "matrix" of the Ḳurʾān but also of all the revealed books (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ii, 134-5; Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *Muk̲h̲taṣar tafsīr Ibn Kat̲h̲īr*, Beirut 1981, i, 264; al-Alūsī, *op. cit.*, xiii, 64). Al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī even implies that it constitutes "the basic principle of all writing" (*aṣl kull kitāb*); cf. *al-Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, Beirut 1995, ii, 513.

Adopting a similar semantic orientation, certain authors attribute a more tangible definition to the expression *Umm al-Kitāb*, and this most often breaks away from the Prophetic tradition. The subject in question is the *Fātiḥa*, the preliminary sūra of the Ḳurʾān, which contains the entirety of the Book (cf. e.g. al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-g̲h̲ayb*, Cairo 1308/1890-1, i, 173-5; Ibn Manẓūr, *LʿA*, Beirut 1988, i, 218; T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Leipzig 1909-38, repr. Hildesheim-New York 1970, i, 110), Ibn al-ʿArabī teaches that all the revealed books are absorbed in the *Fātiḥa* (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 134). Elsewhere he goes as far as identifying the *Umm al-Kitāb* as "the point under the *bāʾ*" (ب) of the *basmala* (cf. *Mirʾāt al-ʿārifīn*, cited by S. al-Ḥakīm, *op. cit.*, 123). To the Ṣūfīs, this point symbolises the first determination of the Universal Manifestation, and therefore the essence of all writing.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. GEOFFROY)

2. Amongst the S̲h̲īʿa

Different S̲h̲īʿī communities, including the It̲h̲nā ʿas̲h̲ariyya and the Ismāʿīliyya, like other Muslims, have acknowledged and used *Umm al-Kitāb* in its Ḳurʾānic senses. However, *Umm al-Kitāb* is also the title of an enigmatic S̲h̲īʿī book associated with the early S̲h̲īʿī *g̲h̲ulāt* of southern ʿIrāḳ. Originally produced in Arabic, only a later enlarged version of this *Umm al-Kitāb*, written in archaic Persian, has been preserved by the Central Asian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī communities of the mountainous regions of the Pamirs, Karakorum, and Hindū Kus̲h̲, in present-day Tād̲j̲ikistān, Afg̲h̲ānistān, and northern areas of Pākistān.

In its extant Persian version, the *Umm al-Kitāb* contains the discourses of the *imām* Muḥammad al-Bāḳir on the secrets of cosmology, eschatology and soteriology, in response to questions posed by an anachronistic circle of disciples, including D̲j̲ābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī. Reminiscent of certain apocryphal Gospels relating to Jesus, the *imām* al-Bāḳir appears here in the guise of a five-year-old child. The *Umm al-Kitāb* is a syncretic gnostic work reflecting the influences of the early S̲h̲īʿī *g̲h̲ulāt* as well as diverse non-Islamic traditions, such as Valentinian Gnosticism and Manichaeism.

The authorship and the precise date of composition of the *Umm al-Kitāb* remain unknown. By analysing its terminology and its cosmogonic doctrine as expressed in the form of a gnostic myth, however, recent scholarship has attributed the origins of the *Umm al-Kitāb* to certain Kūfan-based S̲h̲īʿī *g̲h̲ulāt* circles of the second half of the 2nd/8th century which, like

the Khaṭṭābiyya, emerged on the fringes of the Imāmiyya and gave rise to the extremist tradition designated by the heresiographers as the Mukhammisa [*q.v.*] or Pentadists. The Mukhammisa generally espoused the divinity of the five members of the *ahl al-kisā'*, namely, the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, which is also a recurrent theme of the *Umm al-Kitāb*. In addition to its pentadist doctrines, the attribution of the *Umm al-Kitāb* to the Mukhammisa tradition of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* is supported by other doctrinal features of this text, such as its propagation of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh* [*q.v.*]), its gnostic-cabbalistic elements, and the important roles it assigns to Salmān al-Fārisī and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. In fact, Salmān, whose gnostic name here is al-Salsal, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb are mentioned jointly and frequently in a sacred formula throughout the text, which also states that the Ismāʿīlī religion (*madhhab*) was founded by the disciples of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. It is interesting to note that the early Imāmī heresiographer Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī (*K. al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M.Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 56-60) identifies the Khaṭṭābiyya with the Mukhammisa. At any rate, the doctrines of the Mukhammisa, especially regarding creation, as reflected in the *Umm al-Kitāb* are quite distinct from those of the early Ismāʿīlīs, who also had fundamental doctrinal differences with the early Khaṭṭābiyya.

By the earlier decades of the 6th/12th century, the original *Umm al-Kitāb* had been translated into Persian in an expanded version; and this final redaction of the text eventually found its way into the literature of the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān and other regions of the upper Oxus, who now adhered to the Nizārī branch of Ismāʿīlism. Henceforth, the Central Asian Ismāʿīlīs claimed this book as their own, even though it did not contain any known Ismāʿīlī doctrines. Since the opening decade of the 20th century, manuscripts of the *Umm al-Kitāb* have been recovered from Shughnān, Rūshān, Wakhān, Chitral, Hunza and other areas of Central Asia; four copies are currently found in the manuscript collections of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London.

Bibliography: The Persian text of the *Umm al-Kitāb* was edited by W. Ivanow, in *Isl.*, xxiii (1936), 1-132, Italian tr. P. Filippani-Ronconi, *Ummu 'l-Kitāb*, Naples 1966. For studies on this text, see W. Ivanow, *Notes sur l'"Ummu 'l-Kitāb" des Ismaëliens de l'Asie centrale*, in REI, vi (1932), 419-81; idem, *Ismaili literature. A bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 193-5; Filippani-Ronconi, *Note sulla soteriologia e sul simbolismo cosmico dell'* "*Umm ul-Kitāb*", in *AIUON*, xiv (1964), 111-34; idem, *The soteriological cosmology of Central Asiatic Ismāʿīlism*, in *Ismāʿīlī contributions to Islamic culture*, ed. S.H. Nasr, Tehran 1977, 101-20; E.F. Tudens, *Der mythologisch-gnostische Hintergrund der «Umm al-Kitāb»*, in *Acta Iranica*, 3rd Ser., xvi (1977), 241-526; H. Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismāʿīlīya*, Wiesbaden 1978, 142-68; idem, *Die islamische Gnosis*, Zurich 1982, 113-98, 218-30 (also containing a partial German tr. of the *Umm al-Kitāb*); F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 25-26, 100-2, 105, 440-1.

(F. Daftary)

UMM KULTHŪM, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and his first wife Khadīdja [*q.v.*]. Little is known of her and much of this is similar to traditions about her sister Ruḳayya [*q.v.*]. Umm Kulthūm is said to have married a son of Abū Lahab [*q.v.*] but to have been divorced by him by his father's orders before the marriage was consummated. Her brother-in-law ʿUthmān (later the third caliph) married her after Ruḳayya's death during the Badr campaign. She died in Shaʿbān of the year 9 without having borne a son with him.

Classical Muslim scholars connected Umm Kulthūm to traditions about multiple marriage ties between the Prophet and ʿUthmān (with political-religious ramifications) and related details about garments she wore and about her burial that appear to be precedents for later custom. Some expressed doubts about her place among Muḥammad's daughters and discussed the discrepancy between her alleged age at different events in her life and the dates reported. An isolated tradition adds a miraculous dimension to her marriage to ʿUthmān and another links her to a Ḳur'ānic passage.

In a hypercritical study, Lammens implied that Umm Kulthūm's existence as an historical person was doubtful. The modern Egyptian scholar Bint al-Shāṭi', on the other hand, fills out the minimal details of Umm Kulthūm's life with other information about the Prophet's family from classical sources to sketch a sensitive, human portrait. A popular Arabic series on Muḥammad's family, however, couples Umm Kulthūm with Ruḳayya, reflecting the paucity of information and relative unimportance of the two.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 121; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 25-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 2302; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, Cairo, 1957-60, iv, no. 4201; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, Beirut 1981-8, ii, no. 30; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1970-2, vii, no. 12222; H. Lammens, *Fâṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, 3, 4, 8, 10, 19, 22, 34, 52, 122, 130; G. Stern, *Marriage in early Islam*, London 1939, 80, 135; Bint al-Shāṭi', *Banāt al-Nabī*, Cairo 1959, 175-90; *Ahl al-Bayt. Ruḳayya wa-Umm Kulthūm*, Beirut and Cairo n.d.

(Fr. Buhl-[Ruth Roded])

UMM KULTHŪM (1904?-1975), the most famous Egyptian singer of her time.

Born to a poor village family, Umm Kulthūm attended Ḳur'ān school (*kuttāb* [*q.v.*]) and learned religious songs (*al-inshād al-dīnī*, *al-ḳiṣṣa al-nabawiyya al-sharīfa* [see NASHĪD]) from her father, the village *imām* and a singer for weddings. He took her with him, dressed as a boy, to perform at weddings and other special occasions. The family toured the eastern Delta of Egypt until about 1923, when they moved into the lucrative world of commercial music in Cairo. By 1928, Umm Kulthūm was established at the top of the ranks of performers in the city. Her artistic authority as a gifted, well-schooled and experienced singer developed in the 1930s and 1940s when she was at the height of her vocal power. Throughout her career, she made extensive use of the mass media; she appeared in six films, made 300 recordings and broadcast monthly concerts "live" that became primary social occasions throughout the Arabic-speaking world. She cultivated a public persona of great dignity and cast herself as a "real" Egyptian, untainted by the foreign.

A wildly popular singer, she also became a cultural leader. After the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, she supported the initiatives of the new régime under President Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. Following the defeat in the 1967 war with Israel, she toured the Arab world, donating the proceeds of her concerts to the Egyptian government. These trips resembled state visits.

Umm Kulthūm was known throughout her life for her powerful voice, her clear diction and her ability to use melody and improvisation to bring out the

meaning and mood of a poem. These skills, believed to be rooted in religious recitation and song, were honed by the composers Abu 'l-ʿIlā Muḥammad, Dāwūd Ḥusnī and Muḥammad al-Ḳasabdjī. At the height of her career, she sang religious *ḳaṣā'id* [see ḲAṢĪDA] by such poets as Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*] set to music by Riyāḍ al-Sunbāṭī, alongside clever *zadjals* by Bayram al-Tūnisī composed by Zakariyyā' Aḥmad. In 1964, she began a very famous collaboration with Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and sang "modern" songs—lengthy love songs with simple lyrics—which were popular with the younger generation.

Bibliography: N. Fu'ād, *Umm Kulthūm wa-ʿaṣr min al-fann*, Cairo 1976; M. Shūsha, *Umm Kulthūm: ḥayāt naghm*, Cairo 1976; G. Braune, *Die Qaṣīda im Gesang von Umm Kultūm: die arabische Poesie im Repertoire der grossten ägyptischen Sangerin unserer Zeit*, Hamburg 1987; idem, *Umm Kultūm: ein Zeitalter der Musik in Ägypten: die moderne ägyptische Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main 1994; R. al-Ḥifnī, *Umm Kulthūm: muʿdjizat al-ghinā' al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1994; V. Danielson, *"The Voice of Egypt": Umm Kulthum, Arabic song and Egyptian society in the 20th century*, Chicago 1997.

(VIRGINIA DANIELSON)

UMM AL-ḲURĀ (A.), lit. "the mother of settlements/villages/towns", a Ḳur'ānic expression. It occurs as such in VI, 92 and XLII, 5/7, in which the Prophet Muḥammad is commanded to warn the people of the *umm al-ḳurā* [of God's punishment for disobedience], whilst in XXVIII, 59, it is said that God did not destroy the *ḳurā* until He had sent to them a messenger (*rasūl*) reciting God's miraculous signs. Although taken by the commentators to mean the town of Mecca, an interpretation followed in the art. ḲARYA (and used as such at the present day, *Umm al-Ḳurā* being the title of an official weekly newspaper published at Mecca after the Suʿūdī conquest of the Ḥidjāz, see DJARĪDA. I. A, at Vol. II, 468b, and there being now the Umm al-Ḳurā University in Mecca), Richard Bell pointed out that the idea of a cluster of settlements or hamlets fits much better the topography of the Medinan oasis in Muḥammad's day, since this comprised scattered agricultural settlements with fortified towers [see AL-MADĪNA. (i). 1], whereas Mecca was from early times a nucleated town within a hollow surrounded by hills [see MAKKA. 1]; moreover, all three of these passages are Medinan. See Bell, *The Qur'ān translated*, Edinburgh 1937-9, i, 124 n. 3, ii, 484 n. 3; idem, *A commentary on the Qur'ān*, ed. C.E. Bosworth and M.E.J. Richardson, Manchester 1991, i, 198, ii, 224.

For the Hebrew and Syriac cognates of the Arabic word *ḳarya*, pl. *ḳurā*, see ḲARYA, to the references in whose *Bibl.* should be added A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 236 (it is, in fact, uncertain whether *ḳarya* is a loan word from e.g. Syriac, or whether the Syriac pl. form *ḳuryā* of the sing. *ḳrītha* is a loan word from Arabic, or whether the words are cognates).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

UMM AL-RAṢĀṢ, the present Arabic name for a late Roman fortress of Jordan, inhabited into early Islamic times. It is situated 27 km/17 miles south-south-east of Mādaba at a point equidistant between the "old" and "new" roads running from ʿAmmān to the south of Jordan.

As Kastron Mefaa, it was built at the end of the 3rd or opening of the 4th century A.D. It has the form of a large quadriliteral 158 m × 139 m/578 feet × 456 feet surrounded by a solid wall with quadrangular bastions. Eusebius of Caesarea states that, in the 4th century, it had a Roman garrison, more precisely, a squadron of locally-recruited cavalry, according to the *Notitia dignitatum*. The area within the Roman walls became gradually filled with buildings, so that there remain only very narrow allies between houses grouped round interior courts. Four churches were built within the walls and a dozen (most of them excavated by P. Michele Piccirillo) in an exterior quarter to the north of the fortification. The mosaics from one of these, St. Stephen, confirm that churches were being rearranged and remodelled at least into the 8th century A.D., but the site was abandoned in ʿAbbāsid times.

Bibliography: M. Piccirillo, *Madaba, le chiese e i mosaici*, Milan 1989; idem, *The mosaics of Jordan*, ʿAmmān 1993; idem and E. Alliata, *Umm al-Rasas/Mayfa. I. Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem 1994; J. Bujard, *La fortification de Kastron Mayfaa/Umm ar-Rasas*, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, v (1995), 241-9; idem, *Les églises géminées de la forteresse de Kastron Mefaa/Umm er-Rasas (Jordanie)*, in *Antiquité Tardive*, iv (1996), 172-7. (J. BUJARD)

UMM SALAMA HIND BT. ABĪ UMAYYA B. Mughīra, one of Muḥammad's wives. She was of the Makhzūm clan of the noble tribe of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], most of whom were bitter enemies of the Prophet. She accompanied her first husband, Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad, on both emigrations of Muslims to Abyssinia. She was one of the first, if not the first, Muslim woman to join her husband in Medina, after her kin forcibly separated her from him and his family took her child away. In all, she had three sons and a daughter by Abū Salama.

After the death of her husband from wounds received at the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*], she married the Prophet in 4/626. Numerous traditions linked to this event relate how the widow is consoled by God's providing her with another, even a superior, husband. Some sources report that she offered herself in marriage to Muḥammad, while others have the Prophet proposing. Many note that she initially refused to marry the Prophet because of her jealous nature, her orphan children, her advanced age and the absence of her family. Muḥammad refused to consummate the union until she stopped nursing her daughter, setting a precedent against sexual relations with a nursing mother.

Umm Salama was second only to ʿĀ'isha [*q.v.*] among the female sources of *ḥadīth*; she transmitted over 300, a handful of which are from her alone. Classical Muslim scholars counted her among the legists (*fuḳahā'*) of the female Companions, a woman of intelligence and sound judgement. She was the last of the Prophet's wives to die, in 59/679, 60/680 or after the massacre of Karbalā' [*q.v.*], according to various authorities.

Bibliography: Ibn Isḥāḳ, tr. Guillaume, 150, 153, 213, 229, 536, 546, 589, 680; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 60-7; Ṭabarī, i, 1113, 1172, 1460, 1489, 1549, 1618, 1628, 1671, 1771, 1780, 1785, 1793, 1809, 2000, 3095, 3101, 3451, iii, 2346, 2356, 2357, 2384, 2442-4, 2471, 2488, 2537, 2543, 2546, 2553; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, Beirut 1981-8, ii, no. 20; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1970-2, vii, nos. 11845, 12061; idem, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1907-9, vii, nos. 2905, 2953, 3043; G. Stern, *Marriage in early Islam*, London 1939, 76, 79, 90, 97, 107, 121; *Umm al-Masākīn wa-Umm Salama*, Cairo 1983. (RUTH RODED)

UMM AL-SAMĪM, an extensive, low-lying area of quicksands and salt-flats (*sabkha* [*q.v.*]) in the interior of ʿUmān and on the fringes of the "Empty Quarter" [see AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ], centred on lat. 21° 50' N. and long. 56° E. It spans the undefined border beween the Sultanate of Oman and the easternmost part of Saudi Arabia. To the north and east of Umm al-Samīm lie the territories of the mainly Ibāḍī Ghāfirī tribe of al-Durūʿ or al-Dirʿī and the Sunnī tribe of ʿIfār [*q.vv.*].

Bibliography: See those to AL-DURŪʿ, AL-ʿIFĀR and AL-RUBʿ AL-KHĀLĪ. (ED.)

UMM AL-WALAD (A.), denotes in classical Islamic law a slave-girl who has borne her master a child.

1. The pre-Islamic period

The master's right to take his slave-girls as concubines was recognised by Muḥammad in continuation of a general practice of Arab paganism. In regard to the position of the children of such unions, a change of view had been perceptible among the Arabs in the period just before the coming of Islam. In place of the previous unrestrictedness in marriage and concubinage, a certain decree of regulation had grown up, and a higher value began to be attached to marriage with free women and to good birth on the mother's side also; corresponding to this, however, the position of the children of slaves became worse; they were as a rule called only after their mother and not after their father, and only received their freedom when expressly recognised by their father (this condition probably always held) and even then were not fully privileged; the slave-girl, it was argued, must not give birth to her future master, as the son would reveal the qualities of a slave like his mother. The position of such a slave was not at all a privileged one. Even her designation *umm al-walad* ("mother of children") is in contrast to *umm al-banīn* ("mother of sons") as the name for a free woman. Although the personal position of a woman taken in war was hardly different from that of a slave, we frequently find a marriage in this case instead of concubinage, and her sons were considered free men, although they were as a rule only called after their mother and not regarded as having full privileges; an endeavour was often made to remove even this stain due to the irregularity of the union by a new regular marriage.

2. Under Islam

This state of affairs was continued under Islam without any essential change at first. The Ḳurʾān permits concubinage with a man's own slaves in several passages dealing with the limits of lawful sexual intercourse as against *zinā* (IV, 3, 28-9; XXIII, 6; LXX, 30, all Medinan; see the references in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i); the passage specially addressed to the Prophet (XXXIII, 49-51) expressly describes them as prisoners of war. In Islam therefore there was no distinction in theory between the slave-girl and the concubine taken in war, which is not surprising after the above remarks; in practice, the old procedure towards a woman taken in war remained in operation (cf. e.g. Wellhausen, *Vakidi*, 178; idem, in *NGW Gött.* [1893], 436; although not always historical in the particular case, yet typical). In the Ḳurʾān, the position of the *umm al-walad* is not defined and it is certain that the Prophet issued no decree altering her position or that of her children. That he is said to have set free the slave-girl Māriya when she had borne him his son Ibrāhīm (cf. Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 18, also 156 l. 4) should not in any case be taken as a general rule; this episode is not at all prominent in the material of tradition relating to the *umm al-walad*. The story that the Prophet recognised Māriya's son only after serious consideration (*ibid.*, 154 l. 25) might be possible as regards substance but is incredible in the form in which it is given.

That an *umm al-walad* should become free *ipso iure* on the death of her master, and no longer liable to be sold (or given) was first ordained by the caliph ʿUmar (see below). The starting point for this ordinance must be found in a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Abū Dāwūd (*ʿAtāḳ*, *bāb* 8) and Ibn Ḥanbal (vi, 360), the genuineness of which is thereby rendered certain (a later recasting: *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, iv, 5126). According to this, a woman, who had been sold in the pre-Islamic period by her uncle as a slave had borne her master a son and now on the death of her master was to be sold again to pay his debts, lamented her sad lot to the Prophet; the latter ordered the administrator of the estate to manumit the woman and gave him a slave in compensation. Ibn Ḥanbal observes on this case with justice that the different possible interpretations of the Prophet's treatment of the case gave rise to later *ikhtilāf*; there is no doubt that it was a decision for this one case only. A tradition given by al-Bukhārī (*ʿItk*, *bāb* 8; and several other passages) and al-Ṭaḥāwī (*Sharḥ maʿāni ʾl-āthār*, ii, 66) deals with a dispute over the paternity of a child of a slave-woman; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ claimed it as the illegitimate child of his dead brother ʿUtba, in accordance with the latter's last wish, while ʿAbd b. Zaʿma claimed it as the legitimate child of his deceased father by his concubine. In spite of the child's resemblance to ʿUtba, the Prophet decided on the principle *al-walad li ʾl-firāsh* ("the child belongs to the [legitimate] bed"). In view of the difficulties of interpretation raised by this *ḥadīth* (see the commentaries, especially al-ʿAynī, on al-Bukhārī) it might be in the main genuine (the secondary recast form which al-Ṭaḥāwī, ii, 67, also gives is certainly not genuine); in any case there is no mention of the manumission of the slave-woman here.

The above-mentioned ordinance of ʿUmar is certain from numerous accounts, although the details vary and are embellished with legends (see especially *Kanz*, iv, 5118, 5122, 5124; al-Ṣanʿānī, *Subul al-salām*, *kitāb al-buyūʿ*, on no. 11). Setting aside the settlement of the question whether it was preceded by another divergent ruling (*Kanz*, iv, 5118), the story that ʿUmar ordered the *umm al-walad* to be free from the birth of her child (al-Khʷārazmī, *Djāmiʿ masānīd al-imām al-aʿẓam*, ii, 166; also *Kanz*, v, 5116) must be regarded as a product of the later dispute over this question. For ʿUmar's decree in no way made a final settlement; it gave trouble under ʿUthmān (*Kanz*, iv, 5122), and ʿAlī again diverged from it (*ibid.*, 5129-31). Ibn ʿAbbās is specially mentioned as another opponent of ʿUmar's view among the Companions of the Prophet. In the dispute that now arose between the different opinions, the attempt was made on the one side to ascribe ʿUmar's decision to the Prophet (*ibid.*, 5115, 5117) and to ascribe the same opinion even to ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAbbās (ʿAlī: *ibid.*, 5132; Ibn ʿAbbās: *ibid.*, 5039-41; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 303; Ibn ʿAbbās from the Prophet: al-Dārimī, 18, 38; Ibn Mādja, *ʿItk*, *bāb* 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 20; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 317), on the other hand, it was insisted, sometimes quite polemically, that the Prophet approved the sale of the *umm al-walad* (Ibn Mādja, *ibid.*; Ibn Ḥanbal, iii, 321; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 2200; *Kanz*, iv, 5125, 5127); against this, evidence was quoted to show that the Companions of the Prophet gave approval to ʿUmar's ordinance (Abū

Dāwūd, *ʿAtāḳ, bāb* 8; al-ʿAynī giving al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī as authority, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8). But these were not the only two theses put forward: another view ascribed to ʿUmar has already been mentioned (some traditions make the Prophet utter a corresponding opinion but one easily distorted to mean something else: Ibn Mād<u>j</u>a, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 2; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 155 l. 17 both transmitted through Ibn ʿAbbās; also *Kanz*, iv, 5128); ʿAlī is credited with having said: "If the master wishes, he can set free his *umm al-walad* and consider her manumission as her bridal gift" (*Kanz*, iv, 5133) and Ibn Masʿūd held the view that the *umm al-walad* should be manumitted at the expense of the share of the estate falling to her child (presumed free) (al-ʿAynī, *ibid.*), both variants of the fundamental thesis. From the point of view of the criticism of Muslim Tradition, none of these *ḥadī<u>th</u>s* is unimpeachable with the exception of the one quoted above in section 3, which itself is not free from ambiguity, so that it is usually preferred simply to quote ʿUmar and his *raʾy* as authority for the view that later prevailed.

3. The legal views

Al-ʿAynī (on al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8 at the end) is therefore able to give a list of seven different expressions of opinion on the *umm al-walad* in addition to ʿUmar's from the period of the earliest jurists before the origin of the *ma<u>dh</u>āhib*: 1. The master may release her for money (i.e. as *mukātaba*); 2. She may be sold without restriction; 3. The master may sell her at any time during his life-time and when he dies she becomes free (she is thus regarded as *mudabbara*; al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī is said to have held this view); 4. She may be sold to pay a debt due by the estate; 5. She may be sold, but if her child is alive at the death of his father and her master, she is manumitted at the expense of any share he may have in the estate and inherits with him; 6. She can only be sold on condition she is set free; 7. Even if she is contumacious and runs away, she cannot be sold, but only if she is immoral or becomes an unbeliever (according to al-Muzanī; al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī could not come to a decision on this point). But even by this time the thesis that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold but became free on the death of her master, had won most supporters, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭāʾ, Mu<u>dj</u>āhid, al-Zuhrī, Ibrāhīm al-Na<u>kh</u>aʿī (cf. on him al-<u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī, *op. cit.*, ii, 167; *Kitāb al-Ā<u>th</u>ār*, 71, 102) and others are specially mentioned. Particular questions which now arise for the first time are referred back to older authorities, such as the decision no. 5 to Ibn Masʿūd, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubayr (*ibid.*), decision no. 6 to ʿUmar (*ibid.*; also *Kanz*, iv, 5123), other details also to ʿUmar (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, vulgate, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8, *riwāya* of al-<u>Sh</u>aybānī, *kitāb al-buyūʿ, bāb bayʿ ummahāt al-awlād*, al-<u>Kh</u>ʷārazmī, *ibid.*, etc.).

In the time of the formation of the *ma<u>dh</u>āhib*, the view that the *umm al-walad* cannot be sold is held by Abū Ḥanīfa with Abū Yūsuf, Zufar, al-<u>Sh</u>aybānī and their colleagues, al-Awzāʿī, al-<u>Th</u>awrī, al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Lay<u>th</u> b. Saʿd, Mālik (*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *loc. cit.*; *Mudawwana*, viii, 23) and his colleagues, Abū <u>Th</u>awr and Ibn Ḥanbal. This is also the final opinion of al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī and therefore that of his colleagues and pupils, while he, according to a reliable tradition, had previously sanctioned the sale of the *umm al-walad* (al-ʿAynī on the authority of al-Bu<u>kh</u>ārī, *ʿItḳ, bāb* 8; al-Nawawī, *Ma<u>dj</u>mūʿ*, ix, 243; see also above); the liberation of the *umm al-walad* was deduced from this in three ways (al-Nawawī, *ibid.*) so that in all we have four different opinions attributed to al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī (al-<u>Sh</u>awkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār, kitāb al-ʿitḳ, bāb umm al-walad*, on no. 7). According to Dāwūd, also, and the Ẓāhirīs, the <u>Sh</u>īʿī Imāms and the Twelver Imāmīs (here, however, sometimes with the qualification that she becomes free if she was still in the possession of her master at his death and her child is alive) and the Muʿtazilīs (al-<u>Sh</u>awkānī, *op. cit.*), she can be sold. Although the four Sunnī *ma<u>dh</u>āhib* in the end all declared that the *umm al-walad* could not be sold, the existence of *i<u>dj</u>māʿ* on this point is nevertheless sometimes doubted (al-Ṣanʿānī, *op. cit.*, on no. 12; al-<u>Sh</u>awkānī, *op. cit.*), sometimes, however, also definitely asserted (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*). The verdict of a *ḳāḍī* who gave a decision opposed to this teaching is not absolutely without support (see e.g. Nawawī, *op. cit.*, etc.).

In order to prevent the birth of a child the practice of *ʿazl* [*q.v.*] or coitus interruptus was frequent in intercourse with slave-girls, and it is therefore often discussed in connection with the *umm al-walad*. The most important of the references in tradition on this subject have been collected by Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, s.v. *Intercourse*; here it is sufficient to say that *ʿazl* was considered to be permitted with a slave-girl. To prevent a slave-girl becoming *umm al-walad*, the master had also the possibility of not acknowledging the paternity of her child; this goes back to a similar usage in the pagan period (see above, section 1). While this was never so rigidly regulated as the case of disputing the paternity of a wife's child (see Wensinck, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Child*, and LIʿĀN), nevertheless an effort was made to restrict the right of disputing the paternity in the case of the *umm al-walad* also. *Ḥadī<u>th</u>s* are quoted from ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that no one who has had intercourse with a slave-girl has the right to dispute the paternity of her child, even if he says he used *ʿazl* or there is another paternity possible. The Mālikīs and <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs agree with this. The Ḥanafīs, on the other hand, hold the view that the paternity of the child and the character of the slave as *umm al-walad* in this case depends entirely on an acknowledgment by the master. For this they cite traditions to the effect that Ibn ʿAbbās and Zayd b. <u>Th</u>ābit had disputed the paternity of children of their slave-women on the ground that they had used *ʿazl*. This question is discussed by al-Ṭaḥāwī (*op. cit.*, 66, 68) and the traditions cited.

That the child borne by a slave to her master (on the assumption that his paternity is established) is free, has always been recognised in Islam without any difference of opinion and in the discussion of the position of the *umm al-walad* it is regarded as a presumption and argument for her not being sold. The deduction is natural that the father's recognition of children born in concubinage (see above, section 1) must as a rule have been regarded as a matter of course in the days just before Islam; the survival of a considerable possibility of disputing paternity with regard to a concubine seems to have actually been caused primarily by the considerable improvement in the position of the *umm al-walad* under Islam at the expense of her master.

The details of the teaching of *fiḳh* about the *umm al-walad* are as follows. Every, even non-Muslim, slave-girl who has borne her master (even after his death) a child is considered *umm al-walad*; on the death of her master she becomes *ipso iure* free (so that she can neither be sold to pay off debts on the estate [cf., however, below] nor can she be included in the third of the estate set aside for legacies); a legacy set aside by her master in her favour is therefore valid, as tradition even from ʿUmar's time shows (al-Dārimī, *Waṣāyā, bāb* 27); all legitimate and illegitimate chil-

dren whom she has after becoming pregnant by her master are likewise free, in so far as they are not already free as children of her master. Even in the case of a stillborn child, the mother becomes *umm al-walad*; opinions differ regarding a miscarriage. There is also a difference of opinion in the case where a man marries a foreign slave, makes her pregnant, and then sells her, as well as in the case where a man makes his son's slave pregnant. From the *umm al-walad*'s expectancy of reversion to freedom, it follows that she cannot be sold or pledged; if she commits a crime the master cannot evade his responsibility for her by disposing of her. In other respects she remains a slave: she has no right to property; the *diya* or *ars̲h̲* paid for injuries to her belong to her master, etc. On the question whether the master may marry her without her consent, opinions differ. In any case, the master has the right to her body and to her labour, but the Mālikīs allow him only to demand light work from her and prohibit him hiring her out. On the legal position of the *umm al-walad* of a *mukātab* and that of a non-Muslim who adopts Islam, opinions vary. Apart from the fact that the *umm al-walad* can be sold to pay debts which her master had incurred before she became pregnant, she loses her reversion to liberty only, in the opinion of the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, if she deliberately kills her master. According to the Ḥanafīs, in this case she is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in the case of accidental killing, nothing is done to her; according to the Mālikīs, in the case of deliberate killing she becomes the slave of the heirs who can kill her or not; if they leave her alive, she receives 100 lashes and is put in prison for a year. According to the S̲h̲āfiʿīs, she has to pay *diya* in both cases and among the Ḥanbalīs, according to one *riwāya*, not more than her own value or the *diya*, according to another *riwāya*, her own value. On the opinion of the S̲h̲īʿī *imāms*, which differs not inconsiderably, see Querry, *Droit musulman*, ii, 147 ff.

In Muslim law, a most rigid distinction is made between marriage and concubinage, so much so that the master cannot enter into marriage with his slave at all. Divergences from this rule are extraordinarily rare. S̲h̲ad̲h̲ād b. Ḥakīm (d. 210/825), a companion of Zufar's, is said, when he bought a slave, to have married her on the ground that "perhaps she may be a free woman" (ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *al-D̲j̲awāhir al-muḍīʾa*, i, no. 668; Ibn Ḳuṭlūbug̲h̲ā, ed. Flügel, no. 81); and the *Fihrist* (207, 15) records with reservation of al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 322/934) that he wrote a work in which he justified marriage with slaves (but probably one's own). But the authenticity of such stories is not certain; the first is among a number of anecdotes and the second is based on hearsay only. A trace of the old Arab custom of a concubinage merging into a marriage (see section 1) is not necessarily, however, to be seen in this; the first story would be explained by the excessive scrupulousness often shown by religious people in secular affairs, and the second by the also not rare complaisance towards princes, which could be attributed to al-Ṭaḥāwī in polemics.

In spite of all the ameliorations which the development of Muslim law brought to the position of the *umm al-walad*, the old contemptuous feeling towards a union with a slave and the children born from it long remained. Among the *ḥadīt̲h̲s* which condemn the maintenance of concubines, one with a doubtless anti-ʿAbbāsid bias survived down to al-Buk̲h̲ārī (*Īmān*, *bāb* 37; *ʿItḳ*, *bāb* 8) and Muslim (*Īmān*, trads. 1, 5, 7), but had its meaning distorted. This was the last echo of the old pre-Islamic point of view. Under the completely changed social conditions, the absolute equality of the children born from a marriage with a freewoman and in concubinage has now been long completely established.

Bibliography: For the pre-Islamic period and for the later Islamic situation, see H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 276-306; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*[2], 89-91; Wellhausen, in *NGW Gött.* (1893), 435-6; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 136. The most important traditions are in Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.vv. *Manumission, Slaves.* On the regulations of *fikh*, cf. in addition to the Arabic works, to which now may be added for the Ḥanbalīs Ibn Ḳudāma's *al-Mug̲h̲nī*, xii, 488 ff., especially Juynboll, *Handleiding*[3], 236, 238 (*Handbuch*[2], 206, 236); Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, 127, 168 ff.; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, i, 123-4; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, index at 303.

(J. Schacht)

UMM AL-WALĪD, a settled site of Jordan, dating back to Roman times and occupied for several centuries after the advent of Islam. It lies 13 km/ 8 miles southeast of Mādaba in lat. 31° 39' N., long. 35° 52' E.

Two Roman temples and a mausoleum have been discovered there. It seems to have been little inhabited in Byzantine times, but enjoyed an important development in Umayyad times, when there grew up a village with three forts or *ḳuṣūr* and a mosque. There was a modest reoccupation of the site in Mamlūk times, but it was thereafter abandoned. Excavations were carried out there by a Swiss team from 1988 to 1997. The eastern *ḳaṣr*, the largest, is a square with sides each 70 m/230 feet, with a surrounding wall reinforced by semicircular buttresses. A single entrance leads to a great central court with access through doorways to five lateral courts connected with five *bayt*s each of five or six rooms. Important discoveries of ceramics, glassware and bronze objects have been made in this *ḳaṣr*. The other two *ḳuṣūr* are of smaller size (46 m/150 feet and 48 m/157 feet square, respectively) and are without buttresses, but have similar plans to the eastern *ḳaṣr*. The Umayyad period mosque has an almost square plan, with two transverse arches supporting a flat roof and a semicircular *miḥrāb*, exactly like the mosques of K̲h̲ān al-Zabīb 25 km/16 miles to the southeast of Umm al-Walīd and of D̲j̲abal Says [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. There are traces of an earlier, rectangular mosque.

The village of Umm al-Walīd was the centre of large-scale agricultural activities, as witness the two imposing stone dams a kilometre apart on the Wādī Ḳanāṭir, 2 km northwest of the village. The upper one, 135 m/ 515 feet long, 9 m/30 feet high and 5.8 m/19 feet wide, was built in the Umayyad period and raised by 3 m/10 feet; the lower one, of Umayyad construction, is narrower in width and less high but, at 187 m/613 feet, longer. A grape press from the Umayyad period has been found at the side of the lower dam.

Bibliography: M.-A. Haldiman, *Les implantations omeyyades dans le Balqa: l'apport d'Umm el-Walid*, in *Annual of the Dept. of Antiquities of Jordan*, xxxvi (1992), 307-23; J. Bujard and F. Schweizer, *Entre Byzance et l'Islam. Umm er-Rasas et Umm el-Walid, fouilles genevoises en Jordanie*, Catalogue, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire et Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva 1992; Bujard and W. Trillen, *Umm al-Walid et Khan ez-Zebib, cinq qusur omeyyades et leurs mosquées revisitées*, in *ADAJ*, xli (1997), 357-74.

(J. Bujard)

UMMA (A., pl. *umam*), in its meaning of "people, community", is possibly derived from Hebr. *ummā* or

0 50 100 200m
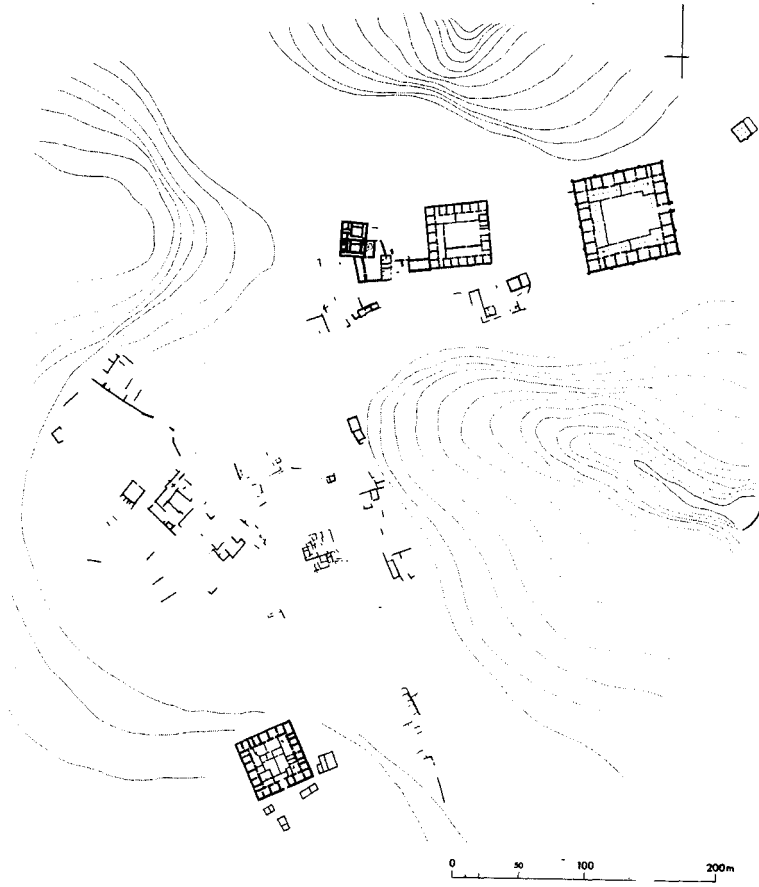
Fig. 1. Umm al-Walīd. Plan of the site.

STAGE I
STAGE II
0 1 5m
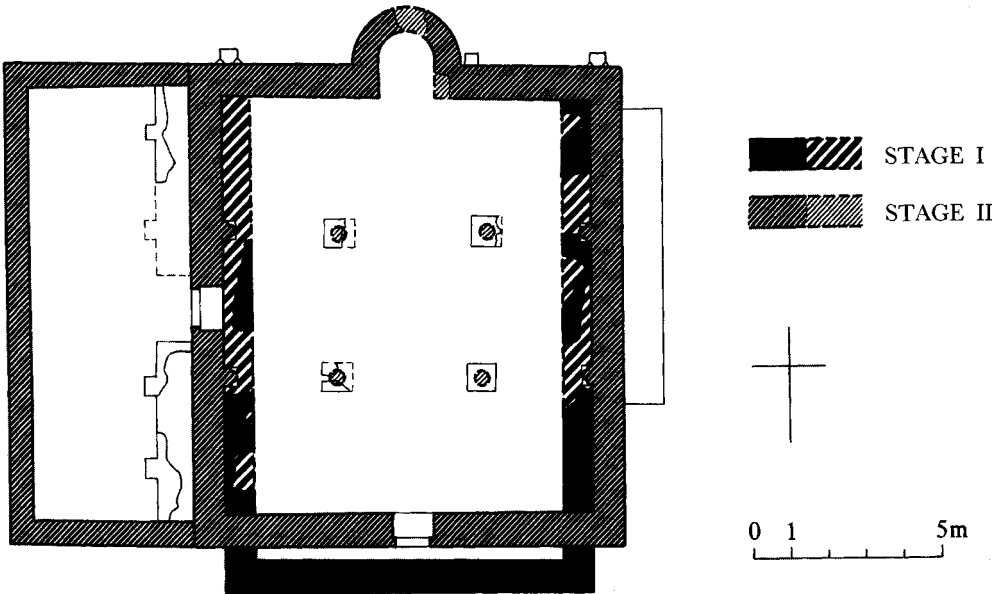
Fig. 2. Schematic plan of the two superimposed Umayyad mosques. Drawing: Gérard Deuber
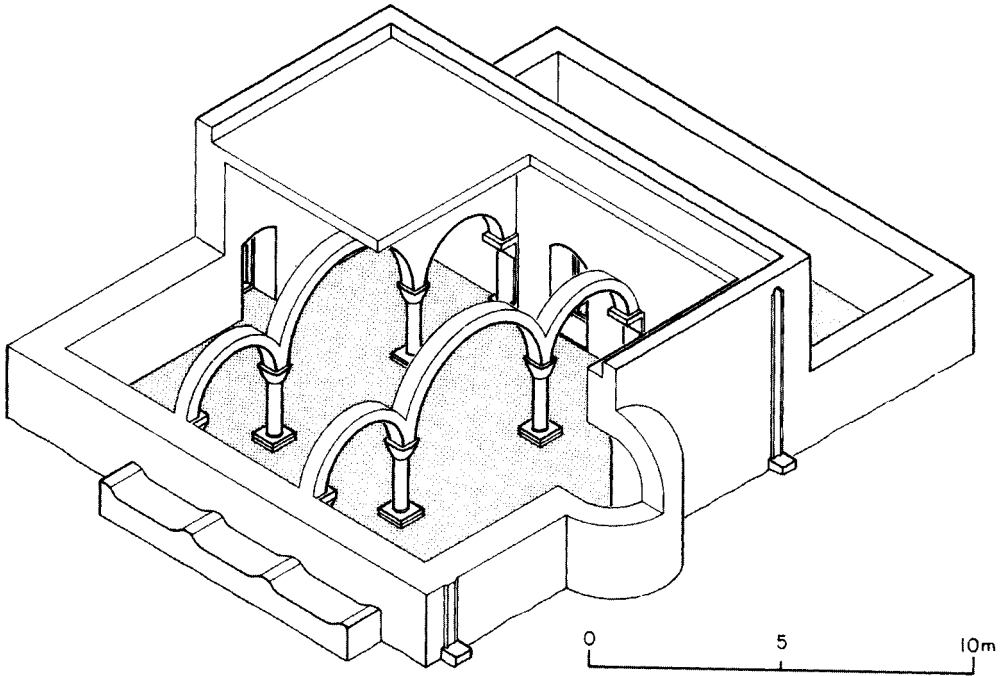
Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the second Umayyad mosque. Drawing: Wilfried Trillen
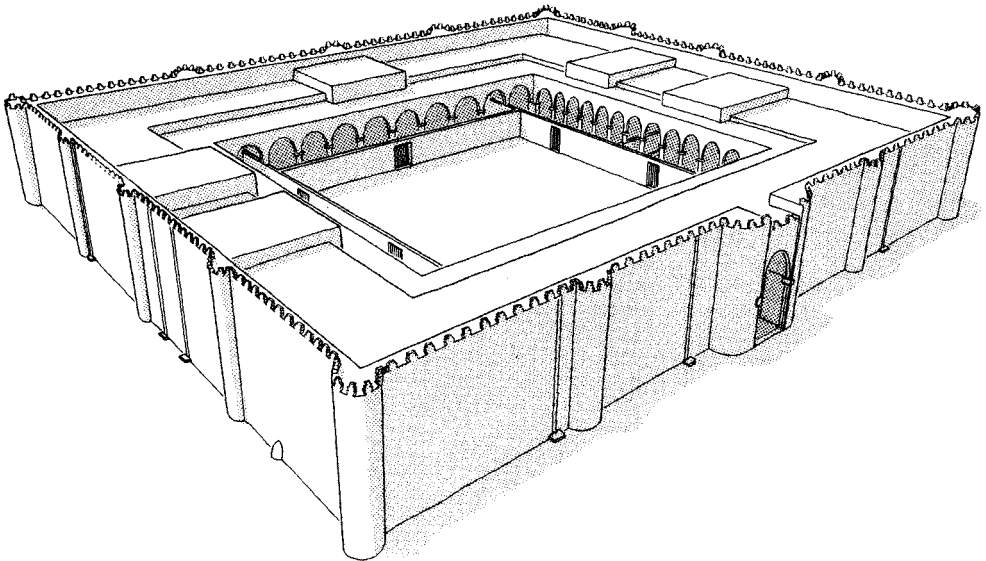
Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the eastern *ḳaṣr*. Drawing: Wilfried Trillen

Aram. *umetha* (Horovitz, 190), and ultimately from Akkad. *ummatu* (Jeffery, 69). Additional meanings (from Ar. *amma*, drawn principally from Lane) are: a mode of acting (cf. *sunna*); a morally exemplary person; tallness, beauty, and justice of stature of a person. In the Ḳur'ān, *umma* usually refers to communities sharing a common religion, whereas in later history it almost always means the Muslim community as a whole while admitting of regional, essentially non-political expressions (as "the Umma in North America", the American "Prison Umma" and so forth). The pl. *umam*, although occurring in the Ḳur'ān, means "nations" in modern usage and is therefore distinct from the Islamic meaning uormally associated with *umma* (e.g. *al-Umam al-Muttaḥida*, "the United Nations").

1. In the Ḳur'ān. The word occurs some 62 times in the Ḳur'ān in the sense of religious community, as well as instances where it means "fixed term" (XI, 8; XII, 45) and communities of animals like unto human groups (VI, 38). *Umma* also refers to the Patriarch Abraham as a model of righteousness (XVI, 120). The Ḳur'ān teaches that each *umma*, perhaps in the sense of a generation of contemporaries sharing a common belief and value system, has an appointed term decreed by God. "When their term is reached, not an hour can they cause delay, nor advance it in anticipation" (VII, 34; cf. XV, 5). Moreover, to every community has been sent a prophetic messenger bearing God's teaching. "When their messenger comes before them, the matter will be judged between them with justice, and they will not be wronged" (X, 47). In both Meccan and Medinan passages (following *Gesch. des Qor.* chronology), *umma* may refer to the archetypal or potential unity of mankind and prophetic religion, using the phrase *umma wāḥida*. In XXIII, 52 (Meccan), the fellowship of prophetic messengers (*rusul*) is described as a "single *umma*" (cf. XXI, 92), whereas in XVI, 120 (Med.), we read that "mankind was one *umma*" before God sent messengers with the Book. Sūra X, 19 reads: "Mankind was but one *umma*, but differed [later]". Prophets and other agents (e.g. *dj̲inn*) are often associated with *ummas* in pre- and post-*hid̲j̲ra* passages but nowhere as frequently as the third Meccan period (e.g. XLI, 25; XVI, 36, 63; XVI, 84, 89; XXVIII, 75). In XLIII, 22, 23, *umma* is equivalent to *milla* and means "traditional religion" of a people, and by extension "guidance" (*hudā*), however inferior compared to divine prophecy. There is in passages like this a foreshadowing of the full message of Islam as a restorer of the archetypal spiritual and moral unity of humans.

There is in the Ḳur'ān a chronological development of the meaning of *umma* from generic application to religious communities to a more focused reference to the emerging Muslim community. So we have here a matter of *umma* not essentially changing its meaning as religious community throughout the chronological development of the Ḳur'ān so much as having its meaning progressively augmented as the prophetic message reaches its fullest development. That is, if by the Medinan period *umma* tends to refer more exclusively to the Muslims, it nevertheless also carries with it the more inclusive meaning of humanity in its potential toward becoming Muslim. The Ḳur'ān does not thus apply *umma* exclusively to the Muslims. But it does appear to hold up *umma*, by Medinan times, as a special term that may refer only to the godly component within a religious community. In III, 104, *umma* refers to a hoped-for mature cohort of Muslim believers who, after experiencing God's grace and protection, strive after righteousness. In V, 66, both Jews and Christians are acknowledged to have members comprising a "rightly balanced community" (*umma muḳtaṣida*), but many others pursue evil.

In II, 128, Abraham and Ishmael pray, after erecting the Ka'ba: "Our Lord, make us submissive (*muslimīn*) to You, and of our progeny a people submissive (*umma muslima*) to You". The sense of historical Islam as being rooted in the archetypal religion of Abraham, including employment of the phrase *umma muslima*, is a characteristically Medinan representation as it also validates the restoration of ancient Ka'ba-oriented religious rites (*manāsik*) within a recovered monotheistic context. Although *umma muslima* may be translated as "Muslim community", it is erroneous to imbue it with the kind of meaning the phrase would later have, after Islam had become institutionalised and Ḳur'ānic references such as this—however authoritative—had become historically reified. The climactic point of the Ḳur'ānic use of *umma* referring to the Muslims occurs in III, 110, where those who "die not save as Muslims" (III, 102), and who "enjoin the right and forbid the wrong", and who are "successful" (*al-mufliḥūn*) (III, 104), are characterised, in comparison with the People of the Book (Jews and Christians), as "the best *umma* evolved for mankind". Finally, the Muslim *umma* has been established by God as a "midmost community" (*ummat^an^ wasaṭ^an^*), usually understood as justly balanced and in a mediating position, "that you might be witnesses over mankind, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves" (II, 143). This passage closes with the reminder that the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] of the Sacred Mosque (*al-masdj̲id al-ḥarām*) in Mecca has been appointed as the ritual centre of the Muslim community, demarcating it from other peoples and unifying it from all directions. The direction of *ṣalāt* and the performance of the *ḥadj̲dj̲* have continued to the present to have an incalculably great impact in marking off the global Muslim community, and maintaining its unity and common purpose by transcending the racial, ethnic, cultural, and national differences among Muslims.

W.M. Watt has analysed the Medinan *umma* as an innovative, theocratic politico-social order, similar in some ways to the Israelites under Moses (although not intentionally based on it), that transcended tribalism by basing itself on common faith rather than kinship. God is characterised by Watt as the "head and director" of the *umma* and all who participate in it enjoy divine security and protection (*d̲h̲imma*). (*Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 238-44).

2. In *Ḥadīt̲h̲*. There is not, in the *ḥadīt̲h̲* literature, the range of meanings of *umma* that is found in the Ḳur'ān. However, the word occurs frequently there, most often with reference to the Muslim community. Perhaps the most fateful *ḥadīt̲h̲* on this topic is "Truly my *umma* will never agree together on an error" (*inna ummatī lā tadj̲tami'u 'alā ḍalālatin*, cited by Wensinck, *Concordance*, only from the *Sunan* of Ibn Mādj̲a, *Fitan*), a *vox populi vox Dei* formulation that has played importantly in Sunnī jurisprudence under the category of consensus or agreement (*idj̲mā'*) as a source of *fiḳh*. A soteriologically-orientated tradition is "Everyone of my *umma* will enter the Garden except one who rejects [sc. disobeys] me" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Fitan*). Other traditions speculate as to whether the Muslim *umma* will constitute a certain proportion (a quarter, a third, a half?) of Paradise (e.g. see Muslim, *Īmān*). Ibn Mādj̲a (*Zuhd*) preserves a tradition that claims one-third of the inhabitants of the Garden as "from this [i.e. the Muslim] *umma*", with the remainder coming from "the rest of the *ummas*" (*min sā'ir al-umam*).

Ibn Mādja (*ibid.*) also includes a *ḥadīth* that declares: "On Resurrection Day there will be, finally, seventy *ummas*, (of which) we [i.e. the Muslims] shall constitute their last and their best."

Another tradition tells of the assembled masses of resurrected persons on Judgement Day imploring the former messengers Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, to intercede with God for their salvation. One by one they decline, citing their disqualifications. Finally, Muḥammad is asked by the people to undertake the task and, upon accepting the responsibility, he prostrates himself before the Lord, Who then says: "Muḥammad, raise thy head; ask and it would be granted; intercede and intercession would be accepted. I would then raise my head and say: O my Lord, my people, my people (*ummatī!, ummatī!*)." (Muslim, *Īmān*). It is, of course, possible to understand "My people, my people" to refer exclusively to the Muslims. But since Muḥammad is the last to be asked and the only one of the prophetic lineage to accept the charge, "My people" should be understood to be all whom God has resurrected on the Last Day.

The cultivation of Muḥammad's *Sunna* and its enshrining in the *ḥadīth* literature, and even more in the habits of the hearts and bodies of Muslims, is the most powerful expression imaginable of the transfer of charisma from a religious founder to his community of followers. In this sense, even with all the political and other divisions and disagreements among Muslims through time, there is utter consensus concerning the Muḥammadan nature, in the proper sense, of the Muslim *umma*. This does not in any way imply idolatry, for the Ḳur'ān itself commands the believers to obey God and His Messenger (III, 132), and to embrace Muḥammad as a "beautiful pattern" (*uswat^un^ ḥasanat^un^*, XXXIII, 21) of conduct. It may be held that the Ḳur'ān contains the basic doctrine of the *umma* within the divine plan of guidance for mankind, whereas the Sunna of Muḥammad—by which is not meant simply *ḥadīth*s that mention the word *umma*—provides inspiration and instruction on how Muslims individually and collectively can realise the *umma*.

3. *Umma* in later Islamic discourse. The *umma*'s establishment as a community with political authority and autonomy, as well as religious and social characteristics, was in Medina. The important document, contemporary with the Ḳur'ān, widely known as the "Constitution of Medina", described the Medinan community as a whole as an *umma*, with the Jews there constituting an *umma* alongside the main body. Mutual defence and security were crucial elements in the arrangement.

Although other concepts relate to an understanding of *umma*—such as *dār al-Islām* vs. *dār al-Ḥarb*, *khilāfa* and *djamā'a*—throughout Islamic history the *umma* has usually been thought to possess final authority (under God) with respect to overseeing the leadership of the Muslims. The consensus has favoured a unified *umma* as an ideal that transcends a particular period's limitations and divisions. Colonialism's challenge instigated a great renewal of *umma* awareness among Muslims, and modern Muslim thinkers since the 19th century have sustained a variety of discourses on the political as well as other meanings of the concept of *umma* for today, including particularly whether and to what extent it contains democratic principles.

Bibliography (of works not mentioned in the article): See for the legal, political, and social understandings of *umma* the excellent brief survey, with discriminating bibl., of A.S. Dallal, *Ummah*, in *Ency. of the modern Islamic world*, Oxford and New York 1995, iv, 267-70.

1. Ḳur'ānic concordance. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāḳī, *al-Mu'djam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Ḳur'ān al-Karīm*, Beirut 1994, s.v. *umma*, at 102-3.

2. Modern studies. F.M. Denny. *The meaning of ummah in the Qur'ān*, in *History of Religions*, xv (1975), 34-70; idem, *Ummah in the constitution of Medina*, in *JNES*, xxxvi (1977), 39-47; idem, *Some religio-communal terms and concepts in the Qur'ān*, in *Numen*, xiv (1977), 26-59; L. Gardet, *La cité musulmane*, Paris 1954; J. Horovitz, *Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran*, in *HUCA*, ii (1924), repr. Hildesheim 1964; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938; L. Massignon, *L'umma et ses synonymes: notion de communauté sociale en Islam*, in *REI* (1947), 152; C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *The ummah: an analytic approach*, in *SI*, x (1959), 5-22; F. Rahman, *The principle of shura and the role of umma in Islam*, in *Amer. Jnal. of Islamic Studies*, i (1984), 1-9; Riḍwān al-Sayyid, *al-Umma wa 'l-djamā'a wa 'l-sulṭa: dirāsāt fi 'l-fikr al-siyāsī al-'arabī al-islāmī*, Beirut 1984.

(F.M. Denny)

UMMĪ (A.) "illiterate" or "belonging to a people without a revealed book". This relative adjective appears five times in the Ḳur'ān. It is used only once, in the singular, in regard to the Prophet; since the phrase *al-nabī al-ummī* has attracted varying interpretations, it will be treated later.

1. The *ummiyyūn* (pl. of *ummī*) denote in some contexts the Jews who only know the Torah imperfectly (II, 78), and in others the Arab polytheists of the pre-Islamic period (III, 20; LXII, 2). These last, however, unlike the Jews and Christians, do not have a revealed scripture; see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Beirut n.d., iii, 214-15, xxviii, 94; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Beirut 1995, i, 158, 341; Ibn Kathīr, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Beirut 1981, i, 81, 273. This latter application is corroborated by III, 75, where the term *ummiyyūn* is probably placed in the mouths of the Jews of Medina to describe non-Jews, sc. the "Gentiles" or pagans (Nöldeke, *G. des Q.*, i, 14; R. Paret, *EI*[1] art. *Ummī*; S.H. Boubakeur, *Le Coran*, Paris 1979, ii, 1825).

At the same time, the commentators stress that the Arabs are described as *ummiyyūn* in the Ḳur'ān because few of them knew how to write; cf. the *ḥadīth*, given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, "We are an illiterate community (*umma ummiyya*), for we do not know how to write or count." The term *ummī* is, in fact, generally set forth as coming from *umm*, meaning basically "mother" in the Semitic languages (see e.g. W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 1967, i, 59). An illiterate person is thus one who remains in the same state as when his mother bore him (*LA*, Beirut 1988, i, 220; al-Ḳurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1967, ii, 5, vii, 298-9), and such was the state of the Arabs from the midst of whom Muḥammad was raised up. In this respect, Boubakeur remarks that one should distinguish between *ummī* "one ignorant on the intellectual plane" and *djāhil* "one ignorant on the moral plane", cf. his *Coran*, i, 519.

2. As applied to the Prophet (Ḳur'ān, VII, 157-8), *ummī* involves two important cruces. For most Muslim authors, it involves Muḥammad's illiteracy, confirmed by XXIX, 48, "Before [the Ḳur'ān] you could not read any book nor trace the line with your right hand." The greatest miracle (*mu'djiza*) of the Prophet thus resides in the fact that the Book was revealed to him (al-Khaṭṭābī, *Bayān i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān*,

Fig. 5. The second mosque after excavation. Photo: Fabienne Bujard-Ebener

tr. C. Audebert, *Al-Ḫaṭṭābī et l'inimitabilité du Coran*, IFEAD, Damascus 1982, 140; *LʿA*, *loc. cit.*). Moreover, this illiteracy proves that Muḥammad could not have had any direct knowledge of the Judaeo-Christian scriptures, hence could not have plagiarised them (R. Blachère, *Le Coran, traduction selon un essai de reclassement des sourates*, Paris 1947, 8). For Ibn Khaldūn, Muḥammad's *ummiyya* is not a deficiency in him, as it would be with the rest of mankind, but is a sign of his perfection (*kamāl*) (cf. *Muḳaddima*, Beirut n.d., 465). For his part, al-Alūsī remarks that the epithet *ummī* has no pejorative tinge at all when applied to the Prophet (*Rūḥ al-maʿānī fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān al-ʿaẓīm wa 'l-sabʿ al-mathānī*, Beirut 1398/1979, v, 79).

Muḥammad's illiteracy is not regarded with certainty by orientalists (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, i, 15; Blachère, *op. cit.*, 8-11) nor even by Muslim authors (al-Alūsī, *loc. cit.*). The Persian historian and vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 718/1318) thought it hardly likely that "the best of created beings" should not have known the art of writing (see *al-Madjmūʿa al-rashīdiyya al-sulṭāniyya*, ms. B.N. Paris, Ar. 2324, fol. 227a). The Ṣūfīs regard this question as a futile debate: that Muḥammad, as a Meccan merchant, should more or less have known how to read and write, does not bring into question his spiritual virginity, by virtue of which he was the receptacle for the Revelation (Ibn al-ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, ii, 644, tr. in W. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, Albany 1989, 235-8; A. Ibn al-Mubārak, *al-Ibrīz min al-kalām sīdī al-ghawth ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh*, Damascus 1984, i, 188). This virginity, which recalls that of Mary (A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C.. 1975, 26-7), has caused the Prophet to be compared to "a white sheet of paper before the divine Pen" (F. Schuon, *Comprendre l'Islam*, Paris 1976, 118).

Certain orientalists have seen in *al-nabī al-ummī* "the prophet of the Gentiles", i.e. one sent to a people without any revealed book (A. Badawī recounts and refutes this position in his *Défense du Coran contre ses critiques*, Paris 1989, 14-18). This hypothesis, conformable to what has been said above about the plural *ummiyyūn*, does not contradict the acceptance of "the illiterate prophet", and Muslim authors themselves attribute a number of senses to the phrase *nabī ummī* (one may cite, e.g., the meaning of "Meccan", *ummī* coming in this case from Umm al-Ḳurā, cf. al-Ḳurṭubī, *op. cit.*, vii, 299; al-Alūsī, xiv, 93). The sense of "illiterate" was to bring it nevertheless into the heart of the Muslim community fairly quickly. One should further cite the fact that, for Badawī, 19-21, *ummī* is a relative adjective from *umam*, pl. of *umma*, "nations, peoples", an interpretation which can be justified grammatically, cf. Wright, *Arabic grammar*, ii, 162-3. According to this view, which clearly corresponds to that of the Ḳurʾān, the Prophet's message was thus intended for the whole of mankind and not just for the Arabs.

The spiritual interpretation of the *nabī ummī*, as formulated by the Muslim mystics, was to determine for them the type of the *shaykh ummī*: whether he was really illiterate or not, this last receives the "knowledge emanating directly from God" (*al-ʿilm al-ladunī*). Divine inspiration (*ilhām*) thus replaces—admittedly to only a slight degree—the prophetic *waḥy* (on the *shaykh ummī*, see E. Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, IFEAD, Damascus 1995, 299-307.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Suʿād Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣūfī*, Beirut 1401/1981, s.v. *ummiyya*.

(E. GEOFFROY)

ʿUMRA (A.), the "lesser pilgrimage", *al-ḥadjdj al-ṣaghīr*, one of the acts of devotion (*ʿibāda* [*q.v.*]) forming part of the Muslim ritual.

1. Etymology

Muslim scholars claiming authority in linguistic matters put forward two possible original senses of the word *ʿumra*. The first is that the term is said to have had, like the word *ḥadjdj* [*q.v.*] "pilgrimage", the sense of "making one's way towards some place or person" (*al-ḳaṣd*). The second, more frequently proposed, is that the term would mean more precisely "visit" (*al-ziyāra*). See al-Azharī, *al-Ẓāhir fī alfāẓ al-Shāfiʿī*, Beirut 1994, and al-Nawawī, *Taḥrīr alfāẓ al-Tanbīh*, Damascus 1988, 133.

2. The ceremonies of the *ʿumra*

The *ʿumra*, like the *ḥadjdj*, can only be performed in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām* [*q.v.*]). On assuming the *iḥrām*, the pilgrim (*muʿtamir*) must make up his mind whether he is going to perform the *ʿumra* by itself or in combination with the *ḥadjdj* and express his intention in an appropriate *niyya* [*q.v.*]. If he combines the *ʿumra* with the *ḥadjdj* (see below) he can assume the *iḥrām* for both pilgrimages at once; in the other case, the *iḥrām* must be specially assumed for the *ʿumra* in the unconsecrated area (*ḥill*) outside of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. This holds also for native Meccans who, when they are going to perform the *ḥadjdj*, can assume the *iḥrām* within Mecca. Three places are preferred for the assumption of the *iḥrām* for the *ʿumra*: Djiʿrāna, Ḥudaybiya and especially Tanʿīm. The latter place was therefore also known as al-ʿUmra. With the utterance of the *labbayka* [see TALBIYA] formula, the actual ceremony of the pilgrimage begins. The *muʿtamir* goes to Mecca in order first of all to circumambulate the Kaʿba [see ṬAWĀF]. He enters the mosque through the north door of the north-east side (Bāb al-Salām), goes under the portal of the Banū Shayba to the Black Stone built into the wall of the Kaʿba and, turning right, begins the sevenfold circumambulation of the Kaʿba, saying prayers all the while. The first three circumambulations are performed at a rapid pace (*ramal*), the last four at an ordinary rate. After this is finished, in order to acquire a special blessing, he presses himself against the part of the Kaʿba wall which lies between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaʿba. In conclusion, he prays two *rakʿa*s behind the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, drinks a draught of the holy Zamzam water and touches once again in farewell the Black Stone (these last ceremonies are, however, not considered absolutely necessary). The *muʿtamir* now leaves the mosque through the great al-Ṣafā door in order to perform the second essential part of the *ʿumra*, the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa [see SAʿY]. He goes to the hill al-Ṣafā and utters a few prayers there. He then goes to the hill al-Marwa, over 400 yards farther north, past the north-east side of the mosque. A short low-lying stretch at the east corner of the mosque is covered at a more rapid pace (*harwala* or *khabab*). Reaching al-Marwa, the *muʿtamir* again utters a prayer. He then returns the same way in the reverse direction and so on until he has covered the distance seven times and ends at al-Marwa. He has thus completed the ceremony of the *ʿumra*, and has only to have his hair cut or be shaved by one of the barbers waiting there. If he is making the *ʿumra* in combination with the *ḥadjdj*, he only has his hair trimmed and has the proper cutting done on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja at the end of the *ḥadjdj*.

3. The history of the *ʿumra* and its relation to the *ḥadjdj*

The ceremonies which make up the Muslim *ʿumra*

are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islamic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muḥammad, except for the Islamic prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have been only obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen.

The Muslim *ʿumra* as a group of ceremonies forming a single whole also goes back to a pre-Islamic institution. This is shown by the very fact that Muḥammad refers to it by a name which in his time seems already to have been a special term and enables us to assume that the thing itself was well known. This, however, does not mean that the separate parts of the pre-Islamic *ʿumra* exactly corresponded to those of the Muslim *ʿumra*. The two institutions, so far as we can see, did not exactly coincide. It is, however, very difficult to make out in what the difference lay, as we do not even know the earliest form of the Muslim *ʿumra*, much less of that of the D̲j̲āhiliyya. We have therefore to make up for the lack of authentic sources by deductions from material which is not absolutely above reproach.

The pre-Islamic *ʿumra* probably consisted of ritual acts performed in a state of *iḥrām* within Mecca and including the *ṭawāf* of the Kaʿba. On the other hand, the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (*saʿy*) does not seem to have been included. This follows from the text of sūra II, 153/158, which clearly distinguishes between *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* and *ʿumra* on the one hand and the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa on the other and describes the performance of the latter in connection with the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* or *ʿumra* as irreproachable, indeed even meritorious, but still as a work of supererogation. Muḥammad himself performed it in 10/632 following the *ṭawāf* and thus by his example gave a further stimulus to the incorporation of the *saʿy* into the Muslim *ʿumra*. If the Muslim *ʿumra* in this respect shows an accretion compared with that of the pre-Islamic period, it seems also to have lost something. For the *ʿumra* in the D̲j̲āhiliyya can hardly have consisted of the *ṭawāf* alone. Probably an additional essential element in it was the sacrifice of animals bought for the special purpose, a custom which was later mainly confined to the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. Muḥammad himself brought sacrificial animals to the unfortunate *ʿumra* of al-Ḥudaybiya and a year later to the so-called *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ*.

As to the relation of the *ʿumra* to the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, the very similarity of these two institutions has contributed to confuse them and to blend their distinguishing features. Their reciprocal fusion had already begun in the last years of the Prophet. Muḥammad began the only *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* in which he took part as head of the Muslim community shortly before his death, by performing the *ṭawāf* and *saʿy* after his arrival in Mecca, ceremonies which did not originally form the beginning of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* but were elements of the Muslim *ʿumra*. He thereupon put off the *iḥrām* and said that the ceremonies so far performed formed an *ʿumra*. When, moreover, ʿUmar and others of those with him did not approve of putting off the *iḥrām* and did not follow him, this clearly shows how closely the ceremonies of the *ʿumra* were associated with those of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* for them and that, in their view, these holy acts should be performed in one and the same *iḥrām*. If we reflect that the revelation announced on this occasion (II, 192/196) laid down a penance for using the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* for the *ʿumra* in this way and that Muḥammad to some extent acknowledged himself guilty, then it is natural to suppose that Muḥammad had only put off the *iḥrām* in order to be able to associate with his wives who were there and not with the object of keeping *ʿumra* and *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* absolutely distinct (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, 83-102). In any case, Muḥammad in the year 10/632 made the *ʿumra* precede the performance of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* and thus put his approval on the combination of *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* and *ʿumra*. This combination had a deeper cause: Muḥammad on the one hand proclaimed Mecca with the Kaʿba as the centre of the worship of Islam, and on the other, took over the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, which originally had very little, if anything at all, to do with Mecca, into Islam. He had indeed every reason to bring the Muslim *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* into connection with the sanctuary of Mecca. The more he succeeded, however, the more the *ʿumra* lost its *raison d'être* as a special pilgrimage to Mecca. It was therefore quite a natural development when the Muslim *ʿumra* became more associated with the Muslim *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* and original elements of the *ʿumra* were absorbed by the corresponding elements of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, as was presumably the case with the sacrifices (see above). The *ʿumra* and the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* did not, however, absolutely combine into one. This was prevented by, amongst other things, the fact that Muḥammad in the pilgrimage above mentioned drew a line of separation between the two by discarding the *iḥrām*.

In the consensus (*id̲j̲māʿ*) of Muslim opinion, two ways of combining the *ʿumra* with the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* came to be recognised in course of time: *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*. The former term was applied, following II, 192/196 (*man tamattaʿa bi ʾl-umrati ilā ʾl-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲i*), to the way which Muḥammad had actually followed, namely, combining *ʿumra* and *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* with a break in the *iḥrām*. ʿUmar threatened during his caliphate to punish its observance with the punishment of stoning and even under the early Umayyads it does not seem to have been usual. *Ḳirān* is the name given to the combination of *ʿumra* and *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* without breaking the *iḥrām*. In this, the *iḥrām* is assumed for the *ʿumra* and the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* at the same time. As in the Muslim *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* the ceremonies which constitute an *ʿumra* are also performed according to the prevailing view an *ʿumra* is completely carried out when they have been performed, so that—if the *niyya* of *ḳirān* has been taken—the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* is completed. Some authorities, however, demand that the ceremonies of the *ʿumra* should be specially carried through. The *iḥrām* must not be broken in any circumstances.

The *ʿumra*, in spite of its partial absorption into the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, has however retained its independence, although only to a limited degree. When the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* is performed as *ifrād*, i.e. by itself (in contrast to *tamattuʿ* and *ḳirān*), the *ʿumra* also must be performed separately. Pilgrims who come from outside to Mecca seem as a rule in this case to perform the *ʿumra* after the completion of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* ceremonies so that they naturally have to assume the *iḥrām* again. In the course of time, this independent *ʿumra* ceremony seems to have become gradually confined to such Muslims as were permanently or for a considerable time resident in Mecca or came there at a time other than that of the *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*. But it was just this local limitation of the independent *ʿumra*, that favoured the survival of traditions from the pre-Islamic period. If we therefore learn that the *ʿumra* for centuries was celebrated

as an independent ceremony, preferably in the month of Radjab, we can probably see in this a survival of pre-Islamic tradition: the *ʿumra* in the time of Djāhiliyya was presumably a ceremony observed annually in Radjab and therefore had nothing to do with the *ḥadjdj*, the pilgrimage in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja (cf. also the tradition according to which ʿUkkāsha had his hair cut in Radjab of the year 2 to make himself look like a pilgrim). As Muḥammad could only prepare the way for the combination of the *ʿumra* with the *ḥadjdj* but not complete it, the old tradition of performing it in Radjab survived for centuries later. It is only in comparatively modern times that Radjab seems to have lost its significance for the performance of the *ʿumra*. The custom of the Meccans of journeying to the holy places of Medina in Radjab perhaps broke it down. When *ʿumras* are now performed in dissociation from the *ḥadjdj* (i.e. in *ifrād*), the nights of the months of the fast (Ramaḍān) are specially favoured for this purpose, and especially the last ten which are connected with the *laylat al-ḳadr* [see RAMAḌĀN].

4. The significance of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic *ʿumra*

If the pre-Islamic *ʿumra* was annually performed in Radjab, and also if the calculation is correct which places Radjab originally in the spring, its similarity with the Jewish Passover strikes one at once. The animals which are sacrificed at it were perhaps, as in the Jewish ceremony, originally first-borns (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 98-9; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*[3], 227-8, 464). In Muḥammad's time, however, the original significance of the *ʿumra* seems to have been practically forgotten and it no longer fell in the spring.

The Islamic *ʿumra* is an expression of piety, mainly of a personal nature, especially if it is undertaken separately and not with the *ḥadjdj*, the ceremony observed annually by the Muslim community together. Probably this individual character is the result of the fact that it lost its independence in time, and so far as it was not associated with the *ḥadjdj*, constituted a work of supererogation. Before Islam the *ʿumra* had probably a more collective character.

5. The legal status of the *ʿumra*

The Ḳurʾānic injunction *wa-atimmū ʾl-ḥadjdj wa ʾl-ʿumra li ʾllāh* "complete the pilgrimage and the *ʿumra* for God" (II, 192/196), is, in regard to the *ʿumra*'s legal status, fairly ambiguous (the status of the *ḥadjdj* being completely firmly established through other sources). In effect, the imperative verb used in this verse is that meaning "to bring an enterprise to its conclusion" (*atamma*), so that, on a completely rigorous basis, one should not take the order as "to accomplish the *ʿumra*" but only, independent of its obligatory character or not, that of "to carry it through", leaving nothing out from the moment when the believer has embarked on its accomplishment. In sum, the obligation would concern the modalities of the *ʿumra* but not the act itself (the hermeneutic principle applied here being that a prescription regarding the modalities of the accomplishment of an act has no implications about the status of the act itself). Moreover, relying on a saying of the Prophet transmitted by Djābir, Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī in his "ancient doctrine" would thus consider that the *ʿumra* was a supererogatory pious act (*taṭawwuʿ*) but not an obligation. Another reading of II, 192/196 (which could yield "carry through the pilgrimage to its end, and the *ʿumra* is for God") would end up with the same conclusion. Other jurists, including Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Thawrī and al-Shāfiʿī in his "new doctrine", held, on the contrary, that the verb "to complete" could in this context have the extended meaning of becoming a synonym of "to accomplish", and, equally arguing from other sayings of the Prophet, they ended up by stressing the strict obligation of the "lesser pilgrimage". See al-Djaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Dār al-Fikr, n.p. n.d., i, 263-71; al-Shīrāzī, *al-Mudhabhab*, ed. Dār al-Fikr, n.p. n.d., i, 194-5.

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(R. PARET-[E. CHAUMONT])

ʿUMŪM WA-KHUṢŪṢ (A.), literally "generality and specificity", a term of Islamic legal interpretation.

In the literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]—the Muslim discipline which lays out the principles governing the interpretation of texts—great attention is lavished upon the subject of the generality (*ʿumūm*) and specificity (*khuṣūṣ*) of terms. These categories emerge incessantly throughout the religious disciplines of Islam, since interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, the Sunna and other texts is an on-going task in those disciplines. However, they have special importance in legal science (*fiḳh*), since they bear upon the scope of applicability of rules of law (*aḥkām*).

The majority of the classical scholars subscribed to the notion that the Arabic language contains general expressions, that is to say, expressions which by virtue of their form signified a class of individuals comprehensively and all-inclusively. The various forms which such expressions could assume were called *ṣiyagh al-ʿumūm* "forms of generality". The literature of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* provides exhaustive lists of these forms. Examples include the indefinite plural (e.g. *muslimūn* "Muslims"; *darāhim* "dirhams"), the definite plural (e.g. *al-muslimūn*, "the Muslims"; *al-darāhim*, "the dirhams"), the definite singular (e.g. *al-muslim*, "the Muslim"; *al-dirham*, "the dirham"), and the definite plural with "all" (e.g. *kull al-muslimūn* "all the Muslims"; *kull al-darāhim*, "all the dirhams"). In contrast to these forms stand expressions that clearly are specific, such as proper names, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns.

According to the majority view, whenever an interpreter came across a general expression in a text, he had grounds for an initial presumption to the effect that the author of the text intended an all-inclusive reference. For example, upon encountering the expression "the thief" in "As for the thief, male and female,

cut off their hands" (Ḳurʾān, V, 38), he would begin his interpretative deliberations by positing a presumptive general reference to all thieves. If he subsequently discovered a contextual clue indicating that specificity rather than all-inclusiveness was intended, he would then have grounds for setting aside this initial presumption. Otherwise, the initial presumption would stand.

Many pages in the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* literature are devoted to the subject of "particularisation of the general expression" (*takhṣīṣ al-ʿāmm*). An interpreter was always obliged to look for a "particulariser" (*mukhaṣṣiṣ, dalīl al-takhṣīṣ*) in the context before making a final conclusion concerning the scope of reference of a general expression. When a particulariser was found, the general expression was said to have been diverted from its normal all-inclusive reference to a specific reference. Particularisers were divided into two types: the "attached" and the "detached" particulariser. The former was part of the immediate context and is best illustrated by the exceptive phrase (*istithnāʾ*), as in the phrase "all Muslims except those over the age of forty". The latter had to be sought after in remoter contexts. It could be found anywhere within the body of authoritative texts. An example is the Prophet's saying "Amputation is to occur only where an amount worth a quarter of a dīnār or more has been stolen", which is used to overturn the presumption of an all-inclusive reference for "thief" in Ḳurʾān, V, 38, and establish that the expression has a specific reference to thieves who have stolen the amount indicated by the Prophet.

A minority school of thought denied the existence of any truly all-inclusive expressions in the Arabic language and insisted that the expressions classified by mainstream scholars as general were in fact inherently specific. Although this point of view had few adherents, its mere existence was sufficient to create a dialectical climate within which the commonly accepted way of thinking would have to be argued with great thoroughness.

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UMUR PASHA, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar (709-49/1309-48), early Turkish corsair and warrior and son of Meḥemmed, founder of the Aydîn-oghullarî [see AYDÎN-OGHLU].

The main source on him is the Turkish epic poem, unique of its type, the *Düstūr-nāme*, completed by its author, Enwerī, in 869/1464. Also, the Byzantine historians Gregoras and Cantacuzenus, his contemporaries, offer rich items of information on Umur, especially from 741/1341 onwards, when he was a participant in the Byzantine civil war. He received from his father the region of Smyrna, where he built a fleet and began the corsair warfare against the Christians which the Turkish maritime *beylik*s were waging. His activities disturbed the Westerners, especially the Venetians, and an alliance against the Turks, the *Sacra Liga*, was formed and a Latin fleet assembled in the Aegean Sea; after some successes against the Turks, it secured a great victory near Adramyttion (autumn 735). Umur soon began corsair activity again, and in 740/1340 was lord of the islands and the Aegean littoral, which paid him important annual tribute. His intervention in the Byzantine civil war (1341-7) as ally of Cantacuzenus was decisive for the latter's victory, and this increased his reputation as a warrior in all the West as well as in the Balkans. Meanwhile, the Turks' destructive raids once more led the Christian states to organise a Crusade whose main objective was Smyrna, and in October 1344 the Crusaders occupied the port and the lower citadel. In an attack launched against the Crusaders, Umur was killed by an arrow (April 1348).

Enwerī presented Umur as the ideal warrior for Islam. The Byzantine historians often call him "the barbarian", but Gregoras (ed. Bonn, ii, 649) remarks that "his conduct was not that of a barbarian" and that he was "civilised and close to Greek culture". An anonymous chronicle of Naples contains a description of Umur probably based on the impressions of Western ambassadors who visited him in 1346: seated on the ground, he ate a dish which resembled rice and milk; he was well-dressed, with an embroidered, purple silk robe; he used a golden spoon and all his tableware was valuable and adorned; he was stout and somewhat fat. He declared that he was not afraid of the Christians because he always had two powerful friends, *Guelfo e Gibellino*. We thus have some idea of the luxury of the court of the Aydîn-oghullarî (already noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1333), and can discern that they were well-informed about the political differentiations amongst the Christians.

Bibliography: Muratori, *Historiae romanae fragmenta*, in *Antiquitates italicae medii aevi*, iii, 371, 1740; Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha* (*Düsturname-i Enveri*), Bibl. byz., Documents 2, Paris 1954; P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur Pacha"*, Bibl. byz., Etudes 2, Paris 1957; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, Cambridge 1962, ii; H. Akın, *Aydın oğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, AÜDTCF Yayınları 60, Tarih Enstitüsü 6, ²Ankara 1968; E.A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1416)*, Venice 1983.

(Elizabeth A. Zachariadou)

UNAYF b. Daldja b. Ḳunāfa al-Kalbī (full genealogy in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 204, 428, and see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, i, Table 286, ii, 572), tribal chief of the Kalb in Syria [see KALB B. WABARA], *fl.* in the early part of the 7th century. His son Baḥdal was the father of Maysūn [*q.v.*], wife of the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya I and mother of Yazīd I, and a strenuous supporter of the Sufyānid cause.

Bibliography: See also H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife Moʿâwia Ier*, in *MFOB*, iii (1908), 150. (Ed.)

ʿUNAYZA, an important town of the emirate of al-Ḳaṣīm in Nadjd, Saudi Arabia. The

town is situated about 350 km north-west of the capital, al-Riyāḍ (Riyadh) and 40 km south of the major town Burayda (Farsi, *National guide and atlas of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, Jeddah 1989, map 51-2; Hussein Hamza Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1980, 39).

Undoubtedly an ancient site, the name occurs in pre- and early Islamic poetry: *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 211, 501; Imru' al-Ḳays, ed. Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, no. 34.3; *Naḳā'iḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12, 3 vols., i, 334, ii, 964; Aws b. Ḥāritha in Hamdānī, 172. The dual form 'Unayzat[ayn] occurs in the *Mu'allaḳa* of 'Antara, l.9, a form which both Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, 670, and Yāḳūt, iii, 739, accept as being the same place name as 'Unayza. The latter tells us also that the town belongs to the B. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, and the mediaeval geographers in general mention 'Unayza as a watering-place "between al-Baṣra and Mecca". Al-Hamdānī says (178) that it belonged to Kalb.

'Unayza is mentioned briefly by Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 344), who describes it as situated ten days' journey from al-Baṣra. It is really only in the early 19th century, however, that accurate accounts of the area begin to appear and this as a direct result of the Turco-Egyptian operations there against the Wahhābīs. In 1816, Ibrāhīm Pasha, the eldest son of Muḥammad 'Alī, advanced against the Wahhābīs under 'Abd Allāh, son of Su'ūd, and 'Unayza and soon the rest of al-Ḳaṣīm fell to the Turco-Egyptian forces. It was to be 1849 before Turco-Egyptian influence disappeared and the area once more was incorporated into the Wahhābī state.

Doughty, who was able to spend some months in 'Unayza between April-July 1878, wrote at some length on the town at that time (*Arabia Deserta*, London 1936 ed., 357 ff., a chapter entitled "Aneyza" and one "Life in Aneyza"). He describes the town itself and its walls, the streets, the houses, the wells and water supply and the date groves around the town. He also paints a vivid picture of the life of the inhabitants, their qualities, manners and customs, their food and clothing, their religious and secular life. He emphasises the tribal nature of life in the town. Commerce was particularly well developed, and foreign as well as local merchants operated there; the town lay on the caravan route between al-Baṣra and Mecca. Doughty also mentions the artisans working in the town: agricultural labourers, masons, gold- and silversmiths and workers in fine crafts. From his account, it is clear that the town occupied an important position in the commercial and cultural life of Central Arabia. There is little information on 'Unayza after Doughty other than a few brief notes of travellers.

'Unayza is now the second town of al-Ḳaṣīm after Burayda and the area is an important agricultural centre. Apart from the production of dates, poultry, cereals and wheat are the main products.

Bibliography: References are given above and the full list of sources mentioned in the *EI*[1] article should be noted.

(J. Tkatsch-[G.R. Smith])

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES [see al-imārāt al-'arabiyya al-muttaḥida, in Suppl.].

al-**UNḲALĪ, UNḲŪRIYYA** [see madjar].

'UNNĀB (a.) is the jujube, the fruit of the varieties of zizyphus cultivated in many countries with a rather warm climate, in particular *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lam. and *Zizyphus jujuba* Mill. (*Zizyphus sativa* Gaertn.), *Rhamnaceae*. Its name is connected with *'inab* because of its grape-like inflorescence and its sour-sweet taste. The synonym *zafzūf* and its diminutive *zufayzif* is probably to be derived from Greek ζίζφον. It is already found in Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xv, 14, as *zizypha*, and lives on in Spanish *azofaifa* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 228).

The most comprehensive compilation of the varieties of the jujube shrub is to be found in Ibn 'Abdūn, *'Umdat al-ṭabīb*, ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fol. 117b, ll. 16-26 (condensed in the following): a big bush with many varieties, wild and cultivated, white and red. There are five varieties of the red jujube: the first has fruits of the size of the hazelnut, is fleshy, has small seeds and grows in the region of Granada and Algeciras; the second is known as the "mountain jujube", has fruits the size of the bean (*al-bāḳillā*), is round, has a thin skin and many seeds which have an astringent effect; the third is known as "the thorny one" (*al-shawkī*), has fruits the size of peas, with large seeds and little flesh, is found frequently in Toledo, is effective against chronic diarrhoea originating from a weak stomach, and staunches the loss of blood (*nazf al-dam*); the fourth is called *al-burdjīn* (Romance, see A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans*, Göttingen 1988, i, 92), has small fruits with a violent astringency, spreads on the ground and grows to the height of sitting (*ḳa'da*); the fifth is *al-sidr*, cf. Renaud, *Tuḥfa*, nos. 293, 302.

The fruit contains a mucous substance and serves of old in medicine as a mucilaginosum against catarrh and as tonic. The fleshy, ripe and highly sweet jujubes are considered to be the best varieties. They calm down the "boiling of the blood" (*ghalayān al-dam*) and are effective against disorders of the bronchial tubes in that they eliminate the latter's hoarseness (*khushūna*). Further therapeutic properties concern the liver, the bladder and the kidneys, and several complaints of the abdomen. The leaves, too, are therapeutic: chewed, they are effective against offensive (*al-bashī'a*, disgusting) drugs and against vomiting; crushed and sprinkled on ulcers, they are immediately effective.

Bibliography: Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, Ḥaydarābād, xxi, 198; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 399; Ibn al-Ash'ath, *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*, ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 291, 98-9; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydana*, Arab. 274, Eng. 232, Russ. no. 731; Ibn Samadjūn, *Djāmi' al-adwiya al-mufrada*, Frankfurt 1992, iii, 144-7; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād, ii, 153-4; Idrīsī, *al-Djāmi' li-ṣifāt ashtāt al-nabāt*, Frankfurt 1995, ii/2, 364; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 291; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, Būlāḳ, iii, 140-1 (tr. Leclerc, no. 1594); Ghassānī, *Mu'tamad*, Beirut 1975, 340-1; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, ms. Paris arab. 3004 (= Suppl. 877), fol. 213a, ll. 9-13; Anṭāḳī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 241; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, nos. 293, 302; H.A. Hoppe, *Drogenkunde*, 8th ed., i, 1155-6.

(A. Dietrich)

'UNṢUR (a., pl. *'anāṣir*), a term of Islamic philosophy.

As a general term, it may be translated as "origin", "family", "race", "constituent", "ingredient". Lane provides the example of *fulān[un] karīm al-'unṣur*, "Such a one is of generous origin or race". The plural in modern Arabic may also be rendered as "nationalities". Philosophically, the word means "element" and is the equivalent of the Latin *elementum*, the Greek στοιχεῖον and its Arabic form (via Syriac) *usṭuḳuss*. It is a non-Ḳur'ānic word used to specify in Arabic the four Empedoclean elements of fire, air, water and earth. *'Unṣur* can also be translated as "matter"; thus we find that both *al-'unṣur al-awwal* and *al-hayūlā al-*

ūlā may be used in Arabic to render the Greek πρώτη ὕλη (prime matter), while *djawhar ʿunṣurī* was a useful Arabic rendition of the Greek οὐσία ὑλική, a material substance.

The word *ʿunṣur* was a commonplace in the philosophical lexicon of the early and later Arab and Islamic philosophers. For example, al-Kindī's *Rasāʾil*, collected and edited by Abū Rīda, include the following titles (tr. Atiyeh): "On the exposition that the nature of the heavens is contrary to that of the four elements" and "On that element of the four elements that has colour by nature and causes colour in the others". Of the latter *Risāla*, Atiyeh observes: "Al-Kindī maintains that the earth is the only element with colour and that the colours we see in the other elements are there due to their mixture with earth." Elsewhere, al-Kindī also uses *ʿunṣur* in the sense of "matter". Some centuries later, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] held that the Intellect (*al-ʿaḳl*) was "the highest element" (*al-ʿunṣur al-aʿlā*). By contrast, Ibn Rushd used the word in a way which has been variously translated as "basic principle" or "ultimate basis of existence". Thus in his commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, we read: "Also, since a thing can be resolved into its elements, substance would sometimes be resolved into relation and relation into substance; this is necessary in the kind of thing which is basic principle (*ʿunṣur*), not in that which is form" (tr. Genequand). Also, elsewhere he observed in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* that "[The philosophers] believed therefore that all active and passive bodies are composed of two natures, one active and the other passive, and they called the active nature form, quiddity and substance, and the passive part subject, ultimate basis of existence (*ʿunṣur*) and matter" (tr. Van den Bergh).

Bibliography: 1. Arabic and translated sources. Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*; tr. S. Van den Bergh, *Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*The Incoherence of the Incoherence*), London 1978; Ch. Genequand, *Ibn Rushd's Metaphysics. A translation with introduction of Ibn Rushd's commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics, Book Lām*, Leiden 1984; Kindī, *Rasāʾil al-Kindī al-falsafiyya*, ed. M.A.H. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1950-3; A.L. Ivry, *Al-Kindī's Metaphysics. A translation of Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī's treatise "On First Philosophy"* (*Fī 'l-falsafah al-Ūlā*) Albany 1974; N. Rescher and H. Khatchadourian, *Al-Kindī's Treatise on the distinctiveness of the celestial sphere*, in *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), iv/1 (1965), 45-54; Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, *K. Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ*, ed. H. Corbin, Tehran 1954; A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, nos. 466-7.

2. Secondary sources. S. Afnan, *A philosophical lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, s.vv. *ʿunṣur, ʿunṣurī*; G.N. Atiyeh, *Al-Kindī, the philosopher of the Arabs*, Rawalpindi 1966; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.r. *ʿ-ṣ-r*. See also HAYŪLĀ. (I.R. NETTON)

ʿUNṢUR AL-MAʿĀLĪ KAY KĀʾŪS [see KAY KĀʾŪS B. ISKANDAR].

ʿUNṢURĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM ḤASAN b. Aḥmad, Persian poet at the Ghaznawid court during the early 5th/11th century.

The external information about his life is mostly anecdotal. It is said that he was born at Balkh, became an orphan at an early age and in his youth earned a living as a merchant. A story, told in some sources, about a robbery during one of his travels was mistakingly associated with him (cf. Storey-de Blois, v/1, 234-5). His career as a poet began under the patronage of the Amīr Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr (d. 412/1021-2), the military governor (*sipahsālār*) of his brother Sultan Maḥmūd [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, who introduced ʿUnṣurī to the sultan's court at Ghazna. Both Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Dawlatshāh state that ʿUnṣurī served Maḥmūd as his *amīr* or *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* [*q.v.*], a function which included the supervision of all the poets attending the court. He was also admitted to the sultan's inner circle as a drinking companion (*nadīm* [*q.v.*]). Two particularly famous anecdotes tell how he and other poets tested Firdawsī's poetic skills (first recorded by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī) and how, after the favourite slave Ayāz [*q.v.*] had cut his beautiful locks, he was able to change Maḥmūd's bad mood by means of an improvised quatrain (Niẓāmī-yi ʿArūḍī, 55-7). The lavish rewards which he earned with his art made him a very rich man. He and the Sāmānid poet Rūdakī [*q.v.*] are often named together as the two most successful Persian court poets ever. A contemporary confirmation of his predominant position among the Ghaznawid court poets of the time is the eulogy which Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] wrote for him. On the other hand, his status was not entirely unchallenged, as appears from an exchange of polemic poems with Ghaḍāʾirī, another contemporary poet (cf. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ii, 921-9). ʿUnṣurī remained active at least till the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* celebration of 422/1031, when Masʿūd I rewarded him with a thousand gold coins (Bayhaḳī, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 274, ed. Nafīsī, i, 329). In an elegy on the death of Farrukhī [*q.v.*], which occurred in 429/1037-8, the poet Labībī [*q.v.*] called ʿUnṣurī an old man (Rādūyānī, 32 of the printed Persian text). The dating of his death in 431/1039-40 by Dawlatshāh and Riḍā Ḳulī Khān seems therefore likely, though the year 441/1049-50 has also been mentioned by Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshānī and other *tadhkira* writers (cf. A. Sprenger, *A catalogue of the... manuscripts of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, i, Calcutta 1854, 528).

According to Dawlatshāh, ʿUnṣurī wrote 30,000 distichs. If this is a correct estimate, little more than one-tenth of his work has survived in various selections, none of which are older than the Ṣafawid period. Additionally, a number of fragments and single lines have been preserved in anthologies and sources which quote them in evidence. Notable among the latter are the rhetorical textbook *Tardjumān al-balāgha* by Rādūyānī [*q.v.*] and the lexicon *Lughat al-Furs* by Asadī [*q.v.*], both compiled in the late 5th/11th century, and the anthology *Muʾnis al-aḥrār* of Djādjarmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The data concerning the textual tradition point to a changing pattern in the reception of his poetry. There can be no doubt about the great influence that ʿUnṣurī exerted on Persian court poets of the Ghaznawid and early Saldjūḳ period. But already Khāḳānī (d. 595/1199 [*q.v.*]) criticised the one-sidedness of ʿUnṣurī's panegyrics because of his neglect of the loftier themes favoured by later poets (*Dīwān*, 926-7). A further indication of the decline of his reputation is that in the *Muʿdjam* of Shams-i Ḳays (*fl.* early 7th/13th century [*q.v.*]), the *ḳaṣīdas* of Anwarī [*q.v.*], instead of those of ʿUnṣurī, have become the most important source of examples for the use of rhetorical figures. A remarkable revival occurred during the neo-classical period in the history of Persian poetry (mid-18th to mid-20th centuries) when he was appreciated again as one of major representatives of the so-called Khurāsānī style. In recent literary criticism, however, his poetry has been condemned for being too rational and adding little to the conventional imagery of the Arabic and Persian tradition (see especially, Shafīʿī Kadkanī, 526-39).

The lyrical poetry which is still extant consists

mainly of *ḳaṣīda*s and *rubāʿiyyāt*. Most panegyrics are addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd and Amīr Naṣr. Only a few poems to other patrons are known, among whom are Sultan Masʿūd I and the *wazīr* Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī [*q.vv.*]. His style shows a great dexterity in the construction of panegyrical reasonings. Several poems are structured according to rhetorical devices such as question and answer (*suʾāl wa d̲j̲awāb*) and the enumeration of qualities in pairs (*taḳsīm al-ṣifāt*). His themes are characteristic of court poetry and include the celebration of Sultan Maḥmūd's victories. ʿUnṣurī also had a reputation as a writer of anacreontic verse, specimens of which are to be found in the *nasīb*s of his panegyrics.

ʿAwfī makes mention of three romantic *mat̲h̲nawī*s dedicated by ʿUnṣurī to Sultan Yamīn al-Dawla Maḥmūd and named collectively *K̲h̲izāna Yamīn al-Dawla.* Their titles refer to the pairs of lovers featuring in them: *Wāmiḳ u ʿAd̲h̲rā*, *K̲h̲ing-but u Surk̲h̲-but* ("White Idol and Red Idol", presumably inspired by the statues of the Buddha at Bāmiyān) and *S̲h̲ād-bahr u ʿAyn al-ḥayāt.* In an inventory of his own works, al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] refers to translations (presumably into Arabic) made of the same three stories (*Risāla li ʾl-Bīrūnī fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Ẓakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, 39). No more than a few scattered lines from these romances have been preserved. However, *ca.* 1950, sheets from an old manuscript of *Wāmiḳ u ʿAd̲h̲rā* were retrieved by Mawlawī Muḥammad S̲h̲afīʿ. The Persian poem appeared to be founded on a Greek story. T. Hägg and B. Utas have identified the latter with the Hellenistic novel of Metiochus and Parthenope, which is also only preserved in fragments.

The *Dīwān* has been printed several times since the 19th century. The most recent editions were published by Yaḥyā Ḳarīb (ed. Tehran 1323 *s̲h̲.*/1944-5, ²1341 *s̲h̲.*/1962-3) and Muḥammad Dabīr-Siyāḳī (ed. Tehran 1342 *s̲h̲.*/1963, ²1363 *s̲h̲.*/1984). The latter is based mainly on *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-ḳaṣāʾid*, an anthology of *ḳaṣīda*s compiled by Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1022/1613-4), who also wrote an introduction to the section dealing with ʿUnṣurī (cf. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, introd., *Dīwān*, ix-x; see also A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i tad̲h̲kirahā-yi fārsī*, Tehran 1348 *s̲h̲.*/ 1969, i, 554-5).

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(J.T.P. de Bruijn)

ʿUNWĀN (a., pl. *ʿanāwīn*), originally means "trace, sign, indication", from one of the senses of the root *ʿ-n-w* "to show, set forth a thing" (Lane, 2178-9), but it has come to denote the address or superscription at the head of a document.

1. In correspondence and diplomatic

Here it denotes the direction or address, part of the introduction of a document. See for this diplomatic and inshāʾ, and add to the *Bibls.* there *EIr*, art. *Alqāb va ʿanāwīn*, esp. ii. *ʿAnāwīn* (A. Ašraf).

2. In manuscript production

Here it is commonly used for the title of a composition and is thus one of the terms used for an illuminated frontispiece or headpiece, with or without the title of the book inscribed in it. According to various Arabic and Persian sources, the other technical terms used are: *tard̲j̲ama*, *ṭurra*, *ṭug̲h̲rā*, *sarlawḥ*, *dībād̲j̲a*, *s̲h̲amsa* and *turand̲j̲*. However, there is no consensus as to the exact meaning of some of these terms. Apart from *s̲h̲amsa* and *turand̲j̲*, which are medallions of round (circular) or oval shape, the other terms may refer to any type of illumination preceding the main text or a section of it. Thus Akimushkin and Ivanov use the term *ʿunwān* for the illumination of the upper part of fol. 1b and *sarlawḥ* for the entire page, whereas for B.W. Robinson, *ʿunwān* is an illuminated one- or double-page opening, and *sarlawḥ* confined to the upper part of the page.

A composition or text begins, in the large majority of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish manuscript codices, on the verso of the first folio. In those manuscripts copied for regular scholarly use, the recto of the first folio (known as *ẓahr* or *ẓahriyya*), as well as the wide upper margin of the verso, were usually left blank. This seems to have been a practice taken over from the preparation of documents. Since titles of works were often embodied in the introductory matter or preface of compositions and not infrequently rubricated, there was less need to repeat this information anywhere else. Nevertheless, these two large blank areas in the codex often "begged" to be filled in with writing and decoration. Decorated titles, located in various forms of frontispieces, began to appear most probably in the 5th/11th century and were limited to de luxe copies produced for wealthy private patrons and for major (usually royal) libraries. One of the earliest known illuminated headpieces carrying the title of the book can be found in a copy of *Kitāb K̲h̲alḳ al-Nabī wa-k̲h̲ulḳih* (Leiden Univ. Library, no. 437) executed for the G̲h̲aznawid *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd (r. ?440-3/?1049-52). The decoration in these "secular" manuscripts was modelled on the illumination employed in the production of copies of the Ḳurʾān and consisted of geometric, including architectural, and vegetal motifs. The earliest inscription encountered in frontispieces of illuminated Ḳurʾāns is *innahu la-Ḳurʾān Karīm* (LVI, 77). It is most probably this title-inscription which lies at the origin of illuminated titles in non-Ḳurʾānic codices.

The study of the non-figurative illumination of non-Ḳurʾānic manuscripts has been greatly neglected in comparison with the study of painted illustrations. Apart from the work of R. Ettinghausen and, later, Akimushkin and Ivanov (see below), no other systematic study has yet been done in this field, even though most major collections of Islamic manuscripts would count a sizeable number of illuminated pieces among them. Hence e.g. the collection of some 390

Persian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, as described by F. Richard (see below), has 89 illuminated manuscripts from the 7th/13th to the 11th/17th centuries. Among them there are six medallions, nine double-page illuminations and 74 codices having one or more headpieces (*sarlawḥ*). In 28 cases the titles appear in the illuminated pieces. Except for one case involving a medallion (no. 14), all the other titles are inscribed in cartouches within headpieces. In 18 cases the inscription in the cartouche is the *basmala* [*q.v.*] or some other invocation.

From an analysis of the above and other collections, three major types of illuminated decorations which carried the title of the book there emerge:

1. "*Title-page*" *illumination* (fol. 1a). Here, several varieties are known:

(a) A large rectangular panel, composed of several constituent pieces (occupying most of the page). It is divided into an upper piece; a medallion or rosette occupying the centre; and a bottom piece, although the latter is not always present. The title, in most cases, is placed in the upper piece but sometimes in the medallion. The medallion is more often used as an ex-libris, usually beginning with the expression *bi-rasm* (i.e. "on the order of, for") or it contains the authorship statement. The rectangular panels occupying the large part of the front page (fol. 1a) were very popular from the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th centuries in Egypt, Syria and Turkey, and Persia. Some of the best examples of this type of illumination are illustrated in al-Munadjdjid's work (see *Bibl.*). In Maghribī manuscripts, the full-page panel carries the *basmala* and *taṣliya* (upper portion) and the *ḥamdala* [*q.v.*] and *taṣliya* (lower portion), the centre (usually a medallion) being occupied by the title or statement of authorship (*ḳāla fulān ibn fulān*).

(b) Various geometrical forms usually occupying the upper part of the page. Here we find a square or rectangular panel(s) enclosing the title and often the author's name, or an upper panel on its own or with a medallion underneath.

(c) A medallion of a circular or oval form, often with pendants and scalloped edges or a pointed star, on its own.

2. *Double-page opening illumination* (fols. 1b-2a). In most cases this consists of identical decorations arranged symmetrically. Here the title is inscribed in the inside (cartouche) of the headpiece or the upper panel.

3. *A headpiece* (fol. 1b) *above the text proper*, surrounded by a frame or a thick rule-border running down the page to enclose the text. Headpieces were executed in a variety of shapes and sizes. Here we encounter e.g. one or two rectangular panels placed one above the other, a rectangular panel with a decorative band above or a rectangular panel surmounted by triangular, W-shape and dome (semi-circular) pieces. Often the cartouche within the panel is left blank or carries the *basmala* or some other inscription in the form of an invocation. In Maghribī manuscripts, the *basmala* and *taṣliya* are inscribed in the upper part of the piece, above the main panel or cartouche, while the cartouche proper carries the statement *ḳāla fulān ibn fulān*.

As regards the colour spectrum of illuminated titles, we find that characters in gold, often outlined in black ink, predominate. Other pigments, such as e.g. white, contrasting with a blue, red or even green background, were also often used. The scripts employed for this purpose were either Kūfic (often stylised and floriated), or *thuluth*/*tawḳīʿ*-based. Illuminated titles in Maghribī manuscripts were calligraphed almost invariably in the so-called *al-khaṭṭ al-mashriḳī*.

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2. Literary aspects of book titles

During the first four Islamic centuries, the titles given to Arabic literary products (books and briefer treatises, henceforth "books") tend to be matter-of-fact to the point of clumsiness; cf. the many thousands of items listed in the indices of Sezgin, *GAS*. With books from this early period, generally preserved only in later manuscripts, the title may be a later addition; accordingly, we cannot be sure at what time it became customary to provide books with titles. That at first a title was not considered indispensable is witnessed by the fact that Sībawayh's all-important grammar of Arabic produced towards the end of the 2nd/8th century has never received a title, being simply designated as *Kitāb Sībawayh*. It must also be remembered that, even for later times, it is often impossible to decide whether a book title was chosen by the author or added by a later scribe, because the mention of the title in the body of the book (especially in the preface, if there is one) is, although not uncommon, by no means the rule (and autographic manuscripts are rare exceptions). Also, it is of very common occurrence that manuscripts of one and the same book bear different titles, in which case all, or some, or none, may go back to the author.

Soon after the re-emergence, in the middle of the 4th/10th century, of rhymed prose (*sadjʿ*) as the principal formal means of embellishing prose texts, it became standard procedure to provide a book with a title exhibiting at least one instance of rhyming. These rhymed book titles never totally replaced unadorned prose titles, but became so common that they may be considered as typical. The popularity of providing books with rhymed titles began to wane only during the 19th century; at present this usage has become obsolete, albeit not wholly extinct.

The information given below stems from a survey of 1,690 titles culled from Brockelmann (all subsequent page numbers refer to Brockelmann, II) belonging to the 5th-12th/11th-18th centuries; cf. A. Ambros, *Beobachtungen zu Aufbau und Funktionen der gereimten klassisch-arabischen Buchtitel*, in *WZKM*, lxxx (1990), 13-57.

The syntactic structure of the title is almost invariably that of a noun-phrase or a series of noun-phrases linked by *wa-* "and" (e.g. *Mūḳid al-adhhān wa-mūḳiẓ al-wasnān* "Kindler of the intellects and awakener of the sleeper", 30), into which prepositional phrases are frequently embedded (e.g. *Iʿlām al-sādjid bi-aḥkām al-masādjid* "Information of the prostrate concerning the rules of the mosques", 112). Extremely common (found in more than half of the titles surveyed) is the case of a dichotomous title consisting of two noun-phrases,

the latter of which is dependent on the preposition *fī* "concerning, about". In this case the two phrases are semantically and syntactically independent, the second phrase forming a sort of subtitle (so that *fī* must by no means be misunderstood as "in"). While the second phrase gives an indication of the subject matter of the book, the first phrase, the title in the narrower sense, is meant to generate, by mentioning things that are beautiful, pleasant, valuable, or helpful, a positive feeling towards the book, thereby enhancing its "image" and publicity. Three examples: *al-Djawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafiyya* "The brilliant jewels: about the classes of the Ḥanafīs" (97), *Ḳaṭr al-sayl fī amr al-khayl* "Droplets of the torrent: about the matter of racing horses" (88); *al-Djawhar al-fard fīmā yukhālif fīh al-ḥurr al-ʿabd* "The unique jewel: concerning the differences between freeman and slave" (119). The leading phrases, and especially their head-nouns, tend to become stereotyped (in the survey, the two most popular head-nouns were found to be *durr* "pearls" with 59 occurrences and *tuḥfa* "gem" with 49). The titles tend to be rather short, the average number of nouns in the titles surveyed amounting to 4.75. Of course, the various rhetorical devices employed in poetry and rhymed prose (such as *muwāzana, djinās, tarṣīʿ, iltizām*) are all commonly found in rhymed book titles.

Bibliography: The Arabic book title has so far been very little studied. In addition to the survey mentioned above, see A. Carmona González, *La estructura del título en los libros árabes medievales*, in *Estudios Románicos*, iv (1987-9), 181-7.

(A.A. Ambros)

ʿUNWĀN, MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ, also known by his surname Čalabī, 17th century Persian poet, died probably between 1078/1667 and 1083/1672. Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, in his *tadhkira*, includes the poet among those of Ādharbāydjān, and refers to him as a native of Tabrīz (*Ātashkada*, i, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt Nāṣirī, Tehran 1336/1957, 132). Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī reports having met ʿUnwān in Mashhad, where the latter's father, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Tabrīzī, a wealthy individual, had sought residence (*Tadhkira-yi Naṣrābādī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1361/1982, 396-7). Not much is known regarding ʿUnwān's life except that towards the end of his life he gained nearness to Dhu 'l-Faḳār Khān, governor of Ḳandahār. He died at that place; his body was transferred to Mashhad, and buried there in the vicinity of Imām Riḍā's mausoleum.

Reports indicate that ʿUnwān left behind a collection of poems containing some 5,000 couplets. However, Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, who has made a study of the poet's manuscripts, expresses his inability to find a complete copy of his poems (*Nashriyya-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, xi/4 [1338/1969-70], 402-3). In his poetic style, ʿUnwān seems to have been influenced by Ṣāʾib, whom he praises in some of his verses, and who is said to have met him in Mashhad.

Bibliography: Given in the text, but see also Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1314/1935-6; ʿAzīz Dawlātābādī, *Sukhanwarān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tabrīz 1355/1976; Muḥammad Dayhīm, *Tadhkira-yi shuʿarā-yi Ādharbāydjān*, ii, Tabrīz 1367/1988-9. (Munibur Rahman)

URA-TUBĀ [see Suppl.].

ʿURĀBĪ PASHA, Aḥmad, Egyptian nationalist leader and army officer, d. 1911. He was born in 1841, the son of an Egyptian *shaykh*. He entered the Cairo Military Academy in 1854, and after graduating, rose to the rank of colonel (*ḳāʾim-maḳām*), being the first native Egyptian to reach that rank. He served in several capacities in the army and took part in the Egyptian campaign in Abyssinia in 1875.

In Egypt, the Khedive Ismāʿīl [see ismāʿīl pasha] was leading the country into bankruptcy with his profligate ways. A number of army officers formed a group to rally round and express their discontent with the Khedive. ʿUrābī probably supported (if not joined) them. In his memoirs, he certainly writes of Ismāʿīl knowing of their discontent and of his taking measures to combat it. The aim of the group was to destroy foreign influence in Egypt and to further their interests in the army. In February 1879 army officers protested to the Minister of Finance with a demand for the reinstatement of their pay which had been halved.

Ismāʿīl was succeeded by Tawfīḳ [see tawfīḳ pasha] in June 1879. The situation was critical for Egypt. The country was declared insolvent, the Assembly was seeking greater powers and the army was discontented. The history of the next two years is of a struggle between the Khedive, civilian politicians and the army with the European powers as virtual arbiters. The army under ʿUrābī gradually became stronger and more extreme in its demands. Tawfīḳ was in a weak position and sought to bolster his authority by appointing a strong Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Pāshā, who had served under Ismāʿīl.

Members of the Assembly held secret meetings with ʿUrābī and others opposed to Tawfīḳ, and in November they issued a manifesto which demanded more control over the Khedive and the curbing of European influence. Tawfīḳ opposed these demands and hit back at the army by limiting military service to four years. The ʿUrābī faction took this as an attack on their promotion prospects and demanded the dismissal of the War Minister, ʿUthmān Rifḳī, a Circassian who, they believed, was working against them. In his place they wanted Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī [*q.v.*], an ambitious Egyptian officer who was willing to support ʿUrābī. Tawfīḳ dismissed the army demands and in February 1881 ordered the arrest of the rebellious leaders. The army, on learning of this, and whilst ʿUrābī and two other colonels were being court-martialled, stormed the Ministry of War and released their officers. The Khedive was forced to dismiss Rifḳī, and al-Bārūdī became Minister of War. He tried to satisfy army demands—more pay, better promotion prospects—but by now some of the troops had become too rebellious to control. They mutinied in Alexandria in July and al-Bārūdī was sacked. Army unrest grew, and a large demonstration was organised in September to put new demands before Tawfīḳ.

ʿUrābī led this movement, claiming that he was acting as a national leader. Tawfīḳ gave in, Muḥammad Sharīf returning as Prime Minister with al-Bārūdī as War Minister with ʿUrābī as his deputy. ʿUrābī continued to agitate against the policies of Sharīf, and was virtual spokesman for a national revolution against the Khedive and European influence, addressing crowds and threatening to use force to achieve the nation's goals. Sharīf tried to bolster the authority of the government, but a joint Anglo-French note of January 1882 assuring the Khedive of their support worsened the situation. It annoyed the army nationalists who, with ʿUrābī at their head, were strong enough to outface the Khedive. Sharīf was dismissed and al-Bārūdī was appointed Prime Minister with ʿUrābī as War Minister. Together they forced through army promotions and began the attempt to remove European influence from Egypt. The rift between Tawfīḳ and ʿUrābī widened. Britain and France demanded that

the latter be dismissed and threatened to send a naval fleet to guarantee the Khedive's safety.

ʿUrābī and the Egyptian government resigned in protest against Tawfīḳ's reliance on Europe. ʿUrābī and his troops surrounded the ʿAbdīn Palace and successfully demanded that ʿUrābī be re-appointed as War Minister. Tawfīḳ felt so threatened that he left for Alexandria and the protection of the European fleet, and ʿUrābī assumed virtual control of the country as the leader who, it was hoped, would expel the foreigner from Egypt. Riots broke out in Alexandria, and Britain demanded that measures be taken to protect both its citizens and the Khedive, insisting also that ʿUrābī be dismissed. The Khedive resisted these demands and was accused by the British of not taking strong enough measures to calm the situation in Alexandria. In July 1882 the British fleet bombarded the city; ʿUrābī ordered mobilisation and attempted to depose the Khedive.

The British occupied the city and saved Tawfīḳ, who ordered the dismissal of ʿUrābī, who was attempting to raise the Egyptians against the British and the Khedive. The Egyptian army was no match for British troops, who quickly occupied Ismāʿīliyya and crushed ʿUrābī and his forces at Tall al-Kabīr in September 1882. ʿUrābī surrendered and was put on trial for treason against the Khedive, found guilty and exiled to Ceylon. He was allowed to return to Egypt in 1901 but took no further part in politics, and died in obscurity in 1911.

He is now regarded in Egypt as the first of those native Egyptian leaders (with Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) who opposed the foreign occupation of their country.

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(D. Hopwood)

URAL RIVER [see yayïḳ].

URDJUDHŪNA, also Urshudhūna (with variants: Ardjudhūna, -idhūna, Arshidhūna, etc.), a town and mountain stronghold (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, Pl. II) in al-Andalus. It corresponds to the modern Archidona (lat. 27° 06' N., long. 4° 23' W.) in the province of Malaga and is situated some 37 km/22 miles to the north of the provincial capital Malaga, near the source of the Guadalhorce and between Antequera and Loja on the Río Genil. Its pre-Islamic name, said by Simonet (p. 124) to derive from *Esteleduna*, meaning "olive-oil factory" (an Iberian word?), is still not known for certain.

It was in 92/711, shortly after their invasion of Spain that the Muslims took Archidona and, possibly for good strategic reasons, made it their capital of the mountainous province of Rayya (or, as some have it, Rayyu), a region roughly corresponding to the modern province of Malaga [see mālaḳa]. Almost two centuries later, it played a significant part in the rebellions fomented by the *muwallad* ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], leader, from his headquarters in the stronghold of Bobastro [see bubashtrū, in Suppl.], of Andalusian resistance to the Umayyads of Cordova from 267/880 until his death in 305/917, when it fell to his sons to pursue his cause in a struggle that ended only with the surrender of Bobastro to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 315/17 January 928.

From the effects of the great Andalusian rebellion Archidona never fully recovered. It was to lose its status as provincial capital to the expanding and increasingly prosperous Malaga, which duly regained the importance it had enjoyed before the advent of Islam.

In later times as the boundaries of al-Andalus receded, Archidona came to serve a new purpose as a frontier fortress (*ḥiṣn*) in the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada [see naṣrids]. From this period there survives an interesting legal instrument dated 856/1452, making the inhabitants of the fortresses beneficiaries of a *waḳf* (Seco, 12-14). Be that as it may, on 30 September 1462 Archidona was taken by Don Pedro Girón, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava, and thereafter remained—at times uneasily—in Christian hands.

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(C.F. Seybold-[J.D. Latham])

URDJŪZA [see radjaz].

URDŪ, the premier language of Islamic religious and cultural expression in modern South Asia. In its contemporary significance in the wider Islamic world, it may be ranked immediately after Arabic and English. Urdū is the national language of Pākistān and it has official status under the eighth schedule of the Constitution in India, the home of the majority of its native speakers. Its great geographical range is now extended to the South Asian diaspora, notably in Arabia and the Gulf states, in the United Kingdom and in North America. The first part of this article traces the peculiarly complex historical evolution and current sociolinguistic situation of Urdū, then outlines some features of the language most likely to be of interest to Islamicists. The second part is intended to supplement previous articles on individual genres and authors by providing a summary overview of Urdū literature, whose main phases of development are characterised with reference to leading authors and the defining genres of belles-lettres.

1. Language

Urdū is most simply defined by its combination of a vocabulary very extensively derived from Persian and Arabic with a linguistic base which is firmly Indo-Aryan in terms of its core word-stock as well as its phonology, morphology and syntax.

This combination clearly owes its genesis to the peculiar circumstances of the Muslim dominion over the Indian subcontinent, which was both profound and long-lasting without ever completely attaining either religious or linguistic hegemony. Urdū may be said, however, to have become fully self-defined only when this dominion was eventually ended by the British conquest of India, resulting in the most sustained exposure of any part of the *dār al-islām* to Western colonial rule. It was then that the constellation

of forces between the colonial state, the Muslims of South Asia and the majority Hindū population had profound linguistic as well as political effects. These have endured since 1947 and continue to shape the profile of Urdū in Pākistān and in independent India. Modern definitions of Urdū and understandings of its history are consequently liable to be confused by the partisan views characteristically associated with language issues in modern South Asia, particularly when, as in this instance, these are intimately related to questions of religious identity. Besides these factors and the difficulty of assembling and analysing the necessary textual materials, the need for further caution is signalled by the inconsistency with which overlapping labels are applied to overlapping varieties of language, in particular to the highly-charged modern distinction between Urdū and Hindī [*q.v.*].

Throughout the period of Muslim rule in South Asia, the principal written standard language was Persian, with the numerous Indo-Aryan languages [see HIND. iii. Languages] having rather restricted literary functions, typically as vehicles of popular religious verse. Little concerned with distinctions between the genetically related indigenous languages of North India, most Muslim writers were content to refer to them simply as "Hindī" or "Hindawī", i.e. "Indian" as opposed to Persian (or Arabic). These labels are used indifferently not just for varieties of language which would now be described as early forms of Urdū or Hindī, but also for others which are clearly different, e.g. Pandjābī or Rādjasthānī. Contemporary terminology is thus no guide to mediaeval linguistic realities, which must be reconstructed largely by supposition from such evidence as is available. Fragments of speech embedded in Ṣūfī *malfūẓāt* and other Persian texts from northern India are usually much distorted by the scribal tradition, but are sufficient to support the commonsense inference from historical data that the Muslim conquests had brought into being a spoken *lingua franca* which incorporated many Persian loanwords and was probably based chiefly on the Kharī bōlī dialect of the Dihlī region. Although this language later achieved some literary currency in the popular verse of the *nirgun bhakti* tradition of Kabīr [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Nānak [*q.v.*], it was otherwise largely disregarded before the 18th century in northern India. The courtly literature produced under Mughal patronage was chiefly in Persian, but also included the cultivation of "Hindī" poetry in the then fashionable Bradj bhāshā, distinguished where necessary as "Bhāk(h)ā".

The situation was, however, quite different in the Dakhan [*q.v.*], where the conquests of the Dihlī Sulṭāns [see DIHLĪ SULTANATE] in the early 14th century had established a Muslim colonial presence in the linguistically alien territory of Telugu and other Dravidian languages. This presence found its linguistic expression in the successor states of the Bahmanī kingdom, at Bīdjāpūr under the ʿĀdil Shāhīs (895-1097/1490-1686 [*q.v.*]) and at Golkonḍa under the Ḳuṭb Shāhī dynasty (918-1098/1512-1687 [*q.v.*]). As a clearly deliberate cultural policy, these rulers patronised not only Persian letters but also the production of an extensive literature in the language of (northern) India, then usually termed "Hindī", but which is normally distinguished by modern authorities as "Dakhinī" (in Urdū more usually written "Dakanī"). This largely poetic literature in Classical Dakhinī Urdū (CDU) provides most of the available direct evidence for the earlier history of the language. This evidence is not altogether straightforward, since CDU is attested in a wide range of texts dating principally from the 17th century (although including significant earlier examples), whose language is far from being fully systematic in orthography and is distinguished from later varieties of Urdū both by archaisms and by innovations peculiar to itself.

The quite broad dialectal base on which CDU collectively rests has also permitted the development of theories, usually perceived to carry a more or less explicit modern contemporary relevance, which suggest a more westerly origin for this older Urdū than the Kharī bōlī which underlies the modern standard. Thus the relative prevalence of forms cognate with modern Pandjābī encouraged Shērānī to suggest that Urdū could be dated back to the settled Muslim military presence first established in northern India by the Ghaznawids of Lāhawr. This theory naturally continues to enjoy considerable popularity in Pākistān, from whose territory it suggests the national language first sprang, whereas in India greater favour is given to Masʿūd Ḥusayn Khān's later suggestion of an origin in Hariyānawī, a geographical compromise between Pandjābī and Kharī bōlī which does more convenient justice to the variety of the CDU evidence. But modern dialect studies are not always sufficiently precise to support any definitive explanation of Urdū origins, and the task is further obscured by the phonetic imprecision of the Perso-Arabic script and by the scarcity of critically edited texts in CDU or in other relevant literary traditions.

The conquest of the Dakhan under Awrangzīb (r. 1658-1707) was followed around 1700 by a major literary and linguistic shift away from the poetry in CDU cultivated alongside Persian in Bīdjāpūr and Golkonḍa. The Mughal court now for the first time itself became the centre of a poetic literature in Urdū. This northern Early Modern Urdū (EMU) is sometimes referred to as "Hindī" by the writers of the late Mughal period, but they more commonly term it "Rēkhta" (i.e. "mixed [language]"). It is only later that the term "Urdū" itself first comes to be used as the name of the language, as a shorthand for the earlier *zabān-i urdū-i muʿallā* "language of the Imperial Camp" (< Turkish *ordu*), the first such attested use being in a verse of Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]), *kahēn kis munh sē ham ay Muṣḥafī urdū hamārī hay* "How can I dare to assert, Muṣḥafī, that Urdū is my language?", Bailey, 1938, 3). Cultivated first in Dihlī, then also in Lakhnaʾū (Lakhnaw), capital of the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh, Urdū came increasingly to replace Persian as the preferred vehicle for courtly poetry, doubtless in part as a nativist reaction to the devastation wrought by the Persian-speaking Nādir Shāh and his successors. The concern of the early apologists for Urdū as a poetic medium seriously able to rival Persian, like the influential Khān-i Ārzū (d. 1756), had the paradoxical effect of bringing it into closer line with the latter. Nevertheless, the EMU of 18th-century poetry, although considerably closer than CDU to the modern standard, shows a number of archaic features and others now regarded as vulgarisms as the result of their successful proscription by later linguistic purists (see further under 2. below). These more extreme Persianising trends reached their apogee in early 19th-century Lakhnaʾū under the poet Nāsikh (d. 1838 [*q.v.*]) and his contemporaries. Thus by the time of the collapse of the Kings of Awadh in Lakhnaʾū in 1856 and of the vestigial Mughal court in Dihlī in 1857, a standardised literary language had become fully established in poetry, and was also beginning to be used alongside Persian in prose belles-lettres.

This was also the initial period of establishment of British rule in northern India after the victories at Plassey (1757) and Baksar (1764). While the East India Company's legalistic exercise of executive power (*dīwānī*) on behalf of a titular Mug͟hal sovereign was accompanied by a continuing use of Persian as the language of official record until 1837, the practicalities of direct administration demanded the use of a *lingua franca*. It was "Hindustānī" [*q.v.*], the preferred British name for Urdū, which came to fulfil this role as the spoken language of the Mug͟hal aristocracy and service classes with whom British officials had most dealings. The latters' needs were catered for both by native instructors (*muns͟hī* [*q.v.*]) and by European language teachers, of whom the best known was John Borthwick Gilchrist, author of a Hindustānī dictionary (1787-90) and grammar (1796) before a brief but influential official appointment as principal of Fort William College in Calcutta (1800-4), where he sponsored a series of translations from Persian into an easy Urdū suitable for elementary textbooks which long remained in use in British India.

When Persian was removed from official use after 1837, its place in the law courts and government offices came to be taken by Urdū over much of the Bengal Presidency, including Bihār, the North-Western Provinces later joined with Awadh as the United Provinces (U.P.), together with the Pand͟jāb after its conquest in the 1840s. Urdū thus came to play a central role in the workings of the colonial state, and a continual stream of textbooks and grammars written in English besides bilingual Urdū-English dictionaries (culminating in Platts, 1884) serviced this role, which was crucial in fully fixing the character of Modern Standard Urdū (MSU) as it entered its heyday in the later 19th century. With the abolition of the major Muslim courts, Urdū came to be increasingly identified with the traditional urban service classes, including both the educated Muslim *as͟hrāf* [see s͟harīf] and those Persianised Hindūs closely identified with them in culture, notably the scribal caste of Kāyasths and certain Brahmin groups. The strong economic interests of these groups in preserving the official status of Urdū came, however, to be challenged with increasing success by the protagonists of Modern Standard Hindī, a language consciously evolved from exactly the same linguistic base as a mirror-image rival to Urdū which would be true to Hindū cultural tradition in using the Nāgarī script and Sanskritic vocabulary. This pressure resulted in the official replacement of Urdū by Hindī in Bihār (1880) and the accord of equal status to both in U.P. (1900), leaving Urdū unchallenged only in the Pand͟jāb.

Concomitant with the vigorous development during these decades of journalism and modern literary styles, the growing strength of this challenge from Hindī provoked the Muslim leaders of northern India into an increasingly explicit association of religious and linguistic identity. A particularly important role in this identification of the Urdū cause with that of Islam was played by the modernist Sayyid Aḥmad K͟hān (1817-98 [*q.v.*]), under the auspices of whose followers the And͟juman-i Taraḳḳī-yi Urdū came into existence in 1903. Under its leader Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ (1870-1961), whose tireless achievements earned him the deserved sobriquet "Bābā-yi Urdū", it became the leading organisation devoted to the promulgation of Urdū in British India. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was also associated with the patronage of Urdū by the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, where Urdū was the official language of the state and was for the first time developed from 1918 as a medium of higher education at ʿUt͟hmāniyya University. Like all subsequent attempts to develop the language in India and Pākistān, this initiative relied heavily on loans and coinages from Arabic and Persian, since the sociolinguistic situation of Urdū in South Asia largely precludes the exploitation of native word-building resources on the model of modern Turkish or Persian.

Despite the further expansion of Urdū in the last years of British India into the new media of films and radio, the partition of 1947 proved to be a severe reversal for its cause in India, where its position was much weakened by the emigration of many Urdū-speaking Muslims to Pākistān. As the national language, Hindī has been actively promulgated at the expense of Urdū in the latter's historical areas of strength in Bihar and Uttar Pradēs͟h, with the result that many younger Urdū-speaking Indian Muslims are literate only in Nāgarī. Urdū has full official status as a state language only in D͟jammū and Kas͟hmīr. The 1981 Census records 35 million speakers (5% of the total population), sufficient to constitute the largest linguistic minority as against the majority Hindī in Uttar Pradēs͟h (11 million: 10%) and Bihār (7 million: 10%), to Marāthī in Mahārās͟htra (4 million: 7%), and to Telugu in Andhra Pradēs͟h (4 million: 8%), where modern Dakhinī continues to be spoken as the urban colloquial most different from MSU norms.

In Pākistān, the position of Urdū has been defined by its unresolved relationships with English, which it has yet fully to displace as an élite language, and by the claims of the country's indigenous languages. Before Banglādēs͟hī independence in 1971, Urdū had been first displaced as the sole national language by prolonged pro-Bengālī agitation, but Urdū had been imposed as the official language of the whole of West Pākistān since 1954. At the national level its status as a medium of administration and education was enhanced under the Islamicising regime of Zia (Ḍiyāʾ al-Ḥaḳḳ, 1977-88 [see ziyā al-ḥaḳḳ]), which further encouraged its development through such initiatives as the establishment in 1979 of the National Language Authority (*Muḳtadira Ḳawmī Ẕabān*). Urdū is, however, a learned second language for most Pākistānīs other than the Urdū-speaking migrants (*muhād͟jirūn*) from India and their descendants, who numbered only 7 million in 1981 (some 8% of the total population), chiefly settled in the cities of Sindh, especially Karāčī, where they form a majority (54% in 1981). While this continuing diglossia between spoken and formal languages remains largely accepted in the Pand͟jāb, where it has had important effects on the developing character of the local languages [see lahndā; pand͟jābī], ethno-linguistic tensions have surfaced elsewhere, particularly between Urdū and Sindhī [see sind. 3 (a)].

Peculiar therefore both in its unique relationship to Hindī and in being now chiefly cultivated as the national language of a country other than that inhabited by most of its native speakers, Urdū is also more fixed in its standard form than most South Asian languages with their proliferation of regional dialects. Regional deviations from the standard language of educated native speakers, the proudly self-proclaimed *ahl-i ẕabān*, the MSU for which Dihlī usage is the traditional standard, are generally quite minor, e.g. the treatment of the infinitive-gerundive in *-nā* as invariable in the rival Lakhnaʾū standard, or the preference among Pand͟jābī speakers for the subjunctive over the imperative in *-iyē*. The greater divergence of Dakhinī in such characteristic features as its avoidance

of the ergative construction and weak marking of the feminine gender can be attributed to the prolonged diglossia with Telugu. In contrast to MSU with its high awareness of Perso-Arabic norms, uneducated Urdū speech everywhere naturally displays a higher proportion of South Asian linguistic features, e.g. in the avoidance of final consonant clusters (thus *ʿilam* "knowledge" for MSU *ʿilm*).

Since its phonetic repertoire and its script are generally recognised by its speakers as being the chief defining characteristics of Urdū in South Asia, these two features deserve a summary profile here. The Urdū vowel system is of the familiar North Indian type with the same ten members as pre-modern and Indian Persian, viz. *a ā i ī u ū ē ay ō aw*, with phonemic contrast between simple and nasalised long final vowels. But it is the consonants which provide the main shibboleths of Urdū. Aspiration and voicing distinguish the four members of the basic Indo-Aryan five-term set, written as velar *k kh g gh*, palatal *č čh dj djh*, retroflex *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh*, dental *t th d dh*, labial *p ph b bh*. The chief phonetic distinction between all cultivated registers of Urdū and most other South Asian languages is the careful distinction in pronunciation of the fricatives *kh gh z* (= written *dh ḍ ẓ*) *f*, originally loan-phonemes from Persian and clearly distinguished in the script, so that strict observance of the contrasts *kh/kh gh/g z/j f/ph* (also *sh/s*), though seldom phonemically crucial, is an important sign of educated Urdū speech. A further shibboleth is provided by the loan-phoneme *ḳ*, both in Arabic words and in others of Turkish origin adopted through Persian, e.g. *ḳulī* "porter". This is carefully distinguished in the cultivated Urdū of northern India as a voiceless uvular plosive in phonetic contrast with *k*. But the contrast is lost in many other educated regional pronunciations, so graphic *ḳ* in words of Arabic or Persian origin is pronounced as *k* in the Pandjāb and most of Pākistān, as *kh* in the modern Dakhinī of Ḥaydarābād.

While older manuscripts attest the original use of the unmodified Persian script to write Urdū, a series of additional signs and other adaptations introduced from the 18th century onwards have resulted in the modern orthography, which has become fully standardised since the early 20th century. Three new letters are added to the Persian alphabet to represent the retroflex set *ṭ ḍ ṛ*. Placed alphabetically after *t d r* respectively, these letters are distinguished as a set by the use of the same diacritic over the base forms, long standardised as a small superscript *ṭ* (formerly either four superscript dots arranged in a square, or a horizontal line above two superscript dots). Graphic variants of three other letters have been evolved to denote different phonetic values. Final *n* is written without its dot to indicate nasalisation of the preceding vowel (called *nūn ghunna*, here transcribed *ñ*), thus *māñ* "mother" versus *mān* "pride". In most styles of Urdū writing, distinctive use is made of two forms of the letter *h*, the antepenultimate letter of the Urdū alphabet, where it is placed between *w* and *hamza*, which like written *ʿayn* has no independent phonetic value in Urdū. The independent aspirate is indicated by the straight form of *h* with subscript hook (*shōsha*), while the curled form (called *dōčashmī hē*) is used to denote the aspirate consonants *bh ph th ṭh djh čh*, etc., which are single phonemes in the language and are written as distinctive single consonants in the Nāgarī alphabet. Thirdly, while there is no agreed convention for distinguishing *ū* from *ō*, or medial *-ī-* from *-ē-*, the normal form of final *y* is reserved for representation of final *-ī*, while final *-ē* (also final *-ay*) is represented by a variant form of *y* with straight reverse stroke (called *baṛī yē*), thus enabling the distinction in writing of the important grammatical contrast between masculine plural *-ē* and feminine *-ī*, e.g. *aččhē laṛkē* "good boys" and *aččhī laṛkī* "good girl". Since the Persian *iḍāfa* is normally pronounced as *-ē* in Urdū, it is written with this *baṛī yē* after final *-ā* and *-ū*.

Urdū handwriting styles are typically based upon Persian *nastaʿlīḳ*. Though formerly also widely used for both official and informal purposes, *shikasta* has become obsolete over the last fifty years. The introduction of hot metal printing into India in the early 19th century was followed by the British-sponsored production of numerous Urdū textbooks and other printed materials in *naskh*-based types. This style was, however, never to find the same level of favour as it quickly attained in the Middle East for the printing of Arabic, Turkish or Persian. Most Urdū publishers and readers have continued to prefer *nastaʿlīḳ*, traditionally reproduced lithographically from the calligraphy (*kitābat*) of a professional scribe (*kātib*). Lithography gave way to photo-offset reproduction, before this was itself overtaken by the more recent successful development of computer-generated *nastaʿlīḳ* fonts.

While the core Indo-Aryan vocabulary of high-frequency items like verb stems and basic syntactic markers is common to Hindī and to Urdū, the latter is distinguished by its very large number of Perso-Arabic loans, amounting to some 70% of the vocabulary of most formal writing. There has long been a considerable literature on this defining component of the language, with much nice pedantry devoted to such points of pronunciation as the Urdū (and also Persian) preference for *-i-* in the third syllable of *maṣdars* of the third form (e.g. *mushāʿira* "poetic contest" [*q.v.*]), or to such vexed questions of orthography as the correct spelling in Urdū of *nashā* "development" (< Arabic *nashʾa*).

Most of these Arabic and Persian loans are adjectives and nouns, with the latter becoming subject to Urdū rules of gender and inflection, so that e.g. *kitāb* "book" is feminine (by analogy with Sanskritic *pōthī*), with plural *kitābēñ*, and so too all *maṣdars* of the second form are also feminine e.g. *taʿlīm* "education". Arabic nouns with final *tā marbūṭa* are fixed through Persian as having either final *-a*, assimilated to the indigenous class of masculines with final *-ā*, plural *-ē*, or else final *-at* in which case they are feminine, with indigenous plural *-atēñ*, e.g. *ʿimārat* "building", plural *ʿimāratēñ*. The Arabic sound plural *ʿimārāt* is also common in Urdū, where the formation is freely extended to other classes, e.g. *makānāt barā-yi farōkht* by direct analogy with English "houses for sale"). Loans are also abundant even in such core lexical classes as postpositions (*kē bāʿith* "because of"), conjunctions (*lihādhā* "therefore"), pronouns (*khud* "self"), and numerals (*hazār* "thousand"). While there are only a very few nativised verb stems like *farmānā* "to command" (< Persian *farmā-*), the Persian model of compounding loans with a few native stems like *karnā* "to do" and *hōnā* "to be" is very freely used, yielding many such pairs as transitive *maʿlūm karnā* "to inform", intransitive *maʿlūm hōnā* "to be known". Arabic in particular, which has become increasingly exploited as a direct source of loans with the disappearance of Persian from the education system in both India and Pākistān, furnishes enormous numbers of words to the modern written language. These relate not just to obviously Islamic contexts but embrace a vast range of abstract vocabulary and institutional terminology,

as often as not calqued on a English word which will be in more common colloquial use. A superfluity of synonyms is thereby created, with many Arabo-Persian coinages of more than doubtful currency helping to make up the inflated lists promulgated by officially sponsored word-manufacturing agencies.

Bibliography: Shabana Mahmud, *Urdu language and literature: a bibliography of sources in European languages*, London 1992. For further bibliography, cf. also the survey by M.H. Khan, "Urdu", in T.A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current trends in linguistics*, The Hague 1969, V, 277-83; earlier articles HIND. iii. Languages; HINDĪ; besides URDŪ in *EI*[1] (by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ); and C.P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan languages*, Cambridge 1991, which provides a good comparative context; also relevant is J.R.L. Breton, *Atlas of the languages and ethnic communities of South Asia*, New Delhi 1997.

To such classic sources for the history of Urdū as M. Sh̲ērānī, *Pand̲j̲āb mēñ urdū*, Lahore 1928, and the articles assembled in T.G. Bailey, *Studies in North Indian languages*, London 1938, should be added Masʿūd Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān, *Muḳaddima-yi tārīk̲h̲-i zabān-i urdū*, [6]Aligarh 1988 [originally 1948], and in English A. Rai, *A house divided: the origins and development of Hindi-Urdu*, Delhi 1991, valuable for its assemblage of so many early texts (in Nāgarī script) though naive in its ill-founded hypothesis of the destruction of a common mediaeval linguistic heritage by the 18th-century protagonists of a purified Urdū. Gilchrist's work is described in S.R. Kidwai, *Gilchrist and the language of Hindustan*, New Delhi 1972. The Hindī-Urdū struggles of the 19th century are well analysed in K. Dittmer, *Die indischen Muslims und die Hindi-Urdu Kontroverse in den United Provinces*, Wiesbaden 1972; P.R. Brass, *Language, religion and politics in North India*, Cambridge 1974; and C.R. King, *One language two scripts: the Hindi movement in nineteenth century North India*, Bombay 1994. Thoughtful analyses of the changing status of Urdū are provided by D. Lelyveld, *Eloquence and authority in Urdu: poetry, oratory and film*, in K.P. Ewing (ed.), *Sharīʿat and ambiguity in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley 1988, 98-113; idem, *The fate of Hindustani: colonial knowledge and the project of a national language*, in C.A. Breckenridge and P. van der Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the postcolonial predicament: perspectives on South Asia*, Delhi 1994, 189-214; eidem, *Zabān-e urdū-e muʿallā and the idol of linguistic origins*, in *Annual of Urdu Studies*, x (1994), 107-17; and in J. Majeed, *The jargon of Indostan: an exploration of jargon in Urdu and East India Company English*, in P. Burke and R. Porter (eds.), *Languages and jargons*, Cambridge 1995, 185-205. For contemporary developments in India, cf. M. Zakir, *Urdu: between survival and reform: the Indian situation*, in I. Fodor (ed.), *Language reform: history and future*, iii, Hamburg 1983, 423-9; M.K.A. Beg, *Sociolinguistic perspective of Hindi and Urdu in India*, New Delhi 1996. For Pākistān, cf. C. Shackle, *Punjabi in Lahore*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, iv (1970), 239-67; M. Geijbels and J.S. Addleton, *The rise and development of Urdu and the importance of regional languages in Pakistan*, Rawalpindi 1986 (repr. from *Al-Mushir*, xxvii-xxviii [1985-6]); Tariq Rahman, *Language and politics in Pakistan*, Karachi 1996; idem, *The Urdu-English controversy in Pakistan*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, xxxi (1997), 177-207.

No descriptive grammar in English is comparable in scope to that of the still indispensable J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdū, classical Hindī and English*, Oxford 1884, whose contemporary counterpart is the pioneering monolingual dictionary by Mawlawī Sayyid Aḥmad, *Farhang-i āṣafiyya*. Many aspects of the modern language are, however, usefully covered in some depth in M.A.R. Barker *et al.*, *A course in Urdu*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1975. C. Shackle and R. Snell, *Hindi and Urdu since 1800: a common reader*, London 1990, contains annotated key passages by Urdū writers on the language, and provides a systematic introduction to the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English elements in the two languages. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, *Ḳawāʿid-i Urdū* (1914, repeatedly reprinted) remains the normative grammar in Urdū. Classical Dakhinī Urdū is dealt with in A.N. Sh̲amatov, *Klassičeskiy Dakkhini (Yuz̲h̲nïy K̲h̲industani XVIIv.)*, Moscow 1974, to be used with some caution; Early Modern Urdū is described on the basis of selected texts in M.K.A. Beg, *Urdu grammar: history and structure*, New Delhi 1988; Modern Dakhinī Urdū is well treated in R.L. Schmidt, *Dakhini Urdu: history and structure*, New Delhi 1981, and its interaction with Telugu is exemplified in V.S. Lakshmi, *Influence of Urdu on Telugu*, Ḥaydarābād 1984; short accounts of a metropolitan substandard preserving many EMU features are provided in G.C. Narang, *Karkhandāri dialect of Delhi Urdu*, Delhi 1961, and Bahadur Singh, *The dialect of Delhi*, New Delhi 1966. Changing styles of printing and writing are illustrated and analysed in W.L. Hanaway and B. Spooner, *Reading nastaʿlīq: Persian and Urdu hands from 1500 to the present*, Costa Mesa 1995. The classic exemplification of modern word-formation is Abdul Haq, *The standard English-Urdu dictionary*, Awrangābād 1937 (with several later Indian and Pākistānī editions); the process is surveyed in M.H. Zaidi, *Word-borrowing and word-making in modern South Asian languages: Urdu*, in I. Fodor (ed.), *op. cit.*, 399-421, and is further usefully illustrated in M.A.R. Barker *et al.*, *An Urdu newspaper word count*, Montreal 1969.

2. Literature

Most South Asian literatures developed as products of the interaction between local folk elements and adaptations of the Sanskrit or the Persian learned tradition. Urdū literature, by contrast, owes much less to indigenous cultural patterns. Four main phases in its evolution may be usefully distinguished, naturally with some overlap between the approximate dates indicated:

(1) Dakhinī Urdū literature of the independent Muslim kingdoms of peninsular India (1500-1700);

(2) classical Urdū literature of northern India with its twin centres in the semi-independent courts of Dihlī and Lakhnaʾū (1700-1860);

(3) early modern Urdū literature of the colonial period produced in many cities of British India (1860-1940);

(4) modern Urdū literature increasingly centred in Pākistān (1940-present).

Apart from writings on Islamic subjects which have always looked naturally to Arabic, the largely poetic classical literature of the two pre-British periods was produced under the overwhelming influence of Persian, while from the later 19th century English literature has been an increasingly dominant model. This is particularly true of prose belles-lettres, where Persianate styles were less well established in Urdū than in the long poetic tradition which continues to be the literature's chief cultural marker, and which therefore forms the principal theme of the following summary outline.

Driven mainly by philological concerns, the 20th-century re-discovery of the Dakhinī Urdū literature, which became isolated from later developments owing

to its separate geographical location and its archaic language (see 1. above), has yet to lead to comparable critical insights. In terms of literary history, the 16th century is marked by a remarkable variety in the types of poetry produced first by Ṣūfī authors then also at the royal courts, embracing both popular and sophisticated styles, with the latter including poems very similar in language and character to the important contributions being made by northern Indian Muslims to the literature now unambiguously classed as Hindī [*q.v.*]. But Persianate genres became increasingly dominant, with systematic royal patronage encouraging a remarkable flowering of the *mat͟hnawī* on both historical and romantic subjects [see MAT͟HNAWĪ. 4]. Although these achievements in narrative poetry were hardly matched in the *g͟hazal*, a particular interest attaches to the extensive *dīwān* of the Ḳuṭb S͟hāhī ruler Muḥammad-ḳulī Maʿānī (1566-1611) as the poetic creation of an unusually gifted royal ruler, whose largely direct and unsophisticated lyrics are typical of the Dakhinī style.

This was the style cultivated towards the end of this period in Awrangzīb's new capital at Awrangābād in the northern Dakhan, most notably by the poet Walī Awrangābādī (1688-1707). Walī's later *g͟hazals* are the first to show significant cross-fertilisation from the sophisticated Persian models then in vogue in Dihlī, with sufficient success as to help inaugurate the development there of courtly poetry in Urdū. Wholesale adoption of the fashionable rhetoric of the *sabk-i hindī* [*q.v.*] elaborately cultivated by the Persian poets of the Mug͟hal court made it possible for the latters' artistic achievements to be matched in the Urdū poets of the next generation. The canonical "four pillars" (*čahār sutūn*) of early classical Urdū poetry include besides Maẓhar D̲j̲ānd̲j̲ānān (1700-81 [*q.v.*]) the three great poets Dard (1720-85 [*q.v.*]), the Naḳs͟hbandī *s͟hayk͟h* who was the unrivalled master of the Urdū mystical *g͟hazal*; Mīr Muḥammad Taḳī (1713-1810 [*q.v.*]), the immensely prolific master of the amatory *g͟hazal* and the short romantic *mat͟hnawī*; and the even more creative Sawdā (1713-81 [*q.v.*]), unrivalled in the *ḳaṣīda*, both panegyric and satirical, as well as in such strophic genres as the *s͟hahr-ās͟hōb* [see S͟HAHRANGĪZ. 3], elegies inspired by the devastation of Dihlī.

The impoverishment of the Mug͟hal capital forced both Mīr and Sawdā to seek new patrons in Awadh, and Lakhnaʾū became the chief centre of Urdū poetry in the following generations, in which the leading rivals were first Ins͟hāʾ (*ca.* 1756-1818 [*q.v.*]) and Muṣḥafī (1750-1824 [*q.v.*]), then K͟hʷād̲j̲a Ḥaydar ʿAlī Ātis͟h (1785-1847) and Nāsik͟h (d. 1838 [*q.v.*]). In significant keeping with the effective political emasculation of the Awadh kingdom, all these were primarily *g͟hazal* poets. Although often displaying a remarkable inventiveness in surface ornamentation, as in the titillating *rēk͟htī* style of "women's Urdū" developed by Ins͟hāʾ and Rangīn (1736-1835 [*q.v.*]), most later critics have found the Lakhnawī *g͟hazal* excessively artificial in its elaborate word-plays and conceits and over-trivial in its concern with meeting purely technical challenges, like those imposed by awkward combinations of metre and rhyme (*sanglāk͟h zamīnēṅ*). The strongly S͟hīʿī atmosphere of Lakhnaʾū encouraged the deployment of a similarly elaborate *sabk-i hindī* rhetoric to nobler effect in the strophic *mart͟hiya* (see MART͟HIYA. 4), whose magnificent development by Anīs (1801-74 [*q.v.*]) and Dabīr (1803-75 [*q.v.*]) constitutes the most significant exception to the two general rules of classical Urdū poetry, that it is very closely modelled on Persian originals and that it appears to best advantage in the *g͟hazal*. Prose is generally very much less significant during this period, although the all-round development of the literature is signalled by the rapidly increasing momentum of both prose and verse translations from other languages, including not only many Persian classics but also Arabic Islamic texts, most notably the first Urdū translations of the Ḳurʾān (see ḲURʾĀN. 9.b.2, also the final section of the bibliography below).

At the end of the classical period, there was a final flowering of the Dihlī court under the titular last Mug͟hal sovereigns Akbar II (*r.* 1806-37) and his son Bahādur S͟hāh II (*r.* 1837-58 [*q.v.*]), himself a well-known *g͟hazal* poet under the pen-name Ẓafar, though hardly one of the same calibre as his laureate D͟hawḳ (1790-1854 [*q.v.*]), chiefly remembered for his *ḳaṣīdas*, or his ingenious contemporary Muʾmin (1800-51 [*q.v.*]). All these have, however, been far surpassed in subsequent reputation by G͟hālib (1797-1869 [*q.v.*]), whose own pride in his neo-classical Persian verse has been largely forgotten in his posthumous elevation to absolute supremacy in the classical Urdū pantheon. Few Urdū poems have achieved such enduring currency as the best known examples from G͟hālib's slim Urdū *dīwān*, while in prose his Urdū letters reveal both the workings of his great poetic intelligence, and the progressive collapse of the culture which had nurtured the poetic art he lived to practise.

The classical period of Urdū poetry was marked by an ever stricter codification of rules, both linguistic and prosodic. Thus many of the colloquial Indian words and forms common in the poetry of Mīr and Sawdā (e.g. *ṭuk* "just, a little", *nidān* "at last", *sahī* "correct") came to be replaced by Perso-Arabisms in later verse (*d͟harā, āk͟hir, ṣaḥīḥ*). This reinforced the general favouring of Persianisms as a marker of poetic language (e.g. *čas͟hm, dast, s͟hab*, besides *āṅkh* "eye", *hāth* "hand", *rāt* "night") and was paralleled by ever stricter insistence on the scansion of words being governed by classicising rules, e.g. in the preservation of final consonant clusters.

Urdū prosody shows a similar relationship to Persian *ʿarūḍ* rules as that of Ottoman Turkish, with special adaptations hardly masking a fundamental identity. Apart from the special case of the *rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], the same few metres are used for the vast majority of poems. Probably the most popular is the almost symmetrically regular form of *muḍāriʿ* (illustrated below) scanned *mafʿūlu fāʿilātu mafāʿīlu fāʿilun* according to the *afāʿīl* system generally preferred to the elaborate terminology of the prosodists, closely followed by *ramal*—both *maḥd͟hūf* and *mak͟hbūn, hazad̲j̲*—usually *mut͟hamman sālim, mud̲j̲tat͟ht͟h, k͟hafīf* and *mutaḳārib*. But whereas Turkish phonetic patterns yield an excess of short vowels, the reverse is true of Urdū, where there is correspondingly rather greater cultivation of symmetrical longer metres which are less popular in Persian or Ottoman Turkish, e.g. the twenty-syllable *kāmil* with four feet of *mutafāʿilun*, or the formally similar metre with four feet scanning ⏑ – ⏑ – –, where the absence of classical precedent necessitates awkward analysis as *mutaḳārib s͟hānzdah-ruknī*, or four repetitions of the sequence *faʿal faʿūlun*. Written quantities are carefully observed in the scansion of Arabic and Persian words, but for native words a general licence permits all written final long vowels to be scanned as either long or short, and the same license applies to several of the commonest monosyllables like the possessive *kā* (*kē*), *sē* "from", *vōh* "that", *hay* "is". Poetic doublets taken over from Persian like *gar* for *agar* "if" also include such common native shortened forms as *ik*

for *ēk*" "one" *pa* for *par* "on", *tirā* for *tērā* "thy", *vāñ* for *vahāñ* "there". The following verse from Mu'min in *muḍāri'* illustrates the operation of several of these licences:

– – ⏑ / – ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ / – ⏑ –
kūčē sē apnē ghayr kā muñh hay haṭā sakē

– – ⏑ / – ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ / – ⏑ –
'āshiq kā sar lagā hay tirē naksh-i pā kē sāth

Not quite all metrical Urdū poetry is composed according to these adaptations of Persian *'arūḍ* with their carefully prescribed patterns of long and short syllables, since use is sometimes made in the *ghazal* of metres of the usual South Asian type which rely instead upon the count of metrical instants (*mātrā*), one to a short syllable and two to a long. The commonest type has 30 instants per line, divided by a strong caesura as 16 + 14. The free substitutions of two shorts for a long are illustrated in the alternations of dactyls and spondees in the following well-known *maṭla'* by Mīr:

– – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – – // – ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – ⏑ ⏑ / –
ulṭī hō ga'īñ sab tadbīrēñ kučh na dawā nē kām kiyā

– – / – – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – – // – – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / –
dēkhā is bīmārī-yi dil nē ākhir kām tamām kiyā

These metres are often loosely termed "Hindī metres", certainly a more appropriate designation than the prosodists' attempts to analyse the above example as *mutadārik shānzdah-ruknī*. This single intrusion of a South Asian element apart, however, both the prosodic and the rhetorical structures of classical Urdū poetry are exactly modelled on Persian patterns.

The *ghazal* was by far the most significant genre of the classical period, when the production of poetry rested upon the established system of courtly patronage, with the ruler and his laureate (*malik al-shu'arā'*) at its apex, and with the craft of versifying transmitted from master (*ustād*) to pupil (*shāgird*). Besides extensive informal circulation, both orally and in manuscript until the advent of lithography after the 1820s, public performances of the *ghazal* took place either at the formalised poetic contests called *mushā'ara* [*q.v.*] or in the entertainments (*maḥfil*) whose chief attraction was the performance (*mudjrā*) of song and dance by trained courtesans (*ṭawā'if*).

While this aristocratic style continued to be practised by poets like Dāgh (1831-1905 [*q.v.*]), laureate to the Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād, the onset of the early modern period was marked by substantial shifts in the institutional basis of Urdū literature as well as in genres, styles and themes, where prose writing and English models are of ever increasing significance. The advent of print capitalism gave enormous new significance to major publishers, especially to the press founded at Lakhna'ū in 1858 by Munshī Nawal Kishōr (1836-95), a Bhārgava Brahmin from a Persianate cultural background. His publication of so many original and translated Urdū titles performed a vital role in preserving major parts of the old oral culture, like the vast *dāstān* stories of the Amīr Ḥamza cycle, while his new initiatives helped support Urdū prose writers in the new style, like Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1845-1903), author of the sprawling modern picaresque *Fasāna-yi Āzād* (1880), or 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Sharar (1860-1926), pioneer of the Urdū historical novel and memorialist of the old Lakhna'ū, who were both editors of Nawal Kishōr's newspaper *Awadh akhbār*.

Most of the major Urdū writers of the period were drawn at some stage into the service of the colonial state or into the new-style private or princely organisations it called into being. Thus the remarkable translator and moralistic novelist Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912 [*q.v.*]) owes his title "Deputy" to his quondam appointments in the education and finance departments, while the noted Islamic historian and critic of Persian literature Shiblī Nu'mānī (1857-1914 [*q.v.*]) worked for a while as a teacher, and the restless Ruswā (1858-1931 [*q.v.*]), whose *Umrā'ō Djān Adā* (1899) is a matchless memoir of the life of a courtesan in pre-Mutiny Lakhna'ū, found eventual refuge in the 'Uthmāniyya Bureau of Translation in Ḥaydarābād. Service in the Pandjāb education department in Lāhawr was crucially influential both for Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (1834-1910 [*q.v.*]), whose pioneering *Āb-i ḥayāt* (1881) remains central to the historiography of classical Urdū literature, and for Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī (1837-1914 [*q.v.*]), the literary critic and biographer who was the leading poetic spokesman of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's 'Alīgaṛh movement and whose *Musaddas* (1879) in the revolutionary new style of "natural poetry" (*nēčaral shā'irī*) is the most important Urdū poem of the late 19th century. Even on the conservative side, the anti-'Alīgaṛh satirist Akbar Allāhābādī (1846-1921 [*q.v.*]) worked for many years as a judge.

Many of the characteristic tendencies of this first part of the early modern period of Urdū literature, its seriousness of purpose and content, its sober exploitation of new stylistic resources, above all its central concern with re-interpretations of the Islamic past capable of addressing the issues raised by the colonial present, find their culmination in the linguistically varied output of Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1879-1938 [*q.v.*]), whose undoubted intrinsic importance as a philosopher-poet has been much inflated by the subsequent official cult of him in Pākistān. In spite of the international repute of his lengthy Persian *mathnawīs*, his most vital poetic achievements are in his Urdū collections, particularly the great poems in the second part of *Bāng-i darā* (1922) and in *Bāl-i Djibrīl* (1935). Consisting of both *ghazals* and strophic forms, these deploy to nobly rhetorical effect a grandiloquently Persianised diction which proved far more successful than Ḥālī's bare style in articulating the elevated sense of a truly national poetry, however that Muslim nation (*ḳawm*) was to be defined in South Asia.

Iḳbāl's literary presence was of that overwhelming kind which ends an era rather than directly inspiring new beginnings. The modern period proper of Urdū literature, which can here be described only in very summary outline, dates from the 1930s and 1940s, when a new vogue for social realism was set by the many talented authors associated with the Progressive Writers Movement (*Taraḳḳī-pasand Taḥrīk*). As in many other literatures of the period, those who fairly soon developed ideological differences with the movement's prescriptive Marxism generally produced artistically more successful work than those who stayed closest to the party line.

Two outstanding writers associated early in their careers with the Progressives of the time characterise both through their own work and through their influence on their successors the different dynamics of poetry and of prose in modern Urdū literature. The leading young poet of the war years was Fayḍ Aḥmad Fayḍ (1910-84), born like Iḳbāl in Siālkōṭ in the Pandjāb, but whose style looked back past the latter to Ghālib while also drawing on English examples. Using both the *ghazal* and free verse (*āzād naẓm*) to explore the modern conflict between private sensibility and public engagement, Fayḍ's poetry soon acquired an

extraordinarily enduring popularity both in Pākistān and amongst the Indian Urdū public (which continues to extend far beyond the circles of self-proclaimed Urdū speakers). Fayḍ's influence remains palpable in the work of most contemporary poets throughout the international Urdū literary world, where young littérateurs continue to be drawn to trying their hands at composing *ghazals* in his style.

While the *ghazal* maintains its popularity as the prime genre of Urdū poetry, especially in musical performance by both male and female singers, the leading genre of modern prose is the short story. Earlier developed by the Kāyasth Prēm Čand (1880-1936 [*q.v.*]), who combined a keen human observation with an often sentimental Gandhian idealism, the Urdū short story was given fresh life by the Progressive writers, who particularly welcomed the opportunities it provided for an often brutal social realism. The leading early exponent of this modern style was the Pandjāb-born Saʿādat Ḥasan Manṫō (1912-55), whose still very popular stories vividly embrace both the louche 1940s demi-monde of Bombay (whose film industry has been a major patron of many modern Urdū writers) and the horrors consequent on the Partition of the Pandjāb. It is, however, a significant pointer to the varied subsequent growth and development of later Urdū creative prose, the varied product of both historical and social realism as well as more avant-garde types of modernism (*djadīdiyyat*) that Manṫō is in no sense comparable in authority to those defining figures of the Urdū poetic succession, Ghālib, Ḥālī, Iḳbāl and Fayḍ.

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AL-**URDUNN**, the Arabic name for the Jordan River, used also from early Islamic times onwards to designate the regions adjacent to the river's course.

1. The river

This appears in Arabic as the *nahr al-Urdunn*, in Old Testament and later Hebrew as *ha-Yardēn*, and in the Septuagint and the classical geographers as ὁ Ἰορδάνης. After the Crusading period, local Arabic usage often referred to it as *al-Sharīʿa* [*al-kabīra*] "the [Great] watering-place". It was, and still is, revered by Jews, Christians and Muslims, by Christians in particular on account of Christ's baptism at the hands of John the Baptist in the Jordan waters.

This shallow river is the lowest in the world, running within a narrow trough whose greatest width, about 25 km/15 miles, occurs in the region of Jericho [see RĪḤĀ]. It forms part of the Great Rift Valley which runs from southeastern Turkey to Lake Nyasa in East Africa, but has never in history presented much of a barrier politically or militarily. The river has three main sources, all of which rise from the foot of Mount Hermon (the Djabal al-Thaldj/al-Shaykh in Arabic usage): the Nahr Ḥaṣbānī, the Nahr Laddān and the Nahr Bāniyās. These join together in the Ḥūla (Hule) basin, until recent times a malarial papyrus swamp (see below). South of here, the river cuts through a basaltic gorge below the "Bridge of Jacob's daughters" (*djisr banāt Yaʿḳūb, gesher bʿnōt Yaʿaḳōb*), dropping 146 m/480 feet in 6.5 km/4 miles, and in its 16 km/10 miles' course from Lake Hule to the Sea of Galilee (*Buḥayrat Ṭabariyya*) falling from 70 m/230 feet above sea-level to 210 m/689 feet below. After flowing through the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan receives the important left-bank tributary of the Yarmūk [*q.v.*], which has a large but variable flow and which marks part of the modern Syrian-Jordanian frontier, and other tributaries both left-bank and right-bank (of the latter ones, there may be mentioned the Nahr Djālūt, at the head of which, between Nābulus and Baysān, is the ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*], scene of the famous battle between the Mongols and the Mamlūks). It then spreads into the plain of the Ghawr or Ghōr, but with so many meanders that it actually runs for 217 km/135 miles to cover a direct distance of 104 km/65 miles between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The Ghawr was formerly in considerable measure filled with dense thickets along the river banks, and largely barren wastelands beyond them; but with the construction in the 20th century of irrigation canals, much good agricultural and orchard land has been created for vegetable and fruit-growing, including winter produce. However, there were already in early Islamic times some fertile spots in certain parts of the Jordan valley, such as around Jericho (cf. the *djinān al-Urdunn* held out by the Prophet Muḥammad in Mecca as a comparison for the heavenly prospects of his followers, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1232).

The Jordan ends in the Dead Sea (*al-Buḥayra al-mayyita, Baḥr Lūṭ* [*q.v.*]). The river's rate of flow diminishes towards this point through seepage and evaporation caused by the great heat, and because of this evaporation, salt and other minerals are deposited. The Sea's level, apart from some seasonal variation, accordingly remains substantially the same. South of the Dead Sea, the depression continues as that of al-ʿAraba and then rises considerably before dropping to ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*] at the head of the Gulf of that name.

On account of its currents, its numerous windings and many shallows, the Jordan cannot be used for navigation. On the other hand, even in ancient times several of these shallows formed fords which connected the lands east with those west of the Jordan and thus linked up the Mediterranean coast and Egypt with Damascus. North of Lake Tiberias there are five fords and south of it 54; they are most frequent opposite Baysān. In the Old Testament, they are mentioned under the names *maʿabār* or *maʿbārā*. Whether the Israelites had ferries is uncertain, and in any case not proved by the obscure passage 2 Sam. xix. 19. On the other hand, it is not difficult to imagine that in their fighting with the Aramaeans in the lands east of the Jordan, they would take their troops, horses and chariots (1 Kings xxii. 35) across the Jordan by fords, but how they did it we are not told (with floats ?). If necessary it was possible to swim the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 48), but in view of the strong current it required skill and strength. There were certainly no bridges, since these only began to be built in the Roman period. The ford a little to the south of the Ḥūla district is specially celebrated; from it a road

led via Ḳunayṭra to Damascus. Whether there was a Roman road here is, according to P. Thomsen's map in *ZDPV*, xl (cf. 33), uncertain, but in the Middle Ages this ford, called *Vadum Jacobi* (wrongly from Gen. xxxii. 22), is often mentioned and was of considerable strategic importance during the Crusades. Here Baldwin III was defeated in 1157 by Nūr al-Dīn and in 1178 Baldwin IV built a fort below the crossing, but in the following year it was stormed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and destroyed. At a later date, a three-arched bridge was built of large blocks of basalt at the site of the ford (cf. illustrs. in *ZDPV*, xiii, 74). It is known to have been in existence in 1450 and was probably built not long before. The name "Bridge of Jacob's daughters", points to the old *Vadum Jacobi*, but is remarkable as Jacob did not have a number of daughters.

One of the most important roads from Damascus to the lands west of the Jordan has probably always been the route via Fīḳ (or Afīḳ, perhaps Afeḳ [Aphek] 1 Kings xx. 26, 30, cf. xiii. 22) to the south end of the Sea of Galilee, where the Jordan was crossed by a ford where it leaves the Sea. A little south of the crossing are the ruins of two stone bridges, Umm al-Ḳanāṭir and Dj̲isr al-Sidd. Nothing is known of their history, but one of them is probably the bridge at the south end of the lake which al-Muḳaddasī mentions in his description of Ṭabariyya [*q.v.*] and of which Yāḳūt says that it had over 20 arches. As late as the 16th century we are told by W. de Baldensel that he crossed the Jordan by a bridge here (Robinson, *Biblical researches in Palestine*[2], iii). Close to the junction of the Yarmūk with the Jordan is a bridge, Dj̲isr al-Mudj̲āmiʿ, whence roads led to Mkēs and Irbid below the hills of Ḳarn Ṣarṭaba. Further to the south we again find a bridge, the Dj̲isr al-Dāmiya, but it is now on dry land as the river has dug out a new bed here. It was built in 664/1266 by the vigorous Mamlūk sultan Baybars, who also had bridges built at several other places (cf. Röhricht, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, ii/1, 382; Clermont-Ganneau, in *JA*, ser. 7, vol. x [1887], 518). Among the most used is the bridge north of Jericho which leads to the Wādī Nimrīn.

In the brief descriptions of the Jordan in the Arab geographers there are a few details of some interest. Al-Muḳaddasī mentions that the river is unnavigable. Yāḳūt, quoting an older authority, says that the Jordan above the Lake of Tiberias was called the "Great" and between the Lake and the Dead Sea the "Little Jordan", which statement, however, is probably based on a confusion with the Yarmūk. He mentions the sugar plantations watered by the river in al-G̲h̲awr [see RĪḤĀ]. Al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī mentions the hot springs near the Lake of Tiberias and of Mudj̲āmiʿ where the Yarmūk joins the Jordan. He also gives an account of the remarkable phenomenon at the river's end. The Jordan flows night and day into the Dead Sea without any outflow, yet the Sea does not increase in winter or decrease in summer. The main road from Damascus to Egypt goes, according to Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih (219) and the geographers who follow him, via Fīḳ to the south end of the Lake of Tiberias and thence by a circuitous route via Tiberias to Baysān. In the 14th century on the other hand, the route lay through a part of ʿAdj̲lūn, as one descended from Baysān into the Jordan valley to Mudj̲āmiʿ and thence over the bridge to follow the road to Irbid. In the 15th century, a more northerly route began to come into use by going eastwards from the new capital Ṣafat crossing the Jordan on the above-mentioned "Bridge of Jacob's daughters" and thence via Nuʿrān and Ḳunayṭra to Damascus. This road remained the usual one, and later, the road leading to and from the bridge was improved.

From the end of the First World War until 1948, the Jordan, except in its extreme north, marked the boundary between the British mandated territory of Palestine and the newly-created Hashemite kingdom of Transjordan (see below, 2.). After 1948 and the establishment of the State of Israel, the river lay entirely within Israel north of its confluence with the Yarmūk, and below there it divided the kingdom of Jordan from the West Bank of Palestine, after 1967 becoming the effective frontier between Jordan and Israel.

This new function of the Jordan as an international boundary, with its headwaters and tributaries often in military zones and with four powers (Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) involved, has caused problems regarding the division of its waters and their utilisation through the building of dams along the Jordan's headwaters and irrigation canals along its lower course. The Hule drainage project completed by Israel in 1957 channelled the Jordan there into two main canals, speeding the flow of water through the marshes, reducing water loss by means of surface irrigation and making drained marshland available for agriculture. The G̲h̲awr irrigation canal, 70 km/43 miles long, was completed along the river's east bank by Jordan in 1967, permitting a great increase in agricultural production there. In Israel, as well as the Hule drainage project and the digging of a canal from the Sea of Galilee to Beth She'an, a water-supply grid has been constructed allowing 11,300 million cubic feet of the Jordan's water to be pumped to the arid regions of central and southern Israel. However, political and diplomatic difficulties continue to prevent the adoption of wider, regional policies of water utilisation.

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(F. BUHL-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

2. History

(a) *Up to 1250*

The name of al-Urdunn was first applied to one of the military and administrative districts (*adj̲nād*, sing. *dj̲und* [*q.v.*]) that were established in the province of al-S̲h̲ām (*q.v.*) in the wake of the early Islamic conquests. The territory of the *dj̲und* al-Urdunn corresponds closely to that of the Byzantine province of Palaestina Secunda. Centred on its capital of Ṭabariyya [*q.v.*], only part of the original *dj̲und* falls within the borders of the present Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Given the varying descriptions of the early historians and geographers, the precise boundaries of *dj̲und* al-Urdunn probably varied over time. For example, ac-

cording to al-Balādhurī, the djund embraced the towns of Faḥl, Ṭabariyya, Baysān, Sūsiyya, Afīḳ, Djarash, Bayt Ra's, Ḳadas, ʿAkkā, Ṣūr, Ṣaffūriyya, and the region of the Djawlān. To this list al-Muḳaddasī adds al-Farādhiyya, al-Ladjdjūn, Kābul and Adhriʿāt. According to al-Yaʿḳūbī, the population of the djund was a mixture of non-Arabs and Arabs, the latter especially Yamanī tribes.

As for the history of Transjordan proper in Islamic times, only a bare outline can be reconstructed. Under Byzantine rule, the region to the east of the Jordan river saw its greatest prosperity, particularly in the north. This is especially true of the sixth century A.D., when the region saw a general increase of settlement and the expansion of religious sites and public works. This period coincides with the rise of the Ghassānids [q.v.] and other Arab tribes to prominence as Byzantine allies along the eastern *limes*. Although the Sāsānid invasion of the region in 614 seems to have disrupted the prosperity of the region, it was able to recover and there are no signs of serious regional economic decline after the Byzantine recovery in 628 or immediately after the Islamic conquests of the 630s and 640s. Indeed, the indigenous Christian populations continued to flourish well after the conquests.

The first significant conflict between Muslim and Byzantine troops took place at Mu'ta [q.v.] in central Transjordan in 8/629. In 9/630, it is said that local leaders from Ayla, Djarbā', Maʿān and Adhruḥ assembled at Tabūk in northern Arabia, where they made treaty arrangements with the Prophet Muḥammad. However, it was not until the larger campaign of 13/634 that Muslim armies successfully invaded the region, with the surrender of Ma'āb (modern Rabba), followed by the decisive Muslim victories at Dāthin and Adjnādayn [q.v.] in southern Palestine. Subsequent Muslim victories east of the Jordan at Faḥl and at the Yarmūk river (in 15/636) secured Transjordan as Islamic territory.

Following the conquests, Transjordan was divided up between the *adjnād* of al-Urdunn, Filasṭīn [q.v.] and Dimashḳ, which embraced most of the region. Archaeology attests to the growing Muslim presence in the area, including the development of urban areas like ʿAmmān [q.v.] in the subdistrict of al-Balḳā' [q.v.] and the princely estates on the desert fringe (the Umayyad "desert castles" or *ḳuṣūr* [see BĀDIYA, in Suppl.]). Indeed, it seems likely that the *ḳuṣūr* were an important facet of the local economy. However, for most of tbe Umayyad period, the literary sources have little to say about the region. The civil wars, which involved so many areas of the caliphate, appear to have had little direct impact on Transjordan.

Although the ʿAbbāsid family planned their revolt against the Umayyads from their estate at Ḥumayma [q.v.] in the south, the region played no special role in the course of the ʿAbbāsid revolution of 132/750. For a brief time, one former Umayyad commander, Ḥabīb b. Murra, attempted to fend off ʿAbbāsid forces in the Balḳā', but this was short-lived. Although ʿAbbāsid rule did not directly threaten the region's prosperity, it is noteworthy that Transjordan did not attract the interest of the early ʿAbbāsid élite as it had their Umayyad counterparts. Rather, the region became isolated from the direct supervision of the government, and, like other similar regions, was an occasional home to rebels. Some of these rebellions took on a pro-Yamanī, pro-Umayyad, and even eschatological flavour, as with the revolt of al-Faddaynī (or al-Fudaynī) in the vicinity of ʿAmmān about 198/813 and that of al-Mubarḳaʿ [q.v.] in 226/840. During the ʿAbbāsid period, the region's rugged terrain also provided sanctuary for brigand groups like the Zawāḳīl [q.v.].

As the ʿAbbāsid caliphate lost control of its provinces in the course of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, southern al-Shām, including Transjordan, fell into the orbit of Egyptian-based states like that of the Ṭūlūnids, Ikhshīdids, and Fāṭimids [q.vv.], while the Ḳarāmiṭa [q.v.] and their tribal allies dominated the steppe and desert. The Fāṭimids are also known to have used the region as a source of tribal manpower. At the same time, rural and urban settlement appears to have contracted. Indeed, for Transjordan, this period is marked by the increasing prominence of Bedouin tribes, notably the Ṭayyi' [q.v.], who appear to have arrived from northeastern Arabia by the mid 4th/10th century, and who are best represented by the short-lived Djarrāḥid dynasty [q.v.]. However, the influence of nomadic groups in southern al-Shām probably declined after the Fāṭimid victory over the allied tribal forces of Ṭayyi', Kalb and Kilāb at Uḳhuwāna in 420/1029. Fāṭimid control over the region effectively ended in 463/1071 when the Türkmen adventurer Atsïz b. Uvak [q.v.] answered Fāṭimid appeals for military assistance in Palestine and proceeded to occupy all of southern al-Shām for himself, only to have his domains absorbed by the Saldjūḳid *amīr* Tutush [q.v.] in 472/1079.

In the early 6th/12th century, the lands east of the Jordan were a buffer zone between the Crusaders and Muslim princes in Cairo and Damascus. Early on, the region was governed by Türkmen warlords, but by 509/1115 Baldwin I of Jerusalem had taken direct control of the region, and Transjordan became a barony dominated by the two principal Crusader strongholds in the region, al-Karak and al-Shawbak/ Montréal [q.vv.]. These two fortresses were the target of Fāṭimid and, later, Ayyūbid assaults under Salāḥ al-Dīn. Under the Ayyūbids, much of the region became an appanage for princes like al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā [q.v.]. Under these princes, Transjordan saw a proliferation of fortified settlements and the return of some of its former prosperity.

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(b) *From 1250 to 1920*

After 648/1250, Transjordan passed for over two-and-a-half centuries under Mamlūk control, forming part of the province of Syria, governed from Damascus. As noted in (a) above, the region had many castles and fortified points in the Crusading and Ayyūbid periods, such as al-Karak and al-S̲h̲awbak [*q.vv.*]. In addition to these two mentioned above, the Ḳalʿat al-Rabaḍ at ʿAd̲j̲lūn [*q.v.*], built by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb's commander ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma in 580/1184-5, was added to in Mamlūk times and survived more or less intact until the severe earthquake of 1837. At al-Karak, Baybars I [*q.v.*] added further defensive works after it had passed to him in 671/1272 from the Ayyūbid ʿUmar, son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, and that sultan also rebuilt the fortress of al-Salṭ. The fort at al-Azraḳ, to the west of ʿAmmān, built or rebuilt by the Ayyūbid commander ʿIzz al-Dīn in the first half of the 7th/13th century, continued in use under the Mamlūks and was intact enough in 1918 for T.E. Lawrence to make it his headquarters before pushing northwards to Darʿa/Deraa and Damascus.

Administratively, the hilly region of northern Transjordan, the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*], with its main settlement at Ḥisbān, was usually administered ultimately from the Syrian capital Damascus, falling within the "southern flank" (*safka ḳibliyya*) of that very large province, with its administrative centre at Darʿa. Al-Karak, however, was usually a separate *niyāba*, as in the exposition of administrative geography of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī and the secretarial manual of al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī. The former mentions four administrative divisions of southern Transjordan, essentially the hill region of the S̲h̲arāt, that of the chef-lieu al-Karak itself, and those of al-S̲h̲awbak, Zug̲h̲ar and Maʿān. Al-Karak was a place of exile or imprisonment for rebellious or suspected princes and *amīrs*, and just before his death, sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] entrusted its government to his son Aḥmad. An important aspect of the *nāʾib*'s duties was attempting to control the local Bedouin. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī states that, amongst the Banū D̲j̲ud̲h̲ām [*q.v.*], there were the Ṣak̲h̲r at al-Karak, the Mahdī in the Balḳāʾ, the ʿUḳba and Zuhayr at al-S̲h̲awbak, and the Saʿīd at Ṣalk̲h̲ad and in the Ḥawrān [*q.vv.*]. See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, 236-8; al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 334, xii, 220-32.

Mamlūk control over Transjordan weakened, with the general decay of the state, in the 9th/15th century. Thus the region round ʿAd̲j̲lūn became the focus of a tribal amīrate under the G̲h̲azawī family, who managed to extend their power across the Jordan to the rural hinterlands of Jerusalem and Hebron. After 922/1516, Transjordan passed under Ottoman Turkish control for some four centuries. Under the new Ottoman administrative arrangements, the district round ʿAd̲j̲lūn now became a *sand̲j̲aḳ*, with the G̲h̲azawīs as *sand̲j̲aḳ beyis*, until the mid-11th/17th century; these *amīrs* of ʿAd̲j̲lūn also frequently held the lucrative post of *amīr al-ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲*, providing the military escort for the Syrian pilgrims to the Holy Places in Arabia. At the beginning of the 12th/18th century, ʿAd̲j̲lūn was briefly part of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Ṣaydā/Sidon. In the 19th century, the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of ʿAd̲j̲lūn appears as such in the 1266/1849 *sālnāme*, but in 1865 as a *ḳaḍā* of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of the Ḥawrān, with Irbid as its administrative centre. Al-S̲h̲awbak or al-Karak formed a separate *sand̲j̲aḳ* in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, whilst the *sālnāme* of 1311/1893 gives the *sand̲j̲aḳ* at that time as that of Maʿān or al-Karak (see A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 242, 245, 246).

We derive information on demography and on the agricultural and financial situation of Transjordan in early Ottoman times from the Ottoman state *defters*, in particular, the *mufaṣṣal* ones for 1005/1596-7; see W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late sixteenth century*, Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderband 5, Erlangen 1977.

In the first three decades of the 11th/17th century, the great *amīr* Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Maʿn II was able to expand into the Ḥawrān and the ʿAd̲j̲lūn region until his defeat and capture at the hands of the Ottoman governor of Damascus Küčük Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [see FAK̲H̲R AL-DĪN]. After this success, the Ottoman authorities attempted to tighten their grip on Transjordan. The hegemony of the G̲h̲azawīs of ʿAd̲j̲lūn was gradually reduced, but Ottoman hopes of closer control were thwarted by extensive movements of Bedouin, especially in the 12th/18th and early 19th centuries, when growing pressure from the northwards movement in Nad̲j̲d of the ʿAnaza [*q.v.*] pushed other tribes towards Transjordan, such as the Ṣak̲h̲r [*q.v.*] and their rivals the ʿAdwān and the Ḥuwayṭāt. The resultant increased insecurity affected the Pilgrimage route, which compelled the Ottoman authorities to pay subsidies to the tribal *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s in order to ensure unimpeded access to the Holy Places. Even so, Ottoman suspiciousness and duplicitous dealings by the Porte led on occasion to violent attacks on the Syrian Pilgrimage caravan, as in 1756, when 20,000 pilgrims were reported killed or dead from thirst in the desert, and many more enslaved by the Bedouin. A further destabilising factor was the attacks in the opening years of the 19th century by the Wahhābīs. Wahhābī influence was felt at al-Karak by 1806, when local tribes acknowledged, if only nominally, the overlordship of Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In 1809 Wahhābī forces raided up the Wādī Sirḥān, and in 1810 another raid via al-Azraḳ reached to within a few miles of Damascus; fortunately for the Ottomans, pressure on the first Suʿūdī state by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a of Egypt and his sons relieved Damascus of more threats.

Muḥammad ʿAlī's occupation of Syria during the 1830s triggered off various protest revolts, in particular in 1834 when the introduction of conscription was attempted. Rebels in the towns of Palestine were pursued by Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a across the Jordan and crushed at al-Karak and al-Salṭ. But once the Egyptians withdrew from Syria in 1841, tribal anarchy had full rein in Transjordan. Thus in the troubled decades which followed, the Christian villagers of Tafīla in the southern part of the S̲h̲arāt abandoned their homes; in 1880 a number of Christian families left their homes in al-Karak to establish themselves at the deserted site of Mādaba. Up to 1867 there were apparently no villages and no cultivation east of al-Salṭ. Whereas a more northerly region like the Ḥawrān increased in settlements and in population during the second half of the 19th century, this economic and agricultural progress tailed off as one went southwards, and there may even have been regression in the south; thus the

population of al-Karak, estimated at 8,000 in 1872, was down to *ca.* 2,000 by 1895. In 1851 the Ottomans installed a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Irbid over the *sandjaḳ* of the ʿAdjlūn district, within the *mutaṣarriflik* of Nābulus. After the great *wilāyet* reorganisation of the Grand Vizier Fuʾād Pasha and Midḥat Pasha [*q.vv.*] of 1864, which included the *wilāyet* of Damascus, further attempts were made to impose order in Transjordan. Muslim refugees from the Caucasus were brought in, such as the settlement of Circassians [see ČERKES] at ʿAmmān in 1878 and in the Golan heights near al-Ḳunayṭira/Quneitra. The Ottomans managed to collect some taxes as far south as al-Karak by 1882, and by 1893 established an administrative presence in al-Karak and Maʿān. Even so, Ottoman control in southern Transjordan remained tenuous. The Bedouin tribes had to be largely left to settle their internal disputes, such as those of the Ṣakhr and the ʿAdwān, by fighting, with occasional punitive expeditions, not usually very successful, by the Turks, such as that of 1869 against the Ṣakhr; and 1891-5 there was fighting around Petra.

Unrest continued into the early 20th century. A notable event of the opening years was the extension of the Ḥidjāz Railway [*q.v.*] to al-Zarḳāʾ by 1902 and Maʿān by 1904. It was constructed under considerable difficulties, including from Bedouin attacks, since the tribal *shaykh*s saw it as affecting their traditional role as protectors (at a price) of the Pilgrimage caravans. Friction between the local population of southern Transjordan and Turkish officialdom and its soldiery continued. A local revolt against the Turkish garrison in al-Shawbak took place in 1905. In 1910, the same year as that of the Ḥawrān [*q.v.*] rising, a more serious outbreak took place at al-Karak, in which tribesmen and sedentaries joined together against Ottoman attempts at land registration (regarded as *inter alia* the prelude to increased taxation), at the confiscation of personal arms and at a census as the preliminary for the introduction of conscription. Tribesmen of the Ṣakhr and ʿAṭiyya attacked the Ḥidjāz Railway and the station at Ḳaṭrāna, that nearest to al-Karak, as symbols of Ottoman penetration of the region. The revolt was bloodily suppressed by troops sent from Damascus, and the local Madjālī family of al-Karak, regarded by the Turks as ringleaders, outlawed, but the resultant intensification of Arab-Turkish negative feeling prepared the way for the Arab Revolt of a few years later.

The Ottoman empire entered the First World War in November 1914, but the Arab population of Transjordan was not greatly affected until June 1916 when the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] raised the flag of rebellion in the Ḥidjāz. In June 1917 T.E. Lawrence and Shaykh Awda Abū Ṭayyiʾ of the eastern Ḥuwayṭāt defeated a Turkish force south of Maʿān and in July captured al-ʿAḳaba/Aqaba. This last success made it now possible to concert operations with Allenby's Allied forces in Palestine. An attack by British and Commonwealth forces across the Jordan in early spring 1918 could not be sustained, but the Sharīf Fayṣal [see FAYṢAL I] and his Arab forces in southern Transjordan attacked Maʿān and destroyed several sections south of the town, thus isolating the Turkish garrisons along the railway to Medina for the rest of the War, an isolation sealed by the Imperial Camel Corps's seizure of al-Mudawwara, east of al-ʿAḳaba, a vital source of water for running locomotives. By 23 September al-Salṭ was taken, ʿAmmān two days later and Darʿa on 28 September, whilst the Turkish 2nd Corps which had been occupying Maʿān surrendered. Thus Transjordan was now clear, after almost exactly four centuries, of any Ottoman presence.

During the War, the attitude of the Arab notables and *shaykh*s of Transjordan had varied. Fayṣal received much valuable support from such Arab tribes as the Ruwala [*q.v.*] of northern Arabia, the Ḥuwayṭāt and some of the Ṣakhr in the Balḳāʾ. Other tribes, including most of the Ṣakhr, had, however, tended to hedge, as also was the case with the sedentary clans. The Christian clans generally favoured Fayṣal, and notables from al-Karak and Mādaba were exiled by the Ottoman military authorities to Adana province for their Sharīfian sympathies. Many of the Muslim clans nevertheless regarded the Ottomans as upholders of the cause of Islam and were suspicious of the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn and his sons because of their British connections. Several of these leading *shaykh*s were invited by the Ottomans to Damascus, and feasted and honoured there. Only when it became clear that the Ottoman position in Transjordan was unsustainable did some of these *shaykh*s begin to declare their support for Fayṣal and his cause.

When Damascus was captured and the Turkish army retreated northwards to the Taurus line, the whole of the Levant was placed under an Occupied Enemy Territories Administration, with the eastern part of Syria, including Transjordan, coming under Fayṣal's control. From the Balḳāʾ southwards, Transjordan was placed under a military administration headed by Fayṣal's commander-in-chief, the ʿIrāḳī former Ottoman Army officer Djaʿfar al-ʿAskarī, and local notables summoned to swear allegiance to the Sharīfian government in Damascus. At the end of 1919, this government divided its Syrian territories into eight *liwāʾ*s: that of the Ḥawrān included the regions of ʿAdjlūn and Irbid with its chef-lieu at Darʿa; that of the Balḳāʾ was centred on al-Salṭ; whilst the *liwāʾ* of al-Karak was extended southwards into northern Ḥidjāz to include the neighbourhood of Tabūk [*q.v.*]. But on the whole, Transjordan was a neglected part of Sharīfian Syria; Fayṣal was pre-occupied with much more pressing things, within the framework of Allied rivalries and intentions for the Greater Syrian region. Consequently, unrest and instability continued within Transjordan. Although proclaimed King of Syria by the General Syrian Congress in March 1920, Fayṣal was forced out of Syria in July 1920 under French pressure [see AL-SHĀM. 2. (b)]. It was his elder brother, ʿAbd Allāh, al-Ḥusayn's second son, who in November 1920 arrived at Maʿān and in February 1921 established himself in ʿAmmān as Amīr of Transjordan.

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(c) *The modern period*

Tribesmen in central Jordan divide their history into two periods: "the age of *shaykhs*" and "the age of government". The age of government arrived decisively with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the division of the Fertile Crescent between Britain and France, and the creation of a British mandate for Palestine and Transjordan (renamed Jordan on independence in 1946). When the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], the Sharīf Ḥusayn's [*q.v.*] second son, arrived in ʿAmmān [*q.v.*] in March 1921, ostensibly on his way to Damascus, the rudimentary British administration in the territory welcomed him. ʿAbd Allāh had a claim on British support owing to his father's alliance with Britain during World War I which produced the Arab Revolt; Britain needed to set up a governing structure in Transjordan which would not cost too much and which would fulfill its mandatory duty to train its mandated subjects in the art of self-government. They came to an agreement: ʿAbd Allāh stayed in ʿAmmān, and a British subsidy and a British-led and armed security force put him miles ahead of local tribal *shaykhs*.

The signs of modern statehood were developed during ʿAbd Allāh's period of rule, 1921-51: a capital (ʿAmmān), a flag, and territory delimited by recognised borders. Jordan's borders with its neighbours Syria and Irāḳ have remained firm to the present. Its border with Palestine/changed as a result of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars when Jordan came to rule and then lost the Palestinian territories known as East Jerusalem and the West Bank. In the 1960s the border with Saudi Arabia south of the Jordanian port of ʿAḳaba was adjusted slightly in favour of Jordan to allow for the development of Jordan's only port.

Within its present borders, Jordan comprises 36,165 square miles with average annual rainfall varying by region from 25 inches in the northwest corner to 0-10 inches in the eastern desert. Over 91% of Jordan is desert or semi-desert. It is entirely land-locked with the exception of the port of ʿAḳaba which gives access to the Red Sea. There are few resources: phosphates, potash, the skills and services provided by its population, transit rights for oil pipelines and goods carried by truck.

In 1920 the population of Transjordan was around 225,000, divided almost equally between peasants and herders. Arabs were by far the majority; there was also a small number of Turcomans, Chechens and Circassians who had fled their homelands in the Caucasus as Russian rule advanced southwards in the 19th century. The vast majority of inhabitants were Muslim; a small number of Arab Christians lived on the highlands overlooking the Jordan Valley. ʿAmmān was a very small, mainly Circassian settlement in 1921; the largest town was al-Salṭ [*q.v.*] with a population of around 20,000. In 1938 the total population of Transjordan was estimated at 300,000 (probably too low); at that time ʿAmmān and al-Salṭ each had a population of around 20,000.

During the rule of Amīr, later King, ʿAbd Allāh, an administrative and legislative structure on a European model gradually emerged. More important to Jordan's long-term existence were the creation of an army, the Arab Legion, under British command, and the registration of land along European lines of private ownership. The army put an end to tribal raiding within the state and across state borders, and replaced those traditional methods of the redistribution of wealth amongst nomadic tribes with work and welfare. Land registration carried out under British auspices in the 1930s created a grid of small landholdings largely held by those who farmed them. There did not develop in Transjordan large disparities of wealth based on landownership as in Egypt, Syria and ʿIrāḳ.

In 1946, when Transjordan was granted its independence by Britain, the Amīr ʿAbd Allāh became King ʿAbd Allāh, and the name of his kingdom was changed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (*al-Mamlaka al-Urdunniyya al-Hāshimiyya*). Britain continued to provide a subsidy to the state, and arms and officers to the army. In the 1948 Arab-Israeli war the army defended and occupied the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem; they became part of Jordan in 1950. In 1951 King ʿAbd Allāh was assassinated by a Palestinian. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ṭalāl who abdicated in 1952 for reasons of mental incompetence. Ṭalāl was succeeded by his eldest son Ḥusayn (1935-99). King Ḥusayn's brother, Crown Prince Ḥasan, was his designated heir, but just before his death, he appointed his son ʿAbd Allāh as successor.

Jordan survived the regional turmoil of the 1950s owing to military and economic support from Britain and the United States. In 1957 American aid replaced British aid and the U.S. Sixth Fleet was sent to the shores of Lebanon in a demonstration of support for King Ḥusayn, who had been threatened by a coup d'état. In 1958 British paratroopers were sent to Jordan during the ʿIrāḳī revolution. Within Jordan a growing community of interests among army, governing élite, and king allowed for a concentration of power in the king's hands. The British commander of the Arab Legion, Sir John Bagot Glubb, was dismissed in 1956 and thereafter the officer corps was Jordanised. The army remained loyal to King Ḥusayn during the attempted coup in 1957, and since then power has remained firmly in royal hands. Jordan's participation in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war cost it the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which it lost to Israel, and, temporarily, U.S. aid. The subsequent growth of the military wing of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Jordan led to a confrontation with the Jordanian army in 1970-1 which forced the PLO out of the country.

The 1970s and 80s was a period of economic boom and bust and of tight political control. Economic growth in the public sector was fuelled by foreign aid and governmental borrowing; growth in the private sector was thanks to remittances from Palestinian workers in the expanding oil economies of the Gulf to their families in Jordan. American aid was cut and replaced by Arab aid in 1978 when King Ḥusayn did not join in the Camp David negotiations between Egypt and Israel.

No elections were held and parliament did not sit from 1967 to 1984; political life was limited to jockeying for royal favour amongst a small élite. The door to political life was cautiously opened in 1984 with elections to fill parliamentary seats vacated by death since the last elections in 1967. In 1989 there were full parliamentary elections and since then elections have been held every four years. Elections have served to shift public perceptions of political responsibility from the king to his government in the recurrent economic crises since the bread riots of 1989. The monarchy is not, however, above politics and King Ḥusayn still retained control of all aspects of policy, internal and external. In the 1993 and 1997 elections, re-drawing of electoral boundaries gave rural constituencies loyal to the king unduly large representation. The official reasoning behind this imbalance was to give voice to "areas in Jordan which have long been

deprived of securing their basic needs." In political terms, reducing the representation of the ʿAmmān-Zarḳāʾ urban conglomerate which accounts for nearly half the country's population to only a quarter of the seats in parliament reduces the strength of the oppositional Islamist and Palestinian voices concentrated there. This encouragement of the nativist politics of the countryside in recent elections may, however, be of doubtful utility to the state and the monarchy in the long term.

The population of Jordan in 1996 was estimated at 4.38 million. ʿAmmān is the largest city by far with 1.2 million inhabitants; Zarḳāʾ is the next largest with 585,000. This ten-fold increase from an estimated 476,000 before the 1948 war is because of high rates of natural increase and the history of Palestine. With the end of the Palestine mandate and the creation of the state of Israel, Jordan gained the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and East Jerusalem and some 850,000 Palestinians; the territory of Jordan increased by about 6% and its population tripled. In 1967 while Jordan lost all Palestinian territory and some population, an estimated 300,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and East Jerusalem fled or were forced across the river to Jordan. In the wake of the Gulf War in 1991, another 300,000 Palestinians were forced out of Kuwait and ended up in Jordan. Since 1948 the proportion of Jordan's population with Palestinian roots has been assumed to be between 60 and 75% although no official numbers have ever been made available.

Jordan's changing demographic profile has had a profound impact on its politics and its economy. The lack of urban mass during the mandate contributed to the weak development of Arab nationalism in Jordan compared to neighbouring mandates. A distinct Jordanian sense of identity did not begin to develop in any meaningful way until significant numbers of Palestinians arrived in 1948 and began to compete for the resources of the state. State resources were spent on trying to settle and maintain Palestinian refugees in camps, but the country also benefited from the influx of capital of middle class Palestinians and from foreign aid directed towards Palestinians made destitute by the war. Jordan had only one government secondary school which offered a complete four-year curriculum (boys only), and the better educated Palestinians were an asset.

From the 1960s until 1990, remittances from Palestinians working in the expanding oil economies of the Gulf were an important source of capital and foreign exchange in Jordan. When these Palestinians were forced to leave the Gulf countries as a result of the 1990-1 Gulf War, their capital spurred a construction boom and the start-up of new businesses in Jordan. Although the loss of steady remittances could pose economic problems in the long term, Jordan's 1994 peace agreement with Israel and the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO has created the possibility of regional economic development helped by international investment in the peace process.

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(MARY C. WILSON)

ʿURF (A.), custom, customary law (also ʿĀDA, [*q.v.*]).

1. The status of custom in Islamic law

Custom was not one of the formal sources of law (*uṣūl*, sing. *aṣl*) in classical Islamic law. In practice, however, custom was frequently drawn on as a material source of law. Eventually, in the 16th century, it gained something close to formal recognition; but before that time attempts were made to incorporate custom in the law without granting it formal recognition, particularly (but not only) by Ḥanafī jurists.

Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), an early leader of the Ḥanafī school, was inclined to recognise custom (*ʿurf*) not as a formal source, but rather as part of the *sunna*, which in his view is based both on custom and on the practice of the Prophet (al-Sarak͟hsī, *K. al-Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31/1906-13, xii, 142, cf. also 138). This approach implies that custom can prevail over a written text (*naṣṣ*). Abū Yūsuf's position was rejected, however, by subsequent generations. The opposing position—which coloured much of the treatment of custom by Ḥanafī jurists—is expressed by al-Sarak͟hsī (d. 483/1090), who held that custom cannot prevail over a written text (*naṣṣ*) (*ibid.*, xii, 142, cf. also 138).

Essentially, Islamic law up to the 16th century resolved the tension between theory and practice by *de facto* recognition of the role of custom. This was achieved by several devices. One was recourse to other, legitimate, sources of law. A particularly important principle in this context was *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], i.e. personal preference of a jurist: a given customary practice could be incorporated into the law, but the justification for doing so would be *istiḥsān*. This procedure had the further advantage that a ruling based on *istiḥsān* overrode one based on *ḳiyās*. Another principle used to the same end was *ḍarūra* "necessity", as invoked

in al-Sarakhsī's statement *wa 'l-ḥaradj madfūʿ sharʿan* ("a law that is unduly difficult for people to live with may be rejected by the *sharīʿa*"). Recourse to these principles was particularly frequent in the area of commercial law.

Custom could also be integrated into Islamic law by identifying it with *sunna* or *idjmāʿ*. Before the body of *ḥadīth* was finally closed (around the 11th century), there was in fact no need to accept custom as a formal source of law, for custom could still become part of *sunna* by finding expression in *ḥadīth*. For this reason, and because custom could still be identified with *idjmāʿ*, early legal texts almost never refer to custom in association with *istiḥsān*.

Muslim jurists could also include custom in the law on the basis of the principle that any lawful agreement between parties has legal force. For it could be said that custom is no more than an agreement between a large number of people, whence the common maxim *al-thābit bi 'l-ʿurf ka 'l-thābit bi 'l-sharṭ* ("what is established by virtue of custom is like what is established by virtue of an agreed condition"). The principle is invoked mainly in relation to the rights and duties of parties to contracts in a broad variety of areas: loans, hire, power of attorney, suretyship, damages, etc.

In the course of time, however, the quantity of material derived from custom reached such proportions that, from the late 13th century, custom began moving from the periphery of legal theory to become by the 16th century a virtually independent factor in Ḥanafī legal thought. Thus Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ibn Nudjaym (d. 970/1563) writes the words *wa-'ʿlam anna iʿtibār al-ʿāda wa 'l-ʿurf yurdjaʿ ilayh fi 'l-fikh fī masāʾil kathīra ḥattā djaʿalū dhālika aṣlan* ("know that custom and usage are so frequently taken into consideration in the law that they [the jurists] have made it a formal source") (*al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*, Cairo 1378/1968, 93). Also, from the early 16th century onwards, special chapters on custom can be found in the legal literature, e.g. Ibn Nudjaym, *op. cit.*; Muḥammad Amīn Ibn ʿĀbidīn (d. 1252/1836), *al-ʿUrf*, in *Madjmūʿat rasāʾil Ibn ʿĀbidīn*.

The last stage in the process of recognising custom as a formal source is in a sense marked by the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] (the Ottoman Civil Code promulgated in 1877), whose authors, following the work of 16th century jurists, compiled the main rulings concerning custom in ten articles that form part of the introduction; though it should be said that the *Medjelle* was not a code of religious law but of secular legislation. Modern scholars of Muslim law generally devote a chapter on custom along with their writing on the classical sources. This seems to imply that they consider custom a source of law as well (e.g. Shawkī ʿAbduh al-Sāhī, *al-Madkhal li 'l-dirāsat al-fikh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1989, 295).

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2. Arab customary law (for other customary legal systems, see s.v. ʿĀDA)

I. *Regional features*

Information about Arab customary law is very unevenly distributed. Most of North Africa is from this point of view terra incognita, and even the customary legal systems of southern Arabia, which were particularly highly developed, and for which many unpublished documents survive, remain largely unknown. Among the areas for which there is relatively good published information we may distinguish (mainly on the basis of procedural differences) the following groupings (within each of which there are also local differences):

A. The Mashriḳ

1. The Bedouin, and many of the sedentary people, of what will be called the Central Region. This includes Sinai (to which the account that follows especially applies), Palestine, Jordan, and parts of the Syrian Desert and northern Arabia. In the legal systems of this region, the parties to a dispute must first reach agreement on a precise definition of the issue(s) in dispute between them (including who will be plaintiff, *ṭālib*, and who defendant, *maṭlūb*, with regard to each issue) and on the identity of the justiciar (*ḳāḍī* in some communities, *ʿārif(a)* in others) who is to hear the case. The justiciar has some of the characteristics of a judge (his decisions can be used as precedents and trials are normally public) and some of those of an arbitrator (he has only such powers as are given to him by the parties). The parties are free to ask anyone they want to act as the justiciar in their case; but they will usually select someone from a pool of men in the community who are recognised as justiciars, by virtue either of frequently acting as such, or of having been formally appointed as such, e.g. by a gathering of the elders of the tribe. There are also certain descent groups which by tradition supply certain specialised types of justiciar: thus through much of this region justiciars for cases involving *ʿirḍ* "honour" [*q.v.*] traditionally come from a certain group within the Masāʿīd tribe, while those for cases involving physical violence come from a certain group within the Balī tribe. These hereditary justiciars are considered the highest authority (*manhā*) for the settlement of disputes relating to their respective specialities; such disputes can also be settled, however, with the consent of the parties, by local justiciars.

Each party promises the other to appear before the justiciar (usually at his home) on an agreed date; the defendant promises the plaintiff to execute any judgement there may be against him, and the plaintiff promises the defendant not to sue again on the same claim if the proceedings result in victory for the defendant. Each promise is given legal effect by means of a tripartite contract involving promisor, promisee and a guarantor. This transaction is the standard form of contract in these systems; it takes the place of the bipartite contract that is familiar to us, and is used in many contexts. It gives the promisee an effective sanction against the guarantor in the event that the promiser fails to perform (see below).

The proceedings before the justiciar are adversarial; parties may be represented by an attorney (*kabīr*). The justiciar is entitled to a fee (*rizḳa*) from each party; the losing party must afterwards reimburse the

victorious party for this payment. The plaintiff makes a formal pleading (*ḥidjdja*), the defendant responds with his *ḥidjdja*, the justiciar formally summarises the pleadings, there follows informal discussion in which all those present may participate, and finally the justiciar renders a formal judgement (*ḥakk*) in which he finds for either plaintiff or defendant. Each party must then formally state either that it accepts the judgement, or that it wants the case tried again before another justiciar. In all, a case may be tried by up to three successive justiciars, but as soon as two judgements coincide, the matter is concluded.

If the plaintiff wins, the justiciar may order the defendant to pay amends to the plaintiff, or he may order the defendant to make symbolic amends (e.g. by publicly retracting a defamatory statement), or both; he may also order the defendant to undertake some other action, e.g. divorce his wife or hand over possession of a piece of land. Awards are often substantial, sometimes even ludicrous, and a victorious plaintiff will frequently renounce part or even all of the material amends due to him. The justiciar's responsibilities end with his judgement; if the defendant shows signs of trying to evade execution, then the defendant's guarantor has a duty to the plaintiff either to ensure that the defendant does what he is supposed to do or (as far as possible) to do it in his stead.

2. The sedentary tribes and the Bedouin of Northern Yemen. The evidence here is less extensive than for the Central Region (there is, for example, no adequate first-hand account of a trial in the literature), but it appears that the proceedings are broadly similar: the parties agree on the identity of a justiciar (*muḥakkam* or *mukawwil*), and exchange promises that are given legal force by means of guaranties. It is normally a chief (*naḳīb* or *shaykh* at the higher levels, *ʿāḳil* at the lowest level) who acts as justiciar; in this there is a marked contrast with the Central Region, where the office of justiciar is usually quite distinct from that of *shaykh* (though a *shaykh* may at times act as a justiciar). Yemeni procedure differs from procedure in the Central Region in that the parties give promises not only to each other, but also to the justiciar: not to sabotage the proceedings (e.g. by attacking each other or by attacking the justiciar himself) and to carry out his decision. Each party accompanies its promises with a pledge, usually in the form of guns (*banādiḳ al-ʿadāl/al-muṣaffī/al-naṣaf*) deposited with the justiciar; the pledges are returned to the parties if they keep their promises; if they do not, the guns can presumably be redeemed only by some kind of payment to the justiciar (this being distinct from the fee, *udjra*, that he may receive). Other procedures are like those in the Central Region: a case may be tried several times, each time before a different justiciar; there are justiciars (known in the Yemen as *marāgha* or *furūʿ*) who possess special high authority (the term *manhā* is also used in this context); and a litigant who demands a retrial must get permission for it from the justiciar whose decision he is rejecting. This permission is given in Yemen only in exchange for a pledge (*banādiḳ al-djarr/al-kasr/al-miyya/al-taʿkīs/al-taʿkīẓ*). In some areas, at least, the pledge only has to be redeemed by a payment if the next justiciar confirms his predecessor's decision. A characteristic feature of North Yemeni law is the slaughter of an animal (*ʿaḳīra*), ideally a bull, as a gesture of conciliation or supplication; a similar practice is widespread in Morocco [see ʿĀR, in Suppl.], but exists only in a very limited way elsewhere in the Mashriḳ.

3. The semi-sedentary tribes of lower ʿIrāḳ (where, in contrast to the other three regions, it seems likely that customary law has largely disappeared). Here too we find the justiciar (*farīḍ(a)*, pl. *farāḍa*, or *ʿārif*, pl. *aʿrāf*, *ʿurrāf*) as a distinct office, and here, too, the man appointed is said to be chosen by the parties. But the institution of guarantor, so important elsewhere in the Mashriḳ, was apparently unknown, or at least rarely used. This may be connected with the fact that in many places there were powerful *shaykhs*, of a kind not common in the Central Region or Yemen, who could ensure that the parties fulfilled all their forensic obligations (and who might themselves act as justiciars). Most trials presumably took place in the tribal guest-house (*muḍīf*); the exact procedures have not been described. Re-trials were evidently not uncommon, but the notion of specialised justiciars possessing higher authority than ordinary ones seems to be absent.

From early in the 20th century, in Egypt and in the Fertile Crescent (but not in the Yemen), governments issued regulations setting up special courts that administered customary law in those regions where it seemed appropriate. These courts were mostly abolished during the third quarter of the century. The judges in the state customary law courts were usually local men, and their decisions were based largely on the traditional law of the area of their jurisdiction. The procedures followed in these courts were, however, generally new and alien. The tribal law courts seem to have been particularly well-established in ʿIrāḳ (where their beginnings go back to the late Ottoman period), and it is not always easy to distinguish in the literature on ʿIrāḳ between autochthonous procedures and those introduced by the authorities.

B. The Maghrib

Procedures of the type that have just been described, in which disputes are tried in a formal public hearing before one man, do not seem to be attested as a common mode of dispute settlement in the customary law of any Arabic-speaking community in North Africa. Here disputes are settled by other means, for instance by negotiation, by mediation or by decision of a council (*djamāʿa* [*q.v.*, esp. ii.]). We find such councils among, for instance, the Rgaybāt of the Western Sahara and the Dhwī Mnīʿ (Doui Menia) of eastern Morocco. Judicial councils are evidently the result of Berber influence, and are not attested in the Mashriḳ.

The Bedouin of the Western Desert and Cyrenaica are the only North African Arabs whose customary law (*darāʾib*, *ʿawāʾid*) is well documented. Disputes are settled by a variety of informal means, normally in private; the word *miʿād*, which in the Central Area and in Yemen refers to a trial, here means "merely a gathering of all interested parties and anyone else who wishes to attend, in which the agreement reached behind the scenes by means of negotiations is announced" (Safia Mohsen, *Quest for order among Awlad Ali*, Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University 1971, 61). The term *marḍī* (pl. *marāḍī*), which is peculiar to this region, though glossed in some sources as "judge", actually refers to a mediator (Mohsen, 86-7); one or more *marāḍī* are on occasion appointed as arbitrators by the parties. Guarantors are unknown.

II. *General features*

In the communities where customary law is important, public authority is generally weak or non-existent. A man relies for the defence of his interests on one or another of the groups to which he belongs: for

example, tribe, blood-money group, or section of the blood-money group [see further THA'R]. One usually becomes a member of such a group by virtue of the fact that one's father was a member, although in many places the possibility also exists of formally moving from one group to another. Since a man is so dependent on his group, and since the group is liable for many of a man's actions, disputes between individuals tend to develop into disputes between groups.

Women (like children) rarely take any public part in the process of dispute resolution. In many communities they are for all practical purposes stripped of legal personality. For legal purposes, a woman must generally be represented by a man; this may extend to the point where she is not allowed to testify in court, and it is he who must report her testimony, and if need be take an oath as to its veracity.

It is characteristic of traditional Arab communities that a woman's ties with her natal agnatic group are stronger in many ways than her ties with her husband (and this seems to have been true already in the Djāhiliyya). Even after marriage, her natal group often retains legal responsibility for her. This is reflected in the emphasis placed on the relationship between brother and sister. When a woman must be represented in court in some capacity, then it will generally not be her husband, but her closest adult male agnate (her *walī* "guardian" [see NIKĀḤ. I. 3]) who will undertake this responsibility; and if she is guilty of some misdeed, it is her agnates who will pay for it.

Marriage generally appears as a contract between the woman's guardian and her husband. It gives the husband important rights (notably to the wife's labour and to her children by him), but if the woman receives contradictory orders from husband and guardian, it is usually the guardian whom she will obey. A woman's guardian can in many places kill or beat her with impunity, at least when she is not married; her husband can at most only beat her, and even on this there may be severe limits. The guardian is a woman's main defence against mistreatment by her husband; it is to him that she will usually flee if she wants her husband to divorce her; and if the marriage ends, she will, except in special circumstances, return to her guardian's home.

A sexual offence against a woman is generally viewed as an offence against the *'irḍ* "honour" of her agnates. The notion of a sexual offence is often broadly defined, and may include any activity, even a flirtatious conversation, which has sexual overtones. The fact that the woman has consented does not obviate the offence, though it may mitigate the penalty. Adultery is in the law primarily an offence against the *'irḍ* of the woman's guardian; in some communities (e.g. in the Central Region) the husband gets no amends; in some he gets amends only if he divorces the wife (a common rule in 'Irāḳ); and in a few (e.g. in the Western Desert) he always has a right to amends, though the sum may not be large. In a number of places an unchaste woman is in real danger of being killed by her agnates; but this is not universal, and we can also find groups, e.g. some sections of the Ouled Naïl and the Amour of Algeria, which were notoriously permissive.

'Irḍ is not only sexual honour. A man's *'irḍ* is pledged when he extends his protection, e.g. to a guest (*ḍayf*, in Yemen also *maṭī'*), to a protégé (*djār*, *ṭanīb*, *ḳaṣīr*; in the Western Desert *nazīl*, and in southern Arabia *ẓabīn*, *ḳaṭīr*, *rabī'*), and when he acts as a travelling companion (*rafīḳ*, *khawī*, also *musīr* in 'Irāḳ, *sayyir* in Yemen, and *ẓaṭṭāṭ* in Morocco), especially in his own tribal territory. In this context, *'irḍ* itself, or the protection to which the protector pledges his *'irḍ*, is often referred to in the Mashriḳ as *wadjh* "face." Protection may also be extended to inanimate objects (e.g. to pastureland or to camels belonging to one party that are under threat of seizure by another). An offence against a protected person is also an offence against the protector, so that the offender will be liable to pay amends to both.

One who violates his *'irḍ* obligations, for instance by failing to defend (or worse still, harming) a protégé, brings upon himself deep dishonour. This is the sanction that makes the tripartite contract so effective, for a guarantor pledges his honour. Both in the Central Region and in Northern Yemen, if a man has failed to keep an obligation of honour, for instance a guaranty, then the victim of this failure has formal means by which to make the fact public, for instance, by saying "May God blacken so-and-so's face", or by flying a black flag and explaining why.

The amends for offences against a man's *'irḍ*—whether by sexual interference with his ward, or by harming his protégé, or (where blackening exists) by wrongfully blackening him—are generally heavy. Lighter penalties exist for other types of affronts to dignity, e.g. verbal insults or blows which cause no significant physical injury. Amends for offences against honour (whether under the name of *'irḍ* or otherwise) often have a special name: *kabāra* and *ma'tab* in the Western Desert and Cyrenaica, *hashm* in 'Irāḳ, *hashm* and also *'ayb* in Northern Yemen, *manshad* (only for *'irḍ* offences) in parts of the Central Region. The *kabāra*, and perhaps the *hashm*, are often imposed in addition to amends of some other kind, e.g. blood-money. Blood-money groups frequently have a rule that if a member is found guilty of an honour offence he must pay the penalty out of his own pocket.

Whatever the offence, a finding for the plaintiff will usually result in the defendant paying amends to the plaintiff and/or being ordered to perform some action for the benefit of the plaintiff (as noted above at the end of section I.1). Sometimes the defendant may be condemned to suffer physical punishment, but this is probably always merely notional (unless there is some public authority), and is in practice commuted to a payment to the plaintiff. In 'Irāḳ, and apparently only in 'Irāḳ, it was common practice for amends to be in the form of one or more women handed over as brides to the plaintiff's group; elsewhere, women were handed over in this way only as part of the settlement for a homicide, and although the practice is widely attested, it was probably nowhere very common.

The notion of a penalty imposed by a public authority seems to exist in the Mashriḳ only where there is a relatively powerful ruler. Thus there were tribes in 'Irāḳ in which the *shaykh* could fine and even jail a miscreant. The institution of a fine payable to a body representing the community, which is prominent in Berber customary law, is virtually unknown in the Mashriḳ; but it has been recorded among the Arabic-speaking (though originally Berber) tribes of southern Tunisia, and may possibly have been common in the Maghrib.

The law usually allows homicide and bodily injury to be settled by retaliation, often by any member of the victim's vengeance group against any member of the perpetrator's. In practice, however, most such offences are resolved by payment of amends after the victim's group has agreed to a truce. In some places there are experts (the *ḳaṣṣāṣ* in parts of the Central Region, the *mu'arrish* in the Yemen, the *naẓẓār* in the

Western Desert) who determine the amount due for a particular injury. The *diya* [*q.v.*] for homicide usually varies according to sex: a woman is in some places worth only half a man, in others twice or even four times as much. In most of the Central Region the *diya* for all men is the same; in ʿIrāḳ, shaykhly families usually have much higher blood-money than ordinary men; in certain regions there are inferior groups members of which have lower *diyas* than members of artistocratic groups; and in many places *shurafāʾ* or *sāda* have a higher *diya* than others. The amount of blood-money due usually varies according to the circumstances of the homicide—whether intentional or not, whether in self-defence, whether the killer attempted to conceal the fact that he did the deed, and so on.

Each blood-money group has its own rules as to how much it contributes towards the payment of blood-money due from a member, and how it distributes blood-money received by a member. Often a man pays a third or a quarter out of his own pocket, and the other members contribute equally towards the balance; and an analogous rule may apply to the distribution of blood-money received.

The communities in a given region often view themselves as legally autonomous units. Each tribe may have its own laws, which may differ somewhat from those of its neighbours. The customary law does not enjoy supernatural authority, and the community can change its law if it so wishes, usually by means of a consensus reached at a gathering of leading men. We know, for instance, of communities in ʿIrāḳ, in the Central Region, and in the Western Desert, that have in the present century changed the old rules that allowed an *ibn ʿamm* to control in some way the marriage of his *bint ʿamm*.

The law recognises not only individuals but also corporate entities, notably the blood-money group and the tribe. Each such entity has at least one authorised representative—its *shaykh* or elder (*kabīr*, also *ʿāḳil* in the Yemen, *ʿāḳila* in the Western Desert). Disputes between tribes, e.g. over territory, may be dealt with by negotiation, by litigation, or by war—but in all cases, within a framework of law. This is possible because within a given region there is a generally recognised body of law dealing with inter-tribal relations, and often also men whose probity and legal expertise are universally acknowledged and who can be called on to act as justiciars in litigation between tribes.

Customary law seems in most places to be personal rather than territorial. So, for instance, robbery is prohibited among members of the autonomous legal unit, say the tribe; but a stranger who enters tribal territory is not, by virtue of having done so, protected by this law. In order to enjoy such protection, a stranger must enter into an appropriate legal relationship with a member of the tribe who has authority to extend such protection. The stranger can do so, for intance, by becoming a protégé of a tribesman or by acquiring a tribesman as a travelling companion.

The *ʿurf* is markedly rational. Although belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, and the like, exists to some degree in many traditional Arab communities, these are not matters which lead to litigation; the contrast with, say, customary law in sub-Saharan Africa is striking. Where possible, decisions are based on natural evidence (testimony, footprints, written documents, etc.). Oaths (individual or collective) are generally resorted to only in the absence of such evidence; and this is true also of ordeals, found only in the Mashriḳ. The most common is the fire-ordeal (*bishʿa, balʿa*), widely used in the Central Region and southern Arabia.

The relationship between the *ʿurf* and the *sharīʿa* varies greatly from place to place. Among many Bedouin tribes of the Central Region the law does not appear to have been influenced by the *sharīʿa*; even marriage and divorce are, both in form and in substance, quite different from the corresponding institutions in Islamic law. In North Africa, in contrast, the *ʿurf* often shows clear Islamic influences; for instance, the *naẓẓār* in the Western Desert, in assessing the amends due for an injury, refers to written sources that reflect Islamic law.

Often enough, both customary law and Islamic law are in use in the same community, each administered by its own judicial apparatus. Thus in the ʿIrāḳī village in the earlier part of this century, the *mūman* would deal with matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance in accordance with Shīʿī law (as far as his knowledge of it went), while the *shaykh* awarded *faṣliyyāt* (women given as amends) in decisions about blood-money or honour that he made in accordance with the *ʿurf*. This kind of coexistence—and it would appear, generally peaceful coexistence—of the two systems was also to be found in many places in southern Arabia and North Africa. Each law confined itself to a particular area of life (the division varying from place to place), and it was only exceptionally (as under the Wahhābīs) that the religious authorities attacked the *ʿurf* on all fronts.

This article has dealt with the customary law of those communities in which the *ʿurf* regulated broad areas of social life; but it should be added that many professions also had their own specialised *ʿurf*. The best-known example is the body of customary law that governed the pearl fisheries of the Gulf, which in its time was "enforced in every Arab principality by a tribunal known as the *sālifat al-ghawṣ*" (J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 2234).

For a variety of reasons, Arab customary law has been largely neglected by scholars, whether in the East or the West. But we should not allow this to mislead us as to its importance in the real world. During many centuries, the great majority of the Arab people lived outside the cities; and for most of these people the *ʿurf* was a more important determinant of their daily lives than the *sharīʿa* (or indeed any other law). Disputes are common in most non-urban Arab communities, and there is often a marked sense that a true man is one who will not tolerate the slightest infringement of his rights—a feeling that applies equally to groups. There is also often (at least in the Mashriḳ) a very legalistic mentality, one that demands conceptual clarity, that is sensitive to fine logical distinctions, that delights in argument, and that will push a line of reasoning to its utmost extreme. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the *ʿurf* of the Central Region and the Yemen is markedly more sophisticated than anything that we know from other societies around the world which lack strong central authority. The customary law is, in fact, one of the most impressive, if one of the least appreciated, achievements of Arab folk culture.

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URFA [see AL-RUHĀ].

ʿURFĪ SHĪRĀZĪ, Persian poet of the later 10th/16th century (d. 999/1591); the earliest sources give his name as Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sīdī (= Sayyidī).

He was born in Shīrāz in 963/1555-6 to an official of the provincial judiciary, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Balawī, taking his *takhalluṣ* from his father's work with matters of customary law (*ʿurf*). ʿUrfī became a leading figure in the literary life of the city. Awḥadī Balyānī provides a first-hand account of the poetic circle of Mīr Maḥmūd-i Ṭarḥī, where ʿUrfī vied with poets such as Ghayratī (see Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, ii, 959-69) in composing responses to the *ghazals* of Bābā Fighānī [*q.v.*]. ʿUrfī's literary fame soon spread across Persia. His talent was recognised by Muḥtasham-i Kāshānī, and he corresponded with Waḥshī-i Bāfḳī [*q.vv.*]. Like many of his contemporaries, ʿUrfī was attracted by the rich patronage of the Mughal courts and sailed for India in 992/1584. Although he proved his talent in the literary circle of Aḥmadnagar, his arrogance soon made him unwelcome, and he moved on to the imperial capital of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. There he was well received by Fayḍī [*q.v.*], the leading poet of Akbar's court, whom ʿUrfī accompanied on campaign to the Pandjāb in 994/1585. Through Fayḍī, ʿUrfī became acquainted with Masīḥ al-Dīn Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (see Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *op. cit.*, i, 13-15), who, until his death in 997/1589-90, was the poet's principal supporter and patron. ʿUrfī then joined the entourage of the Mughal statesman, general, and patron of letters Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān [*q.v.*]. He held ʿUrfī in great esteem and introduced him into the service of Akbar and his son Salīm (later Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]). ʿUrfī did not enjoy his new status for long: he died of dysentery in Lahore in Shawwāl 999/August 1591. Some thirty years later, his remains were disinterred and reburied in Nadjaf.

Despite dying young, ʿUrfī had a great impact on his contemporaries through the force of both his personality and his poetry. Perhaps in part because he was disfigured by smallpox in his twenties, ʿUrfī was hypersensitive, quick to take offence and to return the same with a ready wit and sharp tongue. Massively self-conceited, ʿUrfī judged his poetry superior not only to that of his contemporaries but to that of the greatest masters of the past. Even the normally mild-mannered Naẓīrī [*q.v.*] found occasion to condemn ʿUrfī's arrogance. However exaggerated, ʿUrfī's lofty estimation of his own talents was not unfounded. His poetry enjoyed great popularity in his lifetime throughout the Persian-speaking world and played a crucial role in the development of the *shīwa-yi tāza* ("fresh style," now commonly called the "Indian style"). His style has been praised for its forceful, yet fluent diction, the invention of new expressions, continuity of theme, and innovative similes and metaphors.

Among ʿUrfī's works, his *ḳaṣīda*s have met with the greatest critical acclaim. They have perhaps unjustly overshadowed his *ghazals*, which often demonstrate a powerful command of language and subtlety of thought and imagery. His *dīwān* also includes *ḳiṭʿa*s and *rubāʿī*s. ʿUrfī composed a short *sāḳī-nāma* and began work on two other *mathnawī*s, *Madjmaʿ al-abkār* and *Farhād wa Shīrīn*, but both remained unfinished at his death. He also wrote a short prose treatise entitled *Nafsiyya*. Despite his talent and significance, the text and contents of ʿUrfī's *dīwān* remain unsettled. ʿUrfī collected and disseminated his own works in 996/1588. On his death, he handed his manuscripts over to the library of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān, and these were assembled and edited by the poet Sirādjā-yi Iṣfahānī and disseminated with an introduction by ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Nahāwandī in 1024/1615. Muhammad Ali has cast doubt on the authenticity of many of the *ghazals* in this version of the *dīwān*; his judgement is based on literary quality and not on philological grounds and has been questioned by Gulčīn-i Maʿānī (*Maykhāna*, 215 n. 2) and Muḥammad al-Ḥaḳḳ Anṣārī. In an important series of essays, Anṣārī has uncovered a number of previously unpublished works and laid the foundation for a scholarly edition of ʿUrfī's works.

Bibliography: For a list of *tadhkira* sources, see Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1364 *sh.*/1985, v/2, 799-814. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length in A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Kārwān-i Hind*, Mashhad 1369 *sh.*/1990, ii, 872-90 (including the otherwise unpublished notices on ʿUrfī from Awḥadī Balyānī's *ʿArafāt al-ʿāshiḳīn* and Taḳī Kāshī's *Khulāṣat al-shuʿarāʾ*). See also Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī, *Tadhkira-yi Maykhāna*, ed. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, Tehran 1340 *sh.*/1961, 215-34. Among the secondary sources, see Browne, *LHP*, iv, 241-9; M. Shiblī-Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, tr. M.T. Fakhr-i Dāʿī Gīlānī, Tehran 1334 *sh.*/1955, iii, 66-111; Muhammad Ali, *ʿUrfī of Shīrāz*, in *IC*, iii (1929), 96-125; Rypka, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 299; and M. al-Ḥ. Anṣārī, *ʿUrfī Shīrāzī*, Lucknow 1974 (in Urdu). For a listing of the many, widely dispersed manuscripts of ʿUrfī's works, see A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Fārsī*, iii, 1881-3 (*kulliyyāt*) and 2437-42 (*dīwān*). His *dīwān* and *ḳaṣāʾid* have been frequently lithographed in India; for a full listing, see *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi čāpī-yi Fārsī*, i, col. 1550, and ii, cols. 2533-4. A printed edition of the *dīwān*, edited by Ghulām Ḥusayn Djawāhirī Wadjdī, was published in Tehran in 1339 *sh.*/1960. (P.E. Losensky)

ÜRGENČ, a city in the delta region of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus river of Khʷārazm [*q.v.*] which was for some four centuries, from Mongol times onwards, the capital of the province.

After the Mongols had totally destroyed the former capital of Khʷārazm, Gurgandj [*q.v.*] in 618/1221, the conquerors founded a new city on a nearby site, presumably that of "Little Gurgandj", three *farsakhs* from the old capital. Under the *pax mongolica*, Ürgenč speedily became a populous and flourishing commercial centre (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 457; idem, *A short history of Turkestan*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956, 44). The Great Khān Ögedey's governor of Khurāsān, Čin Temür, had previously been *baskak* or governor of Khʷārazm with his seat at Ürgenč (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 482, 491). European travellers at this time speak of Ürgenč's brisk trading activity, and it was also a cultural centre, where Muʿtazilī scholars worked until

the late 8th/14th century and where some vernacular Turkish religious literature developed (Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, 55-6). It straddled both banks of the Oxus, or of one of its channels, the two halves being connected by a bridge (Abu 'l-Ghāzī, cited in Barthold, *Turkestan*, *loc. cit.*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was there in 735/1335 and describes it as the biggest and most important city of the Turks, with fine mosques and other public buildings (*Riḥla*, iii, 3-4, tr. Gibb, iii, 541-2).

It suffered badly in Tīmūrid times, since Khwārazm rebelled against Tīmūr several times, and in 790/1388 Tīmūr razed it to the ground, except for the mosques and minarets, and transported the population to Samarḳand. Only 793/1391 did he allow the restoration of a single one of its quarters, but in fact the city soon flourished again.

In the early 11th/17th century, after a change of course in the Oxus channels once more, the 'Arabshāhid rulers of Khwārazm transferred the capital to Khīwa [*q.v.*], but a New Ürgenč was founded not far from Khīwa and soon became a significant commercial centre (Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, 66). Then in the early 19th century, *ca.* 1831, the present-day town of Kunya (< Kuhna "Old") Ürgenč was re-founded, giving a new lease of life to what had been the original, old Ürgenč. In Soviet times, Ürgenč was the chef-lieu of the Khorezm *oblast* of the Uzbek S.S.R., and in 1970 had a population of 76,000; this is now a town of the present-day Uzbekistan Republic (lat. 41° 35' N., long. 60° 41' E.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see R. Grousset, *The empire of the steppes. A history of Central Asia*, Eng. tr. New Brunswick, N.J. 1970. (C.E. Bosworth)

URGHAN, Urghanūn, the artificially wind-blown musical instrument known as the organ. It also stood for a certain stringed instrument of the Greeks like the ὄργανον of Plato (*Republ.*, 399c); see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 91 = § 3216, where the *urghan* is a stringed instrument, and the *urghanūn* is an artificially wind-blown instrument. The word was used by the Persians, it would seem (*Burhān-i ḳāṭi'*), to denote a species of vocal composition somewhat similar to the mediæval European *organum*. Of the artificially wind-fed musical instruments, the Muslims were acquainted with two types, the pneumatic organ and the hydraulic organ, the latter being known in two forms, an hydraulic air compressor and an hydraulic pressure stabiliser. Both Plato (*Burhān-i ḳāṭi'*) and Aristotle (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 258; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, fol. 154b) are considered by Muslim writers to have invented the organ, although there is the claim of Mūrisṭus [*q.v.*] to be considered.

We read of an *urghan* (text, *'.r.'.n*) in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (ed. Sasi, ix, 90) as early as the time of al-Mahdī's daughter 'Ulayya (d. 210/825), and Ibn Khurradādhbih mentions it (*Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*) in an oration before the caliph al-Mu'tamid (d. 279/893), and in both cases the instrument is referred to as stemming from the Byzantines. For later references, see the *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-nafīsa* of Ibn Rusta (123), where it is written *urḳanā* (cf. *'r.ḳ.nū* in Dozy); the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (236) as the *urghānūn*; the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay ed., i, 97) who describe an hydraulis; the *Fihrist* (270, 285); the 10th century Syriac-Arabic lexicographers (Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, 977-8); Ibn Sīnā, in the *Shifā'* (fol. 173) and the *Rasā'il fi 'l-Ḥikma* (77) which has *'r.gh.l* instead of *'r.gh.n* (cf. the modern *ārghūl*, in *MFOB*, vi, 29; and *ārghul* in Freytag, *Chrest.*, 74); Ibn Zayla in his *Kitāb al-Kāfī* (fol. 235b); the 5th/11th century *Glossarium latino-arabicum* (563: *warghan*); Ibn Ḥazm in Spain (*Safīnat al-mulk*, 473); Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (ii, 155, 163), who gives the names of Arab organ constructors; al-Āmūlī in the *Nafā'is al-funūn* (fol. 439b); Ibn Ghaybī, in the *Djāmi' al-alḥān* (fol. 78); and Ewliyā' Čelebi (*Travels*, i/2, 226). In the *Fihrist* (270, cf. 285), Mūrṭus or Mūrisṭus is given as the author of works on the flue-pipe organ (*urghanūn al-būḳī*) and reed-pipe organ (*urghanūn al-zamrī*). This notice is also given by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī (322) and Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-bashar*, 156).

The pneumatic organ. The instrument mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, *loc. cit.*, was probably a pneumatic organ. That which is described by Mūrisṭus is a very primitive type of instrument in which the bellows are inflated by the mouth, a method which, prior to the discovery of the Mūrisṭus treatises, was hitherto only surmised (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., xx, 266). Mūrisṭus calls it the *urghanūn al-zamrī*, i.e. the reed-pipe organ. The organ described by Ibn Ghaybī is the type known as the portative.

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic air compressor) became known to the Muslims through the Arabic versions of Philo's "Pneumatics" (*Kitāb Fīlūn fi 'l-ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya wa-mikhānīḳā al-mā'*), Hero's "Pneumatics" and "Mechanics" (*Kitāb al-Ḥiyal al-rūḥāniyya*) and the "Automatic Wind Instrumentalist" (*San'at ālat al-zāmir*) of Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga. On this principle, the Banū Mūsā [*q.v.*] devised their automatic organ which is described in a treatise entitled "The Instrument which plays by itself" (*al-Ālat allatī tuzammir bi-nafsihā*). The text of the latter, edited by M. Collangettes, appeared in *Machriq*, ix, 444, whilst translations were made by Wiedemann (German) and Farmer (English).

The hydraulic organ (hydraulic pressure stabiliser). This was the hydraulis, an instrument which is first referred to in Arabic (although not mentioned by name) in the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Siyāsa*, translated from the Greek via the Syriac by Yuḥannā b. al-Baṭrīḳ (d. 199/815). Here it is a warlike instrument which could be heard sixty miles away (cf. Farmer, *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, ch. 3, p. 27, for an edited text and translation). The instrument is fully described by Mūrisṭus, and the type is certainly anterior to those dealt with by either Hero or Vitruvius.

At no period of Muslim history in the East was the organ considered an instrument of music in the same sense as the *'ūd* (lute), *nāy* (flute), *ḳānūn* (psaltery), *kamāndja* (viol), or *duff* (tambourine; for Muslim Spain cf. *Safīnat al-mulk*, 473). It was probably only accepted as one of the many interesting mechanical devices (*ḥiyal*) such as the clepsydra, the musical tree, and other marvels which became popular from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*] onwards (see Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al-Ḥijal*..., Erlangen 1922; *Isl.*, viii, 55). At the same time, it is highly probable that the Muslims were the cause of the hydraulis being re-adopted in the East, and perhaps in the West. In Byzantium, the hydraulis appears to have died out. The principle of the hydraulic pressure stabiliser had been superseded by the barystathmic principle of the weighted blast-bag as in the pneumatic organ. When, at the close of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century A.D., the Muslims began to build the hydraulis which had become known to them through translations from the Greek (Mūrisṭus probably), the Byzantines re-adopted the instrument which they had discarded centuries before and of whose construction they had probably lost all knowledge.

The story that Hārūn presented an organ to Charlemagne (see *Hist. littéraire de la France*, xii, 467; Larousse, *Le grand dictionnaire*; idem, *La grande encyclopédie*; Hopkins and Rimbault, *The organ*; Grove, *Dictionary of music*; Audsley, *Art of organ building*; *al-Machriq*, ix, 20) is a fable which can be traced to a note in *Les Chevaliers du Cygne* of Madame De Genlis. Even the event chronicled in mediaeval works (*Monumenta Germaniae historica*, i, 194) that Hārūn presented a clepsydra to Charlemagne is suspect in some quarters (*Isl.*, iii, 409, iv, 333). Cl. Huart (*Histoire des arabes*, ii, 107) and Heyd (*Hist. du commerce du Levant*, i, 90) are certainly in error in saying that "instruments of music" were among these gifts of Hārūn to Charlemagne.

On the other hand, it would seem quite likely that it was due to the Mongols that the organ (? hydraulis) was introduced into China. In the Chinese *Yüan shih* we are told that an organ was "presented by the Muslim kingdoms in Chungtʿung" (1260-4), whilst another work informs us that it was "an offering from the lands of the West" and that Ḳubilay himself improved it (*JRAS, China Branch* [1908]; *JRAS* [1926]). We may suppose that the original instrument came as a gift from Hülegü to Ḳubilay, and that it was made in Syria, where instruments of this type were being constructed at this time (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, ii, 155, 163). Some lexicographers of Persian (Richardson, Steingass) define the *ṭūlumba* as "an hydraulic musical instrument", but it was more likely the name of "an hydraulic machine", or more probably "a pump".

Bibliography: For a complete survey and bibl. of the subject, see Farmer, *The organ of the Ancients, from eastern sources (Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic)*, London 1931, repr. in idem, *Studies in oriental music*, Frankfurt 1986, ii, 319-533; F. Hauser and E. Wiedemann, *Byzantinische und arabische akustische Instrumente* in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, viii, Leipzig 1919, repr. in Wiedemann, *Gesammelte Schriften zur arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frankfurt 1984, iii, 1580-1606. In addition to those mentioned in the article, see also Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, London 1925 = *JRAS*, Pt. 2 (1925) repr. in *Studies*, ii, 535-9; idem, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931, repr. in *Studies*, ii, 1-119; idem, *Turkish instruments of music in the seventeenth century*, Glasgow 1937, repr. in *Studies*, ii, 623-76, esp. 658; Moule, *A Western organ in mediæval China*, in *JRAS* (1926); Fak͟hr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Ḏj̲āmiʿ al-ʿulūm*, B.L. ms., Or. 2972; W. Schmidt, *Herons von Alexandria Druckwerke und Automatentheater*, Leipzig 1889; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques, par Philon de Byzance*, in *NE*, xxxviii, Paris 1903; Tannery, *L'Invention de l'hydraulis*, in *Revue des études grecques*, xxi (1908); idem, *Notices sur deux manuscrits arabes*, in *JA* (1891); idem, *Notes d'histoire des sciences*, in *JA*, (Nov.-Dec. 1917); Wiedemann, *Über Musikautomaten bei den Arabern*, in *Centenario della nascità Michele Amari*, Palermo 1909, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, i, 451-72; Wiedemann and Hauser, *Uhr des Archimedes...*, in *Nova acta. Abhandl. der Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol. Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, ciii Halle 1918, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 1629-69, see also vol. c of the same publication for *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, 1211-1482; Ibn Sīnā, *S͟hifāʾ. Riyāḍiyyāt*. 3, *Ḏj̲awāmiʿ ʿilm al-mūsīḳī*, Cairo 1956, 143; Ibn Zayla, *al-Kāfī fi 'l-mūsīḳī*, Cairo 1964, 73; Ibn G͟haybī, *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān*, Tehran 1957, 124, 135-6; idem, *Ḏj̲āmiʿ al-alḥān*, Tehran 1987, 199, 209; idem, *S͟harḥ-i adwār*, Tehran 1991, 352, 359; F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich-Stuttgart 1965, 319-22; M.S. Chaarani, *L'orgue hydraulique mécanique automatique des Banū Mūssa Ben Chāker*, diss. Paris 1981; C. López-Morillas, *Was the Muwashshah really accompanied by the organ?* in *La Corónica* (Atlanta), xiv (1985), 40-54; K. Shehadeh, D.R. Hill and R. Lorch, *Construction of a fluting machine by Apollonius the Carpenter*, in *ZGAIW*, ix (1994), 326-56.

(H.G. Farmer*)

URĪSĀ, Odra-deśa, conventionally Orissa, the land of the Oriyas, is a province of the Indian Union (between lat. 17° 49' N., and 22° 34' N., and between long. 81° 29' E. and 87° 29' E.). Spread over an area of 155,707 km²/60,178 sq. miles, it has a population of 31,659,736, of which 5,777,775 are Muslims. Its capital is Bhubaneswar to the south of Cuttack.

Orissa covers the delta region of the Mahānadī and other rivers and is bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the east, West Bengal on the north-east, Madhya Pradesh on the west and Andhra Pradesh on the south. The state is drained by three great rivers—the Mahānadī, the Brahmanī and the Baitaranī and some lesser rivers. The Čilka Lake is the biggest and most famous of its lakes. The valleys are rich in minerals. All writers, from Mug͟hal authors like Abu 'l-Faḍl and Sud̲j̲ān Ray to European travellers like Ralph Fitch and Alexander Hamilton, refer to the textile products of Orissa. However, industrially the area is at present not very advanced, though agro-based industries are now growing in importance, with Cuttack as the province's main industrial centre. The state is divided into 27 districts. There are five universities: Berhampur; D̲j̲agannat Sanskrit; Orissa University of Agriculture and Technology; Sambalpur; and Utkal.

Geographical conditions, such as an accessible coastal plain but a less accessible highland interior, led to the rise of small independent feudatory states in the region. In ancient times Orissa formed part of the Kalinga state. The Kalinga campaign of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. played an important part in shaping his thought and personality, while in the 2nd century B.C., Orissa became a powerful land under Kharavela. In the 9th century A.D. Narasingha Dēv of the Ganga dynasty built the Sun Temple at Konark; Orissa was, in fact, famed for the large number of temples there. A style of architecture, called Kalinga style, and a particular style of dance, called Odissi, developed there.

The Muslim occupation of Orissa had a chequered history. In 1205 Bak͟htiyār K͟hald̲j̲ī sent Muḥammad S͟hīrān K͟hald̲j̲ī towards Lakhnor and D̲j̲ad̲j̲nagar (D̲j̲uzd̲j̲ānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 573). G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn K͟hald̲j̲ī collected tribute from D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar, occupied the Lakhnor tract and pushed the southern frontier of his kingdom up to Damodar. Some inscriptions which refer to these invasions do not name the invaders (e.g. an inscription in the Čhateswāra temple in Cuttack, see *JASB*, lxvii). Narasimbha I (1238-64) sought to wrest Radha from the Muslims. D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ānī refers to the skirmishes of the Rāy of D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar and his harrying the Lakhanawatī region (tr. Raverty, ii, 738).

In Ramaḍān 640/March 1243, the troops of Orissa appeared before the gates of Lakhanawatī or Gawr. Malik Tog͟hril-i Tug͟hān K͟hān appealed to the Sultan of Dihlī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd S͟hāh, who ordered the governors of Kara, Manikpur and Awadh to proceed to Lakhanawatī and deal with D̲j̲ād̲j̲nagar (tr. Raverty, ii, 762-3). Malik Temūr K͟hān, the governor of Awadh, seized the throne of Lakhanawatī, but the Ganga

ruler of Lakhnor could not be dislodged. In 651/1253 Mughīth al-Dīn Yazbek, governor of Bengal and Bihār, marched on Lakhnor. He captured Mandaran; Paramardin fell in the conflict and the district of Radha came under Muslim control. For a very long time the Sharkīs of Djawnpūr, the Bahmanīs of the Deccan, the local Hindu chieftains and the governors of the Dihlī Sultans all struggled for supremacy in the region. Sultan Mahmūd Sharkī of Djawnpūr (d. 862/1458) invaded Djādjnagar and destroyed some temples there (Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, iii, 458). Ḥusayn Shāh Bahmanī invaded Djādjnagar with a huge army. The Rāy negotiated peace and sent tribute. Within five years (859-64/1455-60), two Sharkī sultans successfully invaded coastal Orissa. More than a dozen coins of Muḥammad Sharkī have been found at Dēōgaṙh in the Sambalpur district.

The Bahmanīs clashed with the ruler Gadjapati. Sandjar Khān, a noble of the Bahmanī Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad, engaged in conflict with the Oriya chief of Telingāna [*q.v.*]. The sultan had warned him that he would be no match against "the possessor of elephants" (ʿAlī b. ʿAzīz Allāh Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i maʾāthir*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxviii, 237). He was defeated by Ganadēva Rantaraya, but hostilities now began between the local rulers of Orissa and the Bahmanīs of the Deccan.

Kapilendra (d. *ca.* 1467) assumed the title of "Overlord of Karnatka and Kalbarga (Gulbarga)", and mobilised forces against the invaders. He invaded the Bahmanī kingdom along with the *zamīndārs* of Telingāna, but was repulsed. Firishta says (*Tārīkh*, i, 343-4) that the *rāys* of Orissa and Telingāna attacked "the country of Islam", taking advantage of the invasion of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa. According to Niẓām al-Dīn (iii, 87) the Rāy of Orissa failed in his attempt to take Bīdar, and returned to his capital after an abortive campaign.

Kapilendra concentrated more on the Bahmanīs of Bīdar and the *rāys* of Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*], but the real danger to him came from the Muslim rulers of Bengal. He set himself the task of conquering territories in South India and advanced as far as the banks of the Kaveri, but his policy was unsuccessful in the long run.

Kapilendra's eldest son Hamir, who was unable to succeed his father, sought the help of the Bahmanī ruler, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III. Muḥammad sent his commander Niẓām al-Mulk to assist Hamir, who was installed in his hereditary territory. Hamir than helped Niẓām al-Mulk to conquer Kondnir and Radjamahandrī.

Thus Orissa passed through many political upheavals for some two centuries until in 1592 Akbar sent an army under Rādja Mān Singh and annexed the region to the Mughal Empire. Akbar's contribution to Orissa's future was twofold. First, he introduced his finance minister Tōdar Mal's [*q.v.*] revenue system in a land of agrarian crisis. Second, he successfully solved the problems relating to the administration of the Djagannath Temple and created a favourable atmosphere for himself. But difficulties re-appeared during the time of his son Djahāngīr, who had to carry out raids against the Superintendent of the Temple. Djahāngīr separated Orissa from Bengal and placed it under a separate governor. Later, Awrangzīb had to deal with a number of problems arising out of the religious situation, particularly the position of temples. Early in his reign, Awrangzīb issued what Sir Jadunath Sarkar called "pro-Islamic ordinances" (*Studies in Mughal India*, 224), but their purpose was to abolish duties on certain commodities "for the good of the subjects". *Ḳāḍīs* and *muḥtasibs* were appointed to promulgate religious law. Orissa was notorious for the castration of children and their sale as eunuchs by their mercenary parents (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, ii, 126); Awrangzīb now adopted strict measures to stop the practice.

The Mughals gave rent-free grants to Muslim religious figures in Goalpur, Katak and Karmul. Some idol temples which were constructed during the last ten or twelve years of Awrangzīb's reign, when the temple crisis was in full swing, were destroyed on the orders of Awrangzīb.

The Mughal administration was responsible for many changes in the socio-economic conditions of Orissa. "The military character of the feudal society under the Hindu kings of Orissa underwent changes during the Mughal occupation. The military feudalship was gradually replaced by a scientific revenue administrative system" (Raut, *Socio-economic life in medieval Orissa*, Calcutta 1988, 223). The revenue records, which were generally on palm leaves and in Oriya language, were henceforth maintained in Persian. Large number of Persian and Arabic terms thus entered the Oriya vocabulary and their impact is found "in *Kavya, purana*, music and novel" (B.C. Ray, *Orissa under the Mughals*, Calcutta 1981, 180). The Satyapīr cult [*q.v.*] also found currency in Orissa. The Mughals used the sea-ports, established ship-building centres and gave a fillip to economic activity in the region.

When Mughal power declined, the Marāthās [*q.v.*] established their hold over Orissa in 1751. In 1803 the British took over the area and turned their attention in particular to what would now be called the "agri-horticultural base of the region". Balaspore was developed as a ship-building centre. In 1858 Sir Arthur Cotton recommended construction of a complete system of irrigation and navigation canals. Water was first supplied for irrigation in 1865. Orissa was separated from Bengal in 1905, and in 1912 was combined with Bihār [*q.v.*]. In 1936 it was made a separate province. After the declaration of Independence, the 24 princely states in and around Orissa were merged with the State of Orissa.

There are few Muslim monuments of any significance in Orissa other than some mosques of significance at Cuttack, Djādpūr and Balasore. The Friday Mosque at Balū Bāzār is considered "the magnum opus of Muslim monuments in Orissa" (Ray, *op. cit.*, 187).

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URM, a district in Ādharbāydjān whose precise location is unknown.

According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 328, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*], sent to conquer Ādharbāydjān, attacked the people of Mūḳān and Gīlān. A number of inhabitants of Ādharbāydjān and Armenians, who had gathered in the *nāḥiya* of Urm and at بلوانكرج *Balwānkaradj, were defeated by one of Saʿīd's commanders. The leader of the rebels was hanged on the walls of the fortress of Bādjarwān (see on this place, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 181, tr. 173; Bādjarwān was 20 *farsakhs* north of Ardabīl).

Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119, mentions the citadel of Urm between al-Badhdh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (a town of Bābak's on a river which flows into the Araxes above the river of Ardabīl) and Balwānkaradj. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 216, speaks of several districts (*rasātīḳ*) of Urm. Yāḳūt, i, 216, mentions the region (*suḳʿ*) of Urm but gives only an abridgment of al-Balādhurī.

The names mentioned by al-Balādhurī and by Ibn Khurradādhbih suggest a district in the north-east of Ādharbāydjān, perhaps in the Ḳaradja-dagh of the present day (the capital of which is Ahar and in the northern districts of which we find Armenians).

Bibliography: Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 1135-6. (V. Minorsky)

URMIYA, the name of a lake and of a town and district in western Ādharbāydjān.

1. The lake

Lake Urmiya, also called Daryā-yi Shāhī or, in the Pahlawī period, Daryā-yi Riḍā'iyya or Lake Reza'iyeh, is the largest lake in the Middle East. It is about 140 km/87 miles long and from 40 km/25 miles to 56 km/35 miles wide and lies at an altitude of 1,275 km/4,183 feet. Its maximum depth is 16 m/53 feet, and the southern part of the lake contains numerous small islands, but most important is the mountainous Shāhī peninsula on its eastern shore. The lake is landlocked, with no outlet, and it forms the centre of an extensive drainage system of northwestern Persia. It is remarkable for the great salinity of its waters, and because of this, organic life in its waters is limited. Since 1967 it has enjoyed the status of a protected wetland region. Navigation on it is limited to small motor craft plying between places along its shores.

The most important rivers flowing into the lake are: in the east, the Adjī-čay "bitter river", which waters Sarāb and Tabrīz; the Sofi-čay and Mürdi-čay which flow from the southwestern face of Mount Sahand [see MARĀGHA]; in the south, Djaghatū, Tatawū and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*]; to the south-west, the Gādir [see SULDUZ and USHNŪ]; in the west, the rivers of Urmiya and Salmās [*q.v.*]. In the north, the mountain of Meshow overshadows the narrow strip of the northern shore [see TABRĪZ].

In the Assyrian records, the "upper eastern lake" seems to correspond to the Lake of Urmiya. Streck, in *ZA*, xv, 263, thought he could identify the latter as the "sea" mentioned by the Assyrians near the Mazamūa country; but this "sea" may be Lake Zaribār. In the account of the eighth campaign of Sargon (714 B.C.), the name of the lake is not mentioned.

Strabo, xi, ch. xiii, calls the lake Σπαῦτα (emended by St. Martin to Καπαῦτα = Kapōt "blue") and xi, ch. xiv, Μαντιανή. Ptolemy, vi, ch. ii, calls it Μαργιανή (*Μαντιανή?; see MARĀGHA). As a rule, the name Mantiane is connected with that of the Matienoi people in whose country Herodotus (i. 189, 202; v. 52) makes the Araxes (?) rise and situates the Gyndes (Diyālā). Marquart (*Süd-armenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 431) thought he could identify these Matienoi (or Mantianoi) with the Mannaeans (Mana, Mannai).

The Avesta knows the lake by the name of Čaēčasta "deep lake with salt waters". Bartholomae, *Altir. Wört.*, col. 575, interprets the name as "shining white" (*weissschimmernd*). On its banks Kawi Haosrawah slew the Turanian Frańrasyān (Yasht, ix, 18 etc.). According to the *Bundahishn*, xvii. 7, tr. West, the same Kay Khusraw destroyed the temple of idols near the Lake Čēčast (cf. the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii, 441, where Khandjast should be emended to Čēčast). From the name Čaēčasta must come the Arabic name of the sanctuary Shīz (= Gaznā, Ganza) to the south of the lake, identified by Rawlinson with Takht-i Sulaymān.

Another old name which was applied to the lake is Kapōtān "blue". The Armenian geography of the 7th century gives Kaputan, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 137, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, 237: Kabūdhān.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181, calls the lake Buḥayrat al-Shurāt "the Lake of the Khāridjīs", presumably from an earlier presence of these sectarians in the region, but more often it bears the name of adjoining towns: Urmiya, Shāhī and Tasūdj.

The name Shāhī (Shāhā) although only found late, is connected with the old fortress which stood on the peninsula to the northeast of the lake. The fortress of Shāhī was known to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1171, 1379 (under 200/815). It is mentioned in the time of the Khwārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn (al-Nasawī, 157). It was at Shāhī that the first Mongol Īlkhāns Hülegü and Abaḳa were buried (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 416; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, quoted in Le Strange, *Lands*, 161; d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 340). Abu 'l-Fidā' calls the lake Buḥayrat Talā. The Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī (cf. de Goeje in Ibn Ḥawḳal, 247 n. *m*) seems to distinguish between the two names, and the fortress of Talā mentioned by al-Nasawī, 153-4 (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 541, who takes Talā to be a Persian word) would seem rather to be connected with the west bank. In this case, it should be sought at Güwerčin-Ḳalʿa on a cliff which rises above the lake on the Salmās shore, cf. Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 593.

The Arab geographers know that the salt waters of the lake will not support organic life. According to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1380, the lake does not contain fish or anything of value. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (189) and al-Gharnaṭī (in al-Ḳazwīnī, 194) alone affirm the contrary. The first talks of the "fish-animal" called "water-dog"; al-Gharnaṭī delights in wonderful stories, which are later repeated by Ewliyā Čelebi.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see the *EI*[1] art. s.v., out of which one may cite Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, 316-20. Of more recent works, see Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, index; *Camb. hist. Iran*, i, index, s.v. Rezā'īyeh, lake.

2. The town and district

The name. Neo-Syriac speakers write Urmiyā, the Armenians Ormi, the Arabs Urmiya, the Persians Urūmī, the Turks Urūmiyye or Rūmiyye (through a fanciful derivation from Rūm "Byzantium, Turkey"). The name is of uncertain, non-Iranian origin. Assyrian sources mention a place called Urmeiate in the land of Mann in the vicinity of Lake Urmiya. On the other hand, the name is unknown to the classical geographers and to the *Avesta* and Pahlavi sources. It is also unknown to the Armenian geography of the 7th century in spite of the fact that late Zoroastrian tradition early recorded by the Arabs (see al-Balādhurī, 331; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 119) placed the birthplace of Zoroaster at Urmiya.

Geography. The district of Urmiya is bounded on the east by Lake Urmiya and in the west by the mountain range which runs north and south and separates Persia from Turkey. The district of Urmiya consists of plain and mountains. The rivers that water it and which flow from west to east are:

1. The Baranduz, which unites the waters of the district of Märgävär and then runs through the gorge of Nergi into the plain which it runs round on the south side.
2. The Barde-Sūr (= Kurdish "Red Stone") runs out of the gorge of Bēdkār (belonging to Turkey), through the mountainous region of Däsht, which belongs to Urmiya and then through the pass of Bänd into the plain and through the town of Urmiya, whence its other name, Shähär-čay "the river of the town".
3. The Rouzä (Rawḍa)-čay drains the hilly district of Tärgävär and before reaching the lake has been used up by irrigation canals.
4. The Nāzlu-čay is made up of a number of streams, of which the southern one rises in the Turkish district of Deyri (where the monastery of Mar Bisho is) and, below the village of Arzin, runs through the northern part of Tärgävär; the middle one comes out of the gorge of Bažirga and near the village of Sērō enters the Persian district of Brādost; the northern stream is that of the district of the Sōmāy [*q.v.*] which belongs to Salmās.

The abundant water-supply renders the alluvial plain of Urmiya extremely fertile. The villages are buried in verdure. In the mountain districts, agriculture is dependent on the rains. The natural conditions there are very favourable for the breeding of sheep.

Archaeology. Several tells in the vicinity of the town (Gök-täpä, Degala, Tarmani, Aḥmad, Saralan, Dīzä-täpä) have already produced objects of great antiquity. Urmiya came within the ancient Urartu (late second millennium B.C.-early first millennium B.C.), which had linguistic connections with the Hurrians of Anatolia but which came under strong Assyrian cultural influence. Just to the south of Lake Urmiya was the city and principality of Manna, which was backed against Urartu in the 8th century by the rising power of Assyria, whose King Sargon defeated the Urartians in 714 B.C., although kings of Urartu continued into the 7th century B.C.

The Islamic period. Urmiya was conquered by Ṣadaḳa b. ʿAlī, a client of the Azd, who built several castles there (al-Balādhurī, 331-2); according to another story, the town was taken by ʿUtba b. Farḳad, whom the caliph ʿUmar had sent in 20/640 to conquer the district of Mawṣil.

The geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 181; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 239) give Urmiya the third place among the towns of Ādharbāydjān (next to Ardabīl and Marāgha) and emphasise its wealth in water, pasture and fruits. Al-Muḳaddasī, 51, puts Urmiya in Armenia and says it is governed from Dwin. At this period, Urmiya was on the great road Ardabīl-Marāgha-Urmiya-Barkrī (to the northeast of Lake Van)-Āmid. As Tabrīz was not yet of any importance, the road made a detour to the south to serve the principal towns. It is possible that the presence of unsubdued elements in the north of Ādharbāydjān (cf. the name of the lake Buḥayrat al-Shurāt and the history of the Khurramī rebel Bābak) also influenced this deviation of the road towards the south.

The district of Urmiya, being inhabited by Kurds and Christians, has never played a great part in Islamic history. It was a remote fief in which the offshoots of the dynasties that reigned in Ādharbāydjān lived in isolation.

In the period of Daylamī domination in Ādharbāydjān, we find in Urmiya a certain Djustān b. Sharmazan. This general had begun in 342/953 as a devoted partisan of the Kurd Daysam. Later, won over by the Daylamīs, he became governor of Armenia under Marzubān. When Djustān succeeded his father Marzubān in 346/957-8, Djustān b. Sharmazan did not recognise his suzerainty. At first he left Urmiya to throw in his lot with Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, for whom he conquered Marāgha. He later left him to return to Urmiya, which he surrounded with walls; he also built a strong fortress there. He then entered the service of the claimant to the caliphate al-Mustadjīr bi 'llāh and had the support of the Ḳaḥṭānī Kurds. But the sons of Marzubān (Djustān and Ibrāhīm) defeated him with the help of the Hadhbānī Kurds. In 349/960-1 at the instigation of Wahsūdān, brother of Marzubān, he inflicted a defeat on Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, captured the remnants of his army and annexed Marāgha to Urmiya. In 355/966 through the mediation of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, he again recognised the authority of Ibrāhīm (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, ii, 150, 167, 177-8, 180, 219, 229; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 395).

When the Ghuzz invaded Ādharbāydjān in 420-32/1029-41, the lord of Urmiya was a certain Abu 'l-Haydjā b. Rabīb al-Dawla, chief of the Hadhbānī Kurds, whose mother was the sister of the prince of Tabrīz, Wahsūdān al-Rawwādī. This son of Rabīb al-Dawla boasted of having destroyed near a bridge 25,000 Ghuzz of the 30,000 who were trying to cross his territory (in 432 ?); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 271.

In Muḥarram 455/January 1063, Sultan Ṭoghrïl passed through Urmiya (al-Bundārī, 25). When Masʿūd returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān (in 526?), the *amīr* Ḥādjib Tatar had fortified himself in Urmiya but later he submitted to the sultan (*ibid.*, 165). In 544/1149 Urmiya belonged to Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, nephew and son-in-law of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbāl, 244). When the last Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl quarrelled with his uncle, the Ildegizid Ḳïzïl Arslān, Ṭoghrïl had the support of the *amīr* Ḥasan b. Ḳifdjaḳ and with him laid siege to Urmiya in 585/1189. The town was taken by storm, sacked and destroyed (al-Bundārī, 302).

In 602/1205-6, the Atābeg of Tabrīz Abū Bakr gave Ushnū (*sic* for Ustuwā) and Urmiya to the Atābeg of Marāgha ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn to recompense him for the loss of Marāgha (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 157). Yāḳūt, who visited Urmiya in 617/1220, speaks of its lack of security on account of the weakness of its ruler, the Ildegizid Özbek b. Pahlawān.

During the rule in Ādharbāydjān of the Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn, Urmiya, Salmās and Khoy formed

the personal appanage of the Saldjūḳ princess whom Djalāl al-Dīn had carried off from her first husband, the Ildegizid Özbek. In 623/1226 the Īwā'ī Turkomans seized Urmiya and levied *kharādj*. On the complaint of the princess, his wife, Djalāl al-Dīn sent troops, who defeated the Turkomans (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 301).

On the other hand, according to Djuwaynī, ii, 160, 184, the Georgian generals Shalwa and Iwane, taken prisoners in the battle of Karbi (622/1225) and at first treated with honour by Djalāl al-Dīn, were given for a short time Marand, Salmās, Urmiya and Ushnū. In 628/1230-1 the Khwārazmshāh, when hard pressed by the Mongols, spent the winter in the region of Urmiya-Ushnū. His stay there may explain the story of the building by the Khwārazmshāh of the Se-Gunbadān and even of his burial at Urmiya.

Tīmūr. According to the local chronicle, Tīmūr had given Urmiya as a fief to Gurgīn-beg of the Afshar tribe, who established himself in the fortress of Torpakh (=Toprak)-Ḳalʿa, a quarter of a *farsakh* from the town of Urmiya. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, however (i, 424), mentions as governor a certain Tīzak (?) whose rights were confirmed by Tīmūr in 789/1307.

The Brādōst. According to the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 559, in the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp the great *amīrs* were governors at Urmiya, while the Kurd Ḳara Tādj of the Brādōst tribe, who had been made *shāhiseven*, was given the districts of Tärgävär and Märgävär. In 1012/1603 Shāh ʿAbbās, in order to reward the loyalty of Amīr-Khān Brādōst, who had not submitted to the Ottomans, gave him Urmiya and Ushnū, although he later fell under suspicion.

Conversions to the Shīʿa under the Ṣafawids seemed to have been of an isolated character among the natives of the region of Urmiya, where to this day the Kurds and a few villages (Balow) are still Sunnī. The influence of the Sunnī Naḳshbandī *shaykhs* may be judged from the fact that in 1049/1639 the Ottoman Sultan Murād executed in Diyārbakr the *shaykh* Maḥmūd of Urmiya, who had 30-40,000 partisans.

Ewliyā Čelebi. For the year 1065/1655 we have the very detailed account of Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 271-318). Unfortunately his itinerary and story are very confused. He describes the fortress, the walls of which were covered with plaster, looking "like a white swan". Its circumference was 10,000 paces, the walls were 70 *dhirāʿ* high and 30 *dhirāʿ* wide; the ditch was 80 *dhirāʿ* wide and 15,000 paces round. During the night, the walls were lit by torches. The garrison consisted of 4,000 men and 310 (?) guns. The Khān had at his disposal 15,000 soldiers and 20,000 *nükers* or retainers. The town had 60 quarters, 6,000 houses and 8 cathedral mosques, among which was that of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan, which was finished under his son Yaʿḳūb. In the plain of Urmiya (*ölgä*) there were 150 villages, with 300,000 peasants. Ewliyā Čelebi says the town was exceedingly prosperous and gives a list of its sanctuaries, its *medreses*, schools, cafés and fixed prices (*narkh-i Shaykh Ṣafī*).

The Afshārs. In the 18th century, the fate of Urmiya was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Afshārs settled in the plain, whose chief bore the title *beglärbegi*.

These chiefs were continually fighting with their neighbours and in troubled times, so frequent in the 18th century, they even led expeditions to the east of the Lake of Urmiya.

During the campaign of 1724, the Ottomans employed the Hakkārī Kurds to ward off the Afshārs, who were threatening the provisionment of the army. When in 1725, the Turks organised the administration of the country, the Khānate of Urmiya was recognised as hereditary in the family of Ḳāsimlu (Afshār ?). In 1729 Nādir recaptured from the Turks Marāgha, Sāwdj-bulaḳ and Dimdim, but in 1731 the Ḥekīm-oghlu Pashas ʿAlī and Rustam seized Urmiya after a desperate resistance which lasted a month. Urmiya was entrusted to the Hakkārī chief Binānishin. It was only by the treaty of 1736 that the Turks were ejected from Ādharbāydjān.

Āzād Khān. After the disappearance of the Nādirid Ibrāhīm Shāh (in 1161/1748), one of his generals, Āzād Khān, a descendant of an Afghan chief, retired first of all to Shahrazūr and then, taking advantage of the troubles among the Afshār, seized Urmiya, where he was favourably received by Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān. Urmiya became the capital of the ephemeral principality of Āzād. The mountain name Awghan-daghî to the north of Urmiya seems to preserve the memory of Afghan rule.

The Ḳādjārs. In 1169/1755-6, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār, having defeated Āzād in Gīlān, seized Urmiya. Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Afshār joined Muḥammad Ḥasan. On the latter's death, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān reappeared on the scene and from Urmiya captured Marāgha and Tabrīz. In the winter of 1173/1759 he was besieged in the latter town by Karīm Khān Zand and in the following year, Ādharbāydjān passed into the power of Karīm Khān. Urmiya was taken after a siege of seven months. After the end of the Zand dynasty, the Afshār of Urmiya with the Shaḳaḳ [*q.v.*] of Sarāb and the Dumbulī of Khoy formed a coalition against the Ḳādjārs, but had no success. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had Muḥammad Ḳuli Khān put to death but married the sister of Ḥusayn Ḳuli Khān Afshār, whose sons were the first governors of Urmiya to be appointed by the central government in Tehran. In 1828, in the course of the Russo-Persian War, Urmiya was occupied for several months by Russian troops. In the absence of the governor (the prince Malik Ḳāsim Mīrzā), the town was ruled by the *beglerbegi* Nadjaf-Ḳuli Khān Afshār.

ʿUbaydallāh. In 1880 Shaykh ʿUbaydallāh of Shamdīnān [*q.v.*] invaded Ādharbāydjān. Urmiya was besieged by the Kurds, and was about to surrender, when the arrival of the Khān of Mākū [*q.v.*] saved it.

Turkish occupation. In August 1906, after the reverses suffered by Russia in the Far East, Turkey occupied the district of Urmiya except the enclave of the town under the pretext that the Turco-Persian frontier had never been settled. The Turkish troops were recalled at the beginning of the Balkan War. After the incidents at Tabrīz in December 1911, Urmiya was occupied by Russian troops, and during the First World War, Urmiya changed hands several times. As a result of the break-up of the Russian army in 1917, the actual authority in the town passed into the hands of the council of "Assyrian" Christians (*mutwa*). After a series of tragic and bloody events (massacre of the Muslims of Urmiya by the Christians on 22 February 1918, the assassination of the patriarch Mār Shimūn by followers of the Kurd chief Simko on 25 February, the arrival of 20,000 Armenian refugees from Van, and fights between Assyrians and Turks), all the Assyrian population collected in the plain of Urmiya, and to the number of 50-70,000 set out for the south to put themselves under British protection. This exodus with women, children and cattle took place via Sa'in-Ḳalʿa and Hamadān in the midst of fighting with Turkish troops and the Kurds. The refugees were settled at Baʿḳūba to the north of Baghdād. After the departure of the "Assyrians", the Catholic Bishop Mgr.

Sontag and the Baptist missionary H. Pflaumer were killed at Urmiya on 1 August 1918.

The peace found Urmiya in ruins and depopulated. Only gradually was the central government in Tehran able to reassert its authority in the west of the Lake of Urmiya.

Under the Pahlawīs, the town of Urmiya (lat. 37° 32' N., long. 45° 02' E.) gradually recovered. Anglo-Russian political rivalry had prevented the construction of any railways in northwestern Persia, but during the First World War, under a concession to the Russian Discount and Loan Bank, the Julfa-Tabrīz line was constructed, with a 30-mile branch to Urmiya, which actually reached the town in 1916. In the Pahlawī period, the town was re-named Riḍā'iyya (Reza'iyeh). After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the old name was restored. It is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* in the province of West Azerbaijan, and has a population of 435,200 (1996 census).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 143 (here spelt Armana); Yāḳūt, i, 219, 513; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 80, 85, 241; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 385, and the map of the country round the lake. On a manuscript list of the villages of Urmiya, *Nuskha-yi khānawār wa-asāmī-yi wilāyat-i Urūmī*, see B. Dorn, *Die Sammlung... welche die Kaiserl. Akademie im Jahre 1814 von Herrn v. Chanykow erworben hat*, St. Petersburg 1865, 32, 113; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnûje und die Stadt Urûmîje*, in *SBWAW*, phil.-hist. Cl. cxxxiii/3 (1896), 1-97 (text and translation of a Persian memoir completed at the beginning of the 19th century with historical and geographical commentary); Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla, *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, i, 1294, s.v. *Urmiya*; B. Nikitine (former Russian consul at Urmiya), *Les Afšars d'Urumiyeh*, in *JA* (January-March 1929), 67-123, résumé of a Persian memoir prepared in 1917 (perhaps from the *Tārīkh-i Urūmiya*, of which a manuscript was in the possession of the notable of Urmiya, Madjd al-Salṭana, in 1910). For the 19th century travellers and commentators on the events of the early 20th century, see the *EI*[1] art. s.v., and see also Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, London 1945, 51, 333, 366, 550; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾi Īrān-zamīn*, iv, 237-40. (V. Minorsky-[C.E. Bosworth])

3. Christians in the region.

Local legend attributes the foundation of Mart Maryam church in Urmiya to the Magi returning from worshipping the infant Jesus in Bethlehem. However, the town is not mentioned in any pre-Islamic Christian source. It is first attested as a diocese of the Assyrian Church of the East [see nasṭūriyyūn] in 1111 and of the Syrian Orthodox church in 1189. A continuous church history can be traced from the 16th century onwards. By this time, there had probably been a migration of Assyrian Christians from the mountains of Kurdistān to the Urmiya plain. In 1562 the Catholic Chaldaean patriarch ʿAbdīshōʿ claimed to preside over the four metropolitan sees of Urmi superior, Urmi inferior, Superghan (a village 25 km/15 miles north of the city) and Salmās (the plain further to the north [*q.v.*]). Some of his successors lived in Urmiya or Salmās until the end of the 17th century, more or less estranged from the Roman obedience.

Urmiya became the centre of western missionary activity among the Syrian Christians in the 19th century. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions set up a station in 1834; the French Lazarists followed in 1838; the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission in 1884; and the Russian Orthodox Church in 1898. Thanks to publications by missionaries and consuls, the life and demography of Christians in the area are well documented (see e.g. the works by Perkins, Hornus, and Maclean and Browne listed below). The missions benefited the Syrians by their schools and publications in the modern Syriac language, but the lack of opportunity for their graduates within Persia caused many to emigrate. Almost all the Christians in the region joined the Orthodox Church after 1898 to secure Russian civil protection, but this mass conversion did not survive the 1914-18 war, and the Russian Orthodox mission was dissolved by the terms of the Perso-Soviet Russian treaty of 1921. During the course of the war, the Syrians (or Assyrians, as they were starting to be called) concentrated in Urmiya and the city became the headquarters for the Assyrian forces fighting on the side of the Allies. They were at last unable to hold out in isolation, and there was a flight of all Christians from the city in August 1918.

The Christian population returned to the area only in small numbers after 1920. According to Berthaud's figures, the number of Christians had recovered to 10,242 in 1947 (from 18,260 in 1910). However, since then the movement to the cities has depopulated many villages. The Chaldaean archdiocese of Urmiya-Salmās numbered 2,000 in 1996. The Assyrian Church of the East in the city has only the parish of Mart Maryam, and there are two Protestant congregations. There is also an Armenian population of 2,000 in the region, with a parish church in Urmiya.

Bibliography: J. Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia among Nestorian Christians, with notes of the Muhammedans*, Andover, Mass. 1843; A.J. Maclean and W.H. Browne, *The Catholikos of the East and his people*, London 1892; E. Hammerschmidt, *Nestorianische Kirchen am Urmia-See*, in W. Hoenerbach (ed.), *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 254-78; idem, *Zur Lage der Nestorianer am Urmia-See*, in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 150-61 (both on the situation in 1965); E. Berthaud, *Chrétiens d'Iran*, in *Orient*, xlv-xlvi (1969), 23-36 (censuses of villages around Urmiya in 1910, 1947 and 1969); J.-M. Hornus, *Un rapport du consul de France à Erzeroum sur la situation des chrétiens en Perse au milieu du XIX[e] siècle*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, xx (1970), 272-301, xxi (1971), 3-29, 127-51, 289-315, xxii (1972), 18-46, 288-304; H. de Mauroy, *Lieux de culte (anciens et actuels) des Églises "syrienne orientales" dans le diocèse d'Ourmiah-Salmas en Iran (Azerbaïjan occidental)*, in *Parole d'Orient*, iii (1972), 313-51; J.-M. Fiey, *Ādarbāyğān chrétien*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 397-435 (on the period up to 1552); R. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, London 1975; J.F. Coakley, *The Church of the East and the Church of England. A history of the Archbishop of Canterbbury's Assyrian Mission*, Oxford 1992. (J.F. Coakley)

ʿURS, ʿUrus (a., pl. *aʿrās* and *ʿurusāt*), originally the leading of the bride to her bridegroom, marriage, also the wedding feast simply; whence a denominal verb form IV *aʿrasa* "to celebrate a marriage". *ʿArūs* means both bridegroom and bride; in modern linguistic usage this term has, however, been supplanted by *ʿarīs* "bridegroom" and *ʿarūsa* "bride" (as early as the *1001 Nights*, cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 110). Two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: *ʿurs* is the wedding performed in the tribe or the house of the man, and *ʿumra* is the wedding performed in the house or tribe of the woman (this distinction is already made by Ibn al-Aʿrābī [d. 231/845] in *LʿA*[1], vi, 283; cf. al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v. *ʿ-m-r* and *ʿ-r-s*). The two forms

agree for the most part in practice; they only differ in the choice of place for the main ceremonies and in the fact that in the *'umra*, the *zaffa* "procession" of the bride is omitted.

1. Pre- and early Islam

a. Little is known of the wedding customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs. They seem to have been very simple in the Arabian Peninsula itself, as is still the case among the Bedouin (cf. below). The pomp and display of later centuries, especially in the bridal procession, was probably unknown. The wedding lasted a week, whence it is also called *usbū'* (cf. *Aghānī*[1], xii, 145). The bride is adorned, perfumed and painted with *kuḥl*. There is an old proverb which says: "The scent behind a bride cannot be concealed" (Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 48 l. 9; al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ed. Freytag, xxiii, 269). The bride is called "the conducted one" (cf. 'Antara, xxvii, 1), i.e. she was conducted to the bridegroom, usually by a number of women without any pomp, but very quietly and simply. This at least is indicated by the story of 'Ukayil b. 'Ullafa, who betrothed his daughter to the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I; he made it a condition that the caliph's people should not come for his daughter but that he should bring her himself on a camel (*Aghānī*[1], xi, 90). Sometimes she was brought in a litter (*mizaffa*) (cf. al-Djawharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, s.v. *z-f-f*), as was still the case in 19th century Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 182). A special tent was always put up for the young couple. About the bridegroom there is an old proverb: "The bridegroom wants little to be an *amīr* (or king)" (al-Djawharī, s.v. *'-r-s*; al-Maydānī, xii, 143).

In the lands adjoining Arabia, on the other hand, weddings were celebrated with great splendour. Thus we are told (*Aghānī*[1], xx, 23) of a Persian wedding in 'Irāḳ with a splendid bridal procession; similarly for Syria as early as I. Macc. ix. 37: .... *ποιοῦσιν γάμον μέγαν καὶ ἄγουσιν τὴν νύμφην....μετὰ παραπομπῆς μεγάλης*. As late as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, we find a simple Bedouin much surprised at a splendid wedding in North Syria (*Aghānī*[1], xii, 35-6), which shows that Syrian usages were foreign to the Arabs (see on the above section: Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 203-4; Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N.G.W. Gött.* [1893], 441-2; G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 57-8).

b. The records in Tradition are on the whole in keeping with the simple usages of the Arab pagan period. 'Ā'isha [*q.v.*] wore at her wedding with the Prophet a robe of red striped material which came from Baḥrayn (*dir' ḳiṭr*[in]; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. *ḳ-ṭ-r*) and "every woman in Medina, when dressing (for her *zifāf*), used to borrow it from her" (al-Bukhārī, *Hiba*, *bāb* 34). For Fāṭima's wedding with 'Alī, 'Ā'isha and Umm Salama made the preparations at home; they scattered soft dust from the Baṭḥā' or centre of Mecca over the ground and filled two cushions with fibre (*līf*) and teased it out. They laid out dates and figs to eat and sweet-tasting water to drink; they also put up at one side of the room a stand for the clothes and the water-skin (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 24). Fāṭima's trousseau consisted of a silken robe with fringes (*khamīl*), a water-skin (*ḳirba*) and a cushion filled with rushes (*idhkhir*) (al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 81). In another tradition, the Prophet allows considerable expenditure on large carpets with fringes (*anmāṭ*) (al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 83). From numerous traditions (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 58, 64; *Tafsīr*, sūra XXXIII, *bāb* 8; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 21, 24; al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 18, 77; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 196), it is evident that the bride was conducted by her mother and other female relatives to the house of the bridegroom. When the Prophet married 'Ā'isha, who was then six years old, she was brought by her mother Umm Rūmān to the Prophet's house; there women were awaiting her and greeted her with the saying "For good, and bliss, and good fortune". The women then washed her hair and adorned her while the Prophet stood smiling by. She was then handed over by the women to the Prophet (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 69; cf. al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 58). Tradition gives no further details of the toilet; but the men seem also to have been perfumed; a perfume was used which left yellow stains (*khalūḳ*, *ṣufra* or *za'farān*), such as the Prophet noticed on 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf still a few days after his wedding (according to Anas b. Mālik in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 7, 55, 57; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 79-81; al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 67, 75, 84; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 24; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 22; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 165, 190, 204, 227, 271). According to a tradition transmitted by Abū Hurayra, the Prophet uttered the following blessings at weddings: *bāraka 'llāh*[u] *lakum* (var. *laka*) *wa-bāraka 'alaykum* (var. *'alayka*) *wa-djama'a baynakumā fī* (var. *'alā*) *khayr*[in] or instead of the third part: *wa-bāraka laka fīhā* (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 23; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 35; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 381, cf. i, 201, iii, 451; al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 73; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6), while he forbade the wish from the period of the Djāhiliyya *bi 'l-rifā wa 'l-banīn* "in harmony and with sons!" (al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 73; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 23; al-Dārimī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 201, iii, 451). The bride was conducted to the bridegroom by young girls who sang *ghazals*. Two opening lines of such a *ghazal* have been preserved: *ataynākum ataynākum fa-ḥayyānā wa-ḥayyākum* "we come to you, we come to you, may (God) give us long life and give you long life" (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 21; cf. also al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 64) or *ataynākum ataynākum fa-ḥayyūnā nuḥayyīkum* "We come to you, we come to you, then greet us, we greet you" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 78). The participation of women and children in the wedding ceremonies is, according to Anas b. Mālik, expressly approved by the Prophet (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 76; *Manāsik al-Anṣār*, *bāb* 5). On these occasions, young girls used to beat tambourines (*duff*) and sing of the death of the champions of Badr, which the Prophet is definitely said to have permitted (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 49; *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 12; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 20, 21; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; al-Nasā'ī, *Nikāḥ*, *bābs* 72, 80; al-Ṭayālisī, no. 1221; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 418). Other instruments are mentioned, such as another variety of tambourine (*ghirbāl*; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 20) and the drum (*ṭabl*; *ibid.*, *bāb* 21). The object of this music was to call public attention to the marriage (*ibid.*, *bāb* 20; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 5). According to one tradition, the Prophet is even said to have forbidden marriages to be performed in complete quiet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 78).

A wedding feast (*walīma* or *ṭa'ām*) for the men was part of the wedding (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 69; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 359; Zayd, *Madjmū'*, no. 949; etc.). A feast is obligatory for the first day (*ḥaḳḳ*) and commendable for the second (*ma'rūf*; al-Tirmidhī regards it also as *sunna*), and on the third day ostentation (*sum'a wa-riyā'*, i.e. done in order that people may hear and see it) (al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 5; al-Dārimī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 28; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 25; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 28, 371). Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (according to al-Dārimī, the

Prophet) is said to have accepted the invitation for the first two days, but refused that for the third (Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 5; al-Dārimī, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 28). Al-Bukhārī, in the superscription to *Nikāḥ, bāb* 72, speaks of a week's feasting and says that the Prophet did not limit it to one or two days. The feast at the Prophet's wedding with Ṣafiyya consisted of *ḥays*, a dish of dates, curds (*aḳīṭ*) and fat, to which according to some traditions was added meal of roasted barley (*sawīḳ*) (according to Anas b. Mālik, in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 13, 61, 69, *Buyūʿ, bāb* III; *Djihād, bāb* 73; *Aṭʿima, bāb* 8; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 84, 87, 88; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 79; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99, 102, 159, 195, 264); according to another tradition, the Prophet used on this occasion another 1½ *mudds* of the best kind of dates (*ʿadjwa*) (according to Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 333). At the Prophet's wedding with Zaynab (according to Anas b. Mālik, in Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 87, 89, 91, 92; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 98, 105, 172, 196, 200, 263) and at the wedding of Rabīʿa al-Aslamī (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 58), bread and meat were given, which seems to have been usual along with *ḥays*, as in some cases it is specially mentioned that there was no bread and meat (Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 24; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 48; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99, 195, 264; al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 13, 61; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 79). In other passages, 2 *mudds* of barley are mentioned (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 71; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 113), a sheep and millet (*ibid.*, v, 359); but for the *walīma*, at least a sheep should be slaughtered (according to Anas b. Mālik, in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 7, 55, 57, 69, 70, *Daʿawāt, bāb* 54; *Adab, bāb* 67; *Buyūʿ, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 79-81, 90; etc.). Anas b. Mālik also records that his mother Umm Sulaym sent the Prophet a dish of *ḥays* on the occasion of a marriage and that the Prophet offered it to his guests in groups of ten until they were satisfied (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trs. 94, 95; al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 84). Sahl b. Saʿd records that at the wedding of Abū Asyad al-Sāʿidī his bride offered the guests after the feast a beverage made by steeping dates (*naḳīʿ*), which she herself had prepared (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 72, 78, 79, *Ashriba, bāb* 7, 9); al-Bukhārī concludes from this that, on the one hand, non-intoxicating beverages are allowed at weddings and, on the other, that women may wait on the men at a wedding.

As a rule, the traditions give no information about the time of the *walīma*. In the few passages which admit a definite time, the *walīma* took place after the bride had been taken to the bridegroom's house but before the wedding night (al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, sūra XXXIII, *bāb* 8; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 196, and the other traditions about Zaynab's wedding); but the *walīma* at Ṣafiyya's wedding seems to have taken place on the next day, probably as a result of the special conditions, as the Prophet married her on the return of the expedition to Khaybar (al-Bukhārī, *Buyūʿ, bāb* 111, *Djihād, bāb* 73; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 88; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 195, and the other traditions about this wedding; cf. however, one tradition about Zaynab's wedding in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 98, 105).

An invitation to a wedding feast ought always to be accepted (Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trads. 100, 101; Abū Dāwūd, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 22). ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used never to refuse an invitation even when he was fasting (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 78; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, tr. 103; al-Dārimī, *Aṭʿima, bāb* 40). People of all conditions, rich and poor, should be invited; in one tradition given by Abū Hurayra, we read that "The wedding feast at which the rich eat and from which the poor are kept away is an evil feast" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 494). For further references see Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. *Walīma*.

The following two traditions presumably refer to the procedure in the bridal chamber: "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall take her by her forelock and pray (to God) for blessing (*baraka*) ... and pray to God for refuge from the accursed Satan" (Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 52), and "If any one of you marry a woman ... he shall say: O God, I pray Thee for her good and for her good inclinations which Thou hast created, and I seek refuge with Thee from her evil and from her evil inclinations which Thou hast created" (Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 44). Umm Salama for her wedding night with the Prophet prepared a meal of barley and fat (*ʿaṣīda*) (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 307). According to many traditions (Anas b. Mālik, among others), it is a *sunna* for the young husband to spend seven days and nights with his young wife if she is a virgin (*bikr*) and only three days and nights if she is not (*thayyib*); only after this does the regular rotation with the other wives begin (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 101, 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 40; Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, tr. 45; Zayd, *Madjmūʿ*, no. 737; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 26; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 15; on the Prophet's marriage with Ṣafiyya [who was *thayyib*]: Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 99; on the Prophet's marriage with Umm Salama [who was *thayyib*]: Muslim, *Raḍāʿ*, trs. 41-4; Ibn Mādja, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 26; Abū Dāwūd, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 33; Mālik, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 14; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 292, 295, 307, 313, 320, 321 [this was done at her request; the Prophet had given her the choice between seven and three days]). According to another tradition, the young husband should only stay three days with a virgin and two with a bride who is not a virgin (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 178; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ, bāb* 40).

As to the season of the year, the month of Shawwāl is expressly mentioned in Tradition as the month in which the Prophet celebrated his wedding with ʿĀʾisha (al-Nasāʾī, *Nikāḥ, bābs* 18, 77; Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, trad. 73; etc.).

c. In *fiḳh*, the Mālikīs pay special attention to wedding customs, since most of them are primarily intended to call public attention to the conclusion of the marriage. According to Mālik b. Anas, as well as Ibn Abī Laylā (cf. al-Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, v, 30), in contrast to other schools, making the wedding public (*iʿlān*) is a necessary condition for the validity of a marriage. Witnesses are not essential for the conclusion of a contract of marriage, although with the Mālikīs it is usual to have them in practice; if the two witnesses were not present at the conclusion of the contract, they must be present on the night of the wedding and, for example, push the bridegroom into the bridal chamber (al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1338, 66; Khalīl, ii, 1459; al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, ii, 252; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1349, ii, 16, where we already find witnesses mentioned among the essentials). On the same grounds of publicity, Khalīl (ii, 1) also recommends congratulations to the bridal pair. The doors of the house should therefore not be closed at the *walīmat al-ʿurs* (*ibid.*, 117). This *walīma* is considered praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*) among the Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs, while the Shāfiʿīs hold a stricter view; according to one view, it is *sunna muʾakkada*, according to the others, it is even *wādjib* (cf. al-Shīrāzī, 205; al-Ghazālī, ii, 22; al-Nawawī, 90; al-Ardabīlī, ii, 94). According to Khalīl, it should be held the day after the wedding,

according to other Mālikīs, however, before, so that the wedding is only consummated after its public proclamation (al-Tīdjānī, *Tuḥfa*, 35). A wealthy man should kill at least a sheep, a poorer man provide as much as he can afford (al-Shīrāzī, al-Ardabīlī). To accept an invitation to a *walīma* is, according to the Ḥanafīs, praiseworthy (*mustaḥabb*), among the Mālikīs, while the Ḥanbalīs and the Shāfiʿīs, on the other hand, consider it a duty (*wādjib*; al-Shāfiʿī, *Umm*, vi, 178, says a *ḥakk*). Among the Shāfiʿīs it is praiseworthy to accept the invitation for the second day also; on the other hand, it is best to refuse it for the third day (al-Nawawī describes acceptance for the third day as *makrūh*). If the person invited is fasting, he should nevertheless accept the invitation; he need not, however, eat anything, but it is best if he breaks his fast unless he is pledged to observe it. If an intoxicated man is at the *walīma*, or if wine or anything else forbidden is served, it is best to stay away, and likewise if there are in the room representations of living creatures, even if one tramples on them (e.g. on carpets). According to al-Shīrāzī, one should also stay away from the *walīma* where songs are sung, even if one does not listen to them and only pays attention to *ḥadīth* and eating. Music is on the other hand permitted to some extent, e.g. that of the tambourine (*duff*) already mentioned in Tradition. Khalīl gives a list of permitted instruments: another kind of tambourine (*ghirbāl*), an older kind of lute (*mizhar* [see ʿŪD]; cf. H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 46-7), a kind of flute (*zummāra*) and horns (*būḳ*).

The question is much discussed whether one should scatter among the wedding crowd nuts, almonds and sweets (al-Ardabīlī also mentions dates, dirhams and dīnārs). According to al-Dimashḳī (ii, 76), Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal had no objections, while Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in a second opinion declare the practice *makrūh*. The views of the later Shāfiʿīs are, however, divided. Al-Muzanī recommends the omission of the practice, as the things would be hurriedly picked up as plunder by the people; but it is not forbidden except when the people fall upon one another and try to take the things from each other. Al-Ghazālī allows the scattering of sweets, since it was allegedly done in the time of the Prophet, and al-Nawawī and al-Ardabīlī, while regarding it as permitted, consider it better omitted. Al-Shīrāzī, on the other hand, declares it *makrūh*.

Bibliography: Shāfiʿī, *K. al-Umm*, Būlāḳ 1324, vi, 178; Muzanī, *Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of the preceding, iv, 39-41; Shīrāzī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1879, 205-6; Ghazālī, *Wadjīz*, Cairo 1318, ii, 22; Nawawī, *Minhādj*, Cairo 1329, 90; Ardabīlī, *K. al-Anwār li-aʿmāl al-abrār*, Cairo 1328, ii, 94-6; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii, 63 ff.; Ibn Rushd, *Muḳaddimāt*, on the margin of the *Mudawwana al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, ii, 58; Shaʿrānī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1925, ii, 124; Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-umma*, on the margin of the preceding, ii, 76; Tornauw, *Das moslemische Recht*, Leipzig 1855, 70-1; Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 162 ff.

2. Later usages down to the present day

d. For the older period we are dependent on occasional scattered notes; it is only with the literature of European travellers (from the 15th century onwards), with the recording of texts in dialect and the systematic collection of folklore in recent decades (Westermarck for Morocco, Jaussen for Nablus, etc.) that we have a wealth of material. These sources are, however, not all of equal value. On the one hand, particularly with the earlier literature, we have first of all to investigate the trustworthiness of the traveller. For example, the Fleming Van Ghistele who made a pilgrimage in 1481-5, says (*Voyage*, Ghent 1557, 15) that before the marriage contract is signed the bridal pair is put one in each of two adjoining rooms with an eyehole through which they can see one another naked. This is contradictory to Muslim ideas (but note the fact that some jurists like Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī permit the man before marriage to see the whole of the woman's body except the pudenda; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, ii, 3; al-Dimashḳī, *Raḥma*, ii, 62). On the other hand, there are gaps in the records of the travellers; they only record what was done in the street or more or less publicly. Full accounts of the customs observed, as in Leo Africanus and Lane, are by no means numerous and can be supplemented for the earlier period by scattered references in the *Alf layla wa-layla* and the popular romances.

Wedding customs are more or less distinct according to country. This is most clearly seen on the periphery of the Muslim world, for example in the Malay Archipelago, in Central Africa or among the Ḳirkhīz and Turkomans. Here Islam has taken over old local customs and sometimes adapted them to its point of view. For the original lands of Islam, however, the same observation can be made, except that the process was completed in the early centuries of Islam. In modern Syria and Egypt the customs among Muslims and Christians are almost identical except as regards purely ecclesiastical and religious matters (cf. the sketches in Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*; Jaussen, *Coutumes palestiniennes*; Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt*, 93). This fact shows that we have to deal in this case with old customs of the Middle East, at any rate, not with specifically Muslim practices. In this connection one may call attention to the already-mentioned elaborate pre-Islamic practices in Syria and Mesopotamia. A pre-Islamic origin can in some points be definitely proven. In many districts, the Muslim bride wears a crown of flowers or of pasteboard (see below); in this one may discern the adoption of a practice of the Christian East where the crowning of the bride was and still is a part of the wedding ceremony. (This crowning is mentioned as early as a liturgical poem by Ephraim the Syrian, in Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg 1864, ii, 443; in Barhebraeus, in *ibid.*, ii, 385; among the Copts of the 12th century, in *ibid.*, ii, 365; cf. also *ibid.*, ii, 391 ff., 408 ff., 433 ff.) The carrying of lights in the bridal procession may also be of Christian origin (for the Copts of the 12th century, cf. Denzinger, ii, 364; cf. the carrying of lights in the Mawlid [*q.v.*] festival and its Christian origin, iii, 420). The ceremonies on the seventh day have also their parallels in the Christian liturgy of the East; among the Copts, on the seventh day, the bridal crown is solemnly removed (Denzinger, ii, 380).

From the point of view of methodology, it would be more correct to deal with wedding customs by regions, but here some account is given of the most important customs in vogue in towns in the old lands of Islam as far as possible treated historically. It should be noted in this connection that practices differed in different levels of society. Therefore, three groups have at least to be distinguished: customs in the towns; among the fellāḥīn; and among the Bedouins. The two last-named were essentially simpler and agreed more with the old Arab practices than did those of the town-dwellers.

Among the Ruwala Bedouin [*q.v.*] (Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 228 ff.), a camel was killed on the morning of the

wedding before the bridegroom's tent and its flesh distributed. In the course of the day, the bride put up her tent—the woman always brought it with her—and at night she was taken by a few female relations in all secrecy to this tent; soon afterwards the bridegroom entered the tent. There were no ceremonies, no singing or dancing, not even the usual *zag̲h̲ārīt* cries of the women. On the next morning, the bridegroom went to his relatives while the bride was visited by the women and congratulated; she then received a gift from her father-in-law and remained for seven days in her tent while the bridegroom went about his usual business. He had, however, to spend seven nights with his young wife (cf. the traditions in *b.* above). Among other Bedouin tribes in Arabia Petraea (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 196 ff.), the youths and maidens sang bridal songs and danced. Here as in the Sinai Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys*, London 1831, Ger. tr. Weimar 1831, 216-17) the bride ran away into the desert after the first night, sometimes for six days, sometimes even for longer and the husband had to go to look for her.

Between these very simple practices of the Bedouin and the highly-developed rites of the town-dwellers, numerous intermediate stages are to be found among the fellāḥīn, among whom we can observe the gradual advance of usages from the towns.

Weddings were celebrated with great pomp at the ʿAbbāsid court in Bag̲h̲dād. In the sources, sums of 50 and 70 million dirhams are mentioned as having been expended by the caliphs Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd and al-Maʾmūn for their weddings. But the common people, also, on such occasions liked to appear wealthier than they really were. Even in early times, the coiffeuse used to lend ornaments to the bride (cf. the tradition above in *b.* about ʿĀʾis̲h̲a). The carpets, utensils, etc. were also sometimes borrowed (Mez, *Renaissance des Islāms*, 404, 453).

As was mentioned at the beginning of the article, two kinds of weddings have to be distinguished: the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra*. The *ʿurs* seems to be the usual kind; at least, it is almost exclusively the one that is described by travellers. We find the *ʿumra*, for example, in the case of the wedding of al-Maʾmūn with Būrān (210/825; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1081 ff.); in Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir (d. 690/1291), in Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii/2, 859, for Mecca; *Alf layla wa-layla*, tr. Littmann, i, 263 ff.; in the Ḳaragöz play *The wrong bride*, in Ritter, *Karagöz*, Hanover 1924, 109 ff.

Here we may also note that these wedding customs are only observed when a woman marries for the first time. When she marries for the second time, they are content with the legal *walīma*. The parties often agree to have no festivities (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 155; Lane, *Manners and customs*, London 1871, i, 219-20).

The celebrations extend over several days; they usually begin on Monday and the actual wedding takes place on Thursday. In Arab popular poetry, we therefore have frequent reference to seven days of celebration while the *dukhla* takes place on the eighth (e.g. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 461, iii, 437; *Sīrat Sayf b. D̲h̲ī Yazan*, iii, 22, 33, v, 28, xii, 59). When, however, we find references to 30 days of feasting and the 31st night as the *laylat al-duk̲h̲la* (*Alf layla wa-layla*, iii, 642; *Sīrat Sayf*, xii, 45, xiii, 12) or when 40 days and nights are mentioned in Turkish romances and fairy tales (O. Spies, *Türkische Volksbücher*, Leipzig 1929, 25), this is only a stereotyped literary form to express that the wedding celebrations lasted a long time.

The principal customs are as follows:

1. Immediately after the formalities of the marriage contract, the *walīma* takes place in the bride's house; only men are present at it. This is already found in *ḥadīt̲h̲*. On this occasion, sweets, money and other things are often thrown to the crowd. For example, the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [*q.v.*] at the wedding of his daughter Būrān with al-Maʾmūn had tickets scattered among the nobles on which were inscribed the names of pieces of land, slave-girls and the distinguishing marks of horses. Any one who caught one of the tickets received what was written on it. The vizier also had gold and silver coins, little bags of musk and pieces of amber thrown among the populace (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1083 below; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲* vii, 65-6 = § 2752). At the *walīma* on the occasion of the wedding of the Mamlūk Muḥammad b. al-Sulṭān (920/1514), wine (*sakar*) was served in vessels of Chinese porcelain (Ibn Iyās, iv, 406). In general, however, the *walīma* consisted simply in the offering of sweets and other dainties (cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 23-4); sometimes, however, roast meat and vegetables, etc. were also served. Music and dancing are not usual on this day. In the Palestinian town of Nābulus, according to Jaussen, there was only a meal for the women, while in Fās a feast was held in the house of both bride and bridegroom (Leo Africanus, 1526; Tharaud, 1930). The real wedding ceremonies did not usually begin until a week later.

2. A few days before the wedding, the bride goes to the bath with her friends; rich people perform this ceremony in their own house, but usually, however, a public bath is hired for a whole or half day. In Cairo in Lane's time, they went with great pomp to the bath (*zaffat al-ḥammām*). In front walked two men carrying dishes on which lay the bath requisites, covered; then came water-carriers and men with rose water and censers to sprinkle the passers-by and offer them beverages. Then came musicians with oboes and drums and the bride's friends two by two. The bride herself, thickly veiled with a crown on her head, walked between two female relatives under a canopy carried by four men; musicians again brought up the rear of the procession. In the bath itself there were all kinds of diversions and feasting, while women singers sang songs. In the evening, there was a banquet in the house for the women at which female singers sang to pass the time. In early 20th century Fās, the bride was taken to the bath and led home dressed like a doll with shouts of joy (Tharaud). In 16th century Morocco, the bride's bath before the wedding was unknown (Leo Africanus) while in Algiers in the same period, according to Haëdo, the bridal bath was usual. It was also unknown in Mecca. In Syria and Anatolia, they went very quietly to the baths, while Cotovicus at the end of the 16th century in Syria saw a solemn procession with wax candles.

In the bath itself, numerous ceremonies and diversions took place. In Nābulus (Jaussen, 1927) the bride was put on a throne in the bath while her friends sang and danced around her with lights in their hands. They then all bathed, the bride last. After the bath, the bride was sprinkled with perfume and refreshments were taken. She was then taken home very quietly and thickly veiled. For Istanbul, White (*ca.* 1840) also reports that the bride sat on a throne while dramatic presentations were given and refreshments offered. Then came, just as in Persia (Polak, *ca.* 1860, and Tunis (Bertholon, *ca.* 1900)), the henna ceremony, which in other lands did not take place till next day. The finger-nails (in Persia also the hair) were dyed

with henna. The guests thereupon distributed money to the bath attendants. This was called the "henna gift".

3. The day of the adornment of the bride. This day is often called after the principal ceremony *laylat al-ḥanna* or *ḥenna gedjesi* (e.g. in Mecca, Egypt, Tunis and in Turkey). In the presence of her female relations and friends, the bride's eyelids were blackened with *kuḥl* and the hands and feet coloured with henna. In doing this, the hands and feet had to be coloured exactly the same and no pictorial representations put on them (cf. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī [d. 275/888], *K. al-Waraʿ*, Cairo 1340, 104). In earlier times, yellow patches (*nuḳaṭ al-ʿarūs*) used to be put upon the cheeks (Dhu 'l-Rumma [d. 107/719] in *Aghanī*, xvi, 115; al-Maydānī, ii, 762, no. 24; al-Sharīshī [d. 619/1222], in the commentary on Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, 610). On the same day, the bride's wedding ornaments were put on, including necklaces, bridal girdle (*ḥiyāṣa*: cf. *Sīrat Sayf*, xvii, 53), crown (*tādj* or *iklīl*; oldest reference, *ibid.* [9th/15th century], iv, 36, xvii, 53; cf. also the title of the celebrated dictionary *Tādj al-ʿarūs*). The bride on these occasions often put on different dresses (e.g. in Sfax, Narbeshuber; cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, i, 265 ff., 6 different dresses). The great display in silver pendants and foot-rings, pearls, henna, aloe-wood (for perfuming the face), rose-water, sesame-oil and other aromatics is already mentioned in the papyri (cf. *Papyrus Ersherzog Rainer, Führer*, nos. 584, 1014). After being dressed, the bride was put on a raised seat or throne, where she had to sit quite still with downcast eyes while the women guests sang, danced and made music. These ceremonies often lasted far into the night (for the older period, see Leo Africanus for Morocco; d'Arvieux, 1674, *Mémoires*, Paris 1735, v, 287, for Algiers; and the other travellers). In Mecca and Sfax (Narbeshuber), the enthronement did not take place till the next day. In Cairo (Lane, 1835) on this day the bride took a lump of henna in her hand and her friends stuck coins into it. In Nābulus (Jaussen) there was a similar collection for the bride. In Istanbul also there was the henna ceremony, but before it, all the women guests with wax candles in their hands went into the garden with the bride and danced there in long rows (Garnett, *ca.* 1890). Pictures of the bride in her wedding finery can be found in Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Bilder-Atlas, pl. 25; Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, pl. 5.

4. As Friday is frequently recommended by the theologians for the completion of marriage (see al-Ghazālī, in H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, Halle 1917, ii, 90), it was the custom to take the bride to her new home on Thursday evening where she passed the night with her husband. The bride was usually fetched by her bridegroom and his relations and accompanied by her own relatives in an imposing and solemn procession (*zaffat al-ʿarūsa*). From the superscription alone in al-Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 62 (*al-bināʾ bi 'l-nahār bi-ghayr markab wa-lā nīrān*), it is clear that the solemn procession was general as early as the beginning of the 3rd/9th century; in those days, the bride was taken at dusk in a litter borne on a beast of burden and accompanied by lighted torches (cf. al-Tīdjānī, *Tuḥfa*, 40-1, who for this reason makes a distinction between a bridal procession by day and one by night; but the *bi-ghayr markab* is against this). The other oldest references for the bridal procession appear to be the wedding of Umm al-ʿUluww in Ḳayrawān (425/1024): the bride was taken on Thursday by slaves and nobles of the kingdom to the tent put up for her (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i, 284). In a story from al-Yamāma, the bride is accompanied by slave-girls who sing and play stringed instruments (*maʿāzif*) (al-Ḳazwīnī [d. 682/1283], *Athār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 88). A miniature by the painter Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd of Wāsiṭ of 634/1237 in the Paris ms. of al-Ḥarīrī, B.N. Arabe 5847 (Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Berlin 1923, pl. 13) shows a bridal procession: in front go horn-blowers, drummers and men with pennons sitting on camels; the bride herself is completely hidden in a splendid camel-litter and the bridegroom rides beside her on a finely caparisoned horse. Further references may be found e.g. in *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 12; *Sīrat Sayf*, xiii, 12. The oldest western reference is in the travels of the Dominican monk Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (d. 1309), ch. 9, 46 (Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi*, Leipzig 1864, 116). Later European travellers all describe the bridal procession more or less fully. In early 20th century Fās, as in the time of Leo Africanus (1526), she sat in a silk-hung octagonal box which was carried on the shoulders of eight men (Westermarck, 166) or she went on foot if she belonged to the lower classes (Westermarck, Tharaud), while in the rest of Morocco a "covered cage" on a mule was generally used (Mocquet 1605, Hoest 1760, Westermarck, 1914). In Algiers in the 10th/16th century, she was also carried (Haëdo). In Egypt and Syria, she walked or rode under a canopy (so as early as Cotovicus, 1598). In Turkey, in early Ottoman times, the bride used to ride on a horse (Dernschwam, 1553) usually veiled in a red silk cloth, the ends of which were held up by many people accompanying her (Schweigger, 1578; Della Valle 1615; Tournefort, 1717). In the Turkish album of miniatures of the 11th/17th century published by Taeschner as *Altstambuler Hof- und Volksleben* (Hanover 1925, pl. 32) she is on foot, led by two women. According to Della Valle, in place of the procession of lights in front of the bride, a tall candlestick was carried which was made with flowers, painted paper, beaten gold, and other foliage, sometimes decorated with gold, silver and ivory; Schweigger (cf. the pictures there) describes them as "wedding candles of green wax, made transparent but not burning". In the same connection may be mentioned the tray of candles which is carried before the bridal procession in the Ḳaragöz play *The wrong bride* (illustr. in Ritter, *op. cit.*, fig. 34). In the 19th century, the bride rode in a covered carriage, as did the women accompanying her, while the men were on horseback (White, Garnett). In Persia she usually rode, robed in red (Olearius, 1637; Chardin, 1673; Polak, *ca.* 1860; Wills, *ca.* 1870). For pictures of the bridal procession see for Morocco, Dapper, *Beschreibung von Africa*, Amsterdam 1760, 177; for Cairo, Niebuhr [1763], *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, pl. 28; Cassas, *Voyage pittoresque*, Paris 1806, pl. 63; Lane, *Manners and customs*, pls. 32-3; for Istanbul, Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 207; Taeschner, *loc. cit.*

The trousseau was usually carried in the bridal procession, distributed over as many horses and mules as possible; often empty chests were carried to make the trousseau look as large as possible, while in many districts the delivery of the trousseau was a special solemn ceremony (see e.g. Ibn ʿIdhārī, i, 284, for Ḳayrawan [415/1024]; Ibn Iyās, iv, 107, for Cairo [912/1506]).

On leaving her parents' house and entering her new home, a series of symbolic ceremonies were performed which referred to married life, averting evil spirits, fertility, etc. In her new home, she was wel-

comed by the bridegroom or her mother-in-law and taken to the bridal chamber. There she was placed by the women on a high chair or throne and congratulated. Sometimes the bridegroom then gave her a present of money—if only a piastre—and she was unveiled so that the bridegroom saw her face for the first time. In a (not genuine) *ḥadīth* in al-Muḳaddasī it is said "God shall place Muʿāwiya by his side and cover him and then unveil him to the people like a bride". The throne (*minaṣṣa*) on which the bride was raised and unveiled is mentioned as early as al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093) and al-Baṭalyūsī (d. 494/1100, in their commentaries on the *Muʿallaḳa* of Imruʾ al-Ḳays, ed. Hengstenberg, Bonn 1823, v. 32, or Cairo ed. 1282, 33). Cf. also *Alf layla wa-layla*, iii, 455; *Sīrat Sayf*, v, 29, where a throne (*sarīr*) of juniper wood decorated with plates of gold and shining jewels is mentioned. In Mecca in the later 19th century, the throne was called *rīka* (= *arīka*); see the picture in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leiden 1889, pl. 18.

The bridal procession was followed by a feast which lasted far into the night with music, singing and dancing (the men and women, of course, separate); in Turkey of the 17th-18th centuries Ḳaragöz performances were also given (Thevenot, *Vayages*, Paris 1689, i, 172, cf. i, 109-10), while in 18th century Persia wrestlers (*pahlawān*) performed (Chardin). A Persian miniature of 1604 shows festivities on the occasion of a wedding in the reign of the Saldjūḳ sultan Alp Arslān (Grohmann and Arnold, *The Islamic book*, Munich 1929, pl. 67).

5. The bridegroom's bath and his *zaffa* take place on the same day as the bridal procession, i.e. on the Thursday; a visit is usually made to a mosque in connection with it (cf. *Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 24). In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (*ibid.*, i, 263)—it is, however, a case of *ʿumra*—the bridegroom goes to the bath and is carried on horseback in a torchlight procession to the bride's house; singers with tambourines accompany him and stop from time to time to get money from the bridegroom. Another *zaffa*—but without a bath—is described in the *Sīrat Sayf*, xiii, 12. The bridegroom rides on a richly caparisoned steed through the town accompanied by dignitaries. Wax candles with camphor are carried, while slaves swing censers and sprinkle rose and jasmine water (cf. *ibid.*, vii, 63, xv, 32). Ibn Iyās (iv, 107, 196) records for Cairo in the early 10th/16th century that the bridegroom goes through the streets accompanied by *amīrs* with lighted candles in their hands. This was also still usual in Lane's time in Cairo. Shortly before sunset, the bridegroom was taken by his friends to the bath, accompanied by musicians or singers and torches (*mashʿal*); from there, they went to the mosque to attend the evening prayer. On their way back from the mosque, the friends carried candles and flowers in their hands. For a later date (*ca.* 1875), Klunzinger describes the bridegroom's bath and *zaffa* for Ḳuṣayr on the Red Sea. In other lands, the bridegroom's bath appears to be less usual; at least, it is only rarely mentioned in the sources (for Palestine, Rothstein, 1907, with pictures of the *zaffa*, and Jaussen, 1927; for Tunis and Sfax, Bertholon and Narbeshuber, *ca.* 1900; for Tlemcen, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 40, *ca.* 1900; for Tangiers, Westermarck, 118; for eastern Anatolia, van Lennep, *Travels*, 267, *ca.* 1860; for Persia, Polak). The bath and *zaffa* seem to have been quite unknown in Istanbul. Similarly, the bath (but not the *zaffa*) for the bridegroom has been long unknown in Mecca (Ibn al-Mudjāwir, d. 690/1291, in Landberg, *op. cit.*; Snouck Hurgronje; Rutter), while Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, i, 402, mentions both in 1763 for Yarīm in South Arabia. Leo Africanus also did not know of the bath in Fās (nor does Westermarck or Tharaud); on the other hand, he describes an imposing procession of the bridegroom, which met the bridal train in the principal square of the town and went home along with it. Pictures of the splendid *zaffa* of the bride in India: Thevenot, *Voyages*, Paris 1689, iii, 66; H. Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit*, Berlin 1930, pl. 15 (18th-century miniature).

6. The wedding night (*laylat al-dukhla*). During the festivities mentioned at the end of section *b.* above, the bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber, or feigning reluctance, is thrust in by his friends. In addition to the evidence from Tradition, we have two descriptions from the early Islamic period of the proceedings in the bridal chamber. According to one (*Aghānī*, xv, 70), the caliph ʿUthmān stroked his bride Nāʾila on the head, asked the blessing of God (*baraka*) upon her and then unveiled her. According to the other (*ibid.*, xvi, 37), Shurayḥ took his bride Zaynab by the forelock while she knelt down, then prayed two *rakʿa*s with her, just as was the usual practice in the two enthronement ceremonies in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 180, 185). In the oldest parts of the *Alf layla wa-layla* (Baghdād stratum, *ca.* 4th/10th century), we find the following usages. In the story of Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (i, 269-72) the bride is undressed by her maids and led by an old woman in a long robe into the bridal chamber where the bridegroom awaits her. While in this case the unveiling has already taken place, in other passages it is only done by the bridegroom himself in the bridal chamber (e.g. iii, 524). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd and al-Ward fi 'l-Akmām (iii, 437-9), the two drink together and entertain one another with poems and entertaining stories. In the story of Ḳamar al-Zamān (ii, 478-9), after the consummation the bride summons her maids who give shouts of joy.

In Cairo in Lane's time, the bridegroom was carried by a friend a part of the way up the steps to the harem, during the festivities. He was only allowed to unveil his bride in the bridal chamber and see her for the first time in return for a sum of money. He then undressed her, laid her with her head in the direction of Mecca and performed two *rakʿa*s. After the consummation he summoned the women waiting outside the door to give shouts of joy (*zaghārīt*) and then returned to the guests. Jaussen gives a similar description for early 20th-century Nābulus. Polak records a very old and widespread practice for Persia (Leo Africanus knew it for Fās, Haëdo for Algiers, Bertholon for Tunis): after the unveiling, the couple try to tramp on one another's feet; the idea being that whoever does it first will be master in the house. In Turkey, according to Schweigger, the bride was pushed into the bridal chamber by her companions with jests and scoldings. In the 18th and 19th centuries in Turkey, after the unveiling and the usual prayers in the bridal chamber, coffee was served to the bridal pair and then a wedding feast held. Only then were they left alone (Olivier, White, Garnett).

In some districts of Morocco (e.g. Fās), it was considered seemly for the bridegroom only to entertain his bride in the first night and to consummate the marriage only in the second night (Tharaud; Westermarck, s.v. *Consummation*). In Egypt, on the other hand, it was a frequent practice to deflower the bride by mechanical means (Schwally, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, 418-19). Both these customs were due to superstition, the

fear of evil spirits, and perhaps in the first case, to a certain feeling of shame.

During the wedding night, if the guests were still there, or on the next morning, the nurse showed the token of virginity to the women friends and relatives. In some districts, the bloodstained cloth was carried through the streets to the house of the bride's parents with drumming and shouts of joy. This is reported by Mocquet 1605 and Hoest 1760 for Morocco, Tournefort 1717 for Turkey, while in Burckhardt's and Lane's time in Cairo, it was only the custom among the lower classes. If the bride was not a virgin, the bridegroom could send her back to her parents. The nurse or the mother therefore frequently made arrangements in case of need. In the *Alf layla wa-layla* (ii, 478) a pigeon is killed.

On the morning after the wedding night, in obedience to the precepts of religion, both go to the bath [see ṬAHĀRA].

7. The ceremonies after the wedding night, especially on the seventh day. Sometimes the prescribed *walīma* was not performed till the day after the wedding night (see above, under *b.*). This is also the case in the story of Ḳamar al-Zamān (*Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 461, 478). In Turkey on this day, the wedding ceremonies concluded with a feast, the "festival of the sheep's trotters", as it was called from a traditional dish; then the bride had one or two days to receive congratulations (Garnett, 1890). In Egypt and North Africa, the bride remained for a week in the bridal chamber and was visited and entertained by her female relatives. On the seventh day the bride and bridegroom usually held a reception or gave a banquet. The first seven days of marriage called *sābiʿ al-ʿarūs* have always played a special part and go back to a usage sanctioned by the Prophet (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 626-7 and see above, under *b.*). In the story of Uns al-Wudjūd, women singers come on the seventh day and gifts are scattered among the populace (*Alf layla wa-layla*, ii, 439-40). Leo Africanus mentions "a very old custom" in Morocco: on the seventh day the husband buys fish, which his mother or other women throw over the bride's feet. A similar practice was still found in Sfax *ca.* 1900 (Narbeshuber, 16). Probably there is some old magical practice to secure fertility concealed in this.

In conclusion, one may briefly mention the entirely different customs in Mecca and Medina as recorded by Snouck Hurgronje (1884) and Rutter (*ca.* 1928) for Mecca and Burton (1853) for Medina. Here there was a peculiar combination of the two kinds of wedding, the *ʿurs* and the *ʿumra*. On the evening of the fourth day, the day of the *g̲h̲umra* (= *ʿumra*), the bride in her wedding finery was put on a throne in her house, while the bridegroom went to the Ḥaram in a procession with lights, to attend the evening prayer there and then went to the bride's house. There he was taken into the throne room, where he unveiled his bride. After a supper, everyone, including the bridegroom, went home. Towards morning, the bride was taken by a few women secretly in a litter borne by two mules to the house of the bridegroom, which was in keeping with the old Arab practice. After a meal with the bridegroom, the throne scene was repeated in his house in a simpler form, after which consummation took place. From this duplication, a combination of two different ceremonies, it may be concluded that these Meccan wedding customs were not native to Mecca and Medina, but that some features had penetrated in course of time from lands adjoining Arabia, and had been combined. This is confirmed by the simple practices in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia (see above, under *b.*), and also by Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwir (in Landberg, *op. cit.*, 859) who describes a pure *ʿumra* for the 7th/13th century in Mecca: the bridegroom goes to the Ḥaram, performs the sevenfold circumambulation, two *rakʿa*s at the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, kisses the Black Stone (i.e. makes the *ṭawāf* [*q.v.*]) and then goes with candles to the bride's house.

Weddings are usually celebrated in Muḥarram in Mecca, when the Pilgrimage is over and most of the pilgrims have gone (Ibn al-Mud̲j̲āwīr, *op. cit.*; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 361).

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For the legal aspects of marriage, see NIKĀḤ.

(W. HEFFENING)

URTUḲIDS [see ARTUḲIDS].

ʿURŪBA (A.), lit. "the quality or nature of Arabness". In modern political parlance, it refers to the doctrine of Arabism, or pan-Arabism; the term is illustrative of the manner in which established words acquired new meanings under the influence of European political concepts. Until approximately the end of World War I, *ʿurūba* was a politically neutral term that simply meant the quality of being an Arab (Lane). Beginning in the interwar period and culminating in the Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir era, *ʿurūba* was transformed into an affirmation of Arab national identity.

The sentiment that evolved into modern Arabism originated in the Salafiyya reform movement [*q.v.*, and see also IṢLĀḤ. i] with its emphasis on the distinctly

Arab features of formative Islam. It acquired secular characteristics through the cultural and political activities of some members of the Arab élite during the Young Turk era. Although historians have used the term Arabism to designate the proto-nationalism of these early activists, the word *ʿurūba* does not appear with any frequency in the Arab political journalism of the period. However, with the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 and the emergence of separate Arab states in its place, the need arose for an expanded vocabulary that could express new forms of national identity. It was in this context that the meaning of *ʿurūba* was politicised.

In its modern usage, *ʿurūba* is an emotive term that does not lend itself to precise definition. For the secular ideologues who invested the word with its political content, it was synonymous with Arab nationalism [see ḲAWMIYYA. i] and the imperative of Arab unity. As a political creed, Arabism assumed the existence of an Arab nation based on shared bonds of language and history. The expression of feelings of identification with that nation and the desire that it should become a single unified state were embraced by the concept of Arabism. The most influential proponent of secular pan-Arabism was the Iraqi-based educator Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī (1880-1968 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), who defined the concept as an urgent call for action: "More than religion, more even than patriotism and nationalism, the banner under whose shade all Arabs should unite is the banner of Arabism and we should all say, 'Arabism first!'" (*al-ʿUrūba awwal^an^*, 190). From this perspective, Arabism pre-dated Islam and included all Arabs, not just the Muslims among them. Yet it must be noted that the question of the compatability of Arabism and Islam and the nature of the relationship between them have been widely debated within Arab political and intellectual circles.

The vagaries of domestic politics and regional alignments caused Arabism to receive differing degrees of emphasis in individual Arab states. The original Baʿth Party of Syria endorsed the nationalist principles of Arabism, and a succession of post-independence régimes described Damascus as *ḳalb al-ʿurūba al-nābiḍ*. By contrast, Egyptian politicians of the interwar era initially rejected Arabism as an alien form of identity, but by the late 1930s the doctrine had become integrated into the Egyptian self-view, thus laying the groundwork for the Nāṣir regime to make the pursuit of Arabism a central feature of its foreign and domestic policies. However, the failure of Nāṣir to fashion an effective Arab union, the persistence of inter-Arab tensions, and the decision of some Arab leaders to sign peace agreements with Israel in the 1990s, deprived political Arabism of the potency and promise that it once possessed.

Bibliography: For the modern origins of the concept, see C.E. Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism. Essays on the origins of Arab nationalism*, Urbana 1973; Rashid Khalidi *et alii* (eds.), *The origins of Arab nationalism*, New York 1991; and Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab nationalism: an anthology*, Berkeley 1962. The works of Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī are essential, including *al-ʿUrūba awwal^an^*, 5th ed. Beirut 1965, and *Difāʿ ʿan al-ʿurūba*, Beirut 1956. See also W.L. Cleveland, *The making of an Arab nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the life and thought of Satiʿ al-Husri*, Princeton 1971; and Israel Gershoni and J.P. Jankowski, *Defining the Egyptian nation, 1930-1945*, Cambridge 1995 (excellent case study). (W.L. Cleveland)

URUDJ b. ʿĀdil (*fl.* late 15th-early 16th century), Ottoman historian and author of one of the earliest histories in Turkish of the Ottoman dynasty. Urudj b. ʿĀdil el-Ḳazzāz was the son of a silk merchant, lived in Edirne and was a *kātib* [*q.v.*] by profession. His only known work, the *Tewārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, was composed most probably during the reign of Bāyezīd II [*q.v.*]. No other biographical details about him are known.

For early Ottoman history, Urudj's history was based largely on royal calendars, *taḳwīm*s, and on various *menāḳib-nāme*s, including that by Yakhshī Faḳīh [*q.v.*], which also served as a principal source for other Ottoman historians writing independently in the later 15th century (cf. H. İnalcık, *The rise of Ottoman historiography*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 152-67). His accounts of the reign of Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] and of the first half of the reign of Bāyezīd II are fuller and contain more individual information. Many manuscripts of the work exist, though some are only partial, and the textual history is further confused by the false attribution to Urudj of later continuations dating from the early and mid-16th century. It now appears that Urudj made two principal recensions of his chronicle, the first *ca.* 900/1494-5 (represented by mss. in Oxford and Cambridge, ed. F. Babinger, *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbucher des Urudsch. Quellenwerke des islamischen Schrifttums*, ii, Hanover 1925; *Nachtrag*, with amendments, 1926), and the second *ca.* 908/1502-3 (represented by mss. in Manisa, ed. N. Atsiz, *Oruç Beğ tarihi*, Istanbul 1972, and in Paris, unpubl.) (cf. V.L. Ménage, *On the recensions of Uruj's "History of the Ottomans"*, in *BSOAS*, xxx [1967], 314-22). Although Urudj's history was apparently little used by historians until the early 20th century, it is now recognised as a significant contribution to the corpus of early Ottoman histories (F.R. Unat, *İA* art. *Oruç b. ʿÂdil*).

Bibliography: Given in the text.

(Christine Woodhead)

ʿURWA b. **ḤIZĀM** b. Muhāṣir (or b. Mālik) al-ʿUdhrī, Arab poet of early Islamic times (d. around 30/650 or some decades later) and, alongside his younger fellow-tribesman Djamīl [*q.v.*], the most famous representative of the "ʿUdhrite" lovers, who died in consequence of a chaste and unrequited love affair.

According to the most widespread version of the story (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Aghānī*, *Dīwān* of ʿUrwa, Ibn ʿAsākir, al-Sarrādj, and al-Anṭākī), ʿUrwa falls in love with his cousin ʿAfrāʾ. Though her father promised to marry her to ʿUrwa, he gives her in marriage to another cousin during ʿUrwa's absence. After ʿUrwa realises what happened, he falls ill and none of the healers consulted, among them the legendary ʿArrāf al-Yamāma (see ʿARRĀF; the verses quoted in this article are ʿUrwa's), can cure him. To restore ʿUrwa's health, he is brought to Syria, where ʿAfrāʾ now lives with her husband, in order to give him the opportunity to steel secret glances at her. ʿUrwa indeed recovers, but his secretly watching ʿAfrāʾ is betrayed to her husband, who, however, is full of sympathy for ʿUrwa and invites him to his house. ʿUrwa, instead, decides to leave ʿAfrāʾ for ever and to return home. On his way back, he is seized by lovesickness again, this time causing his death. Only a few days later, ʿAfrāʾ dies of grief beside ʿUrwa's grave.

Another version (cf. *Aghānī* and al-Ṣafadī) differs in many points and shows close parallels to the romance of al-Murakkish the Elder [*q.v.*]. In this we are told that the father of ʿAfrāʾ, after having married her to a rich member of the Umayyad clan, tries to deceive ʿUrwa by showing him a faked grave to make him

believe that ʿAfrāʾ is dead. Besides these traditions, many sources adduce an eyewitness account of ʿUrwa's death by al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr (*q.v.*, see also S. Leder, *Das Korpus al-Haiṭam ibn ʿAdī*, Frankfurt 1991, 104-10).

The story of ʿUrwa and ʿAfrāʾ was well known already in early Umayyad times, as references to ʿUrwa in poems by D̲j̲amīl, Kut̲h̲ayyir [*q.vv.*] and others show (cf. al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲āʾ, *al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*, ed. Brünnow, 55-6, and I.J. Kračkovskiy, in *Oriens*, viii [1955], 33-5). Less conspicuous, however, are ʿUrwa's achievements as a poet. Originally, the main function of most verses ascribed to him (hardly more than 200 lines, all of the *g̲h̲azal* genre) may have been to illustrate ʿUrwa's love romance. The most famous of these poems, a *nūniyya* (rhyme *-ānī*) in the metre *ṭawīl*, gives the impression of being a compilation of shorter poems forming part of different episodes of the story, to which further lines with identical rhyme and metre have been added. Drawing on this stock, later authors compiled shorter versions of ʿUrwa's *nūniyya* to be included in anthologies and works of *adab*.

Bibliography: Main sources. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-S̲h̲iʿr wa 'l-s̲h̲uʿarāʾ*, 394-9 = ed. S̲h̲ākir, ii, 622-7; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās T̲h̲aʿlab, *Mad̲j̲ālis*, ed. ʿA.M. Hārūn, ²Cairo 1965, i, 241-3; Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Zahra*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, §§ 3044-7; *Ag̲h̲ānī*³, xxiv, 121-37; Abū ʿAlī al-Ḳālī, *D̲h̲ayl al-amālī wa 'l-nawādir*, 157-62; Sarrād̲j̲, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿus̲h̲s̲h̲āḳ*, Beirut 1958, i, 316-21 and index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ madīnat Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-ʿAmrawī, Beirut 1996, xl, 217-26; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xix, 542-5; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Beirut 1972, i, 129-39; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *K̲h̲izāna*, ed. Cairo, iii, 214-8. The *Dīwān* of ʿUrwa in the recension of al-Yazīdī (comprising the *nūniyya* and 15 lines of another poem in *ṭawīl*, rhyme *-bū*) was ed. by Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, *S̲h̲iʿr ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām*, in *Mad̲j̲allat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, iv (Bag̲h̲dād 1961), 77-116 (also separately). Further collection of ʿUrwa's poetry by Anṭwān Muḥsin al-Ḳawwāl, *Dīwān ʿUrwa b. Ḥizām*, Beirut 1995 (incomplete, add e.g. Abū ʿAlī al-Marzūḳī, *Amālī al-Marzūḳī*, ed. Yaḥyā al-D̲j̲ubūrī, 223-7). See further Rescher, *Abriß*, i, 203-7; Blachère, *HLA*, 303; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 264-5. (TH. BAUER)

ʿURWA B. **MASʿŪD** B. MUʿATTIB AL-T̲H̲AḲAFĪ, Abū Yaʿfur, a leader of the Aḥlāf group in al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] at the time of the rise of Islam and considered technically as a Companion of the Prophet, d. 9/630. He was descended through his mother from ʿAbd S̲h̲ams of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲ and married a daughter, Āmina or Maymūna, of the Meccan head of resistance against Muḥammad, Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*].

ʿUrwa took part in the negotiations between the Prophet and the Meccans for the truce of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*] in 6/628 as an ally of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲. When the men of al-Ṭāʾif, from both the component groups of the Aḥlāf and the Banū Mālik, joined the anti-Muslim coalition of the Hawāzin [*q.v.*] in S̲h̲awwāl 8/Jan.-Feb. 630 and fought with the Muslims at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], ʿUrwa was absent in the Byzantine frontier town of D̲j̲aras̲h̲ [*q.v.*], learning about siege techniques in preparation for a Muslim siege of al-Ṭāʾif. On his return, he directed the defence of the town. However, in Rabīʿ I 9/June-July 630 he became a Muslim, but was killed during the siege by a group of his fellow-citizens. ʿUrwa may have hoped to secure good terms from Muḥammad for the surrender of his town, or he may possibly have hoped by submitting to secure a future political ascendancy in al-Ṭāʾif, so that his death may well have been simply part of local factional rivalry. At all events, later Muslim tradition made him a martyr for the faith, and Muḥammad is reported to have compared him to ʿĪsā b. Maryam.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn His̲h̲ām, 744, 873, tr. Guillaume, 502, 589; Ibn Saʿd, i, 144-5, v, 369-70; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 250-2; Ṭabarī, i, 1535-7, 1687-8; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Usd*, iii, 405-6.

2. Studies. H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Ṭāif à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1922, 53-5, 68, 101, 111, 131; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 102-3. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ʿURWA B. **UD̲H̲AYNA** (a *laḳab*, his father's name being Yaḥyā), Abū ʿĀmir al-Kinānī al-Layt̲h̲ī, Arab poet from Medina (fl. later 1st/7th century into the early 2nd/8th century) famous for his love poetry (*g̲h̲azal*), but also billed as a traditionist and legal scholar; Mālik [*q.v.*] is said to have transmitted from him (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-D̲j̲arḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ḥaydarābād 1360, iii/1, 396; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *al-Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1941-64, iv, 33; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo n.d., iii, 63 [*ṣadūḳ*], cf. also Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 580 [*t̲h̲iḳa*]; he does appear once in Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *riwāyat al-S̲h̲aybānī*, ed. ʿA.-W. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, Cairo 1387/1967, 262).

The only clear date of his life is Saturday, 3 Rabīʿ I 64/30 Oct. 683, the day he returned to Mecca to find that the Kaʿba had just burnt down (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 528 = *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, v, Cairo 1963, 498-9). He lived at least into the reign of the caliph His̲h̲ām (105-25/724-43) to whom he was sent as part of a delegation (Ibn Ḳutayba, *S̲h̲iʿr*, 579; *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 164). His tribal affiliation is with the Layt̲h̲ b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna ... b. K̲h̲uzayma ... b. K̲h̲indif; all of these names, except Layt̲h̲, appear in his tribal *fak̲h̲r*. Since Kināna is the "mother tribe" of Ḳuray̲s̲h̲, though not through ʿAbd Manāt, he boasts of being one of them as well (see i, 33, viii, 34, x, 52-3, here with explicit defence of counting them among his "relatives"). This allows him to claim the Prophet as "one of us" (see i, 39, iv, 25, vii, 38, ix, 36-9, x, 57-8).

The fact that he combined the stature of a religious scholar, of alleged chastity and purity, with that of a love poet—not an entirely unusual combination at the time (see Nallino, 99-101)—occasioned a number of anecdotes in which his chaste heart is called into doubt. Oft-repeated is a story in which the famous Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] swears to let her slave-girls go free, if his best-known love poems were really written with an untouched heart (*ḳalb salīm*) (e.g. *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 164; al-S̲h̲arīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, i, 410).

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 143, ll. 1-2) mentions a collection of his *ak̲h̲bār* by Ḥammād b. Isḥāḳ, grandson of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [*q.v.*]). Most of the material adduced in the *Ag̲h̲ānī* is, however, credited to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]).

His poetry was apparently not collected into a *dīwān*. What has been preserved is eleven complete *ḳaṣīda*s in the anthology *Muntahā al-ṭalab* of Ibn Maymūn (d. 597/1201) and some forty-five fragments from various sources, most characteristic among which are the lines set to music (*aṣwāt*) mentioned in the *Ag̲h̲ānī*. He was part of the Medinan scene of poets and musicians, whose collaboration was so close that the singer Ibn ʿĀʾis̲h̲a [*q.v.*, no. I] even asked ʿUrwa to compose, on the spot, some lines in *hazad̲j̲* for him that he might put them into song (*ḳul lī abyātᵃⁿ hazad̲j̲ᵃⁿ ug̲h̲annī fīhā*, see *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xxi, 166). While this kind of poetry belongs to the new Ḥid̲j̲āzī *g̲h̲azal*, with its description of the beloved amidst her maiden friends (no. liv) and with its sophisticated psychology of the

lover and the beloved (no. xlii), the long odes show him closer to the old models of poetry. And yet, the *nasīb* sections, exceptionally long at times (forty lines in no. x), contain both old and new elements side by side, at times resulting in slightly contradictory attitudes (x, 5: the "old" it's-all-over notion; x, 21: the "new" motif of the calumniators calling the beloved miserly; they may be lying, so there may be hope).

In the last part of the *ḳaṣīdas* tribal *fakhr* is predominant. Of interest here are the religious-political notions mentioned mostly in connection with the Prophet: the Sunna of the Prophet (i, 39); the "vicegerency of a dominion" (? *khilāfat^a mulk^in*) that his people inherited from the Prophet (x, 57); the "counselling" (*shūrā*) that they have as a privilege (iv, 29); the "true prescriptions" (*sharā'i'^u ḥaḳḳ^in*) that become clear through their protection of Islam (ix, 15).

Bibliography: 1. A collection of his poetry was undertaken by Yaḥyā al-Djubūrī, *Shi'r 'Urwa b. Udhayna*, Baghdād n.d. [1390/1970]; the more recent anonymous ed. Beirut 1996 is worthless, as it does not go beyond al-Djubūrī and leaves out the indication of the sources.

2. Biographical and anthological sources. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1966, 579-80; *Aghānī*, xxi, ed. R. Brünnow, Leiden 1306/1888-9, 162-72 = ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Ibrāhīm al-'Azbāwī, Cairo 1390/1970, xviii, 322-35; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. M.A.-F. Ibrāhīm, Cairo n.d., i, 408-16; Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, ed. 'A.A. Farrādj, Cairo 1381/1961, 69 = ed. F. Krenkow, Cairo 1354/1935-6, 54-5; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, [2]Cairo 1385/1965-6, 192-3; Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā al-ṭalab* facs. ed. F. Sezgin, 3 vols., Frankfurt 1986-93, i, 190-215.

3. Studies. Nallino, *Littérature arabe*, 100; Blachère, *HLA*, 626; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 425.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

'URWA B. AL-WARD, pre-Islamic *ṣu'lūk* [*q.v.*] poet, from the 'Abd Allāh b. Nāshib family, from a clan of 'Abs (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Beirut 1968, 452). His mother, though purely Arab, seems to have attracted attacks from his contemporaries, as shown by 'Urwa himself, who says that his family called him Ibn al-Gharība "son of the stranger", and elsewhere he reproaches his father for a *mésalliance*.

Two groups of divergent traditions present an ambivalent portrait of the poet: on the one hand, he is a *ṣu'lūk*, and on the other, he is the hero of a moving love story.

As a *ṣu'lūk*, 'Urwa was not one of the outcasts, *aghribat al-'Arab* "ravens of the Arabs", nor was he one of the *khula'ā'* "outlaws", expelled from his tribe to a life of brigandage. On the contrary, he seems to have enjoyed a certain standing amongst the 'Abs, taking part in their raids and sharing in the captured booty (*Aghānī*[3], iii, 78-82). The various traditions stress his sollicitude for poor and needy members of the tribe, the *ahl al-kanīf* (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Nöldeke, no. V, vv. 1-3, no. VII, vv. 1-5, no. XI, vv. 1-3, no. XXXI, v. 8), and this led to him being considered as the most generous of the ancient Arabs, even more than Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī [*q.v.*] (*Aghānī*, iii, 74). These raids took place in the districts near the *diyār* of the 'Abs, sc. around Medina (*ibid.*, iii, 79), though he raided as far as the lands of the Banu 'l-Ḳayn and Hudhayl and Dhu 'l-Madjāz (*ibid.*, iii, 82-3, 87). He seems to have had contacts with the people of Yathrib, since the Banu 'l-Naḍīr purchased from him the booty which he had captured and lent him resources during periods of dearth (*ibid.*, iii, 76).

Parallel to this, a series of traditions from the 2nd/8th century present the outlaw poet as hero of a romance of tragic love, when, in a state of drunkenness, he divorced his wife Salmā (or Laylā, according to other traditions), and then fell into despair on recovering his senses, evoking his old love in poignant poetry (Nöldeke, 7-9). Hence the 'Abbāsid poet Marwān b. Sulaymān, of the Abū Ḥafṣa family (d. 182/797), places him with al-Muraḳḳish [*q.v.*] amongst the martyrs for love (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 416).

'Urwa is undoubtedly the most prolific of the *ṣu'lūk* poets. Of the two recensions of his *dīwān*, that of Ibn al-Sikkīt [*q.v.*] has come down to us. It has been edited by Nöldeke, *Die Gedichte des Urwa ibn Alward*, in *Abh. KGW Göttingen*, xi (1864), and Muh. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1926. It seems to have excited the interest of *udabā'* of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. 'Urwa's *dīwān* comprised the *ṣu'lūk*'s apologia, love poetry and tribal poetry. Except for the cycle of poems concerning Salmā, his poetry appears fairly insipid. His evident boastfulness verges on conceit and on occasion serves to embody the ideas of those *ṣa'ālīk* who did not reject the tribal order. Thus the sense of solitude, of the outlaw alone with nature, and a tumultuous spirit in his poetry, are conspicuously absent in 'Urwa, although he seems to have possessed a sharp sense of the poetic image, evident e.g. in the poem describing the division of his own body amongst numerous other bodies in order to feed his guests (*Dīwān*, ed. Nöldeke, n. XI, v. 3).

Bibliography: 1. Sources. See also Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 36, 77-9, 115, 416, 452; Ibn Ḳutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1963, i, 234, 241, ii, 194, iii, 264; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1953, i, 265, ii, 204, 234, iii, 18, 58, 112; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb*, Damascus 1407/1987, i, 85, 149, 222, iii, 36-7; Washshā', *al-Ẓarf wa 'l-ẓurafā'*, Beirut 1407/1986, 220; al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, Cairo 1955, i, 5, 206; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Zayd b. 'Alī al-Fārisī, *Sharḥ K. al-Ḥamāsa*, Beirut n.d., i, 34, 39, 43, 52, 138, 300, ii, 239, iii, 289, 322; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Ḳurṭubī, *Bahdjat al-madjālis wa-uns al-mudjālis*, Beirut 1402/1982, i, 193, 208, 226, 297, ii, 240; Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fī ta'rīkh djāhiliyyat al-'Arab*, 'Ammān 1982, 535-44.

2. Studies. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1924, 19-20; Nallino, *Littérature*, Paris 1950, 47; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 287; F. Gabrieli, *Storia della litteratura araba*, Rome 1956, 57-8; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 141-2, ix, 268; A. Jones, *Early Arabic poetry, Marāthī and Ṣu'lūk poems*, Oxford 1992, 127-38; Yūsuf Khulayf, *al-Shu'arā' al-ṣa'ālīk fi 'l-'aṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1978, 26-8, 29, 32-3, 34-5, 36, 37, 46, 50-1, 200, 206-7, 233, 236, 238-9, 241, 264, 267, 320-8; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *Maṣādir al-shi'r al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1956, 174, 202, 204, 232; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-'arabī*, i, *al-'Aṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1976, 382-7; 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ḥifnī, *Shi'r al-ṣa'ālīk, manhadjuhu wa-khaṣā'iṣuhu*, Cairo 1987, 115-16; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Ta'rīkh al-shāmil li 'l-Madīna al-munawwara*, Medina 1414/1993, i, 110-1; 'Afīf 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Mu'djam al-shu'arā'*, Beirut 1417/1996, 164.

(A. Arazi)

'URWA B. AL-ZUBAYR B. AL-'AWWĀM al-Ḳurashī al-Asadī al-Madanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, eminent traditionist, one of the Seven Jurists of Medina [see FUḲAHĀ' AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'A, in Suppl.], founder of historical study in Islam. He was born in Medina, very likely in 23/643-4 and died there, probably in 93/711-2 or 94/712-13. He was the son of the eminent Companion al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām [*q.v.*] and of Asmā' [*q.v.*], daughter of the first caliph Abū Bakr

and sister of the Prophet's wife, ʿĀʾis̲h̲a. The counter-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], his full brother, was his senior by twenty years.

The following attempt to sketch ʿUrwa's biography is made while bearing in mind that, as with other persons of the 1st century A.H., we have no contemporary reports about him but only traditions preserved by later generations. In such cases, the biographer has not only to weigh contradictory individual traditions but also to subject the tradition *in toto* to a general critique. In what follows it is presupposed that the existing sources, in spite of contradictions and distorted and falsified individual transmissions that they may contain, give us on the whole a widely correct picture of ʿUrwa's life and scholarly activities.

1. *ʿUrwa's life*

ʿUrwa grew up in Medina in the contentious atmosphere of the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān. After the murder of ʿUt̲h̲mān and ʿAlī's election as caliph (35/656), his father al-Zubayr fled to Mecca where he presumably also took his two sons. Later, ʿUrwa and his father relocated to Baṣra, where the latter, with the help of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh [*q.v.*] and ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, organised the rebellion against ʿAlī that later became famous as the Battle of the Camel (36/656). Due to his tender age ʿUrwa was not allowed to participate in the battle (Ibn Saʿd, v, 133). After his father's death he seems to have returned to Medina in the company of ʿĀʾis̲h̲a.

The considerable wealth inherited from his father enabled ʿUrwa to devote ample time to the collection and subsequent study of historical reports. When exactly he embarked on these activities, we do not know; however, during the last years of Muʿāwiya's caliphate (i.e towards 60/680), he is said to have met every night with some friends in the mosque of Medina in a scholarly circle (*ḥalḳa*) (al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 424). But according to another report, his last visit to his aunt ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, his most important informant, took place three years before her death (58/678), that is 55/675 (*ibid.*). This report suggests that, at that time, ʿUrwa no longer lived in Medina. (Presumably, he was already in Mecca, see below.) Whether, and if so when, he spent seven years in Egypt, as al-Balād̲h̲urī reports (*Futūḥ*, 217), is highly doubtful, since the other transmitted data do not tally with this report. At any rate, he cannot have spent seven continuous years there at any time (cf. von Stülpnagel, *ʿUrwa*, 13).

During the counter-caliphate of his brother ʿAbd Allāh, ʿUrwa took his side. On the day of the battle of the Ḥarra (63/683 [*q.v.*]) he is said to have burned his legal writings (*kutub fiḳh*), an act that he is said to have deeply regretted later on (Ibn Saʿd, v, 133). In 69/688 ʿAbd Allāh sent ʿUrwa on an unsuccessful diplomatic mission to the ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] (Ibn Saʿd v, 77-8). According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, v, 261-2 = § 2024), ʿUrwa also played a diplomatic role during the siege of Mecca by ʿAbd al-Malik's general, al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf in 73/692, but ʿAbd Allāh, instigated by his mother Asmāʾ, refused to surrender and accept in that case the offer of *amān* made to him. On ʿAbd Allāh's death (73/692), ʿUrwa fled first to Medina, where he deposited his possessions, and then without pause to Damascus, bringing ʿAbd al-Malik the news of his victory, before even al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲'s messengers could arrive. The caliph treated ʿUrwa with respect, pardoned him and guaranteed the safety of his personal possessions. ʿUrwa is said to have returned to Mecca to attend the funeral of his brother (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, xi, 61 ff.; al-Fasawī, i, 553-4; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 432-3).

ʿUrwa, now head of the Zubayrid family, settled again in Medina. This was for him the beginning of a long period of scholarly activity, and also the time of his correspondence with ʿAbd al-Malik who asked him for information on important events of the early days of Islam (see below), a correspondence continued by his son and successor al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). In the year of al-Walīd's *bayʿa* ʿUrwa, with his two sons Muḥammad and His̲h̲ām, went to Damascus. During this stay in the capital one of his feet, afflicted by gangrene or cancer (*ikla, akila*), was amputated, and during the journey Muḥammad lost his life due to an accident (al-Fasawī, i, 553-4; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 430-2).

In 87/706, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [*q.v.*], later to become the caliph ʿUmar II, arrived in Medina as the new governor. He is said to have appointed ten *fuḳahāʾ*, among them ʿUrwa and five more from among the Seven Jurists of Medina, to be members of a council to advise him on all matters, presumably first and foremost with regard to decisions on legal questions (Ibn Saʿd, v, 245-6). ʿUrwa died on his estate near the village of al-Furʿ in the settlement of al-Rabad̲h̲a [*q.v.*], some 200 km/125 miles east of Medina, where he was also buried (Ibn Saʿd, v, 135; al-D̲h̲ahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 431, 436).

2. *ʿUrwa's position within indigenous* Ḥadīt̲h̲ *criticism—his importance as traditionist and as "historian" in the history of Islamic scholarship*

In the entire indigenous *Ḥadīt̲h̲* critical literature ʿUrwa is considered a trustworthy transmitter; his piety finds high praise, and he is characterised as an inexhaustible sea of knowledge. European scholarship, already early on, saw in him the "father of the historical school of Medina" (thus O. Loth, *Das Classenbuch des Ibn Saʿd*, Leipzig 1869, 43). To judge by the corpus of traditions transmitted under his name (see below on its authenticity), ʿUrwa reported on all important events of early Islam; we owe to his activities as a collector above all the transmissions that are of central importance for the life of the Prophet (*Sīra* and *Mag̲h̲āzī*) and which still today serve as highly significant starting points for any historical study (cf. von Stülpnagel, 54). However, ʿUrwa was not only an "historian"; another group of traditions going under his name is legal in content. They deal *inter alia* with property laws, the laws of marriage and divorce, and the position of women and slaves; others contain ritual precepts and general rules of behaviour (concerning ablution, prayer, pilgrimage; precepts concerning the behaviour towards the dead and tombs, and the wearing of precious garments). In these *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, explanations of Ḳurʾānic passages are frequently encountered; others contain derivations or applications of the *sunna* of Medina (cf. von Stülpnagel, 54 ff.). With his thesaurus of transmissions, ʿUrwa "laid the foundation for the entire early Islamic attitude toward life" (*ibid.*, 22).

ʿUrwa, being a (late) *tābiʿī* or Successor, belongs to the first generation of scholars in Islam who systematically collected traditions. His *isnād*s do not always fulfil the later requirements; at times, he does not mention his authority at all. Two-thirds of the traditions in the ʿUrwa corpus go back to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a as his direct informant; however, in some cases the suspicion is warranted that the *isnād* was extended backwards to ʿĀʾis̲h̲a in the later course of transmission (cf. von Stülpnagel, 119).

3. *Written and oral transmission. ʿUrwa's letters*

ʿUrwa wrote down the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s collected by him, at least in part. He is said to have destroyed all his

kutub fiḳh (see above). According to one version of this report, the reason for this is said to have been his qualms not to create another book alongside the Ḳur'ān (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, iv, 436). Also in favour of written notes is the fact that 'Urwa already used to present his legal traditions arranged according to subject-matter (al-Fasawī, i, 551). However, such writings can only have had the status of aide-mémoires (*hypomnēmata*) for oral lectures which were the normal vehicle for the transmission of knowledge in this early age. It is out of the question that 'Urwa wrote a *K. al-Maghāzī* in the sense of a definitively edited book (*syngramma*), as rather late sources allege (Ibn Kathīr; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa). Things are different with the *rasā'il* (letters) [see RISĀLA] of 'Urwa (cf. on these von Stülpnagel, 61-113). The *risāla* [*q.v.*] was the only literary form in this early age by means of which scholarly knowledge was handed on.

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the *rasā'il* transmitted in 'Urwa's name by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Hishām. It is true that changes of the original text cannot be excluded, which might have occurred during the transmission of the letters in teaching situations. The letters, dealing as they do with the emigration to Abyssinia, the first and the second Meccan *Fitna*, the Hidjra, Badr, the Hidjra of the women, the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, the struggle for al-Ṭā'if, the calumniation of 'Ā'isha, and so on, may be considered the beginning of Islamic historiography.

4. *The authenticity of the 'Urwa corpus*

Likewise, the corpus of traditions transmitted under 'Urwa's name, as they are adduced in a great number of *ḥadīth* collections (*inter alia* the *Muṣannaf* works by 'Abd al-Razzāḳ and Ibn Abī Shayba, the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*), legal works (e.g. Mālik b. Anas's *Muwaṭṭa'*), historical works (*inter alia* Ibn Isḥāḳ-Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī) and Ḳur'ān exegetical works (e.g. al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*), must be considered largely as genuine, i.e. in fact going back to 'Urwa. In the exhaustive source-critical study of the corpus by von Stülpnagel (1956), almost 2,000 traditions going under the name of 'Urwa were examined; these were found to be reducible to 315 basic traditions. (Since so many new *ḥadīth* collections and other relevant works have come to light in recent decades, a new investigation would probably increase this number.) According to von Stülpnagel, more than two-thirds of these basic traditions can be considered as genuine, whereas about fifty of them should be regarded as spurious, falsified, or distorted beyond recognition (cf. 55, 147). A test of authenticity is possible, especially in those cases in which an individual 'Urwa tradition was handed on by both his main transmitters, his son Hishām and his greatest disciple Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*]; this is actually true for a large part of the traditions in the corpus. A comparison of the *mutūn* (texts [see MATN]) of the same tradition in both transmissions, which frequently differ considerably in their length and their choice of words, leads one more often than not to the conclusion that (1) the two texts were indeed transmitted independently of each other, and (2) they are indeed derived from a common source, namely 'Urwa (cf. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, 20-1, 150-1). 'Urwa's original version can hardly ever be reconstructed in its exact wording, but the outlines of its content are certainly reconstructible. It should be noted that the complete corpus of 'Urwa's traditions must have been larger than the extant material, and that his historical traditions in their original form were as a rule rather long and devoid of any (absolute) dates. In the sources available to us, especially the *ḥadīth* works, they often appear disjointed and/or abridged. Absolute dates are almost always later insertions (cf. von Stülpnagel, 35-6, 60).

As for the trustworthiness of the historical information on which 'Urwa himself could lay his hands, it should be stressed, with R. Paret (*Die Lücke in der Überlieferung über den Urislam*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen, R. Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1954, 147-53, see 151) that, as son of one of the first followers of the Prophet and as close friend of the latter's widow 'Ā'isha, he was, if only indirectly, in close contact with the historical period of Muḥammad. He may have at times received, and handed on, traditions that were distorted due to memory lapses or biased or bordering on the legendary, but hardly traditions that were invented or consciously falsified. According to von Stülpnagel (149), the 'Urwa corpus is also practically devoid of any patent inventions and falsifications by 'Urwa himself, nor does it contain explicit legal or theological polemics. The main outlines of the life of the Prophet, at least from the Hidjra onwards, are thus likely to be correct in the way that 'Urwa has drawn them, who thus bequeathed them to later Islamic historiography and from there to modern biographies of the Prophet.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. On 'Urwa's life, see the sources assembled by Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 278, the most important one being Ibn Sa'd, v, 132-5; also Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḳūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *K. al-Ma'rifa wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-'Umarī, 3 vols. [2]Beirut 1981, i, 550-4; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *K. al-Thiḳāt*, ed. M. 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān *et alii*, 9 vols. Ḥaydarābād 1973-83, v, 194-5; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Sh. al-Arnā'ūṭ *et alii*, 23 vols. [3]Beirut 1985, iv, 421-37 (a list of further sources at 421 n.); Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, facs. ed. of Ẓāhiriyya ms., 17 vols. Amman n.d. [*ca.* 1988], xi, 559-86 (the two last-named works contain the most extensive biographies of 'Urwa). Certain events in 'Urwa's life are also mentioned in historical works, e.g. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, xi, ed. Ahlwardt, *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Greifswald 1883, 61-3, and index.

2. Studies. See *GAS* and add F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Familie el-Zubeir*, Göttingen 1878, no 63; J. Fück, *Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq. Literarhistorische Untersuchungen*, diss. Frankfurt 1925, 7-8; A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L.I. Conrad, Princeton 1983, 76-95 (including, at 79-90, a catalogue of historical 'Urwa traditions); and above all the exhaustive dissertation by J. von Stülpnagel, *'Urwa Ibn az-Zubair. Sein Leben und seine Bedeutung als Quelle frühislamischer Überlieferung*, Tübingen 1957, unpubl. typescript, inc. at 37-53, a catalogue of all passages known to the author in which 'Urwa traditions are adduced, and at 61-83, 'Urwa's letters in a complete German translation.

On the question of written and oral transmission and of the authenticity of the 'Urwa corpus, see G. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, Berlin and New York 1996, 28-32, 145-54. 'Urwa's letters can be found in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 163 ult. ff. (an excerpt in idem, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 1180-1), ix, 151-2, xviii, 61, xxviii, 4-5; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 1224-5, 1234-7, 1284-8, 1634-6, 1654-5, 1669-70, 1770, iii, 2458 (= Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 103); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 754-5; Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, ed. Jones, ii, 631; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, viii, 6-7. Translations of the majority of these letters can be found in L. Caetani, *Annali*, i-ii. For compilations

of ʿUrwa traditions, see *GAS* and add ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, *Maghāzī rasūl Allāh bi-riwāyat Abi ʾl-Aswad ʿanhu*, coll. and ed. M.M. al-Aʿẓamī, Riyāḍ 1981; S.M. al-Ṭāhir, *Bidāyāt al-kitāba al-taʾrīkhiyya ʿinda ʾl-ʿArab. Awwal sīra fi ʾl-Islām: ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām*, Beirut 1995. (G. Schoeler)

URYŪLA, the modern Orihuela, a town of the eastern part of al-Andalus, the highly fertile region of the Levante [see sharḳ al-andalus]. The modern town is 20 km/13 miles to the northeast of Murcia; it comes within the province of Alicante and is the seat of a bishopric. In 1970 it had a population of 45,000.

The town is an ancient one, and was the Roman Orecelis. It was conquered by the Muslims at the same time as other towns of what became the *kūra* of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], and appears to have been originally the chef-lieu of Tudmīr, the place where the eponymous Visigothic governor Theodemir had lived. In the early 3rd/9th century, however, the newly-founded town of Murcia became the provincial capital [see mursiya]. Thereafter, the history of Uryūla was essentially that of Mursiya as long as the latter remained in Muslim hands, i.e. until the mid-7th/13th century. In the mid-3rd/9th century, the Norsemen had ravaged the coasts of Murcia and had penetrated up the Rio Segura to Uryūla [see al-madjūs, at Vol. V, 1119a]. For a brief period in the mid-6th/12th century, Uryūla was the chef-lieu of a petty principality ruled by the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim.

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2. Studies. E. Tormo, *Levante*, Madrid 1923, 297-306; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, index s.n. Orihuela. See also the *Bibls.* to mursiya and tudmīr. (E. Lévi-Provençal*)

USĀMA b. **MUNḲIDH** [see munḳidh, banū].

USĀMA b. **ZAYD** b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī al-Hāshimī, Abū Muḥammad, son of the Abyssinian freedwoman Baraka Umm Ayman and reckoned among the Prophet's freedmen, was born in Mecca in the fourth year of Muḥammad's mission. Tradition records many instances of the Prophet's fondness for him as a child, and gives him the surname of Ḥibb b. Ḥibb Rasūl Allāh.

He joined the fighters on the way to Uḥud [*q.v.*], but was sent back before battle on account of his tender age. Questioned by Muḥammad in the case of slander against ʿĀʾisha, he spoke in her favour. After Khaybar he received a stipend, and in 8/630 rode behind the Prophet into Mecca and entered the Kaʿba with him. He fought gallantly at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*].

In 11/632 Muḥammad put Usāma in command of an expedition to avenge his father Zayd, fallen at Muʾta [*q.v.*]. Notwithstanding criticism, due to Usāma's youth, the Prophet, already in his last illness, insisted on a prompt departure, but the expedition turned back at the news of his death, and Usāma was among those who prepared him for burial.

The newly-elected caliph Abū Bakr ordered the expedition to be resumed, in accordance with the Prophet's wishes, though the tribes were already in revolt. Usāma reached the region of al-Balḳāʾ in Syria, where Zayd had fallen, and raided the village of Ubna (the modern Khān al-Zayt). His victory brought joy to Medina, depressed by news of the *ridda*, thus acquiring an importance out of proportion to its real significance, which caused it later to be regarded as the beginning of a campaign for the conquest of Syria. In the same year, Abū Bakr left Usāma in command at Medina, whilst away at the battle of Dhu ʾl-Ḳaṣṣa.

In 20/641, ʿUmar bestowed on him a stipend of 4,000 dirhams, equal to that of the men of Badr, on account of the Prophet's fondness for him and his father. The election of ʿUthmān to the caliphate took place in the home of Fāṭima bt. Ḳays al-Fihriyya, Usāma's wife; he probably had a part in the event, and was in favour with the caliph, receiving from him the grant of a piece of land, and being sent by him to Baṣra in 34/654-5 to report upon the political situation there. After ʿUthmān's death, Usāma refused homage to ʿAlī, whose supporters attacked and ill-treated him in the Mosque at Medina. Thereafter, he lived in retirement, first in Wādī ʾl-Ḳurā, then in Medina; he died in al-Djurf in *ca.* 54/674 and was buried in Medina.

Usāma has a place among transmitters of *ḥadīth*. His political career, though not brilliant, appears blameless; we hear nothing of his riches.

In appearance, Usāma resembled his mother, being black and flat-nosed. The emphasis laid by tradition on Muḥammad's love for him is partly due to the intention of setting him off against ʿAlī's family; it may also have been meant to show that the Prophet was a true democrat and free from colour prejudice.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 42-51; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 273, 451; Khazradjī, *Khulāṣat al-Tadhhib*, Cairo 1322, 22; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 64; Ṭabarī, i, 2943, 2952, 3072, 3124, iii, 2344, 2440; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 560, 734, 776, 970, 984, 999, 1008, 1018; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, a.h. 11, §§ 3-5, 9-12, 73, 106-11; a.h. 23, 8156, no. 1; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin 1882, 433-4, 436; Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, 20, 28, 31, 72, 103-6, 140; Nabia Abbott, *Aishah, the beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago 1942, 33, 37; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 171, 181; idem, *Muhammad at Medina*, Edinburgh 1956, 323, 343; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, ²Paris 1969, 150, 202, 206, 554. (V. Vacca)

al-**ʿUṢBA** al-**ANDALUSIYYA** [see al-mahdjar].

ʿUṢFŪRIDS, a minor dynasty of mediaeval Arabia in the al-Aḥsā/al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] and al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] areas of eastern Arabia. Their rule began there in 651/1253 after their seizure of the region from the ʿUyūnids [*q.v.*]. The ʿUṣfūr were kings of Banū ʿĀmir b. ʿAwf b. Mālik, a *baṭn* of ʿUḳayl, in the 7th/13th century, whilst their subjects included the Banū Thaʿlaba. Little appears to be known of their history. In the mid-9th/15th century, a branch of the ʿUṣfūrids called the Djabrids assumed control of al-Aḥsā.

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ʿUSHĀḲ, a town of western Anatolia, in modern Turkey Uşak (lat. 38° 42′ N., long. 29° 25′ E., altitude 907 m/2,976 feet).

1. History. In Antiquity, the town came within the empire of the Hittites, and the ruins of classical Flaviopolis are nearby. In the 8th/14th century it came within the *beylik* of the Germiyān-Oghullari̊ [*q.v.*]. The only extant *waḳfiyye* of this period, dated

721/1321, concerns the foundation of a *zāwiye* there by Yaʿḳūb I (Mustafa Çetin Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları tarihi* (*1300-1429*), Ankara 1974, 43, 107), and the still-extant Ulu Cami is undated but goes back to this time (Mahmut Akok, *Uşak Ulu Camii*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii [1956], 69-72, with plates and plans). Under the Ottomans, ʿUshāḳ came within the *sandjak* of Kütāhya [*q.v.*], and by 937/1530 was the centre of a *ḳaḍā*; at this time it had eleven *maḥalles* and a population of 493 adult males. It had a soap manufactory which paid a tax of four *akčes* and a bar of soap for every soap-kettle in use. The name ʿUshāḳ was around this time equated in the popular mind with the word *ʿushshāḳ* "lovers", so that Ewliyā Čelebi interpreted the town's name as *ʿāshîḳlar beldesi*. Towards the end of the 18th century it was under a *derebey*, Ḥādjdjī Murādoghlu, who rebelled against the central government but was overthrown and executed. Near the end of the 19th century, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at just over 13,000, of whom about one-third were Greeks and Armenians (*La Turquie d'Asie*, iv, Paris 1894, 215-19). The *sāl-nāme* of 1324/1906 for the Khudāwendigār *wilāyet* numbered the town's carpet looms at 1,532, with 6,928 persons involved in the work, and 300 dye houses. There was fierce fighting in the area during the Greco-Turkish War, and it was there that the Greek commander-in-chief General Trikoupis was captured on 2 September 1922. It is now on the main road and railway line connecting İzmir with Ankara, and is the chef-lieu of an *il* or province. In 1997 the town had a population of 124,356 and the *il* one of 311,754.

2. ʿUshāḳ carpets. The 10th/16th-century records contain no mention of knotted rugs from the town. Presumably not all rugs called "ʿUshāḳ" in modern carpet parlance were made in the town itself, and only those recorded in Ottoman documents as coming from or named after the town can be specifically attributed to it. ʿUshāḳ carpets are remarkable because they show the transition from purely abstract design to the elaborate scrollwork esteemed by wealthy Ottoman customers during the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries. The sources mentioning the town's fame for rug manufacture mostly date from the 11th/17th century. A price list of 1050/1640 refers to a multitude of larger and smaller ʿUshāḳ carpets priced according to size (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda narh müessesi ve 1640 tarihli narh defteri*, Istanbul 1983, 71-2, 178). Some information on design is also available in this list: almost all of the carpets described as coming from ʿUshāḳ possessed a red ground and several of them had a design called *ṣofra* in the centre; this would seem to indicate the medallion ʿUshāḳ of modern terminology. In addition, the nearby settlement of Selendi was credited with a white-grounded *ḥammām* rug with a "crow" design, which probably corresponded to the well-known white-grounded ʿUshāḳ with a decoration of stylised scrolls resembling birds.

Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited ʿUshāḳ in 1082/1671-2, refers to this small but active commercial town as a centre of the wool trade, where camels and wagons were numerous enough to cause traffic jams. Both mosque and *dīwān-khāne* rugs in vibrant colours were manufactured here, while the nearby village of Boyalî grew a root from which the red dye used in rug-making was manufactured (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ix, 38-40). He also referred to the distribution of ʿUshāḳ rugs. Thus the market held on the *yayla* of Djebel Erbaʿīn (Bozdağ) in the vicinity of modern Ödemiş was visited by the people of ʿUshāḳ and Ḳula, the latter also a rug-making centre, and it is likely that rugs and carpets were brought along for sale. Ewliyā also noted that a large ʿUshāḳ rug decorated the Armenian monastery of Jerusalem, a building which much impressed him for its handsomeness. Kātib Čelebi's *Djihān-nümā* (Istanbul, 1145/1732, 768) equally mentions that the prayer rugs (*sedjdjāde*) and carpets of ʿUshāḳ were famous.

Termini ante quem for the dating of ʿUshāḳ rugs (in the art-historical sense of the term have often been provided by Dutch paintings (Onno Ydema, *Carpets and their datings in Netherlandish paintings 1540-1700*, Woodbridge, Suffolk 1991, 39-50).

The *sherʿiyye sidjilleri*, not only of ʿUshāḳ itself but also of other rug-making centres such as Güre or Ḳula, have not been preserved. But the presence of ʿUshāḳ rugs as far afield as Istanbul and Jerusalem indicates that this industry possessed a well-developed distribution network. In Erdel [*q.v.*] or Transylvania, numerous rugs/carpets have been found in churches which are considered by specialists to have come from ʿUshāḳ; but there is no definite information on where they were made (Ferenc Batari, *Ottoman Turkish carpets*, Budapest 1994, 28-40).

After 1870, a growing market for rugs in Europe and the United States resulted in the expansion of carpet-knotting in ʿUshāḳ. Merchants collected the rugs produced domestically by women knotters, while the dyeing of yarn was often a job for men. Looms were generally the property of the producers. Artificial dyes were introduced, but their use for a long time was restricted to the lower-quality rugs, and spinning remained largely a manual job until the turn of the century. However, in the years before 1900, ʿUshāḳ rug-makers began to feel the competition from towns where wages were lower and also from the first spinning and dyeing factories. In March 1908 women demolished an ʿUshāḳ factory, and the local authorities, acting in the context of the incipient Young Turkish Revolution, advised the central government to give in to the workwomen's demands. However, by the beginning of World War I, the use of machine-spun yarn in carpet manufacture had become an established custom in ʿUshāḳ (D. Quataert, *Machine breaking and the changing carpet industry of Western Anatolia, 1860-1909*, in idem (ed.), *Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire, 1730-1914*, Istanbul 1993, 117-36). Demand for Uşak carpets further receded during the two World Wars, with kilim manufacture providing only a partial substitute for this loss. Today, the town's main industry consists of a sugar refinery, established in 1925 and producing 43,900 tons p.a. in 1982.

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(AL-)**USHBŪNA**, Lisbon, now the capital of Portugal. Originally it bore the Punic name Olisippo. Ruled successively by Romans, Alans and Visigoths, it was conquered by the Arabs in early 97/716. For the transcription of the name in Arabic sources, we find *Ushbūna*, *al-Ushbūna* and *Lashbūna*.

Initially, Lisbon formed part of the province or *kūra* of Beja, but along with Santarem and Sintra, later constituted the separate province of Balāṭa. In 229/844, it was attacked by bands of Norsemen (*al-Madjūs* [*q.v.*]), probably from Ireland. The *amīr* of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II received a letter from the governor of Lisbon stating that 54 Norse galleys had anchored off the city. The raiders indulged in 13 days of murder and pillage, and fierce encounters (*malāḥim*) took place between them and the Muslims before the raiders left for southern Spain. Another attack by Norsemen on Lisbon in 355/966 was repulsed.

Arab geographers describe Lisbon as a fine city, extending along the Tagus, with a strong castle and a wall with five gates, and containing warm springs (*ḥamma*, hence today's Alfama). They speak at length of Lisbon's rich natural resources. Al-Rāzī pays tribute to the abundance of fish, and to its honey and gold as well as the excellent amber from the ocean. Ibn Ghālib [*q.v.*] says that Lisbon was renowned for the quality of its fruit and the variety of its game and fish. Al-Idrīsī, who visited Lisbon shortly before its capture by the Portuguese, says that south of the Tagus, facing Lisbon, lies al-Maʿdan (Almada), so called on account of the gold dust (*tibr*) washed up on the bank of the river; he also quotes the people of Lisbon as saying that in the plain of Balāṭa, between Lisbon and Santarem, wheat is harvested 40 days after being sown, with "each measure sown yielding about 100 measures". He further noted that a group of adventurers (*al-mugharrirūn*) set out from Lisbon on a voyage of discovery to find out what the ocean contained and how far it extended, and eleven days after they had set out from Lisbon, they reached a sea with huge waves and thick clouds (probably the coast of Ireland or England). Realising their peril, they changed direction and, after 24 days' sailing, reached an island (probably one of the Canaries), whose ruler had them deported to the coast of Morocco, where they learnt that they were at a distance of two months journey from Lisbon.

Sābūr, a freedman of the caliph al-Ḥakam II, was governor of Gharb al-Andalus, including Lisbon, until the collapse of the Cordova caliphate when, like other founders of Taifas [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF. 2], he proclaimed his independence. On Sābūr's death in 412/1022, one of his confidants, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Afṭas, assumed guardianship of Sābūr's two minor sons and later supplanted them as ruler of Badajoz. The two brothers moved to Lisbon for a month until, at the request of the people of Lisbon, Ibn al-Afṭas appointed a new governor. Returning to Seville from a raid in León in 425/1034, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād, eldest son of the ruler of Seville, was ambushed by Ibn al-Afṭas and narrowly escaped to Lisbon. This would seem to indicate that Lisbon was then part of the dominions of the ʿAbbādids of Seville, as was nearby Beja, birthplace of al-Muʿtamid b. ʿAbbād (434/1042 [*q.v.*]).

Lisbon boasted a number of native poets, of whom no less than seventeen are cited in the *Dhakhīra* of Ibn Bassām of Santarem (d. 542/1147 [*q.v.*]). These include Ibn Maḳānā, Ibn Suwār and ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Fihrī. Ibn Bassām used to come to Lisbon from Santarem in order to meet prominent men of letters visiting the city, such as Ibn Dūdīn of Valencia, who in 477/1084 dictated to the anthologist some of his verse and prose (*Dhakhīra*, iii/2, 703).

Having removed the Taifa rulers of Granada, Almeria and Seville, the incoming Almoravids proceeded to depose Ibn al-Afṭas of Badajoz for collusion with Alfonso VI of Castile and León; he had ceded Lisbon, Santarem and Sintra to Alfonso VI in 486/1093 in return for promising aid should Badajoz be attacked. Alfonso VI, however, failed to help and Ibn al-Afṭas was executed by the Almoravids in Muḥarram 486/February 1093. A few months later, the Almoravids recovered Lisbon after it had been under Castilian occupation for nearly one year and a half.

The subsequent rise of the Almohads in Morocco and the withdrawal, in consequence, of most of the Almoravid garrisons from al-Andalus offered the Christian rulers in the peninsula a propitious opportunity to expand their territories at Muslim expense. Two years after assuming the royal title in 533/1139, Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, who is referred to in Arabic sources as Ibn al-Rīḳ/al-Rink, i.e. the son of Henrique, failed in an attempt to seize Lisbon, but his capture of Santarem on 10 Shawwāl 541/15 March 1147, opened the road to Lisbon. A few months later, a Crusader fleet, on its way to Palestine and comprising 164 vessels and some 13,000 men from Germany, Flanders and England, arrived at Oporto. The bishop of Oporto persuaded the Crusaders to aid the king of Portugal in an assault on Lisbon, promising them booty and ransom money in return.

A full eyewitness account of the siege of Lisbon by an Anglo-Norman priest has survived in a unique ms. now preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. From the account, Lisbon would seem to have been at that time an autonomous city-state run by a council comprising the governor, the *ḳāḍī*, the Mozarabic bishop and a number of elders. The English, attacking from the west, gained access to the subterranean grainstores. The Germans, attacking from the east, blew a breach in the wall, but the defenders vigorously repulsed all attempts to penetrate the city. Eventually, an 80-foot mobile tower, constructed by the English, won the day. Although a truce arranged with Afonso Henriques provided for the peaceful evacuation of the city, it was nonetheless sacked by the Crusaders and many of its citizens, including the Mozarabic bishop, were slain, after falling on 27 Djumādā I 542/24 October 1147 after a siege of seventeen weeks.

Surprisingly, surviving Arabic sources have very little to add to the Anglo-Norman priest's account. Ibn Ghālib merely says that the Christian attackers numbered 13,000 men and that very few of the inhabitants of Lisbon survived the assault. Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1235) says that "Confronted by large hosts who arrived by land and sea and given the failure of Muslims to come to their aid and the casualties they had suffered, the defenders of Ushbūna eventually capitulated" (*Muṭrib*, 24). Lisbon's great mosque was promptly converted into a church (now Lisbon's cathedral) and an English priest, Gilbert of Hastings, was installed by Afonso Henriques as first bishop of the new see.

In the annals of the *Reconquista*, the conquest of Lisbon was as important as that of Toledo (478/1085) and Saragossa (512/1118). Like Toledo, it now became a strategic Christian frontier stronghold. Its capture, perhaps the greatest single achievement of Afonso Henriques, was probably a decisive event in the creation of the Kingdom of Portugal.

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AL-ŪSHĪ, 'ALĪ B. 'UTHMĀN b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, Sirādj al-Dīn al-Taymī al-Faraghānī, Ḥanafī scholar from Ūsh in Farghāna of the 6th/12th century. Nothing is known about his life. The death date of 575/1179-80, mentioned in one place by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, may be a mere guess. According to his own testimony, he completed his *al-Fatāwā al-Sirādjiyya* in Ūsh on 2 Muḥarram 569/13 August 1173. The epithet *Imām al-Ḥaramayn* given to him suggests that he taught for some time in Mecca and Medina.

Al-Ūshī is best known for his *lāmiyya*, theological poem of 66 or 68 lines also called *Bad' al-amālī* and *Kaṣīdat Yakūlu 'l-'Abd*. It contains a simple creed in the Ḥanafī tradition close to Māturīdī doctrine and seems influenced by the *'Akā'id* of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. The Mu'tazila are explicitly condemned, while criticism of Ash'arī doctrine is muted. The reality of miracles worked by Ṣūfī saints is upheld, but prophets are ranked in excellence above saints. Among the numerous commentaries written on the poem, that of 'Alī al-Ḳārī al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605) is particularly popular. In his *Ghurar al-akhbār wa-durar al-ash'ār* al-Ūshī gathered traditions and poetry, mostly of a paraenetic character, from rare sources, arranging them in chapters according to subject matter. Only an abridged version entitled *Niṣāb al-akhbār wa-tadhkirat al-akhyār*, containing 1,000 short traditions in 100 chapters, is extant. His *al-Fatāwā al-Sirādjiyya*, a collection of his Ḥanafī legal opinions, is described by Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd al-Sidjistānī as dealing with many rare cases not found in other books. Al-Sidjistānī relied on it as one of his two primary sources in his massive *Munyat al-muftī* completed in Sīwās in 639/1240.

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AL-USHMŪNAYN, a town of Upper Egypt [see AL-ṢA'ĪD] situated on the west bank of the Nile between that river and the Baḥr Yūsuf, on lat. 27° 47' N.

This town is the ancient Hermopolis Magna, in Coptic Shmoun, Egyptian Khmounou. Coptic-Arabic legend attributes its foundation to an eponym, Ushmūn, son of Miṣr. The dual form of the name, found in early Arab times, indicates that there were two settlements, and in the papyri of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.H. there appear Ushmūn al-'Ulyā and U. al-Suflā "Upper" and "Lower" Ushmūn.

In Antiquity it was the capital of a district, hence in Arab times al-Ushmūnayn was the chef-lieu of a *kūra*. Al-Kindī noted that there was a *wālī ḥarb* there, apparently the same official as the *wālī al-ḥarb* of the Ṣa'īd, who according to Ibn Duḳmāḳ resided there. After al-Ushmūnayn was sacked in 415/1024, there was appointed an official with the title of *mutawallī ḥimāyat balad al-Ushmūnayn wa-a'mālihā*. With the administrative reorganisation of the Fāṭimid vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and the division of Egypt into provinces, al-Ushmūnayn became the chef-lieu of a province between those of al-Bahnasā and Manfalūṭ. At the time of the land-survey in 713/1313 of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* [see RAWK], the town of Ṭahā had risen in importance, since the province is named as that of al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭahāwiyya. Over the course of time, al-Ushmūnayn declined in importance to the profit of Ṭahā in al-Bahnasā. In *ca.* 1132/1720, under the Ottoman governor Muḥammad Nishāndjī Pasha, the nearby place Mallawī became the administrative centre, thanks to its closeness to the Nile. In 1241/1826 the name of the province of al-Ushmūnayn was changed to the *ma'mūriyya* of Asyūṭ, with the latter town as chef-lieu, and al-Ushmūnayn became a simple village of the *markaz* of Mallawī in that province.

In mediaeval times, al-Ushmūnayn was famed for its fertility. From sheep reared by local Arab tribesmen, the town became an important centre of the woollen industry, with red wool carpets on the model of the *ḳirmiz* ones of Armenia, and the clothing of al-Ushmūnayn was widely exported.

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USHNŪ (Ushnuh, Ushnūya), a district and small town of Ādharbāydjān. The modern town, known as Ushnuwiyya (Oshnoviyeh), situated in lat. 37° 03' N., long. 45° 05' E., is some 56 km/35 miles south of Urmiya [*q.v.*], on which it has usually been administratively dependent. It is at present the chef-lieu of a *bakhsh* in the *shahrastān* of Urmiya. The present population (1991 census results) is 23,875.

The district of Ushnū is watered by the upper course of the river Gādir (Gader) which, after traversing the district of Sulduz [*q.v.*], flows into Lake Urmiya on the south-west. To the south of Ushnū is the district of Lāhidjān which is administered from Sawdj-Bulaḳ [*q.v.*]. The town of Ushnū is situated on the left bank of the Gādir.

The population of the district are Kurds. The town and its villages are occupied by the Zarzā tribe, the other twenty-five villages by the tribe of Mamash, which also occupies a part of Lāhidjān and of Sulduz.

The town of Ushnū is mentioned in Arabic sources from the time of al-Iṣṭakhrī (186). This author says that Ushnuh al-Ādhariyya formed part of the lands of the Banū Rudaynī, which also included Dākharkān and Tabrīz (Nirīz ?), but Ibn Hawḳal, 240, already notes that this tribe had disappeared. At 239, he notes the richness of Ushnuh in grass and fruits. Its produce (honey, almonds, nuts and cattle) was exported to Mawṣil and to al-Djazīra. Its "steppe" (*bādiya* = Lāhidjān ?) belonged to the Hadhbānī Kurds who spent the summer there (*yaṣīfūn*). The principal fief of these Kurds was at Irbil [*q.v.*].

We know nothing of the coming of the Zarzā Kurds to Ushnū (they may perhaps be a branch of the old Hadhbānī) but the Zarzarī are already mentioned in the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, writ-

ten in Egypt in 1335 (cf. *NE*, xiii, Paris 1838, 300-29). The author explains its name as *walad al-dhiʾb*, which Quatremère emended to *walad al-dhahab* "children of gold" (in Kurdish *zär* + *zārū*).

In the *Sharaf-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, the section on the Zarzā, mentioned in the preface, is omitted in all the manuscripts. They must have occupied a very considerable area. In a mutilated passage, i, 280, Sharaf al-Dīn seems to say that Lāhidjān was taken from the Zarzā by Pīr Budaḳ, the first chief of the Bābān tribe (9th/15th century). He also mentions (i, 278) the defeat inflicted on them by Sulaymān Beg Sohrān (in the time of the Ottoman Sultan Murād III, 982-1003/1574-95).

Ushnū lies on the road between Mawṣil and the valley of Lake Urmiya (Mawṣil-Rawānduz-pass of Kela-Shīn [*ca.* 10,000 feet]—Ushnu—Urmiya or Marāgha). This road, blocked by snow in winter, is much less convenient than the route from Rawānduz via Rāyāt by the pass of Garū-Shinka (south of the Kela-Shīn), which does not exceed 7,800 feet. The pass of Kela-Shīn (in Kurdish, "green stele") is celebrated for the stele with a bilingual inscription (Assyrian-Urartian) erected in 800 B.C. in the time of the Urartian King Ishpuini and his son Menua. The *Masālik al-abṣār* (tr. Quatremère, 315) has a detailed account of the mountain of Ḥadjarayn, i.e. "the Two Stones" (i.e. the Kela-Shīn and the similar stone of Topuzāwa, to the south-west of Kela-Shīn). In the legendary account by al-Ṭabarī, i, 440, of the campaigns of the King of Yaman (Rāʾish b. Ḳays) in the region of Mawṣil, we are told that his general Shawr b. al-ʿAttāf had his exploits engraved on "the two stones (*ḥadjarayn*) still known in Ādharbāydjān".

The place-names of the district (in Aramaic Ashnokh, Ashna, cf. the Asna of *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 142) reflect the former presence of a Christian element which has now disappeared (cf. the names of the villages of Sargis, Dinḥā and Bemzurta). In 958 already, a Christian of Ushnū founded the church of Sergius and Bacchus near Malaṭya. In 1271 the Nestorian Catholicos Denḥā transferred the see of the metropolis of Assyria to Ushnū so that it might be better protected by the Mongol rulers (Assemani, ii, 350, 456). An old Christian church may be concealed by the ruins of Dayr-i Shaykh Ibrāhīm (near Singān), which are venerated by both Muslims and Christians. Rawlinson (17) saw there the tomb of the bishop of Ushnū, Ibrāhīm, who in 1281 was present at the consecration of the Nestorian Catholicos Yahballāhā III.

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(V. MINORSKY*)

ʿUSHR (A., pls. *aʿshār* or *ʿushūr*), the tenth or the tithe in Islamic law. The early *fiḳh* works define *ʿushr* as a tax on the land owned by Muslims, or a tax on the commercial goods to be paid by Muslim, *dhimmī*, or *ḥarbī* merchants from non-Muslim countries (*dār al-ḥarb*). It has been regarded as a kind of *zakāt* [*q.v.*], and frequently used also in the sense of *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*]. The term *ʿushr* is not found in the Ḳurʾān, but the phrase "the due portion (*ḥaḳḳ*) to be given on the day of its harvesting", in sūra VI, 141, is consistently taken to refer to the tithe or half-tithe levied on fruit and grain (Abū Yūsuf, 56; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, 121-2).

In the ancient Near East, the offering or payment of a tenth of one's goods or property to the deity and king was widely practised from Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine and Greece to lands as far west as Carthage. In Judaism, the tithe also helped the community to meet the needs of Levites, resident aliens, orphans and widows. However, in the early Christian era, although it became a means of livelihood for church leaders, the tithe was regarded as a practice not necessarily in harmony with the new Christian movement (*The Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. Tithe). As to the custom in ancient South Arabia, Pliny in the 1st century recorded that a tithe of frankincense was taken by the priests for the god they called Sabis (*Natural history*, xii, 32/63). The inscriptions found also in South Arabia show that *ʿshr* and *ʿshwrt* (pl.) were tithes levied on land as offerings to the temples during several centuries after the Christian era. It has been repeatedly argued that the temple tithe was a hidden form of state taxation in the Southern Arabian kingdoms. However, all the evidence indicates that the tithe at that time was really not a state tax but a voluntary oblation to the deity (A.V. Korotayev, *Pre-Islamic Yemen*, Wiesbaden 1996, 60-84). During the Djāhiliyya period, the Arabs in and around Mecca and Medina were accustomed to offering a part of their crops and cattle to both Allāh and "pagan" gods (Ḳurʾān, VI, 136).

Based on existing customs prevalent among these Arabs, Muḥammad probably laid down the *ʿushr* as a kind of tax for his newly-established community. According to Tradition, Muḥammad said, "On what is irrigated by rain and perennial streams lies *ʿushr*, and on what is irrigated artificially [lies] half the *ʿushr*" (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *zakāt*, 55); "Take from a Muslim *ʿushr*, and from a polytheist *kharādj*" (Ibn Mādja, *Sunan*, *zakāt*, 22); "If you have palm-trees, pay *ʿushūr*" (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv, 236); and "*ʿushūr* are levied on Jews and Christians, not on Muslims" (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *imāra*, 33/55). However, since the term was not yet strictly defined, it is also said that the Prophet indicated *kharādj* not *ʿushūr* in the last-mentioned tradition (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Ibn Saʿd recorded a different tradition in which the Prophet implied *djizya* by the term *ʿushūr* (vi, 59).

Based on the brief accounts of the Ḳurʾān and these traditions, Muslim scholars during the ensuing centuries tried to develop the law on *ʿushr* for the benefit of their community. Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa, formed his tax theory on the principle that any land whose owner, Arab or non-Arab, became a Muslim should be considered *ʿushr* land, while lands taken over from non-Arabs and left in their possession should be categorised as *kharādj* land (69; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 82). Moreover, no-one should have the right to convert *kharādj* land into *ʿushr* land or *vice-versa* (Abū Yūsuf, 86; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 83). Therefore, no changes could be introduced concerning the lands of al-Ḥidjāz, Mecca, Medina, Yemen and the lands of the Arabs conquered by the Prophet, which were *ʿushr* land (Abū Yūsuf, 58; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, 73). Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/818), who emphasised tradition, thought that *ʿushr* was *ṣadaḳa*, which was the *zakāt* [*q.v.*] levied on the crops and fruits of Muslims (no. 356; *Taxation in Islam*, i, 77). However, he was of the opinion that when a man embraced Islam on the condition that he continue to pay *kharādj*, the tax would be due on his land without change (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, no. 22; *Taxation in Islam*,

i, 26). Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām (d. 224/838), who was independent of any school of law, argued that no tax should be levied on honey from *kharādj* land because neither *ʿushr* nor *kharādj* is doubly levied on the same land (*K. al-Amwāl*, no. 1499). According to this view, the tradition that "*ʿushūr* is not levied on Muslims" indicates that *ʿushr* is not levied on Muslims without just basis. He who collects *ʿushūr* without just basis in the name of *ṣadaḳa* is a *maks* [*q.v.*] collector to be burned in hell (*K. al-Amwāl*, nos. 1639-41, 1625). Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), a later Shāfiʿī scholar, prescribes more precisely that the rate of *zakāt* is the *ʿushr* levied on dates, grapes, and ten kinds of crops, like wheat, barley, rice, sorghum and chick peas. He introduces also two different views concerning the cultivation of *kharādj* land by a Muslim: according to al-Shāfiʿī, *ʿushr* is levied in addition to *kharādj*, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ʿushr* is not to be levied (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, 118-19).

These legal discussions were based on the assumption that the lands conquered by the Arabs had been classified into *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands according to the method of conquest, by force or by treaty. However, ʿUmar II in reality still held the principle that *ʿushr* was levied on land owned by Muslims, and *kharādj* (*djizya* in the Umayyad fiscal administration) on land owned by *dhimmīs*. The view that *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands existed from the beginning was newly invented after the reign of ʿUmar II (Shimada, *Shoki isurāmu kokka*, 174, 192). As stated above, al-Shāfiʿī recognised that both *kharādj* and *ʿushr* were levied on any Muslim who cultivated *kharādj* land, while Ibn Sallām and Abū Ḥanīfa rejected the levying of both taxes on the same land. The new, latter principle came to be commonly adopted in later Islamic taxation law (Shimada, *op. cit.*, 175). This indicates that an additional tax of *ʿushr* was in principle not imposed on newly-converted Muslims in place of poll-tax exemption. Soon after his accession to the throne, ʿUmar II sent an order to provincial governors stating, "As for *ʿushūr*, we consider that they should be abolished except from the owners of ploughland" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ʿUmar*, 82; Gibb, *Fiscal rescript*, 6). According to Gibb, "In this document Umar II accepted the practice existing in his time whereby certain lands were assessed for *ʿushr* (*op. cit.*, 12). Forand mistakenly explains that the abusive *ʿushūr* in this case were illegal imposts (*Notes on ʿUšr*, 140). Shimada regards *ʿushūr* themselves as not abusive (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 77), and presents the view that, in his document, ʿUmar II ordered the abolition of *ʿushūr*, that is, a 10% tax on *dhimmī* merchants, intending to treat Arab Muslims and *dhimmī* converts as equals (Shimada, 196).

During the early Islamic period, *ʿushr* was to be levied on the following persons: (1) Muslim cultivators who owned *ʿushr* land. If the land was irrigated by running water or by rain, they paid 10% of their produce in kind; but if the land was irrigated artificially, half of that rate was required. (2) Muslim merchants and artisans, who paid 2½% of their annual earnings. (3) *Dhimmī* merchants and artisans, who paid 5% of their annual earnings. (4) *Ḥarbī* merchants from non-Muslim countries, who paid 10% of the value of their merchandise (Forand, *op. cit.*, 137). However, *dhimmī* merchants actually paid 10% of their annual earnings until the time when ʿUmar II ordered *ʿushūr* abolished, with the exception of the owners of ploughland. In 7th century ʿIrāḳ, the actual tax rate was proportional to the yield: in the Sawād of Kūfa, native converts or Muslims who acquired land from native landlords continued to pay *kharādj*, whilst in the Sawād of Baṣra, Muslims who acquired land by gift or sale, or reclaimed land privately, paid *ʿushr* until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj, who ordered such land owners to pay *kharādj* (Morony, *Iraq*, 106). In the *thughūr* [*q.v.*] lands bordering the Byzantine empire, all tax exemptions from *ʿushr* were abolished during the reign of al-Mutawakkil; and for Muslim proprietors, the *ʿushr* assessment meant their elimination from the ruling class (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 171; von Sivers, *Tax and trade in the ʿAbbāsid Thughūr*, in *JESHO*, xxv [1982], 83-4). The Arab Muslims who had emigrated to Egypt stopped paying *ʿushr* and started paying *kharādj* during the reign of al-Mahdī (Morimoto, *The fiscal administration*, 184). During the early ʿAbbāsid period, the owners of *ḳaṭīʿa* and *ḍayʿa* [*q.vv.*] lands still retained the right to pay only *ʿushr* on their private property (*milk*), but there was a tendency to deprive them of this privilege (Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, 91; al-Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ*, 186).

When the Būyid *amīr* Muʿizz al-Dawla implemented the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] system in the Sawād in 334/946, he granted to his followers confiscated property (*ḍayʿa*) and revenue in the state treasury (*ḥaḳḳ bayt al-māl*) from levies on the private estates of influential farmers (Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ii, 96; Sato, *State and rural society*, 21). These levies were also called *ḥaḳḳ al-aʿshār* (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, 363), which demonstrates the existence of a common view that *ʿushr* rather than *kharādj* was still to be levied on the private estates of farmers during that period. However, under the *iḳṭāʿ* system, influential village proprietors (*tānī*) who owned small plots of land (*ḍayʿa*) in the Sawād surrendered their estates to *iḳṭāʿ* holders in order to survive under their protection (Sato, *op. cit.*, 33-7). Generally speaking, Arabic and Persian society under the new régime experienced almost the same change in their taxation systems, as the distinction between *kharādj* and *ʿushr* lands gradually disappeared (Johansen, *The Islamic law*, 80-1) [see also KHARĀDJ], and peasants began paying *kharādj* as well as miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs* [see MAKS]) to their *iḳṭāʿ* holders, except for the poll tax which was paid to the state treasury (Sato, 148-50). However, during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods *ʿushr* as *zakāt* in addition to *kharādj* was levied on Egyptian and Syrian peasants contrary to Islamic law (Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, 313; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiii, 117; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, viii, 252, 259; Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, 34, 44). Regarding taxation on commercial goods, Muslim merchants under the *iḳṭāʿ* system paid about 2½% of the value of their merchandise (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 457; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 270-1), while *ḥarbī* merchants who came to Alexandria, Damietta, Tinnīs or ʿAydhāb paid *khums* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (a fifth), which actually ranged from 20 to 35% of the value of what they were carrying (Ibn Mammātī, 325-7; S. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965, 199-200). According to Ibn Djubayr (d. 614/1217), all the goods belonging to Muslims arriving in Alexandria were brought into the government office, subjected to severe investigation, and then *zakāt* (probably a half or fourth of *ʿushr*) was levied on them (*Riḥla*, 13-14).

In Anatolia and the Balkans under Ottoman rule, cavalrymen (*sipāhī*) resided in villages that were their *tīmār* [*q.v.*] and were able to collect *ʿöshür* (actually ⅛ to ⅓ of the peasant harvest) levied on crops and paid in kind (H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 107; idem and D. Quataert, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge 1994, 113, 531).

In Persia under the Il-Khāns and the Ṣafawids, privately-owned land (*milk*), although small in scale, still remained, and *ʿushr* was levied on its owners (*Camb. hist. Iran*, v, 517-8, vi, 517). In Ottoman Syria also, *ʿushr* was levied on orchards, vegetable gardens, and all *wakf* land except in sacred cities like Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine*, Princeton 1978, 65, 131, 142, 151; M.A. Bakhit, *The Ottoman province of Damascus*, Beirut 1982, 147-8). This custom, in the course of time, gave privileged Circassians and local notables in Egypt the opportunity to achieve large-scale landownership through the accumulation of *ʿushūriyya* land granted by Muḥammad ʿAlī (K.M. Cuno, *The Pasha's peasants*, Cambridge 1992, 180).

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(T. Sato)

ʿUSHSHĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, a Turkish patronymic whose first element is formed from a learned Arabisation of the *nisba* Ushākī "pertaining to [the town in western Anatolia of] Ushāḳ". It was the name of two families of Ottoman Turkey.

1. The first is the family of leading *ʿulamāʾ*, descendants of Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī (d. 1001/1592-3), founder of the ʿUshshāḳiyya branch of the Khalwatiyya [*q.vv.*] Ṣūfī order. Ḥasan had three sons: Muṣṭafā (d. *ca.* 1037/1628), who succeeded his father as head of the order's *tekke* in the Ḳāsîmpasha quarter of Istanbul, whilst serving as *ḳāḍī* of the capital and *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Anatolia; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1045/1635), *ḳāḍī* of Aleppo; and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 1087/1676-7), *ḳāḍī* of Üsküdār. In the next generation, the *tekke* passed into the hands of another branch of the family, Muṣṭafā having no male descendants, but two ʿUshshāḳī-zādes were still *ʿulamāʾ* of high rank: Faṣīḥī Meḥmed (d. 1065/1654), *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, and ʿAbd al-Bāḳī (d. 1090/1679), *ḳāḍī* of Mecca. This last married the daughter of a *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, hence his progeny acquired the additional dignity of *sayyid* status. It was from this branch that there issued the most distinguished members of the family in the next generation: Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Nasīb (d. 1139/1726), *ḳāḍī ʿasker* of Rumelia, and Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ḥāsib (d. 1136/1724), *ḳāḍī* of Izmir. The latter is especially known for his writings, notably his *Dhayl-i Shaḳāʾiḳ* (or *Dhayl-i ʿAṭāʾī*), a continuation of ʿAṭāʾī's biographical work (*Ḥadāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳāʾiḳ*), itself a continuation of Ṭashköprüzāde's *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-Nuʿmāniyya* (in it he completed the *ṭabaḳa* of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *shaykh*s of Murād IV's time and added four other *ṭabaḳāt* covering persons up to the reign of Aḥmed II). He also wrote a history, the *Tārīkh-i ʿUshshāḳī-zāde*.

2. The second is that of merchants and notables who settled in Izmir at the end of the 19th century, and from whom there arose the novelist Khālid Ḍiyāʾ (Halit Ziya) [*q.v.*] and also Laṭīfe Khānîm, for a time wife of Kemāl Atatürk.

Bibliography: H.J. Kissling (ed.), *ʿUšâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des Osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Ẓeyl-i Šaqâʾiq)*, Wiesbaden 1965; H.G. Majer, *Vorstudien zur Geschichte der Ilmiye im Osmanischen Reich. I. Zu Uşakîzade, seiner Familie und seinem Ẓeyl-i Şakayik*, Munich 1978; idem, art. *Uşşâkîzâde*, in *IA*, of which the present article is a résumé.

(Nathalie Clayer)

ʿUSHSHĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, Ibrāhīm b. al-Seyyid ʿAbd ül-Bāḳī (1075-1136/1664-1724), Ottoman scholar and biographer.

He stemmed from a prominent family of *ʿulemāʾ*: his father was *ḳāḍī* of Mecca, his maternal grandfather was *naḳīb ül-eshrāf* and his younger brother ʿAbdullāh (d. 1139/1726-7 became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rūmeli. Ibrāhīm followed a middle-ranking career as a *müderris*, later rising to the posts of *ḳāḍī* of Medina (1119/1707) and of Izmir (1125-6/1713-14). He died in Istanbul and was buried at the Keskin Dede cemetery near the Mosque of Nishāndjî Pasha (Sālim, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1315/1897, 218-20; cf. Ali Uğur, *The Ottoman ʿulema in the mid-17th century. An analysis of the Vaḳāʾiʿ ul-fuẓulā of Meḥmed Şeyhī Efendi*, Berlin 1986, pp. xiii-xxi).

ʿUshshāḳī-zāde's *Dheyl-i Sheḳāʾiḳ-i nuʿmāniyye* is a biographical dictionary of 11th/17th-century Ottoman *ʿulemāʾ* compiled at the request of the Sheykh ül-Islām Feyḍullāh (d. 1115/1703) as a continuation of the work of ʿAṭāʾī [*q.v.*]. Arranged in five *ṭabaḳāt*, it covers the period from 1043/1633 in the reign of Murād IV (where ʿAṭāʾī finishes) through the reigns of Ibrāhīm, Meḥemmed IV, Süleymān II and Aḥmed II to 1106/1694-5 (entries listed in A.S. Levend, *Türk edebiyati tarihi*, Ankara 1973, 358-60). A facsimile ed. was published by H.J. Kissling as *ʿUšāqīzāde's Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Gelehrter und Gottesmänner des osmanischen Reiches im 17. Jahrhundert (Ẓeyl-i šaqāʾiq)*, Wiesbaden 1965. The work was completed in 1114/1702 but only formally presented later to Čorlu ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], Grand Vizier 1118-22/1706-10. It was used as a source by the author's contemporary Meḥmed Sheykhī

(1078-1144/1667-1732), whose *Weḳā'iʿ ül-fuḍalā'* was also compiled as a *dheyl* to ʿAṭā'ī. Although Sheykhī criticised ʿUshshāḳī-zāde's work as inadequate, with entries neither as systematic nor as numerous as his own, it was nevertheless a valuable source for his work (cf. Uğur, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxi) and remains a standard biographical reference work.

ʿUshshāḳī-zāde also wrote verse, using the *makhlaṣ* of Ḥasīb.

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(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

ʿUSHSHĀḲIYYA, a Ṣūfī order of the Ottoman empire arising out of the Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] and developing within the empire from the last quarter of the 10th/16th century.

Its founder, Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī, son of a merchant from Bukhārā, came to Anatolia as the result of a dream. At Erzindjān [*q.v.*], in eastern Anatolia, he received the *idjāza* of the Khalwatī *shaykh* Aḥmad Samarḳandī before he settled at Ushāḳ in western Anatolia. There he began to direct his devotees in his own Ṣūfī path, which apparently combined elements of the three *ṭuruḳ* to which he himself was affiliated, sc. the Khalwatiyya, Kubrawiyya and Nūrbakhshiyya (according to certain sources, he is reported also to have received an *idjāza* from Ümmī Sinān, *pīr* of the Sināniyya, another branch of the Khalwatiyya). Legend holds that he announced to the future Murād III (then residing at Manisa) his future greatness, so that the latter invited the *shaykh* to Istanbul after his accession in 982/1574. Certainly, after a certain lapse of time, Ḥusām al-Dīn settled in the Ḳāsîmpasha quarter, where a *tekke* was built, until the mid-18th century the only ʿUshshāḳī one in the capital. He was buried there, having died at Konya in 1001/1592-3 on his return from the Pilgrimage. Concerning his order's diffusion at this time, we know that it spread into Rumelia (in particular, to Edirne, Keshan, Gümüldjine/Komotini, Gelibolu, Filibe/Plovdiv, Belgrade, Buda, Pečuy/Peć, Temeshvar and Ḳandiye/Candia in Crete). We do not yet know about its spread within Anatolia. As for the Arab provinces, the sole reference is Ewliyā Čelebi's mentioning its existence in Cairo during the second half of the 17th century.

The ʿUshshāḳiyya enjoyed a renaissance in the 12th/18th century, when several new branches evolved. The most important one, the Djamāliyya, was founded at Istanbul by Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī (d. 1164/1751), considered as the *pīr-i thānī* or second master of the order. Originally from Edirne, he was an affiliate of the Gülshaniyya-Sezā'iyya (which influenced him strongly), the Sünbüliyya, the Shaʿbāniyya and the Naḳshbandiyya before creating his own order and settling in the Ottoman capital from 1155/1742 onwards, where he then headed a *tekke* outside the Egriḳapî Gate. Another branch, the Ṣalāḥiyya, was created by ʿAbd Allāh Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUshshāḳī (d. at Istanbul between 1196/1782 and 1198/1784), son-in-law and disciple of the previous *shaykh*, and called *pīr-i thālith* or third master of the order. He is above all known for having made the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī his own (he is said to have been called the Muḥyī al-Dīn of the Turks) and for having left behind numerous works. A further branch of the order was founded in western Anatolia, in the region of Čanaḳḳale, by Aḥmad Djāhidī ʿUshshāḳī, another *khalīfa* of Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn (d. 1170/1756-7, not 1070/1659-60, as is sometimes found in the literature). In the 19th century, several ʿUshshāḳī groups are said to have grown close to the Bektāshiyya, especially the Djāhidiyya (which is said, however, subsequently to have declined). Also, the *shaykh* Emīn Tewfīḳ, settled in Istanbul since 1285/1868-9, is said to have attracted numerous Bektāshīs to his side. During this second period of the order's history (mid-18th century to 1925), the ʿUshshāḳiyya seem to have been especially strong in Edirne and the region around it (notable at Dimetoka, Filibe and Aydos), in Istanbul (with five centres there) and in western Anatolia (Čanaḳḳale, Balîkesir, Bursa, Izmir, Kula, Nazilli, etc.).

Since the 1970s, the order, which has disappeared elsewhere, has re-emerged in Turkey, especially in the region of Balıkesir (where resides its present spiritual head, Sıddık Naci Eren, author of numerous works recently published) and at Istanbul, where the *tekke* at Kasımpaşa has been completely renovated since 1982. *Dhikr* is performed there twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays (the dervishes first perform this sitting, then standing upright, and make the *dewrān* by means of leaps).

Bibliography: Ḥarīrī-zāde Kemāl al-Dīn, *Tibyān wasā'il al-ḥaḳā'iḳ*, ms. Süleymaniye, Fâtih 430-2; Ḥüseyin Waṣṣāf, *Sefînet ül-ewliyā*, iv, ms. Süleymaniye, Yazma bağışlar 2308; Ḥüseyin Aywansarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, i, 141, 233-6, ii, 23-5; Bandîrmalî-zāde Aḥmed Münīb, *Medjmūʿa-yi tekāyā*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90; Bursalî Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, i, 53-5, 104-7; Ṣādiḳ Widjdānī, *Ṭumār-i ṭuruḳ-i ʿaliyyeden Khalwetiyye silsile-nāmesi*, Istanbul 1338-41/1919-23, 103 ff.; Dhākir Shükrī Efendi, ed. M.S. Tayşi and K. Kreiser, *Die Istanbuler Derwisch-Konvente und ihre Scheiche (Mecmuʿa-i tekāya)*, Freiburg 1980, 11-12, 42-4, 52; Rahmi Serin, *Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, Istanbul 1984, 131-5, 141-2, 159-60; F. Onat, *Pîr Hasan Hüsameddin Uşşâki*, Istanbul 1990; B. Tanman, art. *Uşşakîlik*, in *Dünden bugüne Istanbul ansiklopedisi*; Nihat Azamat, art. *Câhidî Ahmed Ef.*, in *Türkiye diyanet vakfi Islam ansiklopedisi*; N. Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société. Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV[e] siècle à nos jours*, Leiden 1994, index.

(NATHALIE CLAYER)

USHURMA, MANṢŪR, the first *imām* of the North Caucasus, who led the local Muslim resistance to the Russian conquest in 1199-1206/1785-91.

1. His career

Born in Aldī (Aldy), a village south-west of Grozny, of the family of a poor Čečen farmer, Ushurma spent his early years looking after his neighbours' flocks. He may have received some rudimentary Islamic education under a local *mullā* or scholars in nearby Dāghistān, although contemporary Russian and Ottoman sources consider him to be illiterate. At the age of 26 or later, he renounced the world, divorced his wife and went into retreat, in which he experienced a vision of two mounted messengers from the Prophet who entrusted him with the mission to spread and enforce Islam among the Čečens and their neighbours. Soon afterwards, in 1198/1784, he took the name "Manṣūr", proclaimed himself *shaykh* and *imām* of the mountain peoples and invited them to abandon their non-Islamic ways (i.e. tribal customs (*ʿādat*), wine-drinking, and the smoking of tobacco), and to observe strictly the *Sharīʿa*. His preaching had egalitarian overtones, which made it popular with the impoverished peasants and marginalised elements of the Čečen, Kabard, Ḳumuḳ and Noghay Tatar [*q.vv.*] tribes, whose traditional life-style was disrupted by the Russian colonial encroachment and the growing economic inequity between them and their nobility, members of which tended to co-operate with the Russians.

In Djumādā I 1199/March 1785, following two powerful earthquakes which may have been inter-

preted by the mountain peoples as an eschatological sign, Manṣūr called upon his fellow Čečens to attack Kabarda in order to bring its tribes in line with the *Sharīʿa*. Whether at that point his preaching included a call to holy war against the infidel Russians is not clear. Nevertheless, the Russian military administration of the Caucasus reacted strongly by sending Col. Pieri with a considerable force to take him prisoner. The Russian contingent reached Aldy, stormed and burned it, chasing its inhabitants into the mountains. However, Manṣūr and his followers escaped and, on the return march, ambushed the Russians in a thick forest, killing some 600 soldiers and officers, including the commander. Heartened by their victory, Manṣūr's disciples declared it to be evidence of the divine support enjoyed by their leader. His ranks swelled as he was joined by the previously reluctant nobles from Kabarda and Dāghistān, who brought with them their disciplined and well-armed retainers. In the summer of 1199/1785, Manṣūr marched on the Russian fortified town of Kizlyar, on the Terek, invested it and burned one of the outlying forts. However, his troops had to withdraw after their attack was repulsed by the Russian artillery. The subsequent siege of a smaller Russian fortress, Grigoriopolis, also ended in failure. These reversals did not discourage the *imām*. In August 1785, he launched a second attack on Kizlyar, which resulted in heavy casualties and desertions among his levies. Yet Manṣūr continued to enjoy the support of some powerful Kabard princes as well as many Čečens, Ḳumuḳs and Dāghistānīs. However, in November 1785, his motley army was routed by a Russian force led by Col. Nagel. This defeat caused the Kabard and Ḳumuḳ princes and nobles to desert Manṣūr and to throw themselves on the Russians' mercy.

Manṣūr took refuge in the mountains of Čečnya, from where he continued to harass Russian fortresses along the Caucasian Line. However, with his reputation on the decline and his levies rapidly dwindling due to want of success, he was reduced to seeking a truce with his Russian foes, but these last were not ready to accept anything short of complete surrender. Hence Manṣūr continued to raid Russian fortresses and villages from his mountain strongholds. Gradually, he shifted the focus of his propaganda from Kabarda to the Western Caucasus, which was home to the warlike mountain tribes, known collectively as the Adīghes (Čerkes [*q.v.*]). This shift may have been occasioned in part by the growing interest in his activities of the Ottomans, who had previously denied him their support, viewing him as a rabble-rouser. However, when a new Russo-Turkish war became inevitable, the Turkish military command in the fortified Black Sea ports of Anapa [*q.v.*] and Sögüdjuk (Sudžuk) decided to use the *imām*'s religious prestige in order to unify the fiercely independent Circassian tribes and to bring them under Ottoman command. They aimed at making him a conduit of Ottoman influence on the anarchic Čerkes and Noghays, who were almost as suspicious of the Ottomans' designs on their lands as they were of Russians. Shortly before the war, Manṣūr made a number of successful raids across the Kuban river and ravaged the territories under Russian control, carrying off hundreds of prisoners and thousands of cattle and sheep. When the war broke out in August 1787, the Russians decided to put an end to this guerilla warfare. An expedition sent against Manṣūr by the viceroy of the Caucasus, Count Potemkin, soundly defeated his levies in several bloody engagements. Manṣūr made his last stand on the Urup river, where, on 20 September 1787, his force was demolished by General Tekelli, causing the *imām* to seek refuge in Anapa. From that moment onwards, Manṣūr played practically no role in the Russo-Turkish hostilities that ensued. With the war going badly for the Ottomans, Manṣūr found himself trapped in Anapa, which was soon besieged by the Russians. After the fall of this Ottoman fortress, he was taken prisoner and sent to St. Petersburg for the Empress's inspection, who viewed him as a dangerous rebel (*buntovšik*). During an interrogation at the Peter-and-Paul Fortress, Manṣūr attacked his guard and stabbed him to death. In consequence of this episode he was shackled with chains and sent to the Schliesselburg Fortress, where he died on 13 April 1794.

2. Manṣūr's *ghazawāt*

Manṣūr was the first North Caucasus leader who consistently used Islam to unite the fiercely independent and mutually hostile tribal societies in the face of Russian colonial expansion. He may, therefore, be rightly regarded as the precursor of the three *imāms* of Dāghistān who waged a holy war against the Russians in 1829-59 [see SHĀMIL]. However, unlike the Dāghistānī *imāms* who had strong Ṣūfī credentials, there is no hard evidence so far to link Manṣūr to either the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] or any other Ṣūfī order. Furthermore, he does not seem to have received any formal religious education, which was to be so important for Shāmil's image among his followers. A Turkish student of theology (*sōfta* or *sōkhta*), who was sent by the Ottomans from Istanbul to examine Manṣūr's religious qualifications, reported that he was an illiterate shepherd who was ignorant even of Islam's fundamentals, not to mention sophisticated theological speculation. His humble background as well as the low social status of his following help to explain why the Ottomans, ever suspicious of popular religious leaders, neither supported his movement nor took advantage of his capabilities, especially at the early stages of his rebellion. The same is true of the Kabard, Čerkes and Noghay nobles, who, with a few exceptions, either refused to join him or deserted after the first reversals. Given these formidable odds, Manṣūr's long resistance to the Russian advance is all the more impressive and shows him to have been "a born leader of men, endowed with some high qualities to a very remarkable degree" (Baddeley, 51).

The rare accounts of the *imām*'s religious calling in Russian and Ottoman archives evince a familiar pattern which he shares with many contemporary Muslim reformers, such as Aḥmad b. Idrīs, al-Tidjānī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.vv.*]. Yet in contrast to these highly versatile and prolific scholars, Manṣūr left no written legacy, except for a few brief letters to his followers and the Ottomans, which he probably dictated to his cultured secretaries. Manṣūr claimed to be in direct contact with the Prophet and thus able to foresee the future and protect his followers from enemy fire. He often appeared to his followers with his face covered by a shawl, a practice reminiscent of earlier claimants to special powers (cf. al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*]). Far from claiming prophethood, as Russian sources try to have us believe, Manṣūr seems to have presented himself as a divinely-inspired "renewer" (*mudjaddid* [*q.v.*]), the person who appears at the turn of each Islamic century to restore Islam to its original purity. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that the public announcement of his *ghazawāt*, preceded by several years of intense meditation, was made in A.H. 1199.

The long-standing confusion in academic and popular accounts of the Caucasian Wars over Manṣūr Ushurma's religious claims (he was routinely described

as a "false prophet", "charlatan" or "impostor") springs, in large part, from the ignorance of Islamic doctrines on the part of the Russian colonial administrators who witnessed the rise and fall of his movement. The almost total illiteracy of his rank-and-file supporters, who were prone to misinterpret or exaggerate his claims, did little to dispel the Russians' misconceptions. The perplexity over Manṣūr's real goals and identity took a curious twist when an 18th-century Florentine periodical identified Manṣūr as the renegade Dominican monk and adventurer Giovanni Battista Boetti, in an elaborate literary hoax that was taken at face-value by some 19th-century Western and Russian scholars. More recently, a re-imagined and idealised figure of Shaykh Manṣūr has become an important nationalist symbol of Čečnya's struggle for independence from Russia (1994-6).

Bibliography: For a standard Russian view of Manṣūr, see V.A. Potto, *Kavkazskaya voyna*, Stavropol' 1994, i, 134-50; cf. J. Baddeley, *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus*, London, 1908, 47-56, which is based almost entirely on Russian sources. In Soviet historiography, a generally hostile approach to Manṣūr, which portrayed him as a Turkish agent, was for many decades determined by the works of N.A. Smirnov, e.g. *Turetskaya agentura pod flagom islama*, in *Voprosî istorii religii i ateizma*, Moscow 1950, 11-63; idem, *Politika Rossii na Kavkaze v xvi-xix vekakh*, Moscow 1958, 135-62. For a revisionist view of Manṣūr in nascent Čečen historiography, see Sh.B. Akhmadov, *Imam Mansur*, Grozny 1991, and *Sheikh Mansur i osvobodite'lnaya bor'ba narodov Severnogo Kavkaza*, Grozny 1992, cf. *Central Asian Survey*, x (1991), 81-92. A detailed account of Manṣūr's movement, which is based on both Russian and Ottoman sources and which emphasises his perceived Ṣūfī connections, is A. Bennigsen, *Un mouvement populaire au Caucase au XVIII^e siècle*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, v/2 (April-June 1964), 159-205. For a recent attempt to place Manṣūr in a broader historical, religious and social context, see A. Zelkina, *Islam and society in Chechnia*, in *Jnal. of Islamic studies*, xii/2 (1996), 240-64. (A. Knysh)

ÜSKÜB, the Turkish form of the place-name Skopje, the capital of the present Macedonian Republic. It lies on the banks of the Vardar river [see wardar] in the northwestern part of the plain, the Skopsko Polje, at an altitude of 220-340 m/720-1,115 feet, in a fertile valley surrounded by mountains. Its central position as a crossroads, with a rich hinterland, in the Balkan peninsula, has always made Skopje the economic, cultural and political centre of the region.

A few kilometres to the northwest of the present city was an Illyrian colony called Skupi, which became, at the end of the 1st century B.C., the capital of the Roman province of Dardania (see *PW*, s.n. *Skupi*). Destroyed by an earthquake in 518, the Byzantine town was completely rebuilt by Justinian I as Justiniana Prima, and from this time dates the monumental aqueduct (bringing water to the town from the Skopska Crna Gora) and the fortress on the left bank of the Vardar. At this time, Byzantine Skopia was several times attacked by the incoming Slav peoples, and briefly conquered by them towards the end of the 7th century, but for the next six centuries remained substantially in Byzantine hands, with intervals of Serbian and Bulgarian domination. Towards 1282 Skopje passed definitively to the Serbs, and became the capital of several of their mediaeval kings, who minted coins there and built palaces, churches and monasteries (Milutin, 1282-1321; Stevan Dečanski, 1321-31; Dušan, 1331-55 [who was crowned emperor there in 1346 and who promulgated there his famous law code in 1349]; Uroš, 1355-71; Vukašin, 1365-71; etc.), with its annual eight-day fair attracting merchants from as far away as Dalmatia and Venice.

At the opening of 1392 (on 6 January?) the town was occupied by the Ottomans, thereby beginning over five centuries of Turkish domination (till 1912) (cf. F. Bajtaktarević, *EI*[1] art. *Üsküb*, with references, also the notes of H. Šabanović accompanying his translation of extracts from Ewliyā Čelebi, *Putopis, odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1967, 278-92). Conscious of its strategic importance for controlling the Balkan lands further north and for watching over their Christian vassals and tributaries, the Ottomans deported part of the town's population and brought in Turkish and other Muslim colonists from Anatolia and beyond. Hence Üsküb changed rapidly in appearance, with the destruction or transformation of its ancient palaces, churches and monasteries and the building of mosques (such as the Khünkār one built by Murād II in 1436-7 on the site of the old palace of the Serbian kings), *ḥammāms*, *khāns*, *medreses*, *tekkes*, *türbes*, etc.

Now well behind the war zone, with a garrison which at times did not exceed 300 men, Üsküb enjoyed a spectacular development from the 9th/15th to 11th/17th centuries, rapidly becoming one of the most important centres of Ottoman Rumelia. It was an administrative centre, where coins were minted, and enjoyed a great cultural role, where several Ottoman figures of renown lived for more or less long periods, including the poet ʿAṭāʾ (d. 930/1523-4; cf. Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 191), the scholar Isḥāk Čelebi (d. 949/1542-3; cf. Gibb, iii, 40-5), ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi (d. 979/1571-2 [*q.v.*]), the prose writer Weysī/Uweysī (d. 1037/1627-8 [*q.v.*], Newʿī-zāde ʿAṭāʾī (d. 1044/1634-5 [*q.v.*]). etc., whilst several of its *medreses* acquired a good reputation. It was a flourishing commercial centre, with colonies of Ragusan, Jewish, Armenian, Greek and Vlach merchants. *Ca.* 1450 the town had 33 *maḥalles* (25 Muslim and 8 Christian), and a century later, in 951/1544, 67 (53 Muslim and 14 Christian), and 1,015 shops. Various Western travellers described it when it was at its apogee in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries, as also Muslim travellers like Kātib Čelebi/Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and Ewliyā Čelebi. The latter records 70 *maḥalles*, 10,060 solidly-built houses, 2,150 shops, 120 mosques and *mesdjids* (45 of which were congregational ones), 9 *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, 70 *mektebs*, 20 *tekkes*, etc. The estimated population figures vary, with 12,000 houses and 60,000 persons in 1689.

This period was brusquely ended with the War of the Sacra Liga, when Austrian troops under Piccolomini, supported by local Serbian insurgents, crossed the Danube and Sava and completely sacked and razed Üsküb on 26-7 October 1689. When the Turks re-occupied the town in 1690, most of the population had fled, the Muslims towards Istanbul and the Serbs, under their Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević, towards the Serbian lands further north and Hungary. Plague outbreaks further diminished the population, though Christian Orthodox Serbs from Skopska Crna Gora and Muslim Albanians from northern Albania, Kosovo and the Debar region now came in, and there were periodic earthquakes. At the end of the 18th century, Üsküb was a small town of little importance, with *ca.* 6,000 inhabitants, the Muslim quarter on the left bank of the Vardar, the Christian one on the right bank, and the Jewish one below the fortress.

Only after 1800 did influxes of population cause a revival of Üsküb in the first decades of the new cen-

tury. In these early years, Orthodox Christians came from Kosovo-Metohija and Macedonia, where they were being terrorised by Muslim Albanian bands in a period of declining Ottoman control, whilst Muslim *muhādjirs* came in from the lands reconquered or occupied by the Serbians and the Austro-Hungarians, above all in the last quarter of the century (the sources record *ca.* 2,000 *muhādjirs* arriving from Bosnia-Hercegovina after 1878, who settled in a new quarter named after them, the *Madžir mahalle* on the right bank of the Vardar; most of these later left for Turkey during or after the Balkan Wars of 1911-12 or after the First World War) [see MUHĀDJIR. 2]. With the Ottoman state managing to stabilise itself after 1840, Üsküb's commerce revived at the coming of railways, especially after the completion in 1888 of the Belgrade-Salonica line through the town, putting it in contact with Central Europe. Hence the population rose at the end of the 19th century to 32,000 (17,000 of these being Muslims, mostly Albanians, but in part Turkicised ones, 14,200 Christians and 800 Jews). It is at this time that a Muslim press first appears there, with *Ḳoṣowa* as the official journal of the *wilāyet* (the administrative centre having been transferred from Priština to Üsküb in 1875) from 1888 till 1909, three issues of the *sāl-nāme* for the *wilāyet*, and a non-official press after the Young Turk Revolution (*Yildiz, Enwār-i Hürriyyet, Arš*, etc.) (see N. Clayer and A. Popovic, *Les revues turques d'Üsküb et de Manastir à la fin de l'époque ottomane*, in B. Kellner-Heinkele and P. Zieme (eds.), *Studia Ottomanica. Festgabe für G. Hazai*, Wiesbaden 1997, 21-30), though this last was of short duration, the 1911-12 wars sounding the knell of the Ottoman presence in the region.

Captured by the Serbian army in 1912, Skopje (Serbian: Skoplje) and Macedonia were occupied 1915-18 by Bulgarian troops before becoming part, in December 1918, of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [see YUGOSLAVIA] as the centre of "South Serbia". It rapidly became a fully modern city, with a population in 1941 of 80,000. A good part of the Muslims (mainly Turks) migrated to Turkey, especially in 1920-4, so that the Muslims then represented only one-third of the population, now mainly Orthodox. These Muslims retained in the inter-war period some 15 mosques, some 30 *mesdjids* and 16 *tekkes* belonging to various dervish orders. The community had over it an "Ulema-medžlis", a *Wakf-meʿārif* council and a superior court of the *Sharīʿa*, and there were *mektebs* and lower-quality *medreses* plus a well-organised state lycée founded in 1925 ("Velika medresa Kralja Aleksandra I^og^"). The Muslim press had some dozen titles, in Turkish and in Serbo-Croat (*Ukhuwwet*, 1919; *Sosiyalist Fedjri*, 1920; *Rehber*, 1920; *Birlik*, 1925; *Ḥaḳḳ Yolu*, 1925; etc.), some, however, only ephemeral. The main, and most interesting, of the three Muslim political parties was the "Džemijet" (1919-25), not yet studied in detail. The Ṣūfī orders had continued somehow to function in Skoplje, since a certain number of *sheykhs* and dervishes emigrated to Turkey (see G. Elezović, *Derviški redovi muslimanski. Tekije u Skoplju*, Skoplje 1925).

During the Second World War (1941-4), Skoplje and Macedonia in general were occupied by Bulgarian, and latterly German, troops, bringing about the flight of part of the Serbian population and its replacement by incomers from western Macedonia. At its liberation (13-14 November 1944), Skopje became the capital of the Federated Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Republic, and now began a spectacular urban and economic development, reaching a population of half a million *ca.* 1985, despite a significant emigration of part of the Turkish population of Macedonia, especially during 1950-1. The remaining Muslim community of Skopje (naturally, very closely controlled by the Communist régime), benefited from the 1950s onwards, like the rest of Yugoslavian Muslims, from a more tolerant official attitude towards religious life: permission for child education in the mosque; freer permission to perform the Pilgrimage; a Muslim press (though not till 1987 did the first periodical appear in Skopje, *El-Hilal*, published in Macedonian, Turkish and Albanian); more tolerance for the public celebration of religious festivals, etc.; and finally, in 1984, opening of the Isa-beg *medrese*. The main *tekke* of the city, that of the Rifāʿiyya, continued to function, though the massive emigration of Turks lost it a significant number of adherents. On the other hand, there was a considerable increase of *sheykhs* and dervishes from Muslim gypsy groups.

After the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia in 1991-2, Skopje became the capital of the State of Macedonia. Like the rest of the region, its economic situation has become difficult. The Muslim community there, as in Macedonia in general, has become reorganised, but divisions between Albanian and Macedonian Muslims have become more and more apparent.

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(A. POPOVIC)

ÜSKÜDĀR, known in Western Europe as SCUTARI, the most important of the Asian shore suburbs of Istanbul, situated at the southern end of the Bosphorus.

We are ignorant of both the origin of the name and the exact date of its conquest by the Turks. Since Antiquity it was called Chrysopolis (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vi. 6) and seems to have been a suburb of the Greek colony of Chalcedon. The first person to give the place its present name, as Escutaire, is Villehardouin in 1203 (*Conquête de Constantinople*, Paris 1961, i, 136-9), whilst Nicholas Choniates (ed. Bonn, 268, 331) mentions Manuel Comnenus' palace of Scoutarion, at the cape of Damalis, to the west of Üsküdār. Although *skoutarios* for a shield-carrying soldier was used in the 4th century, and it has been suggested that the place name stems from a corps of *skoutarioi* founded by Valens, the form *skoutērios* only appears in Byzantine titulature, that of the kingdom of Nicaea, in the 13th century; before this, the Byzantines used *skoutarioi* for the squires of the Franks. In view of Manuel Comnenus' intensive building programme after his marriage to Bertha of Sulzbach, one might suggest provisionally that, towards the middle of the 12th century, a term imported from the

West gave its name to a palace and then the suburb where it was situated; Phrantzes (ed. Bonn, 112) states in the 15th century that the place "today called Scutari formerly [was called] Chrysopolis".

There were several Ottoman Turkish incursions after the battle of Pelekonon in 1329, but no source confirms the date of 1352 given by Uzunçarşılı (*İzahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 25). Since there is a lack of historical mention or of traces of pre-1453 buildings there, one may conclude that any more or less effective Ottoman control of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus before the fall of Constantinople was not accompanied by any permanent settlement. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who crossed the Bosphorus at Üsküdār en route from Bursa to Pera in late 1432 or the beginning of 1433, merely states that "audit Escutary, assés bon lieu pour chargier et deschargier gens et chevaulx... y avoit des Turcs qui gardoient le passaige et recepvoient l'argent du tribut qu'il falloir baillier pour passer" (*Le voyage d'oultremer*, 140).

With the arrival of the Ottomans, Üsküdār replaced Chalcedon/Ḳāḍīköy as the bridgehead for Constantinople towards Asia. The *k͟hāṣṣ* registers for 1498 for the vicinity of Istanbul mention the *müsellemān-ī ḳalʿa-yi Üsküdār*, all with Slav names, signifying the existence of walls, and mention vineyards in the town's environs, also cultivated by Christians (BBK, TT 1086, fols. 134a, 135a). This fortified point must have been situated at the side of the present Salacak. The mosque built by Muṣṭafā III in 1758-61 and called Ayazma D̲j̲āmiʿi after an Ottoman palace of that name known since the 16th century and perhaps continuing in some way the Skoutarion of the Comneni, marks the town's acropolis. This same register mentions a *nefs-i Üsküdār* and also a *ḳarye-yi U.*, with six *ortaḳčī*s (share-croppers on the royal domains) and two *reʿāya*, all Christians. Since the share-croppers registered in this document are all persons deported from various parts of the Balkans, it appears that Üsküdār was, like other environs of Istanbul, at least partially resettled after the conquest of Constantinople.

The first post-conquest building mentioned is the mosque of Rūm Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, Grand Vizier 1466-9, completed in 876/1471-2, within the ancient town, on the edge of the gardens of the Ayazma palace. In the next century, Süleymān I restored the palace of Üsküdār and in 955/1548 built, in the name of his daughter Mihr-i māh, a complex on the sea front, where were the remains of the ancient port, comprising a mosque, school, *ʿimāret* and caravanserai. This strengthened the role of Üsküdār as the bridgehead on the Asiatic shore and gave the signal for its development. In 988/1580 Sinān [*q.v.*] built for S̲h̲emsī Pas̲h̲a a small complex on the sea front, a jewel of Ottoman architecture, whilst this same architect built for the queen-mother Nūr Bānū [*q.v.*] in 991/1583 an imposing ensemble on a height to the east of the town. The palace of Ḳawaḳ was probably begun in the early 17th century on the site now called Harem, on the vast site now occupied by the Selīmiyye barracks and its espanade. In 1050/1640 Kösem Sulṭān [*q.v.*] built the Čīnili D̲j̲āmiʿ on the eastern heights, and a third queen-mother, Emet Allāh Sulṭān, in 1708 built the Yeñi Wālide D̲j̲āmiʿ in the town centre. In 1760 Muṣṭafā III built the Ayazma mosque on the remains of the palace there, and Selīm III in the opening years of the 19th century built a mosque and barracks for his Niẓām-i D̲j̲edīd [*q.v.*] on a part of the Ḳawaḳ grounds; the barracks were burnt down by the rebellious Janissaries on the sultan's deposition, but rebuilt in 1825-50 in their present form. During the Crimean War, 1854-6, the Ḥaydar Pas̲h̲a Military Hospital was built on the sea front, to the south of the Selīmiyye barracks and to the north of the present Haydar Paşa railway station (terminus on the Asiatic shore for the line from Anatolia) and harbour. The hospital tended the Allied wounded, and adjacent to it is a cemetery where 8,000 British dead are buried. One should also mention Üsküdār's many dervish *tekke*s in Ottoman times, with the Rifāʿiyya *tekke* especially well known latterly, as well as the fame of Üsküdār until today for its immense Muslim cemetery, the Büyük Mezāristān.

In the mid-17th century, Ewliyā Čelebi, i, 472, counted 70 Muslim quarters, 11 Greek and Armenian and one Jewish. Vyzantios, *Konstantinoupolis*, Athens 1862, ii, 246, cites for the 1840s 72 quarters, of which three were Armenian, on the heights to the east and south of the town, plus a Greek one of 400 families, installed in the 19th century. The two Armenian churches still extant today date from 1617 and 1687. The Jewish quarter was situated, according to Eremiya Çelebi, *Istanbul tarihi*, Istanbul 1952, 54, on the sea front near the mosque of S̲h̲emsī Pas̲h̲a; it comprised Jews who came from G̲h̲alaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1618 (Naim Güleryüz, *Istanbul sinagogları*, Istanbul 1992, 49), but has now disappeared. V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 642, gave a figure of 82,000 for the town's population at the end of the 19th century, including 6,000 Greeks, 7,500 Armenians and 1,500 Jews. In 1940 the population of the *kaza* of Üsküdar, including the villages of the Asiatic shore as far as the Küçüksu river, was 54,969, and in 1990, 395,623.

Bibliography: *Murray's Hand-book for Constantinople, Brûsa, and the Troad*, London 1892, 107-11; *Baedekers Konstantinopel, Kleinasien, Balkenstaaten*, Leipzig 1914, 221-6 (with plan); Meḥmed Rāʾif, *Mirʾāt-i Istanbul*, [2]Istanbul 1996, i, 71-246; *İA*, art. s.v.; İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Üsküdar tarihi*, 2 vols. Istanbul 1977; W. Müller-Wiener, *Das Kavak Sarayi. Ein verlorenes Baudenkmal Istanbuls*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xxxviii (1988), 363-76. (St. Yerasimos)

USRŪS̲H̲ANA, the name of a region lying to the west of Farg̲h̲āna [*q.v.*] in mediaeval Islamic Transoxania, now falling in the region where the eastern part of the Uzbekistan Republic, the northernmost part of the Tajikistan Republic and the easternmost part of the Kirghiz Republic meet.

The form Usrūs̲h̲ana is the best known, although Yāḳūt (i, 245) says that Us̲h̲rūsana is preferable. In the Persian versions of the text of al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and in the Persian text of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* we find more often Surūs̲h̲ana, while Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih sometimes has S̲h̲urūsana; the original form may have been Srōs̲h̲ana. This district lay to the northeast of Samarḳand, between that town and K̲h̲ud̲j̲and, and to the south of the Sīr Daryā (Sayḥūn), so that it formed the approach to the valley of Farg̲h̲āna; on the northwest it was bounded by the steppe. The southern part was occupied by the Buttam(ān) mountains, which ran along the upper course of the Zārafs̲h̲ān; these hills were generally regarded as forming part of Usrūs̲h̲ana. The geographical information about this region is based almost exclusively on the geographers of the 4th/10th century, and the later geographers down to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa only repeat what their predecessors have said; it appears therefore that the name Usrūs̲h̲ana had fallen into disuse before the end of the Middle Ages. As a result of its numerous streams, which flow into the Sīr Daryā, it was at one time a rich country, visited by many travellers because the route to Farg̲h̲āna lay through it. The geographers describe several roads from Samarḳand to K̲h̲ud̲j̲and,

all of which passed through the towns of Sābāṭ and Zāmīn; the name of the latter place still survives. The principal town—in which in the 4th/10th century the governor lived—was in all probability called Nawmandjkath—this must be the basis of the more or less uncertain readings of a number of manuscripts (cf. especially al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 420); the form Bundjīkat given by Yāḳūt (i, 744; but see also iv, 307, where the name is Kunb) and adopted by Barthold is a late corruption; it lay a little to the south of the great road and was identified in 1894 by W. Barthold with the ruins called Shahristān to the south of the present town of Ura Tube; these ruins were examined a little later by P.S. Skvarski. The geographers describe the town in detail. Two other towns of some importance were the abovementioned Zāmīn and Dīzak, and a number of other places are recorded; there were also rural areas without towns, while al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 294) says that there were 400 fortresses in the country. In the 4th/10th century there was an important market-place called Marsamanda. There is some further geographical information about the country in the *Bābur-nāma*.

At the time when the first Arab invasion of the country took place under Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] (94-5/712-14), Usrūshana was inhabited by an Iranian population, ruled by its own princes who bore the title of *afshīn* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The first invasion did not result in conquest; in 119/737 the Turkish enemies of the governor Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī fell back on Usrūshana (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1613). Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*] subdued the country incompletely in 121/739 (al-Balādhurī, 429; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1694), and the Afshīn again made a nominal submission to al-Mahdī (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 479). Under al-Maʾmūn, the country had to be conquered again and a new expedition was necessary in 207/822. On this last occasion, the Muslim army was guided by Ḥaydar, the son of the Afshīn Kāwūs, who on account of dynastic troubles had sought refuge in Baghdād. This time the submission was complete; Kāwūs abdicated and Ḥaydar succeeded him, later to become one of the great nobles of the court of Baghdād under al-Muʿtaṣim, where he was known as al-Afshīn [*q.v.*]. His dynasty continued to reign until 280/893 (coin of the last ruler Sayr b. ʿAbd Allāh of 279 [892] in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg); after this date, the country became a province of the Sāmānids and ceased to have an independent existence, while the Iranian element was eventually almost entirely replaced by the Turkish.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval Arabic geographers was utilised by Barthold in his description of the region, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968, 165-9, to which should now be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 115, comm. 354. See also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 474-6. (J.H. Kramers*)

USTĀDĀR (P.), the title of one of the senior *amīrs* in the Mamlūk sultanate (1250-1517), who headed the *Dīwān al-ustādāriyya* that was responsible for managing expenditure on the sultan's household supplies, including the sultan's kitchens and beverage house (*sharāb khāna*) and various other needs, such as clothing for those living in the household, his *mamlūks* and others. The *Ustādār* was in charge of the food tasters (*al-djāshankīriyya*) even though their head, like himself, might be an Amīr of a Hundred. The *Ustādār* was also responsible for the court retinue and the servants [*al-ḥāshiyya wa 'l-ghilmān*] in the sultan's palace and even had judicial authority over them.

During the rule of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ and with the establishment of the *dīwān al-mufrad*, the office of the *Ustādār* was further strengthened. Barḳūḳ appointed the Amīr Djamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī as *Ustādār* while also putting the administration of state matters in his hands. Djamāl al-Dīn took over the authority that had previously been in the hands of the Vizier and the Supervisor of the Private Fisc, who now became his subordinates. Thus the *Ustādār* took over the management of the sultanate's treasury. During the reign of Barḳūḳ's son, al-Nāṣir Faradj, the *ustādāriyya* was given to Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Bīrī al-Bidjāsī, again together with the administration of all the sultanate's affairs. From that time onwards, it became accepted practice that the administration of the sultanate was in the hands of the *Ustādār* who acted as the Grand Vizier had done during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in Baghdad. Yet in the 9th/15th century, this relative elevation of the *Ustādār*'s status was offset by the general decline of the *amīrs*' status that followed the rise in status of the rank-and-file *mamlūks*. As the man in charge of the treasury, the *Ustādār* now became subject to pressure from these latter *mamlūks*; it could even happen that he was beaten by them and had his home looted when there were delays in payments due to them, or he might even be held hostage until their claims had been met.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Beirut 1986, 118; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 457, iv, 20, v, 457; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 222; Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kashf al-mamālik*, Paris, 1894, 106-7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, xv, Cairo 1971, 50, 410, 414, 433, xvi, Cairo 1972, 84, 96, 130, 138; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, ii, Cairo 1881, 112; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1954), 61-2; P.M. Holt, *The structure of government in the Mamluk sultanate*, in idem (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean lands in the period of the Crusades*, Warminster 1977, 58. (Amalia Levanoni)

USTĀDH, Ustād (A., pls. *ustādhūn, asātidha*), a term used from early Islamic times onwards to denote a person eminent and skilful in his profession. The word is clearly non-Arabic in origin, as was early recognised, see al-Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab*, ed. A.M. Shākir, Cairo 1361/1942, 25; Lane, *Lexicon*, 56c). In fact, the word is Iranian, Pahlavi *awestād* "master (craftsman)", see D.N. McKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London 1971, 14 (also occurring in Manichaean MP as *'wyst'd*). Through its usage in the Muslim West, it may have given Spanish *Vd.* = *Usted*, though Hispanists usually reject this; a possible compromise has been suggested by G. Krotkoff, *A possible Arabic ingredient in the history of Spanish* Usted, in *Romance Philology*, xvii (1963), 328-32.

1. In Arabic

In classical Arabic, the term has a wide range of meanings since it designates, at one and the same time, an intelligent and highly-esteemed person, a master (in the sense of professor, maestro, especially in music) and also master craftsman. There is also the developed sense of "eunuch", a synonym of *khaṣī* [*q.v.*]. The feminine form *ustādha* is attested for a musician or female master-musician. In its different senses, *ustādh* corresponds, *grosso modo*, to the Arabic word *shaykh*. It is thus applied to a person who has perfectly mastered an art or science and is therefore capable of teaching and transmitting his knowledge to pupils or disciples. Thus ʿAḍud al-Dawla, e.g., called Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*] *al-ustādh al-raʾīs*. In the Fāṭimid caliphate, a certain number of high officials serving the ruler had this title, such as the crown-bearer, the master

of protocol at court, the bearer of the royal ink stand, etc. (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo, iii, 483-4, ed. Beirut 1987, iii, 550 ff.). Under the Mamlūks, there were in the sultans' household up to four officials with the title *ustāddār* (< *ustādh al-dār*) who looked after the sultan's personal expenditure, supervised the royal kitchens and domestic staff, etc. (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, pp. LX-LXI, citing Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, Cairo, v, 457; and see USTĀDĀR).

Ustādh designates, moreover, someone with an incontestable moral authority, recognised by his peers and contemporaries as an exemplar, so that Ibn al-Khaṭīb was able to say of a great scholar, *wa-kāna al-ustādh, imām al-djamāʿa wa-sībawayh al-ṣināʿa, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Fakhkhār* (with *ustādh* used in an absolute sense). One might also mention that *al-Ustādh* may (just like *al-Imām, al-Ḳāḍī*, etc.) become something of an honorific name within a certain tradition, e.g. al-Ustādh among the Shāfiʿīs = Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī [*q.v.*]. In the sphere of music and musicology, it denotes someone of supreme authority. Hence Yaḥyā al-Makkī (with whom Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī had a connection) is described in the *Aghānī* (Beirut 1970, v, 53) as *shaykh al-djamāʿa wa-ustādhuhum*, with, again, a reference to a group, a circle of disciples (*djamāʿa*), indicating how he was looked up to (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 21; also Ibn Rusta, 123, tr. Wiet, 138, describes thus an organist who played at Constantinople). The euphemistic use of *ustādh* for "eunuch" probably derives from the fact that many eunuchs held important offices, so that they inspired respect from their entourage. This explains why other euphemisms with a close-connected sense, such as *shaykh* and *muʿallim*, and in Turkish, *agha* and *khʷādja*, were also applied to them.

In modern standard Arabic, *ustādh* still retains its meaning of a school master, and especially of a university professor, as an academic title (*ustādh dhū kursī*, i.e. with a titular chair); *ustādh musāʿid*, assistant professor; and *al-ustādh al-akbar* for the Rector of al-Azhar. It is further applied, as a term of respect, to intellectuals and official personages with links to the cultural world. In Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese dialects, it is used in the polite formulae when addressing a teacher or any other person, connected with a university or not, who has connections with the cultural sphere or has great moral authority, whence the neologism *ustādhiyya* "the position of master, professorate (El-Said al-Badawi and M. Hinds, *A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*, Beirut 1986, 19). In Egypt, *ustā* is still used today as a kind of respectful title when addressing a qualified workman or especially, the leader of a troupe of female dancers and musicians (*ibid.*, 21). In the Maghrīb, the term is at present used for any teacher, whatever his status, and likewise of a doctor of the University; it is also used for any person connected with knowledge or exercising a craft requiring great skill and dexterity (A. Lentin, *Supplément au dictionnaire pratique arabe-français de Marcelin Beaussier*, Algiers 1959, 3).

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2. In Persian

The term often appears in Persian dialects as *usta* and even as *usa* (Tehrani, Yazdi). In early times it was an honorific given to learned men and teachers in the widest sense of the word, since the term conveyed the idea of a person known for his wisdom, knowledge, skill, ingenuity, etc. (see Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v., with many poetic references). Al-Samʿānī names a person who, as early as the reign of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (279-95/892-907 [*q.v.*]), bore the title *al-ustādh* (*K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Ḥaydarābād, i, 196-7; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 232). The famous vizier of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd [*q.v.*], had this title, according to Miskawayh (see also J.Chr. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAdud ad-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 78-9). During the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods it was used in a broad sense as the opposite of *shāgird* "pupil, novice", i.e. for a learned scholar or teacher, and also as an honorific for departmental heads in the administration in phrases like *ustād-i dīwān* (Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1445, 498-9, 630; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḳumī, *Tārīkh-i Ḳum*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1313/1934, 163). This usage for administrative heads continued into later times, as seen in Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhčiwānī, *Dustūr al-kātib*, facs., ed. A.A. Alizade, Moscow 1964, i/1, 82, 84, 101 and *passim*, with a special section on the *laḳabs* and *adʿiya* to be used for *ustāds*. By this time it was also used for master artisans (Denise Aigle, *Le soufisme sunnite en Fars*, in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole*, Paris-Tehran 1997, 244: Ustād ʿAlī Nadjdjār).

In Tīmūrid times there was a gradual shift in the term's usage, for it became mainly applied to the heads of professional groups such as gilds (cf. H.H. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 143, 176, 193). This is the usage in a late Tīmūrid *inshāʾ* manual, whilst the *ʿulamāʾ* and other scholars are addressed as *shaykh* or *khʷādja* (Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Niẓāmī, *Manshaʾ al-inshāʾ*, ed. R.D. Humāyūn-Farrukh, Tehran 1357/1958, i, 257-67). For the gild heads, see Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, iv, 92-3; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, facs. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, tr. 58, 83. *Ustād/ustā* has continued to be used for a master craftsman until the present time. The title had always been used as a synonym for the Ṣūfī designations *shaykh*, *pīr* (R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. 2. Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1966, 186), with reference to this person's teaching function; this is now obsolete, but in the 20th century, the term has been revived, as in the Arab world, for the highest category of teachers, i.e. university professors.

It may also be noted that, in Ottoman Turkish, *ustā* had also the meaning of "master craftsman, foreman" (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, 87a). This person was associated, as in Persia, with the trade gilds, but also with the Janissary corps. See Gibb and Bowen, i, 281, 322, 357; and SINF. 3.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. FLOOR)

USTĀDHSĪS, the leader of a religious movement in Bādghīs [*q.v.*] who rebelled in 150/767 against the ʿAbbāsid government.

The people of Bādghīs had been converted by Bihāfarīd [*q.v.*] to his Zoroastrian reform doctrine that had adopted practices and prohibitions inspired by Islam. Ustādhsīs was a local chief there who had co-operated with the ʿAbbāsid governor of Khurāsān Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd (143-9/760-6). The Bihāfarīdīs of Bādghīs wrote to al-Mahdī, son of the caliph al-Manṣūr and at that time viceroy of the East, demanding to be recognised as Muslims. Al-Mahdī put

them under the command of Muḥammad b. Shaddād, who was raiding the region of Kābul, and the latter gave them a share of the war booty. After their return home, they revolted under the leadership of Ustādhsīs. Muḥammad b. Shaddād revolted at the same time in Bust in Sidjistān together with two Zoroastrian chiefs, Ādharūya al-Madjūsī and Marzbān al-Madjūsī. Muḥammad b. Shaddād's followers are described as belonging to the Lughayriyya (or Laghīriyya), an obscure Zoroastrian sect which, like the Bihāfarīdiyya, adopted some Islamic practices and beliefs. Numerous Khāridjites and Lughayrīs joined Ustādhsīs in Bādghīs, whose followers are said to have numbered 300,000. Ustādhsīs took possession of Harāt and Būshandj, where his supporters killed 700 tribesmen of ʿAbd al-Ḳays. Next they attacked Marw al-Rūdh and killed the prefect al-Adjtham together with many inhabitants of the town. In further fighting in Khurāsān, several ʿAbbāsid leaders were killed. Then al-Manṣūr sent his general Khāzim b. Khuzayma with a strong army. After prolonged manoeuvering, Khāzim, employing a ruse, defeated the rebels and 70,000 of them are said to have been massacred. Ustādhsīs escaped with some of his companions to a mountain fortress in Bādghīs. He was besieged by Khāzim, who had been joined by Abū ʿAwn and Salm b. Ḳutayba, who were also sent by al-Manṣūr. Eventually, Ustādhsīs surrendered to Abū ʿAwn, who spared his life and sent him and his family in chains to al-Mahdī. The assertion of al-Yaʿḳūbī that Khāzim carried him to al-Manṣūr, who executed him, is not confirmed by other sources. The rebellion in Bādghīs continued at least until 153/770 when al-Mahdī killed some 20,000 insurgents. According to the Khurāsānian chronicler al-Sallāmī [*q.v.*], some of his sources claimed that Marādjil, the mother of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, was a daughter of Ustādhsīs and that her brother Ghālib murdered al-Maʾmūn's vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [*q.v.*] at the caliph's behest. The reliability of these reports is open to question. Other sources confirm, however, that al-Maʾmūn's mother Marādjil, who died soon after his birth, was a concubine from Bādghīs.

Ustādhsīs adhered to the religious message of Bihāfarīd. In some sources he is accused of having claimed prophethood but no doctrines of his own are ascribed to him. Al-Shahrastānī (187) mentions a Zoroastrian sect named the Sīsāniyya or Bihāfarīdiyya, describing them as followers of Bihāfarīd without mentioning Ustādhsīs. If the name Sīsāniyya is derived from that of Ustādhsīs, as is commonly assumed, it would indicate that the later followers of Bihāfarīd, who survived at least until the 4th/10th century, were concentrated in Bādghīs.

Bibliography: Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 457; Ṭabarī, iii, 354-8, 773; Thaʿālibī Marghanī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, ms. Bodleian D'Orville 542, fols. 192b-193a; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿA.Ḥ. Ḥabībī, Tehran 1341/1963, 125; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 452-4; G.H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieuses iraniennes*, Paris 1938, 155-62; ʿA. Zarrīnkūb, *Du ḳarn-i sukūt*, Tehran 1344/1965, 159-62; E. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khorasan under Abbasid rule 747-820*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 133-7.

(W. Madelung)

USTĀN (p.), a term of administrative geography in the eastern Islamic world dating from Sāsānid times and surviving into mediaeval Islamic usage.

In later Sāsānid times, *ustān* could denote the state domains, administered by an *ustāndār* [*q.v.*], and this usage was taken over by the Arabs when they conquered ʿIrāḳ, so that we find the term *ṣawāfī al-ustān* for the estates taken over by the caliph ʿUmar for the Islamic state (see Morony, 68-9). It also had a wider sense in Sāsānid times, as "province", with its subdivisions being *shahrs* [*q.v.*] or, in ʿIrāḳ, *kūras* [*q.v.*], and this again was taken over into Islamic usage. There was, however, some confusion over exact terminology. Thus according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, the Persians used *kūra* for part of an *ustān*, whilst the Arabs used *kūra* as the equivalent of an *ustān*; thus he says that Fārs comprised five *ustāns* or *istāns*, each subdivided into *rustāḳs* [*q.v.*] (cited by Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 39, Eng. tr. in Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 57-8).

In high ʿAbbāsid times, *ustān/istān* acquired a special connotation regarding taxation. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 6, explains the term as meaning *iḥāza*, land taken over by the state (i.e. reflecting the events of the Arab invasions, see above), but a century later, al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 59, equates it with *muḳāsama* [*q.v.*], land from which taxation was taken as a fixed proportion of its produce. In the administrative and financial usage of the 4th/10th century, *ustān/istān* is properly the taxation levied from cultivators of state lands (*amlāk*) and *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, in effect *muḳāsama* (see muḳāsama. i; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 87; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 133, also in *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, Variorum, London 1982, no. XV).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 79; M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 129 and index.

(C.E. Bosworth)

USTĀNDĀR (p.), literally "the holder of an *ustān* [*q.v.*] or province", an administrative term originally found in Sāsānid Persia for the governor of a province or for the official in charge of state domains (see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 448). When the Arabs conquered ʿIrāḳ, the old Sāsānid state lands were taken over as *ṣawāfī al-ustān* and administered by *ustāndārs* for the caliph ʿUmar (see M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 68-9 and index s.v. *ustāndār*).

The title probably continued to be used meanwhile by local potentates in the un-Islamised Caspian provinces. In the 4th/10th century it appears in Arabic historical sources, with an Ustāndār of Rūyān mentioned for the first time in connection with events of 336/947-8. The title appears on coins (see S.M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vol. vi [1967], 231 ff.), and was taken up by other local dynasties of the Caspian region, probably unrelated to the Rūyān ones, in Saldjūḳ and later times.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): W. Madelung, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 219-20.

(C.E. Bosworth)

USṬĀTH or Asṭāth (3rd/9th century), one of the earlier translators from Greek into Arabic.

His original name was Eustathius, cf. his namesake, the son of the physician Oribasius, who is spelled in Arabic the same way. Nothing being known about his life, one might assume that he belonged to the Melkite community, where the name was recommended in the calendar as that of a martyr. He translated Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's *On coming to be and passing away* and a tract by Soranus, *On enemas*, which was revised later by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. His version of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, commissioned by

the philosopher al-Kindī [*q.v.*], is partly preserved in Ibn Rushd's [*q.v.*] "Great Commentary", who also relied on a later translation by Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. A comparison reveals that Usṭāth's translation is less elegant, but shows, according to Richard Walzer, "a remarkably good understanding of the by no means easy Greek text" (*Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962, 120). He was thus instrumental in shaping an Arabic philosophical terminology. An apologetic writer Eustathius, of unknown date, who defended against a philosopher the dogma of the Trinity, may be identical with the translator.

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2. Studies. Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 256-7; F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968, 37-8, 49-50; J.N. Mattock, *The early translations from Greek into Arabic*, in G. Endress (ed.), *Symposium Graeco-Arabicum*, ii, Amsterdam 1989, 73-102; Endress, *Die wissenschaftliche Literatur*, in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, iii, Wiesbaden 1992, 3-23, 149. (G. Strohmaier)

USṬŪL (A., pl. *asāṭīl*), also spelled *uṣṭūl* (for this type of variation, see W. Heinrichs, in *Studies in honor of Georg Krotkoff*, Winona Lake, Ind. 1997, 175-8), the most common term for a "naval fleet", and, secondarily, also for an individual "galley" or "man-of-war".

The word is a loan from Greek στόλος, which means *inter alia* "(naval) expedition" and "fleet". Al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 [*q.v.*]) is apparently the first to recognise the Greek origin of the word; he also gives a clear definition: *al-usṭūl kalima rūmiyya sima li 'l-marākib al-ḥarbiyya al-mudjtamiʿa* (*Tanbīh*, 141). The word is not listed in the loan-word dictionaries of al-Djawālīḳī (d. 540/1145) and Ibn Kamāl Pasha (d. 940/1533), but Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafādjī (d. 1069/1659) has two mentions of it in his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, Cairo 1282/1865-6, 38 (under *ʾ-s-ṭ-l*) and 119 (under *s-ṭ-l*). He defines it in the former passage as a naval "fleet" (*al-sufun allatī yusāfaru fīhā li 'l-ḳitāl*) and in the latter as a "man-of-war" (*markab yuhayyaʾu li 'l-ḳitāl*). Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897) uses the term (in the first sense, although al-Khafādjī seems to suggest otherwise) in a poem addressed to the admiral Aḥmad b. Dīnār, probably on the occasion of a sea battle in 232/846-7 (*Dīwān*, ed. Ḥ.K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo 1963-4, ii, 984 = poem no. 387, l. 30). Although thus attested rather early, only the latest dictionaries, such as *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, take notice of it. In the later historical literature it is not uncommon. The difference between "merchant ships" and "men-of-war" is expressed as *al-marākib al-safariyya* vs. *marākib al-asāṭīl* (Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn*, 247-8). Note also the *nisba: usṭūlī* vs. *djundī*, i.e. "navy man" vs. "army soldier" (see Quatremère in *Bibl.*).

On historical, technical, and administrative details see BAḤRIYYA (for the early period, see Suppl.).

Bibliography: H. Kindermann, "*Schiff*" *im Arabischen*, Zwickau 1934, i, and "Wortindex", s.v.; E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837, i, 157 n. 33; Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz S. ʿAṭiyya, Cairo 1943, 247-8, 339-40; M. Mostafa [Muṣṭafā], *Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās. Indices*, iv, *Glossar*, Erster Abschnitt, Beirut 1992, s.v.; *TʿA*, sub radice *s-ṭ-l*; Lane, s.v. (giving only the meaning "ship of war"); Dozy, s.v. For the Greek term, see Liddell and Scott, s.v. (meanings 1 and 3); D. Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon holēs tēs Hellēnikēs glōssēs*, Athens 1964, xiv, 6707a (meanings 1 and 5). (W.P. Heinrichs)

USTUWĀ, said to mean "uplands", a district of mediaeval northern Khurāsān, comprising the fertile plain, famed for its grain production, through whose western part the Atrek river [*q.v.*] flows. The plain lies between the modern Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid and Kūh-i Bīnālūd/Kūh-i Shāh Djahān mountain chains. Its urban centre was Khabūshān, the later Kūčān [*q.v.*]. See KŪČĀN for further details. (Ed.)

UṢŪL (A.), lit. "origins, roots", a term of Arabic grammar. Here, the applications of this term can broadly be divided into two categories, (i) most frequently in the singular *aṣl*, denoting a basic form, concept or structure, and (ii) exclusively in the plural, denoting the fundamental principles of grammar as a science.

The singular *aṣl* has a wide range of meanings extending over phonology, morphology and syntax (Baalbaki; Bohas, etc. 1990, index) conveniently summarised in Kinberg's *Lexicon* of al-Farrāʾ (s.v. *aṣl*) as "the original vocalization, form, construction, meaning, writing (in grammatical reconstruction, before phonological-morphological-syntactic-orthographical changes take place); basic function, meaning etc.; origin, source; basis; the root of a verb or noun". The following examples are intended to give a general idea of the reference of *aṣl*, ignoring chronological factors:

In phonology: (1) a standard phoneme in contrast with an allophone, (2) the original value of a phoneme before a sound change, e.g. *t* before it becomes *ṭ* by assimilation to *ṣ* in *iṣṭabara*.

In morphology: (3) a root-letter in the derivational system, symbolised by *f-ʿ-l* representing the root as a semantic entity (and thus excluding *alif*, which cannot be a root letter), in which sense *aṣl* can also denote a whole root considered as triliteral, quadriliteral etc., (4) a radical consonant opposed to an augment, e.g. *k, t, b*, but not *m* in *maktab*, (5) a morpheme opposed to an allomorph, thus *u* is the basic marker of independence (*rafʿ*) with *ū*, *ā* and *-n* as secondary markers (*furūʿ*, see below), (6) in morphophonological contexts, the assumed underlying form, e.g. **ḳawala* in *ḳāla*, and note also that the active verb is said to be the *aṣl* from which the passive verb is derived, (7) a paradigmatic constant, e.g. that certain patterns normally do not have *tanwīn* [*q.v.*], that certain singulars tend to take a particular plural pattern; likewise it is the norm, *aṣl*, for nouns to be inflected with short vowels.

In syntax: (8) a syntactical constant, e.g. that subjects precede predicates, that the particles *ḳad* and *hal* are always immediately followed by verbs, (9) the basic structure perceived as underlying certain syntactical units, thus the *aṣl* of *zayd*^{un} *ḥasan*^{u} *'l-wadjh*^{i} is *zayd*^{un} *ḥasan*^{un} *wadjhuhu*.

Some other senses of a more general nature may be indicated here: (10) the semantic identity of a word: thus the *aṣl* of *min* "from" is to denote the beginning of a limit, and cf. the general principle (stemming no doubt from law) that the meanings of words should not extend beyond their *aṣl*, (11) primary status within a set, thus *wa-* is the *aṣl* of the coordinating conjunctions *wa-*, *fa-*, *thumma*, *ḥattā*, and *an* is likewise the *aṣl* (not to mention the *umm* "mother", which terms are evidently interchangeable in this context) of all the subordinating conjunctions. Similarly the primary cause of the *djarr* (oblique case) is the "particle of obliqueness", *ḥarf/djarr*, with the occurrence of the *djarr* in annexation being regarded as secondary, *farʿ*.

Lastly (12) certain priorities are categorically referred to as *aṣl*, e.g. that nouns are more basic than verbs, singular has priority over dual and plural (so for exam-

ple the dual and plural pronouns are seen as derived from their singulars), masculine over feminine, indefinition over definition. By this point we are clearly approaching a boundary between the simple meaning of *aṣl* as a basic or primary feature and its higher, theoretical sense of a general linguistic principle, which is most closely associated with the plural term *uṣūl* used generically, often in the phrases *uṣūl al-kalām, uṣūl al-ʿarabiyya, uṣūl al-lugha*, and eventually *uṣūl al-naḥw*.

The terminological transition from *aṣl* to *uṣūl* probably reflects the change in 3rd/9th century attitudes resulting from contact with Greek scientific writings. As Baalbaki (173) points out, a latent notion of *uṣūl* as "general principles" is already discernible in al-Māzinī (d. 247-9/861-3 [*q.v.*]) and becomes explicit in his pupil al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900 [*q.v.*]), who uses the term *aṣl* in the same range of meanings as Sībawayhi (roughly as above, though we have not followed Baalbaki's formulations exactly), and adds a new sense which Baalbaki (172) glosses as "what [al-Mubarrad] considers to be the fundamental or main themes related to a certain grammatical topic". This is an accurate description of al-Mubarrad's pre-scientific, probably pedagogical usage, which is to be interpreted also in the light of the important fact that Sībawayhi (d. *ca.* 180/796 [*q.v.*]) shows almost no signs of any such notions: indeed the natural correlative of *aṣl*, namely *farʿ/furūʿ* "branch(es)" hence "derivative or secondary phenomenon" is so rare in the *Kitāb* (two instances only, neither decisive, Baalbaki, *ibid.*) that we can be quite certain that it played no significant part in Sībawayhi's linguistics, and we can draw a similar conclusion about al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822 [*q.v.*]) from Kinberg, whose index contains no instances of *farʿ*.

The second stage is self-consciously introduced by Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929 [*q.v.*]), author of the influential *Kitāb al-uṣūl fī 'l-naḥw* (see caveat on printed editions, Bohas 1991), in which the terms *aṣl* and *uṣūl* are notably frequent. What Ibn al-Sarrādj meant by *aṣl* is easy to infer from such examples as "the *aṣl* of verbs is to be unvowelled and uninflected" (ii, 145) or "it is not that '*ḳaṣṣ*' is an unvowelled form of '*ḳaṣaṣ*', for each of them is an *aṣl*", i.e. a regular, original pattern (iii, 406), or "the *aṣl* of the vocative is to attract the attention of the person called so that he will turn towards you and you can present him with a plea for help, or an expression of surprise, praise or grief" (i, 329), from which we see that he has more or less the same concept of *aṣl* as we find in Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad.

With *uṣūl*, however, Ibn al-Sarrādj takes a step forward on his own by interpreting *uṣūl al-kalām* collectively as the basic principles of correct Arabic, effectively synonymous with the later term *ḳawāʿid* "rules". By using these *uṣūl* as his reference point, Ibn al-Sarrādj was able to write a completely new type of pedagogical grammar in which, as he says himself, "in each chapter we have discussed a sufficient quantity of individual issues (*masāʾil*) to provide both exercise for the student and instruction for the scholar as befits this kind of work, for it is a book of basic principles" (i, 328, and cf. Baalbaki 174).

The work may thus be regarded as the second major reformulation of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* after the *Muḳtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, who was himself the master of Ibn al-Sarrādj, and if by its rather discursive style the *Muḳtaḍab* reminds us of al-Mubarrad's other great work the *Kāmil*, the *Uṣūl* of Ibn al-Sarrādj cannot fail to remind us of something by al-Fārābī, perhaps the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*. Al-Fārābī and Ibn al-Sarrādj were said to have been acquainted and to have taught each other their respective skills of logic and grammar, and the anecdotal evidence confirms that Ibn al-Sarrādj's historical role was to articulate grammar in the ordered and systematic style of the newly imported Greek sciences (cf. Versteegh, 78-9).

We may measure the ideological distance between Ibn al-Sarrādj and Sībawayhi by comparing their treatment of predication: for Sībawayhi it is indeed true that the making of statements is the primary purpose of language (*awwal*, not *aṣl*(!), *Kitāb*, ed. Derenbourg i, 6, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 7) but the value of an utterance is seen in ethical terms, as ± *mustaḳīm*: it is your social duty to your listener to finish an equational sentence once you start it (*op. cit.*, i, 394/i, 346). But Ibn al-Sarrādj, expressing himself in the modernised scientific vocabulary, declares that the basic function of speech (*aṣl al-kalām*) is the conveying of information (*fāʾida*, i, 66) and that the distinctive property of a predicate is its falsifiability (*al-taṣdīḳ wa 'l-takdhīb*, i, 62).

The third stage in the evolution of the term *uṣūl* must have begun soon after Ibn al-Sarrādj, probably in tandem with early attempts to establish the principles of legal reasoning (*uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]). We must observe at once that the very title of Ibn al-Sarrādj's book, "The book of basic principles *in* grammar", *fī 'l-naḥw*, confirms that it is not a work on theoretical or methodological issues. For this we have to wait until there is an identifiable discipline in which the principles can be applied, to be precise, *ṣināʿat al-naḥw* "the art of grammar", which we find no earlier than Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. 320-37/932-48 [*q.v.*]), who speaks of "the two arts of grammar and logic", *ṣināʿatay al-naḥw wa 'l-manṭiḳ* (*Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 95; the one reference to *ṣanʿa* in al-Farrāʾ is not strong evidence for the earlier existence of the concept, occurring as it does in the context of *maṣnūʿ*, see Kinberg s.v.). Within only decades of Ibn al-Sarrādj's death, we have proof that grammar was already being practised as an art with its own *uṣūl*: in the *Intiṣār* of Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ix, 206-7), there is an absorbing debate about the fundamentals of grammatical methodology evoking several key terms and ideas. Framed as a defence of the "Baṣran" position against that of the "Kūfans", the passage vigorously rejects induction (*istiḳrāʾ*) as being no more reliable than mere supposition (*ẓann*), leading inevitably to contradictory results which corrupt the "foundations and principles of the art" *mabānī 'l-ṣināʿa wa-uṣūluhā* (Bernards, 75). The "Baṣrans", on the other hand, hold firmly to the unanimously accepted basic principles (*lazima 'l-baṣriyyūna 'l-uṣūl*, and later *al-uṣūl al-mudjtamaʿ ʿalayhā, ibid.*, 76); since these include the concept of abstract operators (*ʿawāmil maʿnawiyya*) and the axiom that one operator cannot operate on another, we can be sure that *uṣūl* here refers to the technicalities of grammatical science rather than (though at this early stage not wholly excluding) the observed regularities of Arabic discourse from which grammatical theories were derived.

It is this sense in which *uṣūl al-naḥw* (in contrast with Ibn al-Sarrādj's *uṣūl fī 'l-naḥw*) can finally be taken to be the analogue of the closely related science *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. This is certainly the understanding of Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181 [see AL-ANBĀRĪ]), whose *Lumaʿ al-adilla* plainly asserts and conscientiously defends the proposition that these two sciences are methodologically identical. This he does by transposing the process of grammatical reasoning entirely into the terminology of *fiḳh*, starting with the validity and transmission of linguistic evidence (with due attention to the case

of the single testimony), moving through the types of analogy, *ḳiyās*, and the rules of its application, and concluding with a number of subordinate procedures familiar from legal contexts such as *istiḥsān*, *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl* and *istidlāl* [*q.vv.*] and conflicts of evidence and method.

Ibn al-Anbārī merely set the seal on a process which had begun much earlier, during the 4th/10th century, the period when the three-way interaction between lawyers, grammarians and philosophers was at its most intense, with the Muʿtazila acting as the yeast in this extremely powerful recipe (cf. Versteegh, 130 ff.). Already such figures as Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [*q.v.*], also *GAS*, viii, 209-14, ix, 194) and his more prominent contemporary Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [*q.v.*], also *GAS*, ix, 173-82) had raised questions about the nature of grammar clearly reflecting the multidisciplinary background of their speculations. For Ibn Fāris, grammar was certainly a "science" (*ʿilm*, *Ṣāḥibī*, 81) and an art, *ṣināʿa* (*ibid.*, 31) with its own principles and derivatives, *uṣūl* and *furūʿ* (*ibid.*, 30), and likewise Ibn Djinnī (who knew Ibn al-Sarrādj's work) enthusiastically criticises and harangues other specialists in the *ṣināʿa* for their technical inadequacies. From Mehiri's helpful account of Ibn Djinnī we can select only one example of his views on the *uṣūl*: "The Arabs prefer homogeneity and similarity, and to base the derivative on the fundamental" (*al-ʿArab tuʾthir min al-tadjānus wa ʾl-tashābuh wa-ḥaml al-farʿ ʿalā ʾl-aṣl*: *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 111; Mehiri, 133).

The final touch comes with the formal definition of grammar as "a science with principles (*uṣūl*) by which sound and corrupt speech can be known", as it is worded by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413 [*q.v.*]), with an interesting alternative in which *uṣūl* is replaced by *ḳawānīn* "laws" (*Taʿrīfāt*, 125), reminding us of al-Fārābī's formulation in his *Iḥṣāʾ* (ed. A. Gonzáles Palencia, Madrid 1932, 10). Later, it became a widespread custom to begin works of grammar with some version of this definition.

There remain problems of interpretation and obscurities still to be clarified, especially the overlap in meaning between *aṣl* and a number of other terms such as *wadjh, ḥadd, ḳiyās* (*q.v.*, and cf. Baalbaki, 167) and *ʿilla* (*q.v.* and cf. Ibn Djinnī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, i, 164, where a list of *ʿilal* is presented which might just as well have been called *uṣūl*). On the other hand, there is not much to be gained from equating *aṣl* and *farʿ* with the modern linguistic concepts "unmarked" and "marked" respectively (Owens, 199-222). Not every *aṣl*/*farʿ* pair can be explained in terms of markedness: it would be difficult to see in what way the non-existent **ḳawala* is "unmarked" in relation to *ḳāla* (the asterisk suggests that western convention in fact treats the unreal form as "marked") or what is "unmarked" about the vocative in Ibn al-Sarrādj's definition quoted above. As Owens himself admits (304 n. 261), the distinction between *aṣl* and *farʿ* is really one of logical hierarchies not of formal differences, but if that is the case, the alleged similarity between the Arab and western systems is defined out of existence. However, one can agree with Owens (246-8, though seemingly contradicting 223-4) that it would be unwise to see in the theory of *aṣl* anything more than a fortuitous and potentially misleading resemblance to "deep structure".

Finally, it is worth observing that *uṣūl al-naḥw* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* may be closely related but are certainly not identical twins, in spite of Ibn al-Anbārī's attempt to unify the two sciences. In one way they are complementary: both have language as their input and correct action as their output, and the jurist's religious authority is reinforced by his grammatical expertise, just as the secular prestige of grammar derives from its fundamental role in legal speculation. In another way, however, the output of grammar is a subset of the output of *fiḳh*, for everything the pious Muslim says should ideally remain within the *Sharīʿa*: even language is a *sunna*.

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UṢŪL AL-DĪN (A.), "the bases (or principles) of the [Muslim] religion".

Despite the symmetry of terms—which has given rise to an aberrant dual form, *al-uṣūlān*ⁱ, denoting equal competence in *fiḳh* and in *kalām*—the word *uṣūl* does not have the same sense in the two parallel expressions *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]. The latter, as is well known, traditionally represent the sources on which the jurist bases his judgement, and these are mainly the four as defined in the classical system: Ḳurʾān, *sunna* of the Prophet, *idjmāʿ* or consensus of the community, and *ḳiyās* or analogical reasoning. If this were equally the sense of the term *uṣūl* in the expression *uṣūl al-dīn*, the two formulae *uṣūl al-dīn*/*al-fiḳh* would be virtually synonymous. For the theologian goes back to exactly the same authorities to justify his interpretation of dogma except that, for his part, he usually divides them into two categories, making up what are for him the two great categories of *dalāʾil* "proofs": the *samʿiyya* or *sharʿiyya* "revealed" ones (Ḳurʾān, *sunna*, *idjmāʿ*), and the *ʿaḳliyya* "rational" ones. But the *uṣūl al-dīn*, in ordinary usage, represent something else: not the sources of theological judgement but, in some way, this judgement itself. These are the articles of dogma, the *ʿaḳāʾid* or "truths which must be believed", as the Muslim theologians understand them and argue about them according to their various orientations. Thus the science of *uṣūl al-dīn*

is another way of designating the *ʿilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*].

Here, e.g., is what al-Kh^w^ārazmī says in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 39-41, about "the principles of religion about which the theologians (*al-mutakallimūn*) debate". He states, "First of all there is the affirmation of the generation of bodies (*ḥudūth al-adjsām*) and the refutation of the *dahriyya* who affirm the eternity of time (*dahr*). Then the demonstration that the universe has a creator (*muḥdith*), who is God Most High, and the refutation of those who strip God of His attributes (*muʿaṭṭila*). [The demonstration] that God is eternal, knowing, powerful and alive. [The demonstration] that He is unique, and the refutation of the dualists (*madjūs* and *zanādiḳa*), the trinitarians (the Christians) and all those who admit a plurality of creators. [The demonstration] that He does not resemble any things (*lā yushabbihu ʾl-ashyāʾ*), and the refutation of the Jews and other assimilationists (*mushabbiha*); [the demonstration] that He is not a body, contrary to what many of the Muslim assimilationists affirm—how high He is above all that! Then [the demonstration] that He is knowing, powerful, alive from the very fact of His essence (*bi-dhātihi*), or—as the great majority of the theologians think, except for the Muʿtazila—that He is knowing by a knowledge, alive by a life, powerful by a power, and that these attributes (*ṣifāt*) are co-eternal with Him.

"Then the question of knowing whether God is visible or not; whether His will is originated in time or eternal; whether His word is created or uncreated; whether human acts are produced by God or by men; whether [human] capacity (*istiṭāʿa*) is anterior to the action or contemporaneous with it; whether God wills men's evil actions; whether a person who dies guilty of a grave sin without having repented of it is destined for Hell in perpetuity or whether it is possible that God may forgive him. [In this connection,] the Muʿtazila say that [Muslims] guilty of a grave sin (*ahl al-kabāʾir*) are "evildoers" (*fussāḳ*) who are neither believers nor unbelievers, which is an "intermediate state" (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [*q.v.*])—the other theologians state, on the contrary, that every person is necessarily either a believer or an unbeliever—and that [the Prophet's] intercession (*shafāʿa*) does not apply to these "evildoers", the other [theologians] asserting that, on the contrary, it applies to them and to them only.

"Then the demonstration of the reality of prophethood, *pace* the *barāhima* who deny its existence. The demonstration of Muḥammad's prophethood. Finally, the question of the imāmate, how one is to know who is fit to exercise it and who is unfit.

"These are the principles of religion concerning which the theologians dispute and on which they stand in opposition to each other. The other [theological questions] are either derived from these or are preliminary in regard to them".

The expression *uṣūl al-dīn* occurs in the titles of many treatises on *kalām*. One may merely cite, from the Ashʿarī viewpoint, the *K. Uṣūl al-dīn* of Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] and *al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Maʿālī al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]; from the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī viewpoint, the *K. Uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1099) and the *Tabṣirat al-adilla fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abu ʾl-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1114 [see AL-NASAFĪ. II]); from the Ḥanbalī viewpoint, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā [see IBN AL-FARRĀʾ]; and from the Muʿtazilī viewpoint, the work with the same title of al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141).

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UṢŪL AL-FIḲH, a term which is a parallel to *furūʿ al-fiḳh*, the latter indicating "branches", while *uṣūl al-fiḳh* indicates "roots" of the law [see SHARĪʿA]. Both terms indicate an academic discipline and a literary genre. Works of *furūʿ* expound the norms of the law, while works of *uṣūl* are concerned with the sources of the law and the methodology for extrapolating rules from revelation. The literary genre of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* is continuous from the mid-4th/10th century (represented, notably, by the works of the Ḥanafīs, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shāshī, d. 344/955, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Abū Bakr al-Djaṣṣāṣ, d. 370/980) to the 13th/19th century. Given the developed form of the early works, it is clear that there was a prior tradition of teaching and study, a gradually emerging system for the classification and presentation of problems, and, at least, informal notebooks. The famous *Risāla* of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) is frequently looked on as the earliest work of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* but the temporal gap between it and the later literary tradition has led modern scholars to question its influence, or its date (Hallaq, *Was al-Shāfiʿī...*; Calder, *Studies*, ch. 9). Extensive works of *furūʿ*, associated with different schools of law (*madhāhib*), emerged before works of *uṣūl* and included polemical defence of established rules. It is probable that the origins of *uṣūl* as a separate discipline are to be found in the development and refinement of polemical activity of this kind (Calder, *Studies*).

Works of *furūʿ* set out the norms of the law, in greater or lesser detail, and with varying quantities of justificatory argument. Works of *uṣūl* identify and classify the sources of the law, expound a methodology whereby these give rise to norms, and present a structure of authority which distinguishes the qualified jurist (*muftī*/*mudjtahid*) from the layman or *muḳallid*. Ideally, the discipline of *uṣūl* could be seen as a pure science presented in radical abstraction from normative detail. Al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (a Shāfiʿī) distinguished *uṣūl al-fiḳh* from *ʿilm al-khilāf* (the science of divergence), claiming that only the latter dealt with specific examples of norms and their relationship to revealed texts (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 5.5-7). According to him, the discipline of *uṣūl* was concerned to identify the sources of the law and the general hermeneutical principles which permitted extrapolation of norms from texts. This led naturally to a consideration of the nature and limits of the authority of the qualified jurist. The early Ḥanafī tradition was much less purist, more focused on the defence of acknowledged norms, though ultimately influenced by and convergent with the more abstract tradition. (Ibn Khaldūn identified these tendencies as that of the theologians and that of the jurists respectively; see below.)

The discipline of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* takes its place as one of a bundle of disciplines (or literary genres) which constitute the academic articulation of Islam. These were listed by al-Ghazālī as six: theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*), *furūʿ al-fiḳh*, *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, *ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, *ʿilm al-tafsīr* and *ʿilm al-bāṭin*. The last of these referred to the whole of the Ṣūfī tradition; the others are the major components of the scholastic and academic tradition of Islam. Al-Ghazālī described the science of *kalām* as the most general or universal (*ʿāmm*) of the religious sciences, the others being concerned with particulars (*djuzʾī*). The science of *kalām* established the basic principles (God's existence, the reality of prophets, the truth of their message, etc.) which serve as the ground for the other sciences. The *uṣūlī* (specialist in *uṣūl al-fiḳh*) accepts the results of the science of *kalām*, accepts too, in principle, the results of the science of *ḥadīth*, and expounds the way in which the Prophet's words

indicate juristic norms, whether by explicit or implied meaning or through intellectual analysis and deduction (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 5-6). For al-G̲h̲azālī, there were only three real sources—Book, Sunna, and Consensus (*id̲j̲mā*ʿ)—though many techniques and devices beyond these required discussion.

The standard contents of a work of *uṣūl* are exemplified in the *Mustaṣfā* of al-G̲h̲azālī, which represents a high point in the development of the S̲h̲āfiʿī tradition (a tradition which owed much to the Muʿtazila and to the Mālikī Abū Bakr al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1014), see Chaumont, *Bāqillānī*, and below on Ibn K̲h̲aldūn). Al-G̲h̲azālī's work brought the tradition to a peak of organisation and expression and was highly influential on subsequent works. After a brief, innovatory introduction on formal logic, he organised his material under four broad headings which he characterised by an elaborate metaphor as 1. the fruit, 2. the tree, 3. the method of harvesting, and 4. the harvester. The fruit is the juristic classification of human actions, centrally focused on the five *aḥkām* (sing. *ḥukm*—the juristic status of an act: mandatory, preferred, permitted, disliked, and forbidden), the categories of valid, null and defective, and other classificatory terms. The tree, meaning that which bears the fruit, refers to the sources. Al-G̲h̲azālī identified four of these, a primary group of three (Book, Sunna and Consensus), and the intellect. The workings of abrogation (*nask̲h̲*) and the difference between common report and isolated report (*tawātur, āḥād*) were a part of this section. Under the heading intellect, Al-G̲h̲azālī accepted only the principle of *istiṣḥāb al-ḥāl* meaning a presumption of continuity. He dismissed as invalid a number of other sources which, by other writers, were sometimes accepted: the opinion of the Companions, juristic preference (*istiḥsān* [*q.v.*], notably elaborated by the Ḥanafī tradition), public welfare (*maṣlaḥa* [*q.v.*]), and the consensus of the people of Medina (an exclusively Mālikī principle). In his section on the method of harvesting, al-G̲h̲azālī dealt with hermeneutical principles in three groups: 1. general principles of language and expression; 2. a theory of the explicit and the implicit; 3. juristic analogy (*ḳiyās*). Much of his material here was classified and discussed, following the established tradition, under simple antithetical headings: command and prohibition, general and particular, ambiguous and clarificatory, absolute and qualified, etc. In his last section, on the harvester, he dealt with *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*]. The term means the exertion of the utmost possible effort to discover, on the basis of the sources and by rational use of hermeneutical methodology, a rule of law. The discovered rule remains, however, a product of informed opinion (*ẓann*), not knowledge (*ʿilm*). The qualifications, the task, and the authority of the *mud̲j̲tahid* were all a part of the discussion of this section.

This work effectively gathered and expressed all the major questions of the discipline of *uṣūl* and is fully representative of the tradition as a whole. It was a highly conservative tradition. There were of course different modes of expression, different preferences, elaborations, explorations and refinements of argument, but the academic tradition was unified and continuous throughout the centuries.

Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, d. 808/1406 [*q.v.*]) offered in his *Muḳaddima* an illuminating account of the nature, origins and development of the science of *uṣūl*, an account which represents the educated view of his time and embodies much subtlety of observation and analysis. He identified the conventional four sources of the law as Book, Sunna, Consensus and *ḳiyās* (analogy). He stresses that, on balance, for details of the law, these permit only the establishment of a prevalent opinion (*g̲h̲ālib al-ẓann*), not real and definitive knowledge. The Ḳurʾān was established as a source by its miraculous quality and its sound transmission. The Sunna, established as a source by the practice of the Companions, was guaranteed by chains of transmission and classification of transmitters. Consensus, too, was established by the example of the Companions. The primary role of texts in the establishment of the law meant that certain principles of language were fundamental to hermeneutical technique, including knowledge of lexis, morphology, syntax, and broader rhetorical and epistemological principles. Many of the latter were classified, as we have seen, under simple antithetical headings: command and prohibition, etc. Finally, *ḳiyās* was valid because, with the emergence of new events, these had to be judged by similarities and parallels that linked them to known rules. For Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, the relatively late development of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* as a comprehensive science could be explained on the grounds that, for the earliest generations, the relevant skills were intuitive and innate (in respect of language and its use) or based on personal experience (in respect of assessing transmitters of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, etc.). The first work of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* was al-S̲h̲āfiʿī's *Risāla*.

Ibn K̲h̲aldūn went on to make his famous distinction between the *uṣūl* of the theologians and that of the jurists. The difference was essentially one of abstraction (*tad̲j̲rīd*): the theologians abstracted the principles and the rules of the science from their normative exemplification. The early landmarks of the theologians' tradition were identified by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn as follows.

1. The *K. al-ʿUmad* of the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār b. Aḥmad (Muʿtazilī, d. 415/1025 [*q.v.*]) and its commentary, the *Muʿtamad*, by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (436/1044).
2. The *K. al-Burhān* of al-D̲j̲uwaynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085 [*q.v.*]).
3. The *Mustaṣfā* of al-G̲h̲azālī.
4. The *Maḥṣūl* of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]).
5. The *Iḥkām* of ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAlī Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233 [*q.v.*]).

Beginning apparently with Muʿtazilī thinkers, this tradition was developed initially by S̲h̲āfiʿī/As̲h̲ʿarīs. The later development of the tradition included Mālikī, Ḥanbalī, and even Ḥanafī writers, their works taking the form for the most part of summary and commentary. The two standard textbooks of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn's time were the *Muk̲h̲taṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲ib (ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿUmar, a Mālikī, d. 646/1249) and the *Minhād̲j̲* of al-Bayḍāwī (ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, a S̲h̲āfiʿī, d. 685/1286 or 692/1293).

The jurists' tradition was essentially that of the Ḥanafīs. (This tradition should be seen as prior to and productive of the theologians' tradition. It is more focused on the rules of the law and the discovery of principles that justify the rules than on the abstract analysis of hermeneutical principles. This is probably how the discipline developed, emerging out of polemical defence of known rules.) Ibn K̲h̲aldūn isolated ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Dabbūsī (d. 430/1038) as the most important early writer in this tradition. His work and that of the other early Ḥanafīs was developed in particular by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bazdawī (d. 484/1089). Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Sāʿātī (d. 694/1295), author of the famous *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-baḥrayn*, a work of *furūʿ*, combined, in his *K. al-Badīʿ*, the Ḥanafī (jurists') tradition with the tradition derived from al-Āmidī, thereby

ensuring considerable convergence of the two traditions in the subsequent period.

Ibn Khaldūn's survey offers only his assessment of highlights. Western scholarship has also attempted to analyse and characterise the tradition. The earliest significant work on *uṣūl* is Ignaz Goldziher's *Die Ẓâhiriten*. Much is contained also in the writings of Joseph Schacht, and something more fragmentary in studies by such as Robert Brunschvig, George Makdisi, Abdel Magid Turki, *et al.* The first to produce a large body of studies focused on *uṣūl* is Wael B. Hallaq, and he has been followed by younger scholars, notably Éric Chaumont. Majid Khadduri has produced a translation of al-Shāfiʿī's *Risāla*, Bernard Weiss a very useful paraphrase and commentary on Āmidī's *Iḥkām*, and Chaumont a French translation of the *K. al-Lumaʿ* by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083) (with valuable introduction and bibliography). A useful guide to the topics of *uṣūl* is contained in Kamali, *Principles*. However, neither a comprehensive history of *uṣūl*, nor a clear analysis of its function, has been provided by Western scholarship, although the dissertation of Aron Zysow (see *Bibl.*) goes a long way in this respect.

Many of the works of the later tradition derive their value not from any novelty in what they have to say, but from virtuoso skills of linguistic expression, and from elaboration of subtleties. A notable example is the *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369 [see AL-SUBKĪ]). He describes his work as a condensation of his two commentaries, on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, and the *Minhādj* of al-Bayḍāwī, with numerous additions. This condensation was in turn expanded in the commentary of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459 [*q.v.*]) (*Sharḥ Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*), and in the supercommentary (*Ḥāshiya*) of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djād Allāh al-Bannānī (d. 1198/1784 [see BANNĀNĪ. 7]). That pattern of summary, commentary, and supercommentary marks the importance of continuity, loyalty and repetition within the ongoing tradition. There was development: it is notable for example that the commentaries on the *Djamʿ* incorporate and explore the distinction between *idjtihād* in an absolute sense and *idjtihād fi 'l-madhhab* (meaning juristic development within the parameters of school loyalty, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, Ḥanafī, etc.). But development was not necessarily the point of the tradition, and was not always acknowledged. The constant re-discovery and re-expression, from generation to generation, of the rules that permitted the deduction of law from revelation, was a community duty which had many of the qualities of a ritual. The re-enactment (re-appropriation) of what was known, of what was a permanent and inalienable part of the religious tradition, was a sufficient motive for the continuous study and re-writing of what was already written. A notable feature of the late commentaries is the foregrounding of linguistic form, and the incorporation of grammatical and rhetorical analysis into the texts. This is not a feature of *uṣūl* only but of all the scholastic disciplines; it suggests an acknowledgement that what begins in language (the language of revelation) ends only with a renewed discovery of language as the means to meaning.

Modern scholars (notably Wael B. Hallaq), and some of the earlier exponents of the indigenous tradition (including al-Ghazālī), have tried to present *uṣūl* as an ongoing method for the discovery and the development of rules, implying that it points to a capacity for change and evolution in the juristic tradition. In fact, in broad terms, and to a considerable extent in details, the norms of the law were known prior to and independent of the tradition of *uṣūl*. The historical reality was that most Muslims belonged, by virtue of family or geography, to one or other of the four *madhhabs* and clung to that *madhhab* by a loyalty that was ultimately acknowledged and termed *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] (in spite of the many caveats that surrounded that word). Chaumont (*Ijtihād et histoire*) has shown that the theory of *idjtihād* is not developmental: it is concerned with the discovery of the law as an eternal and enduring truth. Ibn Khaldūn offered an illuminating comment on the real situation. In his discussion of the science of dispute, which he perceived as a sub-genre within the science of *uṣūl*, he noted that the rules of *uṣūl* were deductive (*li 'l-istinbāṭ*) only for the *mudjtahids* (by which he meant the founding fathers of the *madhhabs*). Later jurists used the hermeneutical skills and arguments of *uṣūl* in order to *preserve and defend* norms that had already been deduced and were accepted through *taḳlīd*. A more positive appreciation of *taḳlīd* had been developed in the writings of the Shāfiʿī Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū ʿAmr, d. 643/1245 [*q.v.*]) and his follower al-Nawawī (Yaḥyā b. Sharaf Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, d. 676/1277 [*q.v.*]) (see Calder, *Al-Nawawī's typology*). *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*, in this tradition, was perceived as a means to re-create (re-experience) the processes of discovery that had been enacted by the founding Imāms.

Re-creation, re-discovery, re-experience: it is concern with repetition and defence of the known law, not concern with development, that most characterises—and most reveals the profound religious and cultural values of—the legal sciences of Islam, both *furūʿ* and *uṣūl*. The articulation of these values in modern scholarship and in modern Muslim thinking is problematic, largely because the concept of a law which is eternally valid is thought to be incompatible with the need for evolution and change in the modern world.

Alongside *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, there are two other genres of legal meta-discourse, the "maxims" and the "intentions of the law"; for these, see ḲAWĀʿID FIḲHIYYA and MAḲĀṢID AL-SHARĪʿA, in Suppl.

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UṢŪL AL-ḤADĪTH (principles of *ḥadīth*) refers in a general way to the disparate disciplines the mastery of which distinguished a true scholar of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*] from a mere transmitter. The term was never satisfactorily defined nor was it differentiated from similar ones like *ʿulūm* (or *ʿilm*) *al-ḥadīth*, *iṣṭilāḥ al-ḥadīth*, *muṣṭalaḥāt al-ḥadīth*, etc. It should be noted that the popular division of the study of *ḥadīth* into *riwāya* (transmission) and *dirāya* (intellectual appreciation), with the latter corresponding to the *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, is problematic in the light of actual usage. The exact boundary between the supposedly complementary terms *riwāya* and *dirāya* was never agreed upon and there are instances of the term *ʿilm al-riwāya* being used as a synonym of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*.

The study of *ḥadīth* generated an enormous literature, and many of the specific topics falling under the general rubric of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* were treated monographically. However, the most representative works were those which attempted to summarise in a limited compass the entire spectrum of this material. The authors of these works sought to equip the student with sufficient knowledge to read the fundamental documents of the study of *ḥadīth* with a reasonable degree of comprehension. It was agreed that the first of these guidebooks was *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa 'l-wāʿī* (Beirut 1971) of Ibn Khallād al-Rāmahurmuzī (d. *ca.* 360/971 [*q.v.*]), a judge and littérateur from Khūzistān. By way of justifying his effort, he refers to the oft-lamented tendency of students to become preoccupied with accumulating lines of transmission and collecting unusual *ḥadīth*. Traditionally, this was viewed as a distraction from the more important tasks of understanding and applying the *ḥadīth*, and even from learning to recite them properly. Al-Rāmahurmuzī's somewhat unsystematic presentation of the material resembles the discussions with which some earlier authors had prefaced their *ḥadīth* collections (e.g. Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*) and their books on personality criticism (e.g. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Ibn Ḥibbān's *Kitāb Madjrūḥīn*).

It is difficult to generalise about the works in this genre produced in the next two centuries, as they differ in both form and content. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī [*q.v.*] placed great emphasis on terminological concerns and in his *Kitāb Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Cairo 1937) attempted to improve upon al-Rāmahurmuzī by dividing the material into 52 categories which he called *nawʿ*s. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*] was a towering figure in *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*. His efforts were distributed among a number of works, most notably his *Kitāb al-Kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya* (Ḥaydarābād 1357), *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm* (Damascus 1949) and *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāḳ al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* (2 vols., Kuwait 1981). The last of the major works of this era was *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḳyīd al-samāʿ* (Cairo 1389/1970) of the judge ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā [*q.v.*].

The later development of the genre was dominated by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī [*q.v.*] and his *Kitāb Maʿrifat anwāʿ ʿilm al-ḥadīth* (printed numerous times), popularly known as the *Muḳaddima*. During his tenure as the first head of the Dār al-ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya (opened in 630/1233) in Damascus, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ set out to write a commentary on al-Ḥākim's book and in the end produced an independent composition. He drew heavily on earlier works and like al-Ḥākim he divided the material into *nawʿ*s, although he re-arranged them and increased their number to 65. He departed from the method of his predecessors by relying less on the verbatim transmission of material from earlier authorities. This greatly increased clarity of his presentation and allowed him to cover significantly more ground in roughly the same space. The material in the *Muḳaddima* falls into four basic groups:

(1) Terminology pertaining to the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 1-22). This includes the discussion of the three basic grades of *ḥadīth*—*ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (fair) and *ḍaʿīf* (weak)—and the other types of *ḥadīth* bearing special names.

(2) Guidelines for the collection, recording and transmission of *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 23-8). This section, the longest of the book, covers the practical concerns of the student and teacher of *ḥadīth*, such as the different means of transmission and the words to be used to express them in the *isnād*.

(3) Characteristics of *ḥadīth* not directly bearing on their authenticity (*nawʿ*s 29-36), e.g. shortness of *isnād* (*ʿulūw*), rare words in the text, contradictions in significance, abrogation.

(4) Transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*nawʿ*s 37-65). Although fundamental issues such as the definition of the concept "Companion of the Prophet" are discussed here, the emphasis is on matters which might mislead an inexperienced student. These include transmitters bearing similar names who might be confounded and ambiguous gentilics which might lead the student to draw wrong conclusions about their bearer.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's treatment of the topics making up these sections varies greatly in thoroughness. He covers some in the most minute detail while others he merely outlines and directs the reader to other works for further information. (Many of the specific matters addressed in the *Muḳaddima* are discussed elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia, see AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL and ḤADĪTH.)

The appearance of the *Muḳaddima* inaugurated a period of remarkable activity in *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, and until the present century most of the subsequent literature has been based on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's book, either directly or at one remove or more. Several commentaries on it were produced, as well as numerous abridgments. The most famous of the latter was the *Alfiyya* of Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī (725-806/1325-1404), which reduced the contents of the *Muḳaddima* to 1,002 verses. These abridgments in turn often found commentators. There were at least eleven commentaries written on the *Alfiyya*, including one from the pen of its original author. Of the later works on *uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, the most interesting may be *Nuzhat al-naẓar* (Benares 1394/1974) of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*]—an expansion of his *Nukhbat al-fikar*, itself an abridgment of the *Muḳaddima*—due to its novel arrangement and its author's interesting insights into the subject-matter.

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(E. DICKINSON)

UṢŪLIYYA (A.), lit. "those who go back to first principles", from *uṣūl*, sing. *aṣl* "root, basic principle" or, considered as a modern abstract noun formation, "the doctrine of going back to first principles".

1. In the legal parlance of classical Islam

More specifically, the term *uṣūliyya* is applied within the Twelver Shīʿī tradition [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] to those of its adherents commonly identified as supporting application of the rationalist principles of jurisprudence—especially *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] to the revelation accepted by the Twelvers to interpret doctrine and practice during the occultation (*ghayba* [*q.v.*]) of the Imām (beginning in 260/873-4) and the division of the community into *mudjtahid*s and *muḳallid*s. The term Uṣūlī does not appear to have been used until the 6th/12th century, and then in conjunction with continuous resistance by the Akhbārīs or Akbbāriyya [*q.v.*] to the incursions of rationalism into Twelver jurisprudence.

The school's origins lay in the Buwayhid period, when the community came under attack from other Shīʿī and Sunnī groups, especially the Muʿtazila. The latter's attack on the Twelver dependence on revelation struck at the essence of the faith, since the doctrine of the Imāmate [see IMĀMA] hinged on acceptance of the Imāms' revelation as the source of definitive *ʿilm* [*q.v.*]. Such Imāmīs as al-Shaykh al-Mufīd Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuʿmān (d. 413/1022), his student al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn ʿAlam al-Hudā (d. 436/1044), and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (d. 460/1067), later known as Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa, responded that the Sunnī rationalists' recourse to *ḳiyās* (analogy) [*q.v.*] and *idjtihād* did not produce *ʿilm* free from doubt and *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*]. Genuine *ʿilm* derived from recourse to the Ḳurʾān, the *tawātur* (the traditions of the Imāms widely transmitted in succeeding generations), and Twelver *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*]. Accepting the Imām's return as indefinitely postponed, however, these scholars evolved distinctive doctrines and practices for use over the longer term. In the process they incorporated elements of their opponents' jurisprudential methodologies, including recourse to *ʿaḳl* (rational knowledge) as a source of *ʿilm*.

Al-Ṭūsī, for example, specified that the *muftī* (the giver of a *fatwā* [*q.v.*]) was to be conversant with the Ḳurʾān, the *sunna*, and the Imāms' traditions. Although he rejected *idjtihād*, given its Sunnī associations, he required application of the Sunnī exegetical principles of jurisprudence to the revelation and the mastery of Arabic. In his writings on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (principles of jurisprudence), *ḥadīth*, and *fiḳh* [*q.vv.*], al-Ṭūsī's arguments for and his application of rationalist analyses advanced the importance of deductive jurisprudence and its practitioners. Competence in rationalist jurisprudence presupposed the division of the community between jurist and layman, and the latter's regard for the rulings produced by the former. The Buwayhid-period Twelver rationalists made provision for such a distinction, even if they did not agree on the degree of the lay believer's *taḳlīd* to the *mudjtahid*.

These Imāmī scholars also promoted the role of the practitioners of rationalist jurisprudence in the community's practical affairs. Al-Ṭūsī ruled that attendance at Friday congregational prayer was mandatory in the presence of the Imām or his appointee—usually a reference to Imāmī *sufarāʾ* (sing. *safīr*, representative)—endowed the *faḳīh* with the authority of that appointee to lead these prayers, and required the prayer leader to possess *ʿaḳl* and ability in *fiḳh*. Al-Ṭūsī required the delivery of *zakāt* to the *fuḳahāʾ*, argued that the Imām had appointed the *fuḳahāʾ* to undertake the *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] and the *ḥudūd* (legal punishments [*q.v.*] during the occultation, and denoted those permitted to exercise *ḳaḍāʾ* as those schooled in rationalist jurisprudence.

The Buwayhid-period rationalists also permitted an active relationship between the *fuḳahāʾ* and the established, non-Twelver political institution, albeit in the interests of spreading the faith and protecting the faithful.

Later rationalist scholars further promoted both rationalist jurisprudence and the authority of the *faḳīh* in matters of doctrine and practice. Al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277 [see AL-ḤILLĪ (2)] admitted that Twelver scholars had been practicing *idjtihād* "most often based on theoretical considerations not deduced from the literal meaning of the texts" (Madelung, *Authority*, 168; Calder, *Doubt*, 66-7). His student al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325 [see AL-ḤILLĪ (1)]) formally adopted *idjtihād* in certain areas of the law (a restriction described as *tadjziʾa* "specialisation"). Both elaborated on the skills required of the *faḳīh*. According to al-ʿAllāma, *sharāʾiṭ al-idjtihād* (the qualifications for exercising *idjtihād*) included mastery of Arabic, knowledge of *idjmāʿ*, mastery of the Imāms' traditions, proficiency in the *dalāʾil ʿaḳliyya* (the intellectual proofs), and expertise in the relevant exegetical terms. The *ʿāmmī* (the unqualified lay believer) was not to practice *taḳlīd* in relation to *uṣūl al-dīn*, but in the *furūʿ* (lit. "the branches", i.e. practical norms of the law) he was to exercise *taḳlīd* in relation to a *ḥukm* or decision reached by application of these skills. Al-ʿAllāma specified that neglect of such a decision constituted a sin, while the *mudjtahid* who reached an "erroneous"

decision having exercised these abilities in good faith was to be forgiven.

Both granted the *faḳīh* a pivotal role in the community's daily affairs, understanding him as the Imām's designated deputy in these areas. The *faḳīh* who had attained the *sharā'iṭ* was to undertake *ḳaḍā'* and had a role in the processes relating to the *zakāt*. Al-ʿAllāma permitted *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* ("the *faḳīh* who has attained the qualifications"), one of the earliest uses of this reference, to implement the *ḥudūd*; he also required the Friday prayer leader to possess the *sharā'iṭ*. Al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384 [see MUḤAMMAD B. MAKKĪ]) echoed this definition of the *sharā'iṭ*, ruled that *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* was to undertake *ḳaḍā'*, and supported the concept of "specialised" *idjtihād*. All permitted a wide degree of interaction between the *faḳīh* and the political institution.

Immediately following the Ṣafawids' [*q.v.*] establishment of Twelver Shīʿism in Persia, such Uṣūlīs as ʿAlī al-Karakī (d. 940/1534) and al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 965/1557 [*q.v.*]) elaborated the concept of *niyāba ʿāmma* (general deputyship to the Imām) and identified *al-faḳīh al-djāmiʿ li 'l-sharā'iṭ* as *nā'ib ʿāmm* (general deputy), who was delegated authority over the practical areas of the community's life. The *nā'ib khāṣṣ* was understood, if not always explicitly, to refer to the earlier *sufarā'*. Al-Karakī's defence of his association with the early Shāhs as that permitted between the *faḳīh/nā'ib* and claimants to the Imāmate, however, was disavowed by such Uṣūlī contemporaries as al-Shahīd al-Thānī, who rejected the Ṣafawid claim to any special relationship with the faith and avoided Ṣafawid territory.

In the next century, official patronage insured that Twelver centres in Arab ʿIrāḳ, the Gulf and Djabal ʿĀmil were eclipsed by such Persian centres as Iṣfahān. The latter attracted and sustained prominent Arab and Persian Twelver scholars and thereby permitted considerable development of both the Uṣūlī and opposition Akhbārī polemics. In his *Munyat al-mumārisīn*, ʿAbd Allāh al-Samāhidjī (d. 1135/1723) catalogued the nature of the disagreements between and within each group, giving perhaps the fullest exposition of the Uṣūlī doctrine as it had developed by this period. Uṣūlīs required the *mudjtahid* to master *kalām* (theology), *naḥw* and *taṣrīf* (Arabic syntax and morphology), *lughat al-ʿarab* (lexicography), *manṭiḳ* (logic), and the *uṣūl al-fiḳh al-arbaʿa* (the four fundamental sources of law). The latter comprised the Ḳur'ān, the *sunna*, *idjmāʿ* and *dalīl al-ʿaḳl*. Uṣūlīs divided the community into *mudjtahids* or *muḳallids*, permitting the former to err, and forbade *taḳlīd al-mayyit* (following the ruling of a dead *mudjtahid*). Al-Samāhidjī also recorded the presence of "extreme" Uṣūlīs dismissive of any recourse to the revelation and requiring expertise in fifteen rationalist disciplines, over and above "the six principal" ones. These "extreme" elements may have comprised those who argued that, as illegitimate rulers, the Ṣafawid shāhs were to be replaced by the *fuḳahā'*. By contrast, some "moderate" *mudjtahids* were portrayed as agreeing with some Akhbārīs on such issues as *idjmāʿ*.

In this period, Uṣūlīs continued to disagree on the extent of *taḳlīd*. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ardabīlī (d. 993/1585) offered strong support for *taḳlīd*. Like the Buwayhid rationalists, Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī (d. 1011/1602) held that *taḳlīd* was not incumbent concerning fundamental matters of the faith, but otherwise obligatory where the lay believer determined that his *muftī* had acquired the *sharā'iṭ*. Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī or Shaykh Bahā'ī (d. 1030/1631 [*q.v.*]) held that in matters of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, *taḳlīd* was "safer".

Uṣūlīs of the Ṣafawid period generally agreed that the lay believer was free to chose his own *mudjtahid*, based on personal assessment of the abilities of particular scholars. They disagreed over the division between "specialised" or "partial" *idjtihād* and *idjtihād muṭlaḳ* (absolute, or general *idjtihād*). Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd al-Thānī argued against "partial" *idjtihād* and for the authority of *al-mudjtahid al-muṭlaḳ*. Shaykh Bahā'ī endorsed such a division, as did Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679). Al-Samāhidjī's reference to "partial" and "absolute" practitioners of *idjtihād* suggests that by the late 11th/17th century, this division was very nearly formalised.

The institutionalisation of this distinction facilitated the triumph of the Uṣūlī school over the Akhbārīs at the hands of such scholars as Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1791), known as al-Waḥīd, and the further differentiation of a clerical hierarchy by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Nadjafī (d. 1266/1850) and, especially, Murtaḍā al-Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864). Their contributions allowed for the evolution of such concepts as that of *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (the source of emulation [*q.v.*]), the rankings of *ḥudjdjat al-islām* and *āyatullāh* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and, eventually, the principle of government by an expert in rationalist jurisprudence embodied in the term *wilāyat-i faḳīh*.

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(A.J. NEWMAN)

2. In modern Islamic theologico-political parlance

Since the middle to late 1970s, *uṣūliyya* has been in general use, first in the Arabic press and then in Arabic scholarly writings as well, as the equivalent of "fundamentalism". Earlier, e.g. as recently as in the writings of Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*], *uṣūlī* meant "a specialist in the science of the *uṣūl al-dīn* [*q.v.*] or, more predominantly, the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*]". In less formal Egyptian Arabic, Islamic "fundamentalists" are often called *islāmiyyīn*, *al-sunniyya*, or, in the singular, by terms like *ikhwangī* or *rāgil sunnī*. No matter how awkward the term "fundamentalism" may actually be, it is improbable that it will be replaced by a term like "revolutionary extremist neotraditionalist ultra-Islamic radicalism" (Marty and Appleby, *Fundamentalisms*, i, p. viii).

The word "fundamentalism" itself was coined around 1920 in the North American Christian milieu. It appears to have been derived from a series of pamphlets called *The fundamentals. A testimony to the truth*, published in America during 1909-15 (Lawrence, *Defenders*, 166; Barr, *Fundamentalism*, 2).

It is often argued, with great obstinacy, that fundamentalism is a typically Christian, Protestant phenomenon, hence the term is useless and even misleading when used in order to describe phenomena which take place in the world of Islam. Christian fundamentalism certainly differs in many ways from its Islamic (or Jewish) assumed equivalents. Nevertheless, several modern scholars suspect that the movements described as fundamentalist have a number of common characteristics.

Fundamentalism, it is often asserted since the late 1980s and early 1990s, reduces a religious tradition to a specific political ideology. This ideology is attractive to the politically excluded, who try to fight their way back to the centre of power by pleading that they simply want to implement neglected duties which their religion has imposed from old. In order to re-arrange the world in accordance with what they see as the will of God, they are ready to kill and to die. The belief in the literal inerrancy of the revealed scriptures is only a minor detail within the framework of the return of society and state to what God commands.

It can be argued convincingly that North-American Protestant fundamentalism is the religious continuation of the Southern Confederacy that in 1865 lost the American Civil War. After a political and military defeat in the Civil War the South nevertheless wanted to teach the modern North a lesson. The modern North had to learn about God's intentions with the universe—if not with the United States of America (see e.g. Bloom, *American religion*, 197). With the help of Christianity reduced to a religious ideology, the excluded managed to strike back at the dominating élites.

Religion was marginal in the world of the Zionist pioneers who built a Jewish state and society on Palestinian soil in the first half of the 20th century. Traditional Jewish piety and *halakha* were looked upon with disdain and sometimes even contempt. Religious Judaism hardly participated in the gradual putting-together of a modern Jewish state. It is Judaism reduced to an ideology which in the 1990s gives those who were formerly excluded the power and the motivation to strike back, and perhaps even to take over the whole state. Since, however, the exclusion of the orthodox is not absolute—they, after all, can vote and be elected—they do not have to go as far as the Muslim fundamentalists and can safely accept the existing structure of a state that was built by others as legitimate, as something they at a certain point in the future expect to take over.

Islamic fundamentalism can be interpreted in a similar way. In roughly the second quarter of the 20th century, the colonial powers left the Middle East, both under pressure from "the masses" and under pressure from the international situation that after the end of the Second World War did not make allowances for the continuation of British, French or other colonial régimes within the world of Islam. The former colonial rulers, however, did not hand over their power to the "masses", but to military élites. After the decolonisation process, the populations of the Middle East were almost completely prevented from playing the game of politics: no effective political parties were allowed to exist, and no elections that mattered were held.

Once they were independent from their former colonial masters, the governments in the Muslim Middle East put great effort into getting support from both sides in the Cold War. They looked to Washington and Moscow, but did not, however, look for support at home. Moreover, within their own territories they went far in annihilating all social networks, except, of course, family and religion. In such a world, opposition movements could not but be religiously inspired or else become an insignificant family affair. There were simply no other sources of ideas or recruits other than family or religion. In such a perspective, Islamic fundamentalism is an unprecedented attempt by the masses to re-enter the game, by force if necessary.

According to Ernest Gellner (d. 1995), the success of Islamic fundamentalism is largely due to the "contamination" of Islamic popular culture by the ideals of Islamic High Culture. According to him, an Islamist régime is nothing but a "political roof" which is put in place in order to protect and to implement the ideals of Islamic High Culture. According to others, no meaningful distinction can be made between Islam and Islamic fundamentalism: both want to rule and to implement the laws of Islam.

Islamic fundamentalists, in their own words, believe that "to carry out God's prescripts [is] an obligation for the Muslims. Hence, the establishment of an Islamic State is obligatory, because something without which something which is obligatory cannot be carried out becomes itself obligatory. If such a state cannot be established without war, then this war is an obligation as well. The laws by which the Muslims are ruled today are [not the laws of Islam but] the laws of Unbelief. The rulers of this age are [hence] in apostasy from Islam. An apostate has to be killed even if he is unable to carry arms and go to war".

('Abd al-Salām Faradj, one of Sādāt's assassins, quoted in Jansen, *Dual nature*, p. xvi).

Fundamentalists select a limited number of the precepts of their religion and make these absolute. Jewish fundamentalists see it as obligatory (not any longer as only recommendable) to live in the Holy Land, hence they want to remove all others from the sacred soil. Christian fundamentalists see everything connected with the end or the beginning of life as God's exclusive domain. Hence they reject philological exegesis of the story of the Creation as recounted in Genesis, and they fight abortion, euthanasia and contraceptives. Muslim fundamentalists want to see the *Sharī'a* applied by an Islamic government, and they have only a limited interest in the other aspects of Islam. If poverty, as some people believe, were to drive people to fundamentalism, its support would be even stronger than it is today.

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(J.J.G. Jansen)

USUMAN DAN FODIO [see 'uthmān b. fūdī].

USWĀN, conventionally Aswān, a town in Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile (lat. 24° 05' N., long. 32° 56' E.).

1. Up to the 9th/15th century

Originally, it was a small town (Swēnet, Syene, Suan) facing the island of Elephantine, which was a much more important settlement in ancient Egypt. When the Muslim Arabs overran Egypt, the conquest of Upper Egypt [see al-ṣa'īd] was entrusted to 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd [*q.v.*]. The Arabs fixed their camp at Suan, facing the Byzantine settlement of Elephantine. An expedition of 31/652 by 'Abd Allāh penetrated into Nubia [see al-nūba] but judged it prudent to withdraw, on the basis of the ancient *pactum*, now the *baḳt* [*q.v.*] or treaty, which envisaged non-aggression, freedom for merchants to circulate, and an annual tribute by the Nubians of slaves in return for the equivalent value in corn, wine, clothing and horses. Uswān then became the second military centre of Egypt after Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*] with a governor of second rank responsible to the governor in Fusṭāṭ, and new contingents of Arab immigrants, mainly Ḳaysīs, from the Ḥidjāz.

The governors' role in Aswān was essentially to prevent incursions by the Nubians and to regulate the exchanges foreseen under the terms of the *baḳt*. In al-Mas'ūdī's time, the contingent of slaves due from the Nubians comprised 365 for the *bayt al-māl*, 40 for the governor in Fusṭāṭ, 20 for the governor in Uswān, five for the town's *ḳādī* and twelve for the twelve professional witnesses there (*'udūl*); for further details on the working out of this arrangement, see baḳt. The governor in Uswān had finally to keep guard against the Bedja [*q.v.*] nomads of the deserts between the Nile and the Red Sea, who sometimes acted in consort with the Nubians (certain of the Bedja were Christians), and Bedja incursions led to the construction of a wall round Uswān in 212/827. The governor was further responsible for the tracks between the river and the Red Sea and for the safety of the pilgrims' sea passage from 'Aynūna (near 'Aḳaba at the head of the Red Sea) and then by land to Uswān, and negotiated at Uswān a treaty of protection with the Bedja chiefs. A new factor was the rediscovery of gold mines in the Wādī 'Allāḳī to the southeast of Uswān; for details of the subsequent exploitation of this precious metal, extending over a century, see al-ṣa'īd.

Uswān was a lively centre in the 3rd/9th century, and scholars of Mālikī *fiḳh* and *ḥadīth* are mentioned there. After being for long only loosely attached to Lower Egypt, it gradually became more integrated within Egypt in general, with Uswān as a stage on the route from Fusṭāṭ to the Ḥidjāz. It flourished particularly under the early Fāṭimids, and it is from the first half of the 5th/11th century that the main surviving mausolea date. A feature of the period was the ascendancy in the Uswān region of Ḳaysī Arab tribes, with the chief of Rabī'a acquiring the title of Kanz al-Dawla (see on this process, al-ṣa'īd). Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through the town in mid-century and mentions its fortifications and gardens, with everything animated by the departure of caravans for the Red Sea port of 'Aydhāb [*q.v.*]. From this time onwards, too, Uswān had a Jewish community. In the next century, however, al-Idrīsī's evidence shows that the trade of the Ḥidjāz had been deflected from the town, and only its commerce with Nubia remained. This change seems to have been connected with internal convulsions within the Fāṭimid caliphate when the vizier Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] came to power, and Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] became the administrative centre of the upper Ṣa'īd, attracting the Ḥidjāz trade and the pilgrim traffic.

The Ayyūbid period was one of peace for Upper Egypt with the Banū Kanz, the former Rabī'a, now dominating Uswān and the town gradually making the transition to Sunnism, although Shī'ism remained strong there. The Mamlūks resumed an activist policy towards Nubia in 671/1273 and 674/1275, and Uswān was raided by the Nubians. The Kanz al-Dawlas were more strictly controlled by the Mamlūks, but remained responsible for order in the region and seem to have received for this the revenues of Uswān as an *iḳṭā'*, so that they had a dominating influence in the town, which nevertheless continued to decline, its three *madrasas* serving strictly local needs. With the revolt of the Ḳaysī tribes, including the Kunūz, as they are now termed, in 767/1365-6, the balance there was upset; the latter lost their *iḳṭā'* of Uswān, and a Mamlūk governor was now appointed there. For the remainder of the century, Uswān was frequently attacked and sacked by the tribes, with the last Mamlūk governor appointed in 801/1399. The ensuing crisis of the Mamlūk state removed Uswān from the control of Cairo [see al-ṣa'īd], and al-Maḳrīzī recorded for the year 815/1412-13 that Uswān no longer existed, with no governor, notables, markets or houses. In the course of the century, the Mamlūks sent expeditions in the hope of re-establishing control in Upper Egypt, without lasting effect. Egypt's southern frontier was now Kōm Umbū, and one can conclude that mediaeval Uswān disappeared at the opening of the 9th/15th century.

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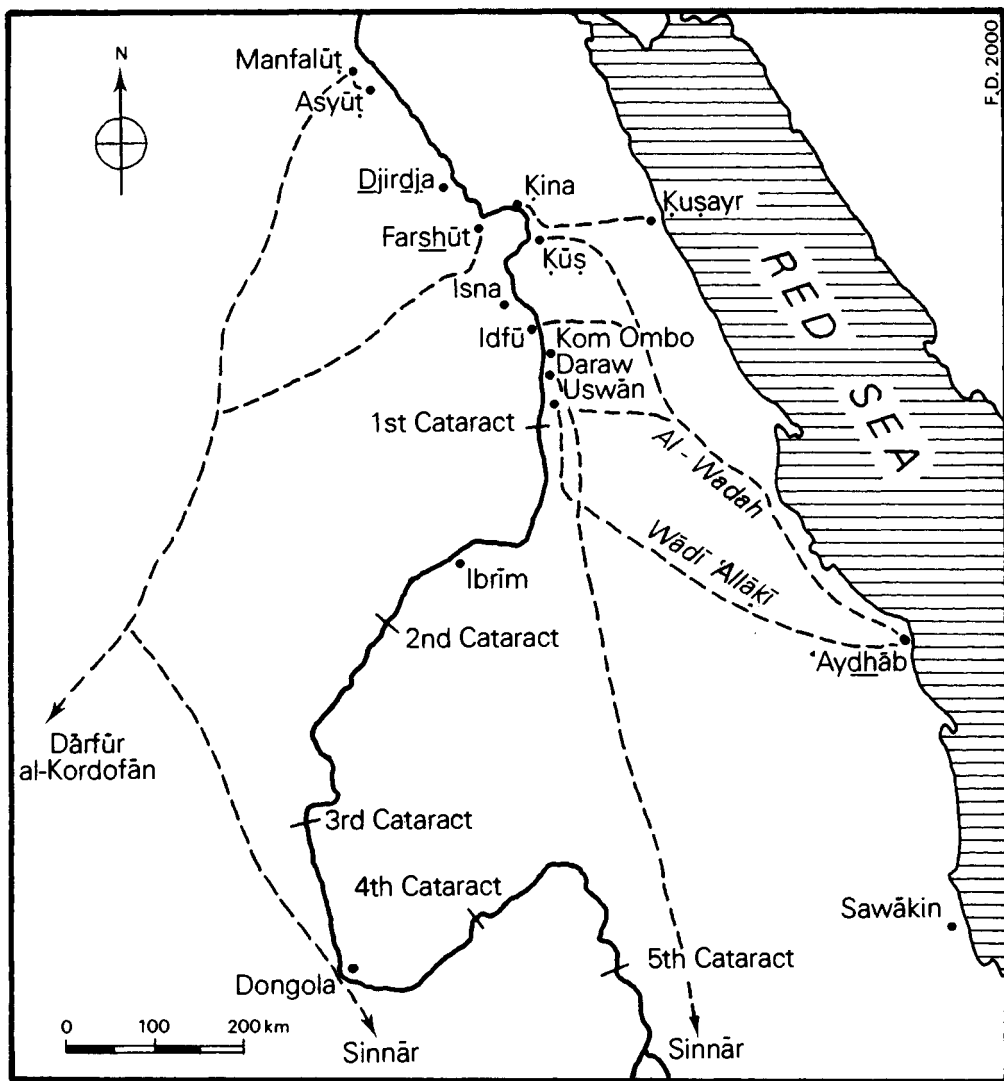
(J.-Cl. Garcin)

2. The post-1500 period

Uswān passed under Ottoman control at an unknown

date, as a base in the province of Asyūṭ for raids into Nubia, Selīm I having been content to leave Upper Egypt in the hands of the Hawwāra tribesmen. Towards the mid-16th century, the expansion of the Fundj [*q.v.*] kingdom there was seen as a threat not only to Upper Egypt but also to the still-fragile Ottoman hold on the Red Sea Coast at Sawākin and then Maṣawwaʿ [*q.vv.*]. *Pace* Ewliyā Čelebi's information, it was not 945/1538 when Özdemir Pasha [*q.v.*] left for the conquest of Nubia, on his return from Süleymān's naval expedition against the Portuguese in India, but some twenty years later, when in 962/1555 he attempted to penetrate into Nubia from Uswān, and some years later, certainly before 1567, all the region south of the town up to the Third Cataract passed under Ottoman control, becoming a new *sandjak* with Ibrīm as its chef-lieu. However, in the last quarter of the century the Ottomans changed the administrative structure of the region on several occasions, reflecting their need to strengthen it as a source of manpower and provisions for the garrisons in Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ of the *eyālet* of Ḥabesh. The Ṣaʿīd Aʿlā (sc. the region between Ḳinā and Uswān) was attached to the *sandjak* of Ibrīm, then briefly in 1573 was attached to the *wilāyet* or Ḥabesh; finally, in 992-3/1584-5, Nubia and the southern part of Upper Egypt became a separate province before passing once again under the Pasha of Cairo's control.

In the course of the 17th century, the decline of the Ottoman presence in the southern Red Sea region and the waning of the threat from the Fundj marginalised the *sandjak* of Ibrīm, and at an unknown date, Uswān was detached from it. When Ewliyā was there in 1083/1672, the office of *kāshif* there was granted out by the governor of Upper Egypt for 40 purses, and there was a *ḳāḍī* in the town at the head of a *ḳaḍā*ʾ. In the early 18th century, the Hawwāra, all-powerful in Upper Egypt at that time [see AL-ṢAʿĪD], exercised their influence over the town, in alliance with the Arabised Bedja tribe of the ʿAbabda. Militarily, Uswān remained an important post with a usual garrison of 150 to 200 Janissaries in its citadel under their *agha*. Commercially, however, it now played only a marginal role, away from all the important routes, and in 1672 Ewliyā was struck by the absence there of any caravanserai, permanent shops, public bath or *maktab* for children. Its commercial influence was seen only in a weekly market for local villagers, and on the evidence of Sicard in 1720, a barter rather than a monetary economy was dominant there. But a certain liveliness developed in the course of the century from the transit trade borne from Nubia towards Cairo, since the First Cataract, immediately to the town's south, was not impassable for boats, although there was still a preference for unloading goods and transporting them a short distance along the rapids.

According to the surveys of the scholars attached to Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, the town stretched along the Nile and extended over a rectangle 750 m/2,460 feet by 250 m/820 feet, with its houses built of mud brick, its citadel on the south side with mud walls, and beyond this last the ruins of the ancient and mediaeval town stretching over a vast space enclosed by granite walls. After October 1820, with Muḥammad ʿAlī's conquest of Sinnār and Kordofān, Uswān recovered its pre-Ottoman period strategic role and also became an important commercial centre for trade with the Sudan. At the 1898 census, it had a population of 13,000 and a garrison of 781 troops. In 1902 the British completed construction of the first Nile barrage just above the First Cataract. This has now since the late 1960s constituted the head of Lake Nasser, the Egyptian part of the Aswan High Dam project jointly undertaken by Egypt and the Sudan; the project required resettlement of 90,000 Egyptian fellahin from the region to the south of Uswān, most of them to a new settlement at Kōm Umbū 52 km/30 miles north of the town. Modern Uswān is the chef-lieu of the southernmost *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Egypt, with industries and commerce and a university of its own; in 1970 the population of the town was 206,000.

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(M. TUCHSCHERER)

USYŪṬ [see ASYŪṬ].

ʿUṬĀRID, the planet Mercury, Pers. *Tīr*, also called *al-Kātib* in Andalusian and Maghribī sources (see C.A. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903, i, 291).

1. *Mercury's position, geocentric distance and size.* Islamic astronomers usually follow the Ptolemaic order of planetary spheres and place Mercury in the second, counted from the centre of the Universe, between the sphere of the Moon and that of Venus which is, in its turn, followed by that of the Sun. This order was discussed in al-Andalus in the 12th century by Djābir b. Aflaḥ [*q.v.*], who established that the Ptolemaic models must produce transits of Mercury and Venus on top of the solar disc and that, as these transits had never been observed, these two planets should be placed between the spheres of the Sun and Mars. This is confirmed by the fact that Mercury and Venus have no perceptible parallax even though, in the Ptolemaic order, they are nearer the Earth than the Sun, which does have parallax (R. Lorch, *Arabic mathematical sciences*, Variorum, Aldershot 1995, no. VI). Djābir's reference to the lack of transits implies that he was not aware of the presumed observations of such phenomena (probably sun-spots) made by a nephew of Ibn Muʿādh al-Djayyānī *ca.* 460/1068 (as reported by Ibn Rushd) and by Ibn Bādjdja (as reported by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī) (B.R. Goldstein, *Theory and observation in ancient and medieval astronomy*, Variorum, London 1985, no. XV). The problem attracted the attention of al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*], who explained the lack of visible transits by stating that both Mercury and Venus are self-luminous and cannot thus obscure the Sun under any circumstances (Goldstein, *al-Biṭrūjī: on the principles of astronomy*, New Haven and London 1971, i, 125, ii, 319). Concerning planetary order, al-Biṭrūdjī, like Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī (d. 664/1266) although for different reasons, placed Mercury below the sphere of the Sun and Venus above it (Goldstein, *Biṭrūjī*, i, 124 ff., ii, 315-21; G. Saliba, *The astronomical work of Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-ʿUrḍī, a thirteenth century reform of Ptolemaic astronomy. Kitāb al-Hayʾa*, Beirut 1990, 59-61, 303).

The interest in planetary distances appears at an early stage and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ wrote *ca.* 161/777-8 a *Tarkīb al-aflāk* in which he established the minimum (60 20/21 terrestrial radii), and maximum (251 3/7

t.r.) geocentric distances of Mercury, the diameter of the planet being 4 16/21 t.r. (D.A. Pingree, *The Fragments of the works of Yaʿqūb b. Ṭāriq*, in *JNES*, xxvii [1968], 106). The main source used by Islamic astronomers for this topic was, however, Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses* (see N. Swerdlow, *Ptolemy's theory of the distances and sizes of the planets*, unpublished doctoral diss., Yale Univ. 1968), in which Mercury's distances are 64 t.r. (min) and 166 t.r. (max), the diameter being 1/27 of the terrestrial diameter. In this work Ptolemy establishes his planetary distances on the basis of the rounded—and, in the case of Mercury, revised—values of the parameters of the *Almagest*, and later astronomers often tried to achieve more accurate results by using the precise Ptolemaic parameters established in this latter book. This explains the frequent appearance of 64;10 t.r. for the minimum distance and the fact that al-Farg͟hānī [*q.v.*], who apparently did not know the *Hypotheses*, gives 167 t.r. as the maximum distance, which becomes 169;46 t.r. in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm* and 170;23 t.r. in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*. As for the diameter of the planet, it is 1/28 t.d. in al-Farg͟hānī and Ibn Rusta [*q.v.*]. These small corrections are found in authors who follow Ptolemy's method for the computation of planetary distances and sizes; only al-ʿUrḍī introduced modifications, suggesting for Mercury's a shortest distance of 64;28 t.r., a greatest distance of 206;58 t.r. and a diameter of about 1/23;31 t.d. (Goldstein and Swerdlow, *Planetary distances and sizes in an anonymous Arabic treatise preserved in Bodleian Ms. Marsh 621* in *Centaurus*, xv [1970], 135-70; *K. al-Hayʾa*, ed. Saliba, 297-313).

2. *Ptolemy's Mercury model in Islamic astronomy.* For the computation of Mercury's longitude, the Indian astronomical tradition represented by the *zīd͟j* of al-K͟hʷārazmī [*q.v.*] uses the equivalent of an eccentric deferent and an epicycle, with no equant (O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962, 23, 29-30, 100). The Ptolemaic model is far more complicated and one of its main characteristics is that the centre of Mercury's deferent rotates on a small circle (radius 3^P in the *Almagest*, 2;30^P in the *Hypotheses*), called the "director" (*mudīr*) in later Arabic sources. Ptolemy's model therefore implies a non-circular deferent which was identified as an ellipse by the Toledan astronomer Ibn al-Zarḳālluh [see AL-ZARḲĀLĪ], who used this curve for practical purposes in his treatise on the construction of the equatorium (W. Hartner, *Oriens-Occidens*, i, Hildesheim, 1968, 465-78; J. Samsó and H. Mielgo, *Ibn al-Zarqālluh on Mercury*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, xxv [1994], 289-96). This idea reached the Mas͟hriḳ, for it reappeared in the *Taʿdīl hayʾat al-aflāk* written by Ṣadr al-S͟harīʿa in 747/1347 (A.S. Dallal, *An Islamic response to Greek astronomy*, Leiden 1995, 120-1), while al-Kās͟hī (d. 832/1429), also in a treatise on the equatorium, uses two intersecting arcs of a circle as an approximation to an ellipse (E.S. Kennedy, *The Planetary Equatorium of... al-Kāshī*, Princeton 1960, 40-1, 170-2). In spite of this development, Ptolemy's model and parameters predominated in Islamic astronomy until the 7th/13th century even though Ibn al-Hayt͟ham [*q.v.*] made a harsh criticism of Ptolemy's method for establishing the eccentricity of Mercury (*Almagest* IX, 9) in a very obscure passage in his *S͟hukūk ʿalā Baṭlamyūs* (ed. A. Sabra and N. Shehaby, Cairo 1971, 29-34). In this respect we can only mention a small correction, made by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh, of the Ptolemaic eccentricity (2;51,26^P instead of 3^P), although W. Hartner (*Oriens-Occidens*, ii, Hildesheim 1984, 292-312, 316-25) believed that it derived from the new parameter used by Ptolemy in his *Hypotheses*. There was, however, an awareness of the fact that Mercury's apogee, as determined by Ptolemy (190° for *ca.* A.D. 130), was incorrect by some 30°, and a far better position appears in al-K͟hʷārazmī's *zīd͟j* (224;54° for the time of the Hid͟jra). Ibn al-Zarḳālluh's calculated positions of Mercury, for a cycle of 46 years, in his *Almanac* imply a longitude of the apogee of about 210° (Kennedy *et al.*, *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 502-10); one may wonder whether this parameter is related to the 212;52° given by Ibn al-Shāṭir for the Hid͟jra (Kennedy, *Studies*, 58). Ibn al-Zarḳālluh also wrote a treatise *On the invalidity of Ptolemy's method to obtain the apogee of Mercury*, which is mentioned by Ibn Bād͟jd͟ja (d. 533/1139) (D͟jamāl al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya li-Abī Bakr b. Bād͟jd͟ja*, Beirut-Casablanca 1983, 77-8). Although this text has not been preserved, the topic attracted the attention of Andalusian astronomers of the 6th/12th century, for D͟jābir b. Aflaḥ deals with it in detail in the seventh *maḳāla* of his *Iṣlāḥ al-Mad͟jisṭī*; Ptolemy obtained an approximate, not an exact, determination of Mercury's apogee because he did not understand the geometrical characteristics of his model properly and thus his choice of observations was inadequate. Finally, although Ptolemaic theory considered that Mercury's apogee—like that of the rest of the planets—was displaced with the motion of precession, the Andalusian-Maghribī group of *zīd͟j*s which appear between the 6th/12th and the 8th/14th centuries [see ZĪD͟J] consider that the apogees of Mercury and Venus, at least, are kept at a fixed sidereal distance from the solar apogee and are thus affected by a motion discovered by Ibn al-Zarḳālluh for the apogee of the Sun (1° in every 279 Julian years) [see S͟HAMS; J. Samsó and E. Millás, *The computation of planetary longitudes in the* zīj *of Ibn al-Bannāʾ*, in *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, viii [1998], 265-70).

3. *Non-Ptolemaic Islamic models.* The model for Mercury in the *Almagest* was reinterpreted in three dimensions, with spheres instead of circles, by Ibn al-Hayt͟ham in his *Fī hayʾat al-ʿālam* (T. Langermann, *Ibn al-Haytham's On the configuration of the world*, New York and London, 1990, 47-54, tr. 168-92). This attempt, however, failed to give an adequate representation of the motion of Mercury and Venus in latitude, and Ibn al-Hayt͟ham dealt again with this second problem in two later works (A.I. Sabra, *Ibn al-Haytham's Treatise. Solution of difficulties concerning the movement of Iltifāf*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Arabic Science*, iii [1979], 388-422). The same author began, in his *S͟hukūk*, the trend of Islamic criticisms of Ptolemaic models because they did not agree with physical reality and did not respect the principle of explaining planetary motions by the combination of uniform circular motions that take place around the centre of each circle. Mercury's equant—the point around which the centre of the planet's epicycle moves uniformly and which is different from the centre of the deferent—was unacceptable on physical grounds, and a series of new, non-Ptolemaic, models for the planet were created from the 7th/13th century onwards (Saliba, *Arabic planetary theories after the eleventh century AD*, in R. Rashed, *Encyclopedia of the history of Arabic science*, i, London 1996, 115-25). Evidence confirms that this kind of creative trend was still alive in the 11th/17th century (Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy. Planetary theories during the golden age of Islam*, New York-London 1994, 47 n. 54, 288). These highly original models tried to solve the two problems which affected the planet's motion in longitude: that of the equant, which Mercury shares with

the rest of the planets, and the fact that Mercury's deferent moves with equal motion around a point which is not its own centre. The solutions were not easy, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī acknowledged his failure to create a valid alternative to the Ptolemaic model for Mercury (F.J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's memoir on astronomy*, i, New York 1993, 208-9). Five successful alternative models have been adequately studied. Only Ibn al-Shāṭir may have used a new observation for his model; the rest have the same empirical basis as the *Almagest*.

(a) Al-'Urḍī made a very limited modification of the Ptolemaic tools; an adequate combination of the velocities and directions of the two motions implied allow him to keep the rotation of the centre of the epicycle around the centre of the deferent which, in its turn, rotates on the small "director" circle, as in the *Almagest*. Al-'Urḍī thus gets rid of the equant and obtains a position of the centre of the epicycle which varies only slightly from that of Ptolemy (*K. al-Hay'a*, 58-9, 235-8, 246-59).

(b) Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī takes a step forward and gets rid both of the equant and of the "director" circle by using two new mathematical tools provided by his predecessors: "al-'Urḍī's lemma" and the "al-Ṭūsī couple". The latter shows how a combination of two circular uniform motions may result in a rectilinear motion. Al-Shīrāzī's Mercury model replaces the Ptolemaic machinery by five supplementary epicycles which include two al-Ṭūsī couples. The resulting combination of their motions is equivalent to the crank-like mechanism of Ptolemy's "director" circle, but the resulting curve traced by the centre of the epicycle on which Mercury rotates is not the Ptolemaic ellipse but an oval pressed in at the waist which, as in the case of Ptolemy's model, produces two perigees at a distance of *ca.* 120° from the planetary apogee (E.S. Kennedy, *Studies*, 92-4).

(c) Combinations of epicycles also provide another solution for the longitude of Mercury in Ibn al-Shāṭir's *Nihāyat al-su'l*: this author uses the combination of the motion of six spheres, of which the two last ones form an "al-Ṭūsī couple" which has the effect of enlarging and reducing the size of Mercury's epicycle in the same way as Ptolemy's "director" (Kennedy, *Studies*, 59-61). Ibn al-Shāṭir's model is the first and only known one in which the starting point of all motions is the centre of the Universe and not a point displaced from it in the apse line; he is the first to use his own planetary models (including the model for Mercury) to compute a new set of non-Ptolemaic tables, *al-Zīdj al-djadīd* (Kennedy, *Studies*, 492-9); finally, Ibn al-Shāṭir's model for Mercury is the same described by Copernicus both in his *Commentariolus* and in the *De Revolutionibus*.

(d, e) The *Ta'dīl hay'at al-aflāk* of Ṣadr al-Sharī'a and an anonymous work attributed to 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḳūshdjī describe two related models for Mercury which seem to represent a step backwards; strongly influenced by al-Shīrāzī's lunar model, they use, like Ptolemy, an eccentric deferent and a "director" sphere. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a succeeds in making the motion of the centre of the epicycle uniform around the centre of the "director", while the motion of the deferent on which it travels is also kept uniform around its own centre. An additional epicyclet carries the centre of the planet-carrying epicycle and produces the changes in the size of the latter required by Mercury's motion (Dallal, *Islamic response*, 119-33, 389-98). As for al-Ḳūshdjī, he uses two epicyclets to regulate the motion of Mercury's epicycle.

4. *Mercury in Islamic astrology*. Mercury has its domicile (*bayt*) in Virgo (by day) and Gemini (by night), while its detriment (*wabāl*) corresponds to the opposite signs (Pisces and Sagittarius). During the night it dominates the triplicity (*muthallatha*) of air formed by Gemini, Libra and Aquarius, in spite of the fact that its nature is moderately dry and cold (which corresponds to the earthly signs). Its exaltation (*sharaf*) takes place in Virgo 15° and its dejection (*hubūṭ*) in the opposite degree (Pisces 15°). It is a planet of ambiguous influence: according to al-Bīrūnī (*Tafhīm*, ed. R.R. Wright, London 1934, 233) when left alone it is inclined to beneficence, but when it is near another planet it intensifies its good or bad influences; it is either diurnal or nocturnal, depending on the sign in which it is or the planet with which it is associated; its sex (male or female) also depends on such associations. This explains why al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, i, 22) states that the astrologers called it *munāfiḳ* (hypocritical). Abū Ma'shar (*al-Madkhal al-kabīr*, ed. R. Lemay, iii, Naples 1995, 391-2) states that, according to the Persians, Mercury dominates the sixth climate, while the Greeks give it the third climate. Al-Bīrūnī (*Tafhīm*, 242) states that Mecca, Medina, 'Irāḳ, Daylam, Gīlān and Ṭabaristān are the places submitted to the influence of the planet. A detailed list of the indications given by Mercury's influence, many of which are related to science, culture and intellectual activities, can be found in Abū Ma'shar's *al-Madkhal al-kabīr* (iii, 555).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Samsó)

'UṬĀRID b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib ("the calculator") al-Munadjdjim ("the astrologer"), mathematician, astronomer and astrologer who apparently lived in the 3rd/9th century. He wrote various works in the fields of his expertise, including one on the use of the astrolabe and *al-Zīdj al-kāfī*, which are now lost, although they were known to scholars like al-Bīrūnī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī. A work on burning mirrors, *K. fi 'l-Marāyā al-muḥriḳa*, and another on mineralogy, the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-aḥdjār*, do, however, survive.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 336; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ḥukamā'*, 251; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomer der Araber und ihre Werke*, 67; Brockelmann, S I, 432; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 254, vi, 161. (Ed.)

'UTAYBA, a great and powerful Bedouin tribe of Central Arabia, second only in importance to the 'Anaza or 'Unayza [*q.v.*], and playing a significant role in the history of Arabia in the last 150 years or so. Doughty describes them as having pasture grounds extending from al-Ṭā'if [*q.v.*] in the Ḥidjāz in the west to al-Ḳaṣīm [*q.v.*] in northern Nadjd in the east.

The name appears in various renderings in the travel accounts of Europeans, e.g. the 'Ateyba, pl. el-'Ateybân of Doughty, and the 'Oṭeybah of Palgrave; according to J.J. Hess, the modern pronunciation used by the 'Utayba themselves is 'Ötēbe, pl. 'Ötbān.

The name 'Utayba (in form a diminutive of 'Utba) is applied in the older literature not to a tribe (the only isolated instances are several times in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iḳd*, Cairo 1316, iii, 61, the variant Banū 'Utayba alongside of 'Uyayna as belonging to the Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓala) but to persons, of whom the three best known deserve at least a brief mention: 'Utayba b. al-Ḥārith b. Shihāb al-Yarbū'ī, known as *Ṣayyād al-Fawāris*, one of the most celebrated heroes of the pre-Islamic wars of the Tamīm against the Bakr (see

on him Caskel and Strenziok, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, i, Table 69, ii, 577); ʿUtayba b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIdjlī, general and representative of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha who, among his other victories, defeated the Taghlib [*q.v.*] at Ṣiffīn in 14/636; and lastly, ʿUtayba b. Abī Lahab, who married Muḥammad's daughter Umm Kulthūm (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 366-7; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 42, 138, 208, 215; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 37, 60-1; 70; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2206-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 343-4).

The ʿUtayba trace their genealogy back to Muḍar and claim to belong to the Ḳays ʿAylān [*q.v.*] (Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii, 355, 367; the statement made by al-Ālūsī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, 88, that they belong to the Ḳaḥṭān is due to a confusion with the Banū ʿUtba or ʿAtīb; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Baghdād 1332, 285 with al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, Bombay 1296, 45). They are divided into two main groups: the Ruwaḳa (in form like Ruwala [*q.v.*]: see Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl [1886], 182; also Rawaḳa [*nisba*: Rawḳī] and Rūḳa) and the Barḳa (Baraḳa [*nisba*: Barḳāwī], also Barḳā). Their further subdivision is very variously given: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 197, divides the Rawaḳa into 6, the Baraḳa into 10 tribes, the *Handbook*, i, 69 into 11 or 18 clans, while Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb djazīrat al-ʿArab*, 179-82, distinguishes three or four *fakhdh*s with a number of *ʿashīra*s and *ʿāʾila*s; of all these, the names of which vary much in detail, we need only mention the Thibata (Dhawī Thubayt) who belong to the Ruwaḳa and according to their *shaykh* still surpass the "Ruʿuqa and Barqa" in importance (Philby, *The heart of Arabia*, i, 205, cf. 181, 194). Statistics of the year 1818 estimated the fighting forces of the ʿUtayba of the Ḥidjāz at 100 horsemen and 10,000 foot, and those of the Nadjd at 800 and 2,000 respectively (A. Sprenger, in *ZDMG*, xviii [1863], 218, 222). Palgrave, *Narrative of a year's journey*, ii, 84, put them at 12,000 in all, but Doughty, ii, 367, only at 6,000. The largest figure is that given by al-Batanūnī (*al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziyya*, Cairo 1329, introd., 52): 20,000; the *Handbook of Arabia* (First World War period, London n.d.), i, 69, gave for the "Rūqah" 2,500 tents and for the "Berqah" 3,000.

The ʿUtayba occupy the eastern side of the Ḥidjāz, with the volcanic *ḥarra* area between the *ḥadjdj* route and the Central Arabian steppes. Their grazing-grounds extend over 100 leagues east of Medina and Mecca as far as al-Ḳaṣīm and al-Washin, in the south to the *dīra*s of the Ḳaḥṭān, Buḳūm, Shalāwa and Subayʿ; in the west and north, their neighbours are the Ḥarb, who sometimes penetrate as far as the caravan road from Burayda to Mecca. In the wide area over which they lead their nomadic existence there is hardly a single settlement; it is in the east, in al-ʿĀriḍ, al-Sudayr, al-Ḳaṣīm and in al-Mudhnib (al-Midhnab), that we meet with settled ʿUtayba of the Barḳa branch, where they have mixed with other tribes; in the west, the Ruwaḳa form a part of the population of al-Ṭāʾif. The *dīra* of the ʿUtayba is rich in springs, and in the winter and early autumn there is regular although not considerable rainfall; as a result, this region possesses in places very good pastures, and the rearing of sheep and camels, especially black camels, was traditionally one of the main activities of the ʿUtayba which brought them fame and wealth. The meat in al-Ṭāʾif, for example, comes almost exclusively from their sheep; their country is also rich in game (*Handbook of Arabia*, i, 64, 67-8, 70, 604 [their most important settlements]; Doughty, ii, 367, 426, 525; Philby, i, 122, 280).

We know very little of happenings of any importance in the history of the ʿUtayba before the 19th century. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 106), they occupied also the Wādī Fāṭima in the 17th century and were driven out of it by the Ḥarb (*Handbook*, i, 122). C. Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, 388) mentions some ʿUtayba who came from the Ḥidjāz to the region of the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*] and had submitted to this great tribe. The history of the ʿUtayba in the 19th and early 20th centuries is a reflection of the various wars between the powers in Nadjd and Ḥidjāz, who all endeavoured to win this important tribe over to their interests. At the conquest of the Wahhābī kingdom by the Egyptians, their leader Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1816 induced the ʿUtayba and various ʿAnaza tribes, by threats and bribes, to assist him against ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd. When Fayṣal b. Suʿūd led the war of liberation against Egypt, his son ʿAbd Allāh in 1850 defeated the eastern ʿUtayba at the watering-place of al-Adjrāb, while the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, took the western ʿUtayba, as well as tribes of the Muṭayr al-ʿAlwiyyīn under his protection. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien*, 66, distinguished between 1842 and 1872 no less than nine different powers continually at war with one another in Nadjd, among them the ʿUtayba. In 1872 the principal chief of the ʿUtayba, Musliṭ b. Rubayʿān, plundered the western settlements of al-Riyāḍ, whereupon Suʿūd b. Fayṣal made a raid as a reprisal into their territory; he had, however, to retire defeated and was himself severely wounded. After the ʿUtayba in 1881 and 1882 had plundered many camps of the Ḥarb tribes who were subjects of Ibn Rashīd of Ḥāʾil [see RASHĪD, ĀL], they also attacked the latter in the summer of 1883 but were completely defeated in al-ʿArwa; they suffered a similar defeat in 1884, when they were allies of ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd. In the year 1897 members of the house of Ibn Suʿūd joined the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, ʿAwn al-Rafīḳ, and with the help of the Ḥarb and ʿUtayba undertook campaigns against the possessions of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd; in the autumn of 1903 the latter again defeated the ʿUtayba and Ḳaḥṭān, but in April 1907 he was in turn decisively defeated by Ibn Suʿūd with an army of these same tribesmen. Henceforth the sympathies of the ʿUtayba inclined more and more to the Grand Sharīf, although they were for most part members of the confederation of tribes led by Ibn Suʿūd. In 1910-11 Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī with ʿUtayba, Ḥarb and Muṭayr troops took the field against Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Idrīsī in al-ʿAsīr supported by Ibn Suʿūd's *Ikhwān*, and about the same time the son of the Sharīf, ʿAbd Allāh, appeared in al-Ḳaṣīm, saying he was intervening on behalf of the ʿUtayba, whose rights had been infringed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd. The latter promised to make the Sharīf an annual payment of £4,000 and to secure for the ʿUtayba freedom from tribute, but he did not keep his promise. Scarcely had ʿAbd Allāh returned to the Ḥidjāz than ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz broke the treaty and made war on the ʿUtayba because they had given shelter to fugitive rebels of the house of Ibn Suʿūd. In 1915 ʿAbd Allāh again attacked ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; he advanced into the province of al-Sudayr in Nadjd, forced the eastern ʿUtayba to pay tribute and won a victory over the Barriyya, the allies of the Muṭayr and subjects of Ibn Suʿūd. The Ghatghaṭ incident of 1918, brought about by an attack by the ʿUtayba upon *Ikhwān* at prayer, again strained relations between the Sharīf and Ibn Suʿūd (Philby, *op. cit.*, i, 313). The history of the rise of the third Wahhābī kingdom was closely associated with the name of the leader of the ʿUtayba, Sulṭān

b. Bidjād. The occupation of al-Ṭā'if by a section of his forces in 1924 led to the surrender of Mecca and the further extension of the Wahhābī kingdom in the west.

The 'Utayba were a prominent element in the militant Wahhābī movement of the *Ikhwān* [*q.v.*], whose heyday was from 1912 to 1930. From the lists compiled by von Oppenheim and Caskel, it appears that the 'Utayba had 19 *hidjras* or settlements for religio-economic activity, a number second only to that of the Ḥarb and just ahead of those of the Muṭayr [see AL-HIDJAR and AL-IKHWĀN]. The 'Utaybī leader Sulṭān b. Bidjād's power was curbed by Ibn Su'ūd, and in 1929 the latter's brother 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān destroyed the *hidjra* of al-Ghaṭghaṭ (al-Ghuṭghuṭ) in the 'Utayba *dīra* and scattered the remnants of Sulṭān's followers. A process of settlement and sedentarisation of the 'Utayba came under way in succeeding decades, with 'Utayba well represented in the *ḥilal* (sing. *ḥilla*) or shanty towns which have grown up around the main urban centres of al-Ḳaṣīm. The tensions arising from such processes as these and the extension of control by the Su'ūdī family over the tribe erupted violently in 1979 when the *Ḥaram* of Mecca was seized by a group of religious zealots, who considered themselves as Neo-*Ikhwān*, and one of whose leaders was Djuhayman b. Muḥammad al-'Utaybī [see MAKKA. 3. The modern period, at Vol. VI, 157b-159a].

The Arabic dialect of the 'Utayba is of the Central Arabian type; see 'ARABIYYA. (iii) (2), at Vol. I, 577-8, and for a linguistic description, P.M. Kurpershoek, *Oral poetry and narratives from Central Arabia*, 3 vols. Leiden 1994-, in progress.

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(H. KINDERMANN-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-'**UTAYBA**, BAḤR, a shallow, reedy lake in the Ghūṭa [*q.v.*] or cultivated land around Damascus in Syria, lying some 30 km/18 miles to the east of Damascus.

Bibliography: Admiralty Handbooks, *Syria*, London 1943, 28-9.

'**UTAYBA** B. AL-**ḤĀRITH** [see BISṬĀM B. ḲAYS].

'**UTBA** B. **GHAZWĀN** b. al-Ḥārith b. Djābir, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh or Abū Ghazwān al-Māzinī, from the Māzin tribe of Ḳays 'Aylān and a *ḥalīf* or confederate of the Meccan clans of Nawfal or 'Abd Shams, early convert to Islam and one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet. He was called "the seventh of the Seven", i.e. of those adopting the new faith. He took part in the two *hidjras* to Ethiopia, the battle of Badr and many of the raids of Muḥammad.

During 'Umar's caliphate, he was sent from Medina to lead raids into Lower 'Irāḳ, capturing al-Ubulla [*q.v.*], killing the *marzbān* of Dast Maysān and capturing the Persian lord (*ṣāḥib*) of Furāt at the site of what later became Baṣra. Towards the end of 14/635 he encamped with a group of Bedouin from the Upper Ḥidjāz, hence called the Ahl al-'Āliya, at a place called Khurayba (cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 363-4), and at some point after this built a mosque and *dār al-imāra* out of reeds, allotting lots to his warriors; this became the nucleus of the *miṣr* of Baṣra [*q.v.*]. It seems to have become more permanent after 'Utba died in 17/638 at the age of 57 and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba [*q.v.*] became his successor there. It was Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [*q.v.*] who eventually rebuilt the official buildings there out of sun-dried brick with thatched roofs.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 69; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; idem, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ivA, 4, 163-4; Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 22, 71, 163, 166; Dīnawarī, 122-4; Ṭabarī, i, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 225 = § 1558; idem, *Tanbīh*, 357-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 9778; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 363 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, index to vols. iii-iv; Ch. Pellat. *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ğāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 3, 5, 8, 276; M.J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 194-5, 245-6.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'**UTBA** B. **RABĪ'A** B. 'ABD SHAMS B. 'ABD MANĀF, ABU 'L-WALĪD, one of the chiefs of the Meccan tribe of Ḳuraysh, who refused to follow Muḥammad. He met his death in the battle of Badr. His daughter Hind [*q.v.*] was the wife of Abū Sufyān [*q.v.*], and she avenged herself at Uḥud on her father's killer Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Shocked by the number of adherents of Muḥammad, 'Utba, having consulted the other chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, went to the Prophet to offer him anything he would care to ask if he would only abandon his propaganda. According to the traditional story, Muḥammad in reply only repeated a part of sūra XLI, which made such an impression on him that the effect was still visible when he rejoined his friends, whom he advised not to importune Muḥammad any more. Tradition puts him in a similar light when it represents him as one of those who, on the eve of the battle of Badr, endeavoured in vain to persuade the Ḳuraysh to withdraw by offering personally to pay blood-money for 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, slain by the Muslims. 'Utba himself was mortally wounded in the battle and his body was thrown into the common ditch (*ḳalīb*). Muḥammad is said to have thought highly of his gifts, and later tradition is perhaps slightly more favourable to him than otherwise because he was an 'Abshamī but not an Umawī.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 160, 162, 175; Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 6, 19, 36; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 43, 45, 50-1, 70, 80, 82; Ṭabarī, i, index; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 183, 191, 242, 252;

H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, Beirut 1924, 69, 75; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 92-3, 121, 181; idem, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 11, 14, 56, 263-4.

(A.J. Wensinck*)

AL-'UTBĪ, the name of a family settled in Khurāsān, of Arab descent, which provided secretaries and viziers for the Sāmānids and early Ghaznawids [*q.vv.*] in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries (from which of the 'Utbas of early Islamic times they were descended does not seem to be specified in the sources).

1. Abū Dja'far (*ism* and *nasab* variously given), vizier under the Sāmānid *amīr* 'Abd al-Malik I b. Nūḥ I, from 344/956 to 348/959 and again, in company with Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī [*q.v.*], under his successor Manṣūr I b. Nūḥ I, a few years later. His policy aimed at strengthening the power of the ruler and the bureaucracy against the ambitious Turkish military commanders, and Kirmānī says that he restored the wealth of the state treasury to a level never seen before or after. Narshakhī (wrongly calling him Aḥmad b. Ḥasan) says that he built a fine mosque in the Rīgistān of Bukhārā.

2. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, appointed vizier to the *amīr* Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr I in 367/977. Again, he endeavoured to curb the influence in the state of such Turkish commanders as Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Sīmdjūrī, and acquired military as well as civil duties, but was murdered by agents of the generals Fā'iḳ and Muḥammad Sīmdjūrī in or shortly after 372/982. His kinsman Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-'Utbī (see 3. below) rightly considered him as the last vizier of the Sāmānids worthy of the name.

Bibliography: Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Nasā'im al-ashār*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, Tehran 1959, 35-6; Sayf al-Dīn 'Aḳīlī, *Āthār al-wuzarā'*, ed. Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, 147-8; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 110, 250-1, 252-3.

3. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, secretary, and famed historian of the early Ghaznawids. Born at Rayy *ca.* 350/961, through connections with his maternal uncle Abū Naṣr al-'Utbī, he entered the Sāmānid bureaucracy at Nīshāpūr, becoming *ṣāḥib al-barīd* there, serving as secretary to the Turkish general Abū 'Alī Sīmdjūrī and the Ziyārid Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr [*q.v.*], before finally transferring to the service of Sebüktigin, where he worked alongside the great stylist Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī [*q.v.*], and then of his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He served as an envoy for the new sultan to Gharčistān in 389/999 and enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Maymandī [*q.v.*]. He was appointed *ṣāḥib al-barīd* of Gandj Rustāḳ in Bādhghīs, but dismissed as a result of intrigues by the local governor. He remained in retirement till his death in the later part of Sultan Mas'ūd's reign (either 427/1036 or 431/1040).

Al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iv, 397-406, says that Abū Naṣr wrote several works, including poetry and a *Laṭā'if al-kuttāb*, but his fame rests on the sole surviving one, *al-Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, a history of the reign of Sebüktigin and that of (Yamīn al-Dawla) Maḥmūd up to 411/1020. The model for its ornate and verbose style was, the author states, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi''s history of the Būyids, the *K. al-Tādj*. Despite its eulogies of the Ghaznawid rulers and their exploits, the *Yamīnī* is by no means neglectful of the darker sides of their reigns. Its florid style ensured its great popularity in the Islamic East; a large number of manuscripts exist (see Brockelmann, I[2], 382-3, S I, 547-8), and several commentaries on it were written, e.g. the *Basātīn al-fuḍalā'* of 'Abd Allāh al-Nadjātī (*ca.* 720/1320) and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Manīnī's *al-Fatḥ al-wahbī* (1144-7/1731-4). Several Persian translations were made, including the simplified version of Abu 'l-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ Djurbādhḳānī (*ca.* 602/1205-6) (see Storey, i, 250-2). It is regrettable that no critical edition exists of al-'Utbī's work.

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(C.E. Bosworth)

AL-'UTBĪ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 254/868 or the next year), *faḳīh* of al-Andalus, originally from Cordova.

His masters in al-Andalus were Sa'īd b. Ḥassān and the famous scholar Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848 [*q.v.*]), transmitter of the version of the *Muwaṭṭa'* which became the canonical one in the Muslim West. In the course of a *riḥla* to the East, he studied with Aṣbagh b. al-Faradj and Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]), author of the *Mudawwana*, one of the key texts in the diffusion of Mālikī doctrine in the mediaeval Muslim West. Al-'Utbī was considered an expert on *fiḳh*, and especially on *masā'il*, juridical questions, and with others was a *mushāwar* (consultant *faḳīh*) [see SHŪRĀ. 2.] under the Umayyad *amīr* Muḥammad. He had numerous disciples, the *faḳīh* Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Lubāba (d. 314/926) being notable here.

Al-'Utbī wrote a work on Mālikī law, *al-Mustakhradja min al-asmi'a*, also known as the *'Utbiyya*. This is an important compilation of *masā'il*, gathered by means of sessions of *samā'*, by the most important transmitters of Mālikī doctrine such as Ibn al-Ḳāsim. Although criticised by some traditionists, the work had a wide diffusion in al-Andalus and North Africa, and was used and consulted in later times. Its transmission through the mediaeval period can be plotted through Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*, BAH, ix-x, 241-3, Aḥmad al-Mandjūr (d. 995/1587), *Fihris*, Rabat 1976, 18, and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iv, 183-4. On the fragments which have been preserved of the *Mustakhradja*, see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 472, and M. Muranyi, *Materialien zur mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur*, Wiesbaden 1984, 50-65. The text has been preserved in its entirety within the commentary which Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd al-Djadd (d. 520/1126 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) wrote on it, the *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl* (various eds., [2]Beirut 1988-91, 22 vols.).

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(Ana Fernández Félix)

AL-'UTBĪ, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh ('Ubayd Allāh) b. 'Amr (as given by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. 'Abbās, iv, 397), early 'Abbāsid poet.

He was born in Baṣra, a descendant of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, and moved to Baghdād, dying in 228/842-3. Al-'Utbī was a poet ("one of the modern [*muḥdath*] stallion poets, whose verse was plentiful and excellent": Ibn Khallikān, 399-400), tribal historian (i.e. of the *akhbār* of his own clan, the Banū Umayya—did this assume the form of anti-'Abbāsid polemics?), and writer of epistles: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 121, lauds his command of Arabic. Among his authorities was

Saʿd al-Ḳaṣīr (for Umayyad history: see Ibn al-Nadīm, 90). He counted al-Sidjistānī and al-Riyāshī among his pupils, suggesting an interest in philology: see the *khabar* given by Ibn Khallikān, *loc. cit.*, concerning a Bedouin aphorism, presumably derived from his *K. al-Aʿārīb* ("On the Desert Arabs"). Scant excerpts of his prose compositions (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 372 for a full list of al-Masʿūdī's references to him, and Ibn Khallikān, ii, 37, 201, iii, 258) and smatterings of his verse (of an occasional nature, mellifluous and unexceptional: upon exclusion by a chamberlain, on old age, and a threnody for dead sons) have been preserved. Al-ʿUtbī was probably a *kātib* [*q.v.*]: Ibn al-Nadīm's entry (90) associates him with official functionaries, classifying him with the epistolary scribes whose productions were collected in a compendium (*kitāb madjmūʿ*: 117). The following titles are mentioned: *K. al-Khayl* ("On horses"), *K. al-Nisāʾ al-lātī aḥbabna wa-abghaḍna* ("On women whose love turned to hate"), *K. al-Akhlāḳ* ("On ethics") and *K. al-Dhabīḥ* ("On immolations"). The *khabar* (Ibn Khallikān, 400) concerning the *zarāfa*, an Abyssinian hybrid beast, suggests learning of the catholicity encountered in his contemporary al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*]. An anti-Umayyad polemic is discernible in the tradition, originating with Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1969, 538) that he was "passionately fond of drinking".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.E. MONTGOMERY)

AL-**ʿUTBĪ**, ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD [see AL-ʿUTBĪ. 3.].

AL-**UTHĀL**, AL-ATHĀL (A.), a pot used in the sublimation process in chemistry for causing bodies to pass from the solid state to that of gaseous aggregation by means of steam pressure. The word is a rendering of αἰθάλη ("steam, fine smoke") which, via Syriac *ītalī* (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 55), became Arabic *al-uthāl* and lived on among the Latins as *aludel* (*alutel*). Representations of the device are found in M. Bertholet, *La chimie au Moyen Âge*, i, 149, 150, 156. The contrivance serves to sublimate mercury (*zaybaḳ*), sulphur, orpiment (*zarnīkh*) and the like. It is made of glass or clay (*fakhkhār*) and consists of two tubes (*ziḳḳ*, actually hoses) fitted together. The mineral is put in the lower tube, the two tubes are fitted together with clay and the whole is put on the fire. The ascending smoke gets to the upper tube, cools down and produces the desired sublimate.

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(A. DIETRICH)

ʿUTHMĀN [for this name in the Turkish context, see ʿOTHMĀN].

ʿUTHMĀN B. **ʿAFFĀN**, the third of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs (23-35/644-55). He belonged to the great Meccan family of the Banū Umayya [*q.v.*], and more particularly to the branch of Abu 'l-ʿĀṣī who was his grandfather; for his genealogy, see Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U. 23, and the table in UMAYYA. His sudden support for the Prophet's preaching began his life as a Muslim.

ʿUthmān was a very rich merchant and an accomplished man of the world. The tradition which represented him as the very esssence of beauty and elegance to the extent of being overgroomed may very well have been authentic, precisely because it was so strange. Whatever deep motive led him to embrace a cause with such an obscure origin will always remain a mystery. Part of the historiographical tradition relates the conversion of ʿUthmān with his marriage to Ruḳayya [*q.v.*], the daughter of Muḥammad; but other sources, probably more correctly, place his marriage after his entry into Islam. The conversion of ʿUthmān, the first socially high-ranking Muslim, certainly created a stir and contributed to the success of the new religion. However, his personal action in this field was never remarkable. An indolent personality, though one marked by a lively faith and great generosity, is attributed by tradition to ʿUthmān. This was unlikely to have been an invention to excuse the inactivity of the caliph with respect to the malpractices of his officials, for the lack of energy and initiative ascribed to ʿUthmān had become clear right from the start of his career, and this must have been a real defect of character. He is thought to have taken part in the two emigrations to Abyssinia and was later one of the *muhādjirūn* to Medina. Certainly, he does not seem to have taken part in the battle of Badr (he is said to have been looking after his sick wife at the time; nevertheless, the Prophet thought he had been present and therefore assigned him part of the booty).

After the death of Ruḳayya the alliance between ʿUthmān and the Prophet was renewed by his marriage to another of the Prophet's daughters, Umm Kulthūm [*q.v.*]. The doubts that have been raised (see Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*, 3-5) over the authenticity of this marriage are not justified, in particular because the papyrus roll of Ibn Lahīʿa early bore witness to it (see R.G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 282, traditions 260-1, and 183, 7-8). Furthermore, there were clear advantages in such a union with a Meccan aristocrat.

In the lifetime of the Prophet and during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, ʿUthmān played a most unobtrusive role. Hence the question is raised of how it came about that the council (*shūrā* [*q.v.*]) set up by ʿUmar on his deathbed should have chosen him as the successor to the second caliph. The sources relating to the history of this diligent "conclave" have been analysed minutely by Caetani, but it is only too obvious that the mystery of such a secret debate is destined to elude the critical appraisal of history forever. Candidates who were too outstanding cancelled each other out. One of these was ʿAlī, whose election would have signified the repudiation of the politics of ʿUmar. Such also, it would seem, were Zubayr and Ṭalḥa, who were opponents of ʿUmar and suspected of ambition and greed. Of the three remaining candidates, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and ʿUthmān, one would imagine that the reason the last was chosen, in addition to his marriage connections with the Prophet, would be the fact that he belonged to the clan of the Umayyads, and this would be the most decisive argument in his favour. The Umayyads, even in the lifetime of Muḥammad and especially in the caliphate of ʿUmar, had already partly regained the position they had enjoyed in the *Djāhiliyya*. It is pointless to imagine that Abū Sufyān, the head of the family, had been the *deus ex machina* of the politics of the first twenty years of the régime of the caliphate, and it would be naive to portray the Umayyads as having formed a sort of "secret committee" with the Islamic state to command at will. In reality, the Umayyads were able to wield their influence more because of the indisputable talent in public affairs which some of their members possessed than because of their noble birth. But from the time of ʿUmar this was counterbalanced

by the part played by the other elements, and in particular by the oldest "Companions of the Prophet". It was the strong personality of the second caliph which enabled him to maintain equilibrium between a number of heterogeneous factions who were often opposed to each other.

But this was not the case with ʿUthmān. In fact as Wellhausen earlier observed, and as Caetani has amply demonstrated, ʿUthmān only furthered and developed the politics of ʿUmar. The difficulties which he encountered were merely the consequence of the premises posed by his predecessor, but it was at this point that the differences in their talents became noticeable.

The tragedy which brought a bloody end to the reign of ʿUthmān and ushered in the period of civil wars has caused much embarrassment to Arab historiographers. They have been obliged to record the series of grievances brought against ʿUthmān's regime by his opponents, or *vice versa*, to recognise that the caliph had sinned against the law of his land, or even that his accusers, among whom were some of the most venerated patriarchs of this land, had lied or had been wrong. It was thanks to this distressing dilemma (from which the orthodox tradition extracted itself by the expedient of the "excusable error" and other subtle distinctions) that the long list of grievances has been preserved for us in great detail in the writings of Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍira fī manāḳib al-ʿas̲h̲ara*, ii, 137-52; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, v, 1-124. This work is of importance as it corrects and completes certain aspects of the information previously known, although it does not add much new material.

The first grievance, and perhaps the most serious, was that he had nominated members of his family for provincial governorships. While Syria had long been in the hands of the Umayyad Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at Baṣra and at Kūfa ʿUthmān replaced Abū Mūsā al-As̲h̲ʿarī and Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.vv.*] by his two relatives ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz and al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba [*q.vv.*], his half-brother. When the latter was deposed, after being involved in a scandalous affair, he was replaced by another Umayyad, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, to whom is attributed the well-known saying "the *sawād* of Kūfa is the garden of the Ḳurays̲h̲". Even Egypt, first conquered by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, fell to ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, who was not an Umayyad and whose past was dubious. Finally, the private counsellor of the caliph, whose disastrous influence was described by tradition, was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣī, the first cousin of the caliph, who had recalled his father from the exile to which the Prophet had condemned him.

It is impossible to deny a certain nepotism in the measures taken by ʿUthmān. However, his deeper motives must also be recognised. It was his intention to establish unity in his government and administration, which was threatened by the excessive independence enjoyed by his governors (see for example, for matters relating to the nomination of judges, Khoury, *Zur Ernennung von Richtern*, 197 ff. but cf. the views here of B. Johansen, *Wahrheit und Geltungsanspruch. Zur Begründung und Begrenzung der Autorität des Qadi-Urteils im islamischen Recht*, in *La Giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX-XI)*, ii, Spoleto 1997, 975-1065, esp. 981-2 n. 16). It was on the whole the same purpose as that pursued by ʿUmar, but by dint of his energy and prestige he had succeeded in conveying the weight of his authority even to the governors of other tribes and clans. ʿUthmān believed he would be able to obtain the same results by using officials who were bound to him by blood ties, but he was not successful. The roles were reversed and it was the caliph who submitted to the influence of his relatives (perhaps, however, to a lesser extent than the official historiography implies). Furthermore, popular discontent recognised this as the sole cause of the calamities and assumed that they were probably not the result of the character of the official involved.

The system of the *dīwān* instituted by ʿUmar required that war booty be perpetually increased, since the regular tax returns on the *ahl al-d̲h̲imma* were not enough for the salaries of the new recruits who were flocking to the provinces from the heart of Arabia, and it is one of the great merits of Caetani to have drawn attention to this. This was also the motivation for the new expeditions which continuously extended the frontiers of the Arab empire during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. One such expedition resulted in the conquest of the last provinces of the Sāsānid empire, whose dynasty came to an abrupt end with the murder of the last of their kings Yazdagird III. Another was the occupation of Armenia; and then again a series of incursions were made along the coast of North Africa into Nubia and into Asia Minor, and by sea into the Eastern Mediterranean. If the conquests accomplished or begun by the Arabs during the caliphate of ʿUthmān were all to be examined, it would be clear that, though they may not have had the prodigious verve of those which took place under ʿUmar, nonetheless they marked in an imposing manner on the one hand the end of the initial period of the Arab empire, and on the other the prelude to the second period of expansion, that of the Umayyads.

The booty gleaned from these expeditions was, however, perhaps not as abundant as might have been hoped. Moreover, another of the grievances brought against ʿUthmān arose from the fact that, instead of assigning such booty as there was to the fighters as a whole, he held back part of it for his governors and for members of his family, and thus developed the system of land grants (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ* [see ḌAYʿA; ḲAṬĪʿA]) which had already generally been practised by ʿUmar. In this action is also possible to see a conscious attempt to create property for the state rather than simply being a means of enriching his relatives, which is a concept totally opposed to the populist procedure of a total division of the spoils of war among the combatants.

The Islamic empire tended from internal necessity to favour an ordered administration modelled on that of the Byzantines or the Persians. The one which ʿUmar had already drafted, the one which the Umayyads later realised in part and which the ʿAbbāsids achieved, was the transformation of the incoherent and anarchistic grouping of the tribes and of an absolute monarchy; this was also the programme embarked on by ʿUthmān. He can be reproached for not having been able to choose the best methods of going about it, and can also be accused of not being up to the task, but his plan was adequate and merely followed the ideal set by ʿUmar. Moreover, the economic crisis that was the inevitable consequence of the sudden enrichment of the Arab masses made it essential for the state to economise and to cut back on the total number of military allowances [see ʿAṬĀʾ]; in turn these only served to increase the number of the discontented.

One of the measures which contributed most to the opposition of the religious lobby to ʿUthmān, formed by the old Companions of the Prophet who were of simple or servile origins (ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū D̲h̲arr, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [*q.vv.*], etc.) and the influence

of which the people strongly resented, was the official promulgation of the Ḳurʾān (see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, ii, 42-119). What appeared to be the most offensive part of this procedure was the destruction of copies from the provinces. ʿUthmān was probably compelled to do this out of consideration for religious order and liturgy, but perhaps the dominant motive was still political in nature. The *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*] who were the custodians and also, of course, the readers and interpreters of the sacred text, by their very position held enormous power over the masses, and this in a sense placed them outside the scope of the central authorities. These in turn had no way of checking whether the Ḳurʾānic passages used by the *ḳurrāʾ* were authentic or not. By removing this weapon from them and by setting itself up as the sole custodian of revelation, the ruling power intended to bring about unity and to establish its absolute power over the state. It was, however, only a natural reaction for the opposition to this tendency to accuse the caliph of having mutilated and destroyed the divine word.

ʿUthmān succeeded in making enemies for himself with many different groups; he became the scapegoat of the turbulent elements among the *amṣār* [see MIṢR] because of economic difficulties. They were inclined to accuse the caliph of confiscating the property of Muslims for his own benefit. A new pietism was emerging to which the affirmation of the authority of the state seemed against the egalitarian principles laid down by the Prophet. And finally, formerly deposed governors and leading Companions, like Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿAlī, now out of power, were eager for it. It is questionable whether ʿUthmān, while obviously following the course of conduct imposed on him by the needs of the state and by the example of his predecessor, would have been able to avoid the destiny which overtook him and which so deeply disrupted Islamic unity. Though any answer to this sort of question will always be uncertain, in the realms of history it is possible to surmise that a more intelligent mind and a more energetic temperament than his (or rather a real political genius such as Muʿāwiya, had he been head of state) would perhaps have overcome these difficulties. Perhaps his counsellor Marwān, too, who some thirty years later would show himself equal to a no less difficult situation, was lacking in experience or prudence. Certainly ʿUthmān was incapable on his own, but he was also badly advised, and the very Umayyads whom he had showered with favours and riches preferred to think of themselves than of their relative in danger.

How the events took place can here be dealt with only summarily. Tradition mechanically divides the caliphate of ʿUthmān into two periods of equal length, six years (23-29) of good government followed by six years (30-35) of lawlessness and disorder. The change is represented symbolically by the loss of the Prophet's seal which according to legend, ʿUthmān dropped into the well of Arīs in the year 30. Moreover, it was precisely at this period that the first rebellious movements began which were first seen in ʿIrāḳ, the region which suffered most from the economic crisis and where the dissident forces were most widespread. Abū Dharr, one of the precursors of asceticism in Islam, was exiled to Syria with some of his companions, and later sent down to al-Rabadha [*q.v.*] to die there in destitution. Though the episode concerning him is embellished by legend, it is characteristic of the attitude of the emerging pietism with respect to the worldly transformation of the caliph.

Even more serious trouble erupted at Kūfa in the years 32-3/652-4, under the leadership of the *ḳurrāʾ*, whose religious nature merged with political activity and who collected about them doubtful elements. Despite a few severe measures adopted against them, the faction leaders succeeded in provoking the deposition of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, who was replaced by the former governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, himself a pietist and an adversary of ʿUthmān. From that time onwards Kūfa was beyond the reach of the central government.

Even in Egypt, Ibn Abī Sarḥ had to yield to the violence of a group led by the young Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa, who, although he was the adopted son of ʿUthmān, nevertheless opposed him. It seems that the wily ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who had retreated to Palestine after being deposed, secretly supported the revolutionary movement in Egypt. The role of this movement must have been more important than was previously believed, since the payrus of Ibn Lahīʿa described the events from an Egyptian perspective and noted that the number of Egyptians involved in besieging the caliph was plainly greater than that of other parties (see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 181 ff., 190 ff.). The storm which was already looming broke at the end of 35/656 when the rebel troops advanced from the three provinces on Medina. The first to arrive were the Egyptian troops with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays at their head, and they went on the Friday to worship in the mosque of the Prophet (*ibid.*, 116, 282). Dramatic exchanges took place between the Egyptian troops and the caliph. The grievances against ʿUthmān were set forth in extremely harsh language. But the rebels were disarmed by the humility and conciliatory attitude of the caliph, who consented to all their demands, promised to repeal all his previous measures and to change his governors. The Egyptians left satisfied, but on the way back, at the sand flats of al-ʿArīsh, a messenger from ʿUthmān was stopped and a letter taken from him addressed by ʿUthmān to Ibn Abī Sarḥ containing the order to put to death or to mutilate the leaders of the movement on their return.

The Egyptians were furious, retraced their steps and returned to Medina, determined on vengeance. It was at this point that the changes in fortune occurred, described by the papyrus roll of ʿAbd Allāh b. Lahīʿa, which indicates that Ibn ʿUdays was at the head of the Egyptians (the account of the second siege). ʿUthmān denied that the letter was authentic and even insinuated that it had been forged by his enemies to ruin him. Although the official tradition has the tendency to ascribe this lie to Marwān, there is also evidence of other versions and even one (preserved only by al-Balādhurī) which claims that ʿUthmān had suspected ʿAlī. In fact, this is what Caetani (*Annali*, viii, 159), without any knowledge of this text, had already supposed. It is well known from other sources that it was a common practice to invent false documents designed to destroy an enemy who could not be defeated in any other way; but whatever one may think of this shady episode, it is certain that, whether or not it was the immediate cause of the tragic end of ʿUthmān, other factors had already been set in motion. The events actually led, according to the papyrus, to a second siege of the house of ʿUthmān, and the caliph began to speak in the presence of Abū Thawr al-Fahmī. The latter informed him of the return of the soldiers to destroy him, and then comes the oldest self-defence of the caliph that is known in its original version in Islam (see Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh*

Ibn Lahīʿa, 281, traditions 256 ff.). In this text, ʿU<u>th</u>mān insists on the falsehood of the accusations levelled against him, highlights his role as the fourth person to adopt Islam, his oral collection of the Ḳurʾān from as far back as the lifetime of the Prophet, his marriage to two of the Prophet's daughters (without naming them) as well as his exemplary spiritual life in the *<u>Dh</u>āhiliyya* and in Islam (*ibid.*, 282, traditions 260-4). Most hypocritical of all were the old Companions who opposed him in an underhanded manner. They did not dare to become accomplices in the violent deposition of the caliph, but neither did they wish to help him against the rebels; and so they, and in particular ʿAlī, maintained a malevolent neutrality. The Prophet's widow ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*], who had led a violent campaign against ʿU<u>th</u>mān, preferred to avoid the issue at the last moment on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

In his extremity, ʿU<u>th</u>mān knew how to retain all his dignity. He refused to abdicate, and after a siege, the length of which was variously estimated by different sources, some individuals were able to enter his house in the final days of 35 (June 656). They were led by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], the son of the first caliph and the brother of ʿĀʾi<u>sh</u>a, and it was he who seized ʿU<u>th</u>mān. It is not clear whether he was the one who struck the final blow, or if it was someone else; tradition cites several names, and it is evident that right from the beginning the whole affair was obscure. It is said that the caliph's blood flowed on to the copy of the Ḳurʾān which he was reading when he was attacked. His wife, the Kalbiyya Nāʾila bt. al-Furāfiṣa, was injured, and the house was ransacked. During the night his body was buried in deepest secrecy by his wife and a few close friends. The troops which Muʿāwiya had sent from Syria (tradition claims that they arrived too late and accuses them of duplicity) received the news of the murder when they were half-way there, and so they hastened to return. The same papyrus begins (see *ibid.*, 244) with the pursuit of the Egyptian murderers, eventually imprisoned by Muʿāwiya in Lydda (Palestine), whose leader, Ibn ʿUdays, took flight but was recaptured by a horseman and was battered to death.

The election of the new caliph took place amid an atmosphere of tumult and terror, as is well known (see Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 321-42). According to this author, it demonstrates that no previous agreement existed between the leading Companions which could probably be thought to have anticipated these events. The election of ʿAlī was unquestionably due not so much to the prestige afforded him by his family connections and his alliance with the Prophet, but more to the support of the Anṣār who had regained influence in their city while the Umayyad party was in disarray. But right from its inception, the new régime was destined to be attacked either by other competitors disappointed in their expectations, or by Muʿāwiya, the only Umayyad governor who had remained in control of his province.

From then on, any political unity of Islam was over, and soon religious unity also, making way for a period of civil wars and schisms. The caliphate of ʿU<u>th</u>mān and his bloody end marked a turning point in Islamic history and attributed an importance to the third caliph certainly not merited by what was in fact an altogether rather mediocre personality. History, and especially literary history, was captivated by his murder and wove various narratives around it, some of which were noteworthy and have been passed on under the heading of *fitna* (*q.v.*, and *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 211-17; here there are different definitions of the term which the papyrus uses; see also Sellheim, 88-9).

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(G. Levi Della Vida-[R.G. Khoury])

ʿU<u>TH</u>MĀN b. FŪDĪ, sc. ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. Muḥammad b. ʿU<u>th</u>mān b. Ṣāliḥ, known as Ibn Fūdī (or Usuman Dan Fodio, to use the current Hausa form) (1754-1817), the founder of the largest independent state in 19th century Africa. A *<u>sh</u>ay<u>kh</u>* of the Ḳādiriyya, in 1804-8 he led a *<u>dj</u>ihād* that overthrew the existing sultanates in Hausaland and Bornu in what is now northern Nigeria. By preaching publicly and attracting students of all kinds, by writing vernacular poetry and books of instruction in Arabic, he inspired a reform movement that transformed the role of Islam in West Africa: what had been the profession mainly of religious specialists became the everyday religion of ordinary people, including peasants and herders, women and slaves.

Usuman dan Fodio was born on Sunday, 15 December 1754 at Maratta near Konni in northwestern Hausaland (on today's Niger-Nigerian frontier). He died in the newly-built capital, the city of Sokoto [*q.v.*], on Sunday, 20 April 1817. In February 1804, at the start of the *<u>dj</u>ihād*, he was elected by his community as the first Imām and *Amīr al-muʾminīn* of the state that has since the 1960s become known as the "Sokoto Caliphate". By December 1808 the last of the great Hausa cities had fallen to the reformers, and in 1812 the Shehu (as he is popularly called) was able to divide the state into two halves, one under his son Muḥammad Bello [*q.v.*] and the other under his brother ʿAbd Allāh at Gwandu. He then devoted himself again to teaching Ṣūfism and writing. He was

a powerful preacher and prolific author, writing over a hundred works in prose and more than fifty in verse. As a poet he wrote in both Arabic and Fulfulde, many of the Fulfulde poems being later translated into Hausa. It is not proven that he wrote any poetry in Hausa but he preached in that language, while Fulfulde was his language of everyday use.

His career divides broadly into three periods. The first, 1774-94, is a period of preaching. As a young scholar, he travelled to study under various local *shaykhs* and toured, preaching in Zamfara and for a while tutoring the sons of the Sultan of Gobir. He debated with other scholars, for example over the propriety of having women in the audience at teaching sessions or over whether knowledge of *kalām* was necessary for qualifying as a Muslim (and therefore having the rights of the Muslim "caste"). In general, the Shehu's position was populist: anyone, he argued, was a Muslim if he correctly carried out the practices of Islam. These were explained in his major didactic work of the period, *Iḥyāʾ al-sunna wa-ikhmād al-bidaʿ*.

The second period, 1794-1810, was marked by a turning towards militancy. In 1794 he had a crucial vision, in which the Prophet instructed Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] to invest the Shehu personally with the sword of truth; before this time, neither a Muslim Ṣūfī scholar such as Usuman nor his students would carry weapons. But now, with the explicit authority of both the Prophet and his own Shaykh in the Ḳādiriyya, the Shehu could order his followers to take up arms and defend themselves. The rapidly rising numbers of peasants converting to Islam had been causing concern to the local state authorities (especially in war-ravaged Zamfara), not least as these new Muslims then claimed exemption from both taxation and military service, and often ceased to work for their fathers. Conversion was especially popular among slaves, who ran away to any *shaykh* who refused to let his new students return to slavery or be sold to non-Muslim owners. Once the Muslims had armed themselves, they forfeited their general immunity as religious specialists, and all Muslims—including conservative communities of Fulbe scholars—became targets for raids by the local military. It is therefore not surprising that there were Muslims even among his kinsmen who did not support the Shehu in his call for *djihād*; they argued that the sultans in power were already Muslim and that the Shehu was therefore simply a trouble-maker.

The majority of the Shehu's students whose names are preserved in contemporary lists were Fulbe [*q.v.*], as were both the majority of his military allies in the Sokoto region and the majority of those to whom he gave flags of command in regions that were to become amīrates. Some early supporters who were not Fulbe, such as Shaykh ʿAbd al-Salām (of Gimbana and, later, Kware) or Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Chacha (of Raba, in Nupe), were killed by djihādist forces. Of the *djihād* leaders, only Yaʿḳūb of Bauchi was not a Pullo or member of the Fulbe, but he had been a young student of the Shehu before the *djihād* and had been given a wife from Zamfara. Apart from his fellow-Fulbe, the Shehu's closest mentors and allies were Berber or Tuareg scholars from the Sahel, especially his *shaykh* Djibrīl b. ʿUmar from the town of Agadès in the north; Djibrīl had been an early advocate of *djihād* before being exiled.

The period of militancy culminates in the *djihād* of 1804-8. As a *shaykh* now over 50 years old, Usuman did not himself take up arms, though on certain critical occasions he went to the battlefield to support by prayer the djihādist forces. Though ʿAlī Jedo was appointed *Amīr al-djaysh* to control the young djihādist militants, the Shehu used to give out flags for specific campaigns, especially to his son Muḥammad Bello and his brother ʿAbd Ullāh; as commanders of expeditions they tried to enforce the rules on booty. During this period, the books which he wrote under the pressure of *djihād* (such as *Bayān wudjūb al-hidjra ʿalā ʾl-ʿibād wa-bayān naṣb al-imām wa-iḳāmat al-djihād*) are polemical and strict in their interpretations of the laws governing *djihād* and on who is and who is not to be counted as a Muslim. The result was that many states whose rulers were Muslim by any ordinary definition were declared to be legitimate targets of *djihād*. His *djihād* was therefore not against pagans but primarily against Muslims unwilling to accept reform.

The Shehu's community had been so outnumbered that their ultimate victory in the *djihād* seemed miraculous, and this made some believe the Shehu might be the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. This he rejected (at most he was the *mudjaddid* [*q.v.*] for the 13th Islamic century); he was also personally disinclined at first to believe that the coming of the Mahdī was imminent. In 1806, however, he became convinced and sent a message to his regional flagbearers to be ready for the coming of the Mahdī. It was an extremely difficult time: deaths from famine and disease exceeded deaths even from *djihād*, and cattle were dying in an epizootic. In such a crisis, millenarian expectations perhaps persuaded waverers to join the very risky but righteous cause of *djihād*. The Shehu did not, however, support a *hidjra* to Mecca to await a putative Mahdī; indeed, neither he nor any of his independent successors ever left the Sokoto region, whether for the pilgrimage or on campaign. Instead, visitors were to come to Sokoto from other parts of West Africa, the Middle East and Europe, bringing with them their books, new technologies and ideas.

The third period, the period of pragmatism and power, from 1810 to 1817, was when the Shehu withdrew largely from the administration of the state. His ideas during this period—as expressed, for example, in his *Nadjm al-ikhwān yahtadūna bihi bi-idhn Allāh fī umūr al-zamān*—are much more moderate than they were during the *djihād*: practices that were previously taken as proof of un-Islamic government were now not ruled out. The imperatives of establishing effective administration took precedence. His small community of scholars and students had turned into a large state dependent on a military element more interested in materialism than Ṣūfī discipline; as a result, the scholarly, quietist element of the community located itself at Gwandu, leaving the Shehu as a beacon to pilgrims in his house on the edges of the city at Sokoto.

Especially in the last two years of his life (1815-17), the Shehu was regarded as a saint, with people coming to his house anxious to touch his clothes or acquire pieces of his hair. This worried him: he explicitly denied he was a *walī*, though he admitted he could listen in on the conversations of the *djinn* and had other unusual powers that obliterated distance. Several miracles are attributed to him, a number of which were recounted in a book written twenty years after his death by his son's vizier Gidado, who had married Asmāʾ, the learned daughter of the Shehu. The Shehu also worried whether he had been responsible for the death of Muslims in the course of the *djihād*, but he had now stopped writing. Though troubled by disturbed sleep and illness in his last years,

he was still well enough at 63 to father a child by a concubine, his son ʿĪsā being born posthumously in 1817.

The Shehu's own family was large. He had 37 children by a total of 13 wives (including at least one concubine); one of his sons had 63 children, a son-in-law 48. He insisted on his wives being in purdah (which was unusual at the time), and he educated his daughters to become major poets in their own right. He wrote in verse about the proper behaviour of a husband to his wives, and he was concerned with the sexual morality of Fulbe women, describing graphically the provocativeness of their dress and manner. His preaching depicted powerfully the terrors of hell-fire and the need to avoid the sins that make "a Muslim in the morning become a pagan by the evening". His work, filled with detailed practical advice, has a strongly moral dimension which is often overshadowed by the emphasis on his political success.

The Shehu called upon his Fulbe supporters to intermarry and thus break down their divisive clannishness and concern for social hierarchy. Himself a Torodo and a descendant of migrants from the Senegal valley, the Shehu traced his origin back to Arabs (and Jews, according to his brother; the claim to descent from the Prophet was only made after his death). His family did not identify themselves as "Blacks" (*al-Sūdān*); rather, they were the rulers for these *Sūdān* and felt it their task to establish for them a truly Islamic *umma*; a Sūdānī was appointed muezzin to the new community, in the manner of the Prophet Muḥammad.

On his death, the Shehu was buried (as was the custom) in his house, which by the 1850s had become the focus for the *Yan Taru*, an association of Muslim women who made regular visits to his grave. This was part of a concerted attempt by the Sokoto leadership to link the Ḳādiriyya with the Shehu and resist the growing success of the Tidjāniyya [*q.v.*] in attracting converts, hence the translations made into Hausa of the Shehu's poetry as well as the composition of books about the *djihād* and the Shehu's life. In the 20th century, the focus of attention has shifted somewhat away from the Shehu and on to his son, Muḥammad Bello, as the role model for the politically able. In particular, the Premier of Nigeria's Northern Region added "Bello" to his name and used to pray publicly at Bello's tomb in Wurno; and it is Bello's house that has remained the caliphal palace in Sokoto. Nonetheless, the Shehu's house is preserved and is still visited, particularly by the old; but responsibility for developing a modern Ḳādirī *ṭarīḳa* for northern Nigeria has since passed from the Shaykh's heirs in Sokoto. Several of his books, however, remain in print and are widely sold in rural markets, while his songs can be heard even today far beyond the boundaries of Sokoto.

Bibliography: D.M. Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London 1967; M. Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth. The life and times of the Shehu Usuman dan Fodio*, New York 1973; F.H. ElMasri (ed. and tr.), *ʿUthmān ibn Fūdī. Bayān wudjūb al-hidjra ʿalā 'l-ʿibād*, Cairo 1978; Ibraheem Sulaiman, *A revolution in history, the jihad of Usman dan Fodio*, London and New York 1986; Jean Boyd, *The Caliph's sister. Nana Asma'u, 1793-1865, teacher, poet and Islamic leader*, London 1989; U.F. Malumfashi, *Divergence of opinion in the law of Islam. Being editing, translation and analysis of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī's* Najm al-ikhwān yahtadūna bihi bi-idhn Allāh fī umūr al-zamān, Ph.D. thesis, Bayero University 1989; J. Hunwick, *Arabic literature of Africa*, ii, *The writings of Central Sudanic Africa*, Leiden 1995. (D.M. Last)

ʿUTHMĀN b. MARZŪḲ b. Ḥumayd b. Salāma al-Ḳurashī, Abū ʿAmr (d. 564/1169), Ḥanbalī jurist and mystic, known as Ibn Marzūḳ. He studied with Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 536/1141, not "Ibn al-Djīlī", as in Ibn Radjab, i, 306) at Damascus, though whether he was born there is not clear; he is also said to have met ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*] and to have held him in high esteem. He lived mainly in Egypt and died there, aged over seventy years old. Only one work of his seems to be mentioned, an abridgement of Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, which bears the same title as Ibn al-Djawzī's abridgement of the same work, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Istanbul 1941-3, ii, col. 1080). Several short mystical-paraenetic discourses are quoted by Ibn Radjab. He appears to have acquired an odour of sanctity early on, and a number of miracles (*karāmāt*), especially referring to the flooding of the Nile, are attributed to him (Ibn Radjab, 307, ult.-308, l. 9, and R. Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*, Wiesbaden 1987, index s.n. "Uṯmān b. Marzūq al-Qurašī").

Ibn Marzūḳ is said to have voiced an extreme Ḥanbalī position in saying that the faith and the works of man are uncreated (*ghayr makhlūḳ, ḳadīm*, see Ibn Radjab, 309-10, and cf. J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991-7, iv, 578), for which he was taken to task by Ibn Taymiyya (Ibn Radjab, 310-11, and Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿ al-fatāwā*, vii, 680 ff., quoted after van Ess). Actually, it is Ibn Marzūḳ's followers whom Ibn Taymiyya mainly attacks as imputing opinions to their *shaykh* which he probably did not hold. Indeed, Ibn Marzūḳ's own formulation, quoted by Ibn Radjab from an unnamed book on *uṣūl al-dīn*, is more sophisticated: "Faith is uncreated in its words (i.e. the creed) as well as in its works; the movements of man are certainly created, but the eternal looms (*yaẓhar*) in them, just as the speech [of God] looms in the utterances of man [when reciting the Ḳurʾān]." Whether Ibn Taymiyya also accused his followers of having turned him into a "saint", as Jacqueline Chabbi alleges, basing herself on the same passages in Ibn Radjab, is far from certain (for mentions of Ibn Marzūḳ, see her *ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī*, in *SI*, xxxviii [1973], 80, 85).

Ibn Marzūḳ's son, Saʿd, continued in the vein of his father as a Ḥanbalī mystic (see the article on him in Ibn Radjab, i, 384-87).

ʿUthmān b. Marzūḳ should not be confused with another Ḥanbalī mystic by the name of Ibn Marzūḳ, sc. Abu 'l-Khayr ʿAbd Allāh (d. 507/1113), a disciple of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (see S. Laugier de Beaurecueil, O.P., *Khwādja ʿAbdullāh Anṣārī*, Beirut 1965 120).

Bibliography: Ibn Radjab, *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M.H. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1372/1952-3, i, 306-11; Ibn Mufliḥ, *al-Maḳṣid al-arshad*, ed. ʿA.b.S. al-ʿUthaymīn, 3 vols. Riyāḍ 1410/1990, ii, 200-1 (= an abridgment of Ibn Radjab) with further bibl. refs. to later Ḥanbalī *ṭabaḳāt* by the editor; Ziriklī, ¹Beirut 1979, iv, 214; Kaḥḥāla vi, 270-1.

(W.P. Heinrichs)

ʿUTHMĀN b. MAẒʿŪN b. Ḥabīb, Abu 'l-Sāʾib, of the Ḳuraysh clan of Djumaḥ, one of the earliest Companions of Muḥammad, the thirteenth man to adopt Islam and brother-in-law of the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He took part in the *hidjra* to Abyssinia, returned, like some other refugees, on the false news of a reconciliation between Muḥammad and his pagan enemies, and became for some time the client of al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra. Soon he renounced this privilege, because he preferred to bear his share in the insults offered to his co-religionists

in Mecca. On a quarrel between ʿUthmān and the poet Labīd, see Ibn Hishām, 343-4.

ʿUthmān took part in the *hidjra* to Medina, where he found lodging with Umm al-Aʿlā. When Muḥammad formed pairs of "brothers" between the Muhādjirūn and Anṣār [see MU'ĀKHĀT], ʿUthmān was associated with Abu 'l-Ḥārith b. al-Tayyihān. He took part in the battle of Badr and died in the following year, 3 A.H., but according to other accounts, in the year 4. He was the first Muslim buried in Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad [*q.v.*]. The affection in which Muḥammad held him was seen in the grief he showed at the sight of his corpse. Nevertheless, Muḥammad is said to have reproved his widow Khuwayla bt. Ḥakīm al-Sulamiyya for using language more natural than theological and for saying that her dead husband was one of the inhabitants of Paradise.

In Tradition, ʿUthmān is the most characteristic representative of the ascetic tendencies which were not entirely foreign to primitive Islam. He abstained from wine before this beverage was prohibited. He neglected his wife, who did not fail to complain to ʿĀ'isha, whereupon Muḥammad tried to divert him from a too rigorous asceticism by suggesting that he should follow his example. The tradition is also very well known according to which he asked Muḥammad to permit him to castrate himself, a request which the Prophet did not at all consider with favour.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, index; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, iii/1, 286-91; Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, index; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, index; Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, no. 9819; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iii, 385-6; Wensinck, *Handbook*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin 1861, i, 387-8; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 97, 119, 179; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, index; idem, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index.

(A.J. WENSINCK)

ʿUTHMĀN DIḲNA B. ABĪ BAKR al-Sawākinī, conventionally OSMAN DIGNA, a leader of the Sudanese Mahdiyya [*q.v.*] movement in the 1880s and 1890s. For his career, see BEDJA, at I, 1158b, and KASALA, at IV, 687a, and add to the Bibls. there: R. Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan*, [2]London 1967, 367-8, 408.

ʿUTHMĀNIYYA, the adherents of a doctrinal stance which originated at the same time and over the same question as Khāridjism and Shīʿism, but which did not survive beyond the 4th/10th century. Its history can be divided into four stages:

1. Loyalism. The stance originated in response to the killing of ʿUthmān [*q.v.*]. Had the rebels done right? The ʿUthmāniyya were those who denied it. ʿUthmān had in their view remained a legitimate ruler whose life it had been wrong to take. "By God, ʿUthmān was killed unjustly (*maẓlūm*[an])" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3434; cf. 3243.9-12; cf. Ḳur'ān, XVII, 33). They clamoured for ʿUthmān's murderers to be brought to justice and a new caliph to be elected by *shūrā* [*q.v.*] (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, ed. Maḥmūdī, 223, 300, 327; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3277), rejecting ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate on the grounds that he was an accomplice in the murder and/or had seized power without consulting the community (Ps.-Nāshi' in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut and Wiesbaden 1971, §§ 19, 21, 26; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, 226.10; al-Barrādī, *al-Djawāhir*, Cairo 1302, 101; al-Mufīd, *al-Djamal*, tr. M. Rouhani, Paris 1974, 97 ff.). Against them, the rebels argued that ʿUthmān had forfeited his status as *imām* by his innovations in the law (*aḥdāth*) and died as a wrongdoer (*ẓālim*[an]), not as somebody wronged (*maẓlūm*[an]). All the rebels accepted ʿAlī's succession, though the Khāridjites [*q.v.*] held that he, too, subsequently forfeited his position.

Initially, all non-rebels must have been ʿUthmānīs. All Muslims had the choice between loyalism and acceptance of the rebels' cause (Khāridjite or Shīʿite), and though a few allegedly contrived to remain neutral (cf. below, 2), loyalism will have remained what one might call the default position of Islam until *ca.* 700, when the Murdji'a [*q.v.*] appeared, advocating suspension of judgement on the rights and wrongs of the disputed figures. Loyalism was certainly well represented even in ʿIrāḳ. The Baṣrans fought against ʿAlī in the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], and refugees from the battle fled to Syria (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 215; al-Nawbakhtī, 5); Kūfans and Baṣrans alike left ʿIrāḳ to settle in the Djazīra [*q.v.*] after ʿAlī's victory because they were ʿUthmānīs (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ii, 297.9; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA.-S.M. Hārūn, [2]Cairo 1962, 12, 146; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 218; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses*, Cambridge 1980, appendix I, nos. 13, 14, 16, 19); and still more Baṣrans joined Muʿāwiya when al-Ḥasan [*q.v.*] succeeded, having previously kept quiet about their ʿUthmānī views (*Aghānī*[3], xii, 329.5). In the second civil war, too, there was a substantial *shīʿat banī umayya min al-ʿuthmāniyya* in Baṣra (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 156.7), and the Baṣrans had a general reputation for ʿUthmānism (*al-baṣra kulluhā ʿuthmāniyya*, al-Aṣmaʿī in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Amīn, al-Zayn and al-Abyārī, vi, 248.7) which some put down to the fact that three governors of theirs, including al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], had been extreme lovers of ʿUthmān and the Umayyads (Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, ed. K. Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1948, 230.2). But there were ʿUthmānīs in Kūfa, too (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 229.16,18; 275.18 (cf. also 214.19); xi, ed. Ahlwardt 26.13; idem, *Futūḥ*, 308.3; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3348.16; ii, 342, 636, 659, 765-6; *Aghānī*[3], xi, 251, xiv, 217.5, 231.10, 232.4; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaḳiyyāt*, ed. S.M. al-ʿĀnī, Baghdād 1972, 465). Some sources claim that Egypt was only converted to ʿUthmānism by Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (d. 128/745-6) or al-Layth b. Saʿd (d. 175/791-2 [*q.v.*]), having previously been ʿAlawī, as people would say by way of contrast with ʿUthmānī; but this is difficult to believe (al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, v, 184; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashk*, ed. ʿA. al-Shīrī, Beirut 1995-, ix, 42 (s.v. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh); Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, viii, 463-4; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, Berlin and New York 1991-7, ii, 719; contrast al-Kindī, *Governors*, 18; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3241-45, 3401, 3408; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1324-6, ii, 337.-4, 338.12. For the term ʿAlawī, see also Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, 248.7; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 275.18; al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. A.Ḍ. al-ʿUmarī, Baghdād 1974-76, ii, 807). That ʿUthmānism preponderated elsewhere in the early Umayyad period can probably be taken for granted.

In the first civil war the ʿUthmānīs were led by Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'isha [*q.vv.*] in the Ḥidjāz and ʿIrāḳ, and by Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] in Syria. The two subdivisions adhered to the same loyalist cause and accepted Muʿāwiya as their sole leader when Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were killed, but they did not remain united for long. After Muʿāwiya's death, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr opposed the succession of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya [*q.vv.*], claiming the caliphate for himself when Yazīd died in his turn. Adherents of the Umayyads and the Zubayrids alike continued to stress their

loyalty to ʿU̲th̲mān, but acceptance of the default position no longer implied agreement on contemporary politics. When the sources speak of ʿU̲th̲mānīs in the Sufyānid period and second civil war they usually have the pro-Umayyad party in mind (similarly al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *R. al-Ḥakamayn*, ed. Ch. Pellat, in *al-Mas̲h̲rik* [1958], 428.ult., with reference to the Marwānid period). The Umayyads had the advantage of being actual kinsmen of ʿU̲th̲mān's, and most Muslims accepted not only Muʿāwiya but also Yazīd as ʿU̲th̲mān's successors, declaring themselves to be *ʿalā dīn ʿut̲h̲mān, muʿāwiya* or *yazīd* (e.g. *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xiv, 231.10; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 342.7, 469.13) and vilifying ʿAlī and/or the K̲h̲āri̲d̲j̲ites with varying degrees of enthusiasm (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 308.4; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xii, 321). A Baṣran youth who would neither declare himself *ʿalā dīn muʿāwiya* nor curse the Muḥakkima was executed (Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī, *Dīwān*, ed. M.Ḥ. Āl Yāsīn, Beirut 1974, 92 ff., no. 47), as was the Kūfan Ḥud̲j̲r b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] who would openly curse Muʿāwiya in allegiance to ʿAlī (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 115.6). Active supporters of the Umayyad régime were described as *s̲h̲īʿat ʿut̲h̲mān, muʿāwiya* or *banī umayya* (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 112.3; al-Masʿūdi, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 352 = iii, § 1668; al-Balād̲h̲urī, ivb, 156.7). They were men such as Busr b. Abī Arṭāh, Muʿāwiya b. Ḥuday̲d̲j̲ [*q.vv.*] (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 130, 195), Mālik b. Mismaʿ [see MASĀMIʿA], Ḥassān b. T̲h̲ābit, Kaʿb b. Mālik and al-Nuʿmān b. Bas̲h̲īr [*q.vv.*] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 3245.11; *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], xvi, 28.12, 29-30, 228.1, 233-4, where they and other ʿU̲th̲mānīs incongruously address ʿAlī as Commander of the Faithful; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 284, 297 = iii, §§ 1609, 1623, where they even pay allegiance to ʿAlī). Contrary to what Wellhausen thought (*Kingdom*, 93 n), the ʿU̲th̲mānīs in Kūfa under al-Muk̲h̲tār were Umayyad loyalists, too (see the references to Kūfa given above).

2. Three-caliphs thesis. The Umayyads continued to stress their link with ʿU̲th̲mān in the Marwānid period, but the largely ʿIrāḳī chroniclers now stop calling Umayyad loyalists *ʿut̲h̲māniyya* or a *s̲h̲īʿa* and no longer describe them as in a state of religious obedience (*ʿalā dīn*) to the caliphs. Court poetry apart, all expressions suggesting that the Umayyads and their followers constituted a vehicle of salvation become extremely rare. Instead, the sources begin to speak of ʿU̲th̲mānism as a stance adopted by traditionalists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīt̲h̲* [*q.v.*]).

Like their predecessors, the traditionalist ʿU̲th̲māniyya rejected ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate; but unlike them, they were only concerned with past caliphs, not with contemporary rulers. They were distinguished by the conviction that the Rightly Guided Caliphs had been limited to three, namely, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿU̲th̲mān [*q.vv.*]. "Blood, blood! ʿU̲th̲mān is better", as al-Zuhrī [*q.v.*] would say when he was asked about the relative merits of ʿAlī and ʿU̲th̲mān: ʿAlī had fought Muslims and so could not be a rightly guided caliph or *imām* on whom one should model oneself (al-Fasawī, *Maʿrifa*, ii, 806, where al-Zuhrī seems not even to count ʿU̲th̲mān as a caliph); ʿAlī's reign was *fitna*, as Ibn Ḥanbal and other Bag̲h̲dādī traditionists were later to say (Ps.-Nās̲h̲iʾ, § 113). "When the Prophet was alive and his Companions plentiful, we used to enumerate Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿU̲th̲mān; then we would fall silent", as a famous statement by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar has it (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, i, 243.14, cf. 10; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, K. faḍāʾil al-aṣḥāb, bāb* 4; cf. al-As̲h̲ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 458.10,12). The Baṣran His̲h̲ām b. Ḥassān (d. *ca.* 146/763) would similarly enumerate Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿU̲th̲mān and then fall silent. So, too, it is said, would Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī [*q.v.*] in Kūfa and Mālik b. Anas [*q.v.*] in Medina (al-Fasawī, ii, 806-7; cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 224-5, on the many positions ascribed to Sufyān). It was apparently from Mālik that Ismāʿīl b. Dāwūd al-D̲j̲awzī learnt the three-caliphs thesis, which he is said to be the first to circulate in Bag̲h̲dād (cf. Madelung in *Isl.*, lvii [1980], 223-4). The many traditionalist scholars known to have been ʿU̲th̲mānīs include Ḥammād b. Zayd and others who died between 151/768 and 186/802 in Baṣra (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 24, 42, 44, 45; cf. also van Ess, *Theologie*, ii, 64), the notorious historian Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 180/796) and others in Kūfa (cf. Crone in *JSS*, vi [1996], 237 ff.; van Ess, *Theologie*, i, 216, cf. 235; Ibn Ḥa̲d̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, v, 25-6, vii, 127, x, 270), as well as Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/847-8), Abū K̲h̲ayt̲h̲ama (d. 234/848-9) and, for much of his life, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal [*q.v.*] in Bag̲h̲dād (Ps.-Nās̲h̲iʾ, § 113; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 225). Traditions singling out Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿU̲th̲mān as true caliphs, *imāms* to be imitated or the most meritorious men after the Prophet, with pointed silence about ʿAlī, are widely diffused in the literature (T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, Bonn 1975, 229-30).

The traditionalist message seems to have been that the guiding role taken by the leader of the *umma* in the time of the Prophet and the first caliphs had come to an end with the killing of ʿU̲th̲mān. "Today prophethood/the caliphate was taken away from Muḥammad's community and it became kingship and tyranny", as a Baṣran tradition declares with reference to his death (Ibn Abī S̲h̲ayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA.-K̲h̲. al-Afg̲h̲ānī, ʿA.ʿA. al-Aʿẓamī and M.M. al-Nadwī, Bombay 1386-1403, xiv, no. 18936). All leaders of the Muslim polity thereafter were simply heads of state; religious knowledge was now dispersed in the community, and keeping the community together was more important than ensuring the moral rectitude of its head. Rulers were necessary in order to uphold the law and preserve the community, and one should avoid civil strife, suffering death rather than letting oneself be embroiled in internal fighting: "Be the servant of God's who is killed, not the one who is the killer", as a famous tradition has it. When the Baṣrans of the later Umayyad period are described as ʿU̲th̲mānīs, the reference is not to Umayyad loyalists but rather to traditionalists who believed in abstention from fighting (*al-kaff*), adducing the *kun ʿabd allāh al-maḳtūl* tradition (*Ak̲h̲bār al-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. al-Dūrī and ʿA.-D̲j̲. al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 206; al-Muḳaddasī, 293.19; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 315, all citing a statement of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh reminiscent of al-Aṣmaʿī's; cf. also al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb*, iii, 81; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *R. Manāḳib al-turk*, in his *Tria opuscula*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1903, 9, tr. Harley Walker in *JRAS* [1915], 643). The ʿU̲th̲mānīs were also among the many traditionalists who would invoke as members of their own ranks ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, Muḥammad b. Maslama, Kaʿb b. Mālik (elsewhere an ʿU̲th̲mānī in the sense of Umayyad loyalist) and others who had allegedly sought neutrality in the first civil war (Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, iv, 295-6 = iii, § 1621; cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 3070; Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 226-7; P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, Oxford forthcoming, ch. 6).

3. Positions within the four-caliphs consensus. Traditionalist ʿU̲th̲mānism changed character, and eventually disappeared, with the spread of the four-caliphs thesis. Already Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam (d. 173/789-90) and Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [*q.v.*])

are said to have accepted four caliphs, though Ibn al-Mubārak is credited with the 'Uthmānī three-caliphs thesis too (al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr li 'l-Shaybānī*, ed. Ṣ.-D. al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1971-2, i, 157-8; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 40.13; Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 229). In any case, the four-caliphs thesis had practically swept the board in 'Irāḳ by the middle of the 3rd/9th century (Ps.-Nāshi', §§ 88-9, 109-11; cf. Madelung in *Isl.*, lvii [1980] on the date of this work). It was only in Baghdād that it continued to be vigorously, though not unanimously, opposed (*ibid.*, §§ 113-14; cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, iii, 189-90). Ibn Ḥanbal eventually came round to it (Madelung, *Qāsim*, 225 ff.), but his adherents do not all appear to have followed him, for the extreme traditionalists (*ḥashwiyya, nābita*) who positively revered Mu'āwiya and Yazīd I can hardly have accepted 'Alī as a legitimate caliph (cf. Pellat, in *SI*, vi [1956]; *AIEO, Alger*, x (1952); cf. also al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, ed. and tr. A.N. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 102), and it was precisely because the Ḥanbalīs were excessively fond of Mu'āwiya that the 4th/10th-century al-Muḳaddasī [*q.v.*] found it impossible to include them in the great majority destined for salvation (39.7, 126.14, 365.12, 378-9). But this and other pockets of resistance (notably in Syria) notwithstanding, it is clear that people were rapidly coming to accept both 'Uthmān *and* 'Alī as rightly guided caliphs unless they chose to remain Khāridjites or Shī'ites. In terms of past *imāms*, Sunnism was taking over as the default position of Islam.

But the mostly Kūfan soft Shī'ites who were persuaded to accept 'Uthmān as the third caliph found it impossible to go so far as to deem him to have been a better person then 'Alī, though a caliph was normally assumed to be the most meritorious person (*al-afḍal*) in his time. In terms of merit, their list of *imāms* thus continued to run Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī, with 'Uthmān tagged on at the end (Ps.-Nāshi', § 110; compare al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, vii, 258.1, xii, 409.7). An 'Uthmānī now came to be someone who held 'Uthmān to have been more meritorious than 'Alī, insisting that each caliph had been the most meritorious man in his own time, the order of merit and succession being identical (cf. *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ii, 367.8, 11, 15, and 369.10). Pseudo-Nāshi' (§ 29) may have this development in mind when he says that the 'Uthmāniyya are now "joined to Murdji'a", Murdji'ites to him being people who accepted 'Alī as the fourth caliph without having a special preference for either him or the Umayyads. All Sunnīs are 'Uthmānīs in this extenuated sense.

But there were also soft Shī'ites who held 'Alī to have been more meritorious than all the caliphs who preceded him, including Abū Bakr, whose caliphate they nonetheless accepted on the grounds that the less meritorious person (*al-mafḍūl*) was sometimes better suited for the task (thus some Zaydīs and Mu'tazila [*q.vv.*], cf. Ps.-Nāshi', §§ 68, 94). In debate with such people an 'Uthmānī was somebody who defended Abū Bakr's superior merit. The one example of this usage is al-Djāḥiẓ's epistle *al-'Uthmāniyya* (ed. 'A.-S.M. Hārūn, Cairo 1955; cf. Pellat, in *Arabica*, iii [1956]; Nouiouat, in *REI*, lv-lvii [1987-9], 146 ff.), which was refuted by the Zaydī Mu'tazilī al-Iskāfī [*q.v.*] (d. 240/854) and a number of Imāmī Shī'īs, including al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 56 ff. = iv, §§ 2281-2). One might have expected Abū Bakr's supporters to have been known as Bakriyya or Babkariyya, but a new coinage was apparently felt to be unnecessary: whoever upheld the merits of the first three caliphs against excessive claims on behalf of 'Alī was an 'Uthmānī whether he focused on Abū Bakr, 'Umar or 'Uthmān, it would seem. All Sunnīs are 'Uthmānīs in this sense, too.

4. Pro-Umayyad sect. As traditionalist 'Uthmānism disappeared in Sunnism, the pro-Umayyad variety resurfaced. In 324/935-6 al-Mas'ūdī came across a book in the ownership of an 'Uthmānī client of the Umayyads in Tiberias (*Tanbīh*, 336-7). Entitled *Kitāb al-barāhīn fī imāmat al-umawiyyīn*, it defended the Umayyad claim to the imāmate, listed the virtues of the caliphs and enumerated every one of them from 'Uthmān to Marwān II, arguing that the latter had designated (*naṣṣa 'alā*) 'Abd al-Raḥmān I as his successor. It listed the Spanish Umayyads, too, down to the year 310/922-3, concluding with 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. The latter had acceded in 300/912, but he only adopted the caliphal title in 316/929 (D. Wasserstein, *The Caliphate in the West*, Oxford 1993, 10 ff.), so the book was apparently composed in ignorance of the restoration of the Umayyad caliphate (*pace* Nagel, *Rechtleitung*, 252-3). It was in any case a statement by the *shī'at al-'uthmāniyya* (*Tanbīh*, 337.4) as a sect in the old style, that is, a party defined by allegiance to a politico-religious leader by whom it saw itself as guided along the right path. Whether the party had any law and doctrine of its own is unknown, though it is tempting to credit it with much the same views as the Baghdādī Ḥashwiyya notorious for their veneration of the Umayyads. 'Uthmānī devotees of the Umayyads are also mentioned in 4th/10th-century Kūfa, where they had a mosque of their own (*Aghānī*[3], xi, 251). But that is the last we hear of them.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 119 ff.; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Mo'âwiya Ier*, Paris, 1908 (= *MFOB*, ii [1907]), 11-12; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 188 ff.; M. Zahniser, *Insights from the* 'Uthmāniyya *of al Jāḥiẓ into the religious policy of al-Ma'mūn*, in *MW*, lxix (1979); W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 75 ff., 166-7; W. Madelung, *The succession to Muḥammad*, Cambridge 1997, index. (PATRICIA CRONE)

UTHŪLŪDJIYĀ (A., a rendering of Grk. θεολογία) refers to the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", which consists in reality of extracts from the *Enneads* of Plotinus. The work is important not only in its own right but as illustrating a syncretic tendency in Arabic-Greek scholarship. In this context, F. Rosenthal notes "the almost complete absence of the name of Plotinus from Arabic literature". This can be attributed as much to textual corruption as to the mixture of fact and fantasy in the histories of the philosophers. Rosenthal criticises the suggestion of a confusion between the transliterations of Plato and Plotinus, arguing that "Plotinus" in Arabic should be Flūṭīnus, a name found by al-Nadīm in a list of philosophic commentators. Rosenthal suggests this as an emendation for al-Ḳifṭī's Flūṭīs, were this to refer to Plotinus, and a similar emendation could be applied to a reference in Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa. The argument does not give value to the Arab tendency to shorten Greek names, but whether or not Plotinus is submerged in the shadow of Plato, his real importance for Arabic philosophy lies in his identification as the author of an Arabic translation of what was claimed to be a commentary by Porphyry on "the book of Aristotle the philosopher which is known in Greek as *Uthūlūdjiyā*" [see AL-SHAYKH AL-YŪNĀNĪ].

A translation of this text was made by 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Nā'ima al-Ḥimṣī and corrected for Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim

(218-27/833-42 [*q.v.*]) by Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī. The work was dated by Dieterici to A.D. 840. Baumstark showed that the Arabic was based on a Syriac version, and the manuscript tradition of the work, together with a number of its translations, was covered by Steinschneider. A Latin translation by Petrus Nicolaus Faventinus was published in Rome in 1519, while the first edition of the text itself, edited by Dieterici, was brought out at Leipzig in 1882. In 1883 Valentin Rose identified the material as being derived from the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Further material from the *Enneads* was supplied in 1941 by Kraus from an Egyptian ms. containing a *Risāla fī 'l-ʿilm al-ilāhī* attributed to al-Fārābī, while Rosenthal, introducing *Ennead* fragments from an Oxford ms., postulated a "Plotinus source", "compiled either as a Greek textbook of Plotinian thinking or for translation purposes".

The importance of the work has not finally been assessed. Kraus rightly dismissed as exaggerated claims that it was the principal cause of the "hybrid" character of Arab philosophy, but, as Kraus himself points out, it was used by al-Fārābī in his attempt to reconcile the views of Plato and of Aristotle, as well as by Ibn Sīnā, who doubted the authenticity of its attribution to Aristotle, and also by al-Rāzī. It was known to the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ in the second half of the 4th/10th century and attributed to Plato by al-Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl. Nyberg noted it in connection with Ibn al-ʿArabī and Kraus refers to its influence on extremist Shīʿī sects.

Amongst the subjects included in the work is "the first cause" together with "the world of the intellect", "the descent of the natural soul into the corporeal world", "the casting off of the body" and "the progress from the world of the intellect to the divine world". Its value, however, lies not in its details but in the fact that it can be seen to add the unchallenged philosophical authority of Aristotle to the extension of an investigative technique based on logic and verifiable observation to fields where the restraints on speculation can progressively be relaxed.

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UTRĀR, Otrār, a town of mediaeval Islamic Central Asia notorious for its role in the irruption of the Mongols into the Islamic world. It lay on the right bank of the Sir Daryā or Jaxartes just to the south of the confluence with it of the Aris river. It is not found in geographical texts till the early 7th/13th century and Yāḳūt's *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 218, who has Uṭrār or Utrār. It may possibly be mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 815-16, year 195/810-11, but the reading here is doubtful, see M. Fishbein (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXXI. The war between brothers*, Albany 1992, 71-2 and n. 292.

In the history of the rise of the Mongols, Čingiz Khān's territories came to march with those of the Khʷārazm Shāhs after Čingiz had killed his rival Küčlüg and added the lands of the Ḳara Khitay [*q.v.*] to his empire. The Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad had acquired Utrār from the Ḳara Khitay, but in 606/1210 had had to quell a revolt by the local ruler left there, the Ḳara Khānid [see ilek-khāns] Tādj al-Dīn Bilge Khān. By 615/1218 the Khʷārazmian governor of Utrār was Ghayïr or Ḳayïr Khān Inalčïḳ. In that year, a caravan of 450 Muslim merchants arrived in Utrār from Čingiz's territories. The governor considered them, no doubt correctly, as spies, massacred them and seized their wares. A mission of protest from Čingiz to the Shāh was humiliated and rejected, which made war between the two powers inevitable. Probably in the early autumn of 1218, a Mongol army appeared before Utrār, besieged it and captured it after some months, seizing and eventually executing Ghayïr Khān Inalčïḳ. Before the citadel had fallen, a representative of the civilian official classes within the town, Badr al-Dīn ʿAmīd, had already gone over to the Mongols. From Utrār, Čingiz then diverted his military forces for the overrunning of all Transoxania.

Utrār, like other towns ravaged by the Mongols, soon revived, for local *maliks* or governors minted coins there (see Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islam*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 38). Tīmūr was there with his grandson Ulugh Beg, preparing for the China expedition, when he died on 17 Shaʿbān 807/18 February 1405; and it was still flourishing in 859/1455 when there was a rebellion in Utrār, supported by the Khān of the Uzbeks, against the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd. But thereafter it fell into decay, and its site is now marked only by ruins (in the southernmost part of the modern Kazakh Republic).

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(C.E. Bosworth)

al-UṬRŪSH [see ḥasan al-uṭrūsh].

UTSMI [see ḳaytaḳ].

ʿUTŪB, a term (sing. ʿUtbī) which, in its most strict sense, refers to communities of Nadjdī origin, probably from different tribal stocks, who in the 17th century moved to the Gulf coast and settled, after various intermediary settlements, in Kuwayt and Baḥrayn. A popular etymology is from the verb *ʿataba* "to arrive at the threshold", in this case indicating arrival on the coast. The appelation Banū ʿUtūb is sometimes used but would seem to be a misnomer, since the ʿUtūb are not a genealogically organised tribe but a community of different tribal groups in a loose confederation. Oral tradition among the Āl Khalīfa has their original home in al-Hadār in Eastern Nadjd (Āl Khalīfa 1996: 35, 242, 246) and

gives the reason for their original move as friction with other related clans.

The leaders of the 'Utūb were the three clans of the Āl Khalīfa, Āl Ṣubāḥ and Djalāhima, of which the first two are now the ruling families of Baḥrayn and Kuwayt respectively. All three claim descent from the 'Aneza or 'Anaza [*q.v.*] through the Djumayla. Also included in the confederation are the Āl Zāyid (now Āl Ghānim), the Āl Ṣāliḥ and the Āl Shamlān (Dickson 1956: 26). Lorimer (1908-15, ix, 1917-18) mentions the three leading clans plus the Āl Fāḍil. Rush (1987: 233 ff., 196 ff.) mentions oral traditions which also include among them elements of Tamīm and Sulaym b. 'Alī, presumably the Ma'āḍīd (see below). The same oral tradition was reported to the present writer by Shaykh Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Āl Thānī of Ḳaṭar. This movement and the associated settlements coincided with other large scale movements of individual clans and whole tribes from Central and Western Arabia eastward. In particular, one can mention that of the Ma'āḍīd clans of Tamīm origin who settled the Ḳaṭar peninsula, the Muṭayr, 'Awāzim and Rashāyida tribes who moved over from western Nadjd to the region of Kuwayt, and the Banū Ka'b and allied clans who occupied Khūzistān in south-west Persia.

The early movements of the 'Utūb as related by Rush, depending on local oral tradition and documentary evidence, are as follows. They left al-Hadār in the Aflādj region of Nadjd in about 1674. Rush considers that they may have moved at the same time as the Fuḍūl in consequence of the legendary Djarmān famine. Following difficulties with local tribes, they then moved in about 150 boats, carrying their families and livestock to the protection of the Ottoman governor of Baṣra. They then moved to Kuwayt, or Grain as it was then called (Grane on old English maps), at the head of the Gulf, where they settled as clients of the Barrāk b. 'Uray'ir of the Banū Khālid, then ruler of Eastern Arabia.

Like the Ma'āḍīd, they soon became known as a sea-faring group whose prosperity was based on pearling, pearl trading and sea trade. The maritime nature of their power base is vividly illustrated by a conversation reported in Āl Khalīfa (1997: 19) between Bishr the son of the Djalāhimī Rḥama b. Djābir (see below) and Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Su'ūd in Dar'iyya in 1830, when the latter asked whether the 'Utūb rode horses, to which Bishr replied "Our sons ride horses for amusement in their gardens, but our mount in which we take pride can carry a hundred warriors", meaning the *khashab*, as the 'Utūb called their boats.

The rise in the sea power and prosperity of the 'Utūb, Ka'b and Ma'āḍīd coincides with the demise of the Hwila under their leaders the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*], who now remain in power as the rulers of Sharjah [see AL-SHĀRIḲA] in the Emirates. The Hwila had dominated the Gulf sea routes under the loose suzerainty of the Banū Khālid of al-Ḥasā, both being considered subjects of the Ottomans. The Hwila were present on both sides of the Gulf but had their main centres on the Persian side, while the 'Utūb had their centres on the Arab side. The rise of the 'Utūb therefore represents a rise in importance of the Arabian side of the Gulf, linked with the rising influence of the Āl Su'ūd. At the same time, while the Zand rulers of southern Persia had their capital in Shīrāz, the subsequent Ḳādjār rulers had moved their capital to the north in Tehran and took much less interest in the affairs of the south, so that the Arab *shaykhs* who dominated the Persian shore were left to their own devices. It may also be that the capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1776-9 and the famine there a few years later was a stimulus in the rise in influence of these Arab maritime states.

The earliest European reference to them is in Van Kniphausen (1756), translated in Rush, 1987: 230, "They [the people of Kuwayt] are independent of the Shaykh of the desert (*presumably Ibn 'Uray'ir, BI*) to whom they pay a small contribution... Several different shaykhs rule them who all live in relative harmony. The principal is Mobarek Eben Saback, but because this one is poor and still young, another called Mahometh Eben Khalifah, who is rich and possesses many vessels, enjoys equal respect among them". Although the exact movements of the 'Utūb in the early stages depend mainly on oral report, later movements are better documented. Most authorities agree on the following. In Kuwayt the three clans are recorded as present in 1756, having arrived in 1716. Part of the Āl Khalīfa then went to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar in 1765. Then in 1783 they sailed to Baḥrayn and wrested that island from the Zand. Most of the Djalāhima seem to have left Kuwayt after the Āl Khalīfa in the 1760s, though some stayed behind, known today as al-Nuṣf (Rush 1987: 196 ff., 10). The Āl Khalīfa at that stage retained control of the Ḳaṭar peninsula, but were eventually replaced by the Ma'āḍīd under their leaders of the Āl Thānī, who are the present rulers of the state of Ḳaṭar.

The political structure of the 'Utūb confederation was said to be as follows: the wealthy Āl Khalīfa were in charge of pearling and trade, the Djalāhima organised ships and naval defence, while the Āl Ṣubāḥ provided the governor who imposed law and order and handled relations with the Banū Khālid and the shepherd tribes of the interior.

One of the most colourful members of the 'Utūb was Rḥama b. Djābir b. 'Adhbī of the Djalāhima, a near relative of the Āl Khalīfa, who carried on a lifelong vendetta with them which is intimately involved with the history of the 'Utūb as a group and illustrative of the nature of the confederation. When the Āl Khalīfa left Kuwayt, the Āl Subāḥ were left impoverished, they therefore "refused the Yalahimah (Jalahimah) their share of the revenue and ultimately expelled them from Kuwait. The Yalahimah tribe sought and ultimately obtained the protection of their kinsmen (Al-Khalifa) at Zobara; to each according to his rank was assigned an adequate income. In a few years they renewed their claim to rights founded on their original compact, which they were not, however, in a position to inforce. Urged by necessity and a sense of wrong, the Yalahimah quitted Zobara, and took up residence at Raveish, a barren spot at a short distance eastward with the intention of revenging themselves." (Bombay Government, 1856, vol. xxiv, 363). Rḥama's anger seems particularly to have arisen from his exclusion, by the Āl Khalīfa, from a share of Baḥrayn. Born in Kuwayt, but based alternatively at Būshihr, Khōr Ḥassān in Ḳaṭar and at nearby Dammām, and at one period as a subject of the Saudi state, he ranged the Gulf with a large fleet and a force of about 2,000 men, attacking the Āl Khalīfa and Āl Subāḥ and their allies but considering himself an ally of the British or at least studiously avoiding them. He died finally in 1826 when, defeated and in danger of capture by the Āl Khalīfa, he blew up his ship with himself and his infant son in it. A graphic eye witness description of Rḥama b. Djābir occurs in Buckingham (1830, ii, 124-5).

It is worth mentioning that the Arabic dialect of

the descendants of the ʿUtūb in Kuwayt and Baḥrayn, with that of the Maʿāḍīd of Ḳaṭar and the dialect of the Emirates, forms a distinct type, although with considerable differences from area to area. This East Arabian dialect type is an offshoot of the Central Nadjdī type, and is distinguished from it on the one hand, and from the dialect of the earlier coastal settlers, the Hwila, the Ḥasāwīs (inhabitants of the Ḥasā oasis) and the Baḥārina the earlier Shīʿī population of Baḥrayn, on the other. The dialect type is described amply in Johnstone (1967), the main common characteristics being change of Old Arabic *djīm* to *y* as in *masyid* "mosque" and *maylas* "madjlis", change of *ḳāf* and *kaf* to *c* and *ǧ* in fronting environments as in *cidi* "thus" and *ǧidr* "pot" and the restructuring of syllables ending with one of the guttural group *kh*, *gh*, *ʿ*, *ḥ* and *h* as in *Ikhadar* < *ʾakhḍar* "green", *mgharib* < *maghrib* "sunset", "*aray*" < *ʾaʿray* "lame", "*ḥamar*" < *ʾaḥmar* "red" and *ghawa* < *gahwa* "coffee". This commonalty of dialect supports the tradition of the ʿUtūb themselves as to their Nadjdī origins.

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UWAYS, the name of two rulers of the Djalāyirids [*q.v.*], a dynasty of Mongol origin which succeeded to the heritage of the Il Khānids in ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbaydjān.

1. Shaykh Uways (I) b. Ḥasan-i Buzurg (r. 757-76/1356-74), was the son of the founder of the line and of the Čopanid princess Dil-Shād Khātūn bt. Dimashḳ Khʷādja b. Čopan. Succeeding to power on his father's death, he probably also brought under his control the fiefs allotted to his brother Sulṭān Ḥusayn when the latter died in 760/1359. Uways made Baghdād his capital, at first acknowledging the suzerainty of the Mongols of South Russia and the Caucasus. The Golden Horde Khān Djānī Beg had extended his authority over Ādharbāydjān, but his son Berdī Beg was unable to maintain his power over the unruly local Turco-Mongol *amīrs*, and in 760/1359, after an abortive attempt by himself and by the Muẓaffarid of Yazd Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, Uways managed to capture Tabrīz, which his father had lost twenty years earlier. Uways also successfully extended Djalāyirid suzerainty during the years 762-5/1361-4 over the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] of Iṣfahān, Yazd and Fārs, where Muẓaffarid princes were quarrelling over succession to the deposed Mubāriz al-Dīn Shāh-i Shudjāʿ b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*].

The later years of his reign were, however, more filled with difficulties. He quelled the revolt in 765/1363-4 of his governor in Baghdād, Khʷādja Mardjān, but more of a long-term threat were the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] of south-eastern Anatolia, the eventual supplanters of the Djalāyirids in the early 9th/15th century. In spring 767/1366 Uways marched westwards against this enemy, securing Mawṣil, Mūsh and Mārdīn before wheeling round to Ādharbāydjān in order to ward off an attack on the Djalāyirid province of Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] by the Shirwān Shāh [*q.v.*] Kay Kāwūs b. Kay Ḳubādh. Kay Kāwūs was captured and brought back in chains to Baghdād, but released and restored to power as a Djalāyirid vassal (thus attested by coins which were then minted in Shirwān acknowledging Uways).

In 772/1370 the local ruler in Gurgān, Amīr Walī, successor there after the death of Togha Temür [*q.v.*], attacked Djalāyirid lands in northern Persia but was defeated near Rayy. Uways took the field personally against him in 773/1371, but Amīr Walī was able to occupy Sāwa [*q.v.*]. Uways was preparing a fresh expedition when he died at Tabrīz on 2 Djumādā I 776/9 October 1374 at the age of thirty, so that Djalāyirid attempts to expand eastwards through Persia collapsed. His reign was in fact the high-point of Djalāyirid fortunes, and the dynasty's decline set in after his death.

Uways was the greatest of the Djalāyirid rulers, both as a military commander and as an enthusiastic patron of literature and the arts, being himself a poet, calligrapher and painter. Amongst his eulogists was the poet Salmān-i Sāwadjī [*q.v.*], whilst his court historian Abū Bakr al-Ḳuṭbī al-Āharī wrote for him the general history *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uways* (see Storey, i, 1233, 1269-70).

Coins of Uways are known from a wide variety of mints, from Bākū in the north to Ḥilla and Baṣra in the south; almost all of them mention the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, i.e. there is very little evidence that Uways had Shīʿī sympathies.

2. Uways (II) b. Shāh Walad (r. 814-24/1411-21), great-grandson of Uways I, whose mother was the Djalāyirid princess Tandu. Since he came to power as a mere boy, Naṭanzī describes Tandu as his *wazīr*. His sphere of power was limited to Lower ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān as a vassal of the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, until he was killed by the Turkmen chief Shāh Muḥammad in 824/1421; a decade later, Lower ʿIrāḳ was to pass under Ḳara Ḳoyunlu authority.

Bibliography: See that for djalāyir. Primary sources include Āharī's *Tārīkh Shaykh Uways*, ed. and tr. J.B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, and Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī's *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, partial ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1336/1957. Of secondary sources, see *EI*[1] art. s.v. (V. Minorsky); Shīrīn Bayānī, *Tārīkh-i āl-i Djalāyir*, Tehran 1345/1966; Dorothea Duda, *Die Büchmalerei der Ǧalāʾiriden*, in *Isl.*, xlviii (1972), 28-76, xlix (1972), 153-220; G. Herrmann and G. Doerfer, *Ein persisch-mongolischer Erlass*

des Ǧalāyiriden Šeyḫ Oveys, in *CAJ*, xix (1975), 1-84; H.H. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, 6-9. For coins, see H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins of the Jalā'ir, Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, Musha'sha' and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasties*, in *NC*, 6th ser., vol. x (1950), 94 ff.; S. Album, *A checklist of popular Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa, Calif. 1993, 49. (C.E. Bosworth)

UWAYS al-**ḲARANĪ**, a legendary or semi-legendary younger contemporary of Muḥammad, said to have been killed at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657, fighting on the side of ʿAlī. The *nisba* al-Ḳaranī connects him with the Ḳaran sub-group of the Yemeni tribe of Murād [*q.v.*], and legend puts his early life in the Yemen. Uways first appears in the works of writers of the 3rd/9th century, Ibn Saʿd and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as an impoverished and ragged figure who chose to live a life of solitude. Muḥammad had allegedly foretold that Uways would come to see his second successor, ʿUmar, and said that Uways was both his bosom friend (*khalīl*) in the Muslim community and the best person in the generation after him. These sayings gave rise to the subsequent legend, presented at length in the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* attributed to ʿAṭṭār (d. 618/1221), that Muḥammad and Uways corresponded by telepathy, a legend that is the basis of the Ṣūfī tradition of the Uwaysiyya [*q.v.*]. Thus Uways is a much-venerated figure in Ṣūfism and in popular Islam, with tombs in various places, notably at al-Raḳḳa in Syria and near Khīwa in modern Uzbekistan.

One might mention that the curious Turkish name Weysel (as in ʿĀshıḳ Weysel) comes from (Ü)weys el(-Ḳaranī).

Bibliography: A.S. Hussaini, *Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysī Sufis*, in *MW*, lvii (1967), 103-13; J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, London 1993, 15-21. (J. Baldick)

UWAYSIYYA, a class of mystics who look for instruction from the spirit of a dead or physically absent person.

The term is derived from the name of Uways al-Ḳaranī (d. 37/657 [*q.v.*]), who is supposed to have communicated with Muḥammad by telepathy. Another important figure in the Uwaysī tradition is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kharaḳānī (d. 425/1033 [*q.v.*]), who is presented as constantly visiting the tomb of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*] and being taught by his spirit. Al-Kharaḳānī is also recorded as having claimed to be taught directly by God; this is a further aspect of the Uwaysī tradition. The famous poet Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390 [*q.v.*]) is described by an Indian visitor as being an Uwaysī (cf. J. Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims. The Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia*, London 1993, 21-5, where further references are given).

From the 8th/14th century onwards, the Uwaysī tradition acquires a new significance in the Naḳshbandī brotherhood. Its founder, Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband (718-91/1318-89 [*q.v.*]) is said to have been taught by the spirit of an Uwaysī master, ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ Ghudjduwānī (d. 617/1220 [*q.v.*]). Bahā' al-Dīn's successors claimed that some other figures in his spiritual genealogy, stretching back to Muḥammad, had been Uwaysīs, i.e. taught by Muḥammad or by dead Ṣūfīs (*ibid.*, 25-6).

There seems to have been an Uwaysī movement in East Turkistan in the 10th/16th century, begun by one Khwādja Muḥammad Sharīf (d. 963/1555-6). This movement apparently gave rise to the composition of an imaginary history of the Uwaysīs, written in Persian around 1600 by one Aḥmad b. Saʿd al-Dīn Uzganī, of Uzgend in what is now Kyrghyzstan, and entitled *Tadhkira-yi Bughra-khānī* in honour of the Ḳarakhānid ruler Satuḳ Bughra Khān (d. 344/955) (English summary from the manuscripts, in Baldick, *Imaginary Muslims*, 54-201). In the history, an evidently imaginary Uwaysī brotherhood is presented as flourishing from the 1st/7th to the 8th/14th centuries. The book consists of a series of biographies, usually of people who never existed. Each person is instructed, in the Uwaysī manner, by a prophet or leading early Muslim, and is said to be "on the heart" or "on the back" of one of the prophets. Here, the point is that the mystic must resemble the prophet in question: this resemblance, Uzganī emphasises, is especially strong when the mystic is on the prophet's back. Thus a mystic who is "on the back of Jacob" sees angels, weeps a lot and goes blind, one who is "on the back of David" is a singer and sinfully causes the death of a man, and so on; the biographies are modelled on the lives of the prophets in the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [*q.v.*] literature, much read in Central Asia. In this way, the reader is led to decode the biographies as adaptations of the prophets' lives already familiar to him; the book, as its author explicitly makes clear, must be constantly read by the reader to help him become an Uwaysī master himself. The Uwaysīs, Uzganī explains, enjoy a special anonymity; only God knows who they are. If they appear as practising Ṣūfīs in this world, they nonetheless obtain their instruction from an invisible source.

One very important Uwaysī was the famous Indian reformer Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (971-1034/1564-1624 [*q.v.*]), who was also a member of the Naḳshbandī brotherhood. After studying with a Naḳshbandī master, he tells us, he became an Uwaysī, in the sense of no longer having a visible instructor but learning directly from Muḥammad. In addition to this he was instructed by God himself (Baldick, *op. cit.*, 26).

The pen-name Üweysī (= Uwaysī) is used in a long Ottoman Turkish poem which dates from the reign of Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40) and attacks the degeneracy of the empire, along with the jurists, administrators and Ṣūfīs of the day. In contrast, the poet extols the many hidden "friends of God". He claims that his spirit has always served to help God manifest himself, and that he knows God's secrets (*ibid.*, 26-7, and see waysī).

In 20th-century Iran, there has been a new Uwaysī movement, in a conscious reaction to the brotherhoods and their elders. This movement has centred around Muḥammad ʿAnḳā (1306-82/1887-1962) and his son. It has been characterised by attempts to improve Ṣūfism by integrating with it modern Western findings in the natural sciences. Under the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh (1941-79 [*q.v.*]) its meetings were attended by members of the Imperial court. Since the revolution of 1978-9, the movement's activities have been continued in exile; based in the U.S.A., it has established branches in many other countries.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Baldick)

ÜWEYS, Ḳara, with the titles of *Defterdār* or controller of finances [see daftardār], Čelebi and Pasha, leading official of the Ottoman administration during the reign of Sultan Murād III [*q.v.*], d. 999/1591.

Son of the *ḳāḍī* Nāẓir Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Meḥmed, from an old-established family of scholars in Aydîn, he was educated as an *ʿālim* and administrator, becoming *ḳāḍī* of Tire, having been picked out by Murād, at that time still an "imperial prince" (*shehzāde*) and governor

of Manisa, as his personal *defterdār*. When Murād was in 982/1574 summoned to Istanbul as successor to Selīm II, Üweys accompanied him, together with his *khodja* Sa'd al-Dīn, his *sheykh* Shudjā' al-Dīn and his close intimate Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha, from the ancient line of the Isfendiyār Oghullari [*q.v.*], with the aim of wresting control in the state from the all-powerful vizier of the two previous reigns, Ṣokollu Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]. The latter opened hostilities in Shawwāl 982/February 1575 by arranging an accusation against Üweys of financial irregularities whilst travelling from Manisa to Istanbul, but through Shemsī Pasha's protection, he speedily became head of the second section of the financial department (*shikk-i thānī defterdārī*) and then *bashdefterdār* or supreme head after the removal of Ṣokollu Meḥmed's protégé and previous holder of that office, Lālezār Meḥmed Čelebi.

Growing in influence with the sultan as those associated with the previous régime were gradually eliminated, he became a *pasha* when he replaced the Grand Vizier's cousin Muṣṭafā Pasha, *beglerbeg* of Budun when the latter was executed, and acted as governor of Buda from September 1578 to the beginning of June 1580, ruling this important frontier province and, as well as acting as administrator and financial director there, functioned as a war leader and a diplomat (for this period of his life, see the study, with *mühimme defteri* documentation, of M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kara Üveys Paşanın Budin beylerbeyliği (1578-1580)*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii [1952], 16-34; also G. Dávid, *Incomes and possessions of the Beglerbegis of Buda in the sixteenth century*, in G. Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, Paris 1992, 389, giving the annual revenues received by him, latterly 913,014 aspers; and Cl. Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen in Ungarn zur Zeit Murād III dargestellt anhand von Petitionen zur Stellenvergabe*, Vienna 1995, at 106 publishing a petition of Üweys and describing his seal).

For the rest of his career, Üweys held various governorships in the Arab lands, about which we are not well informed: governor of Aleppo 990-3/1582-5 (when his protégé, the historian Muṣṭafā 'Ālī [*q.v.*] was *tīmār defterdāri* of the province); of Damascus, 13 July to October 1585; then back at Aleppo; and finally recalled to Istanbul to take charge of the finances of the empire as *bashdefterdār* again with the rank of a *beglerbeg* (on 7 Rabī' I 994/26 February 1586). Finally, he was appointed governor of Egypt in Rabī' I 995/mid-February 1587 with the mission of re-ordering the province's finances, and died there in 1591, having been raised to the rank of vizier a year previously (for this chronology, see C. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The historian Mustafâ 'Âlî (1541-1600)*, Princeton 1986, passim); a different chronology in F. Babinger, *Die osmanischen Statthalter von Damaskus*, in E.F. Weidner (ed.), *Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, 1-7.

Bibliography: See the works of 'Ālī (*Künh ül-akhbār, Menshe' ül-inshā'* and *Lāyiḥat ül-ḥakīka* (who, not making the usual accusations of corruption and brutality, saw in Üweys a good financial director and a firm and just governor) and the histories of Selānikī and Pečewī; and the *Bibl.* to MURĀD III. Gökbilgin's researches in the *mühimme defterleri* remain to be continued.

(G. VEINSTEIN)

AL-**'UYAYNA**, an oasis in Nadjd [*q.v.*]. now in Saudi Arabia (lat. 25° 0' N., long. 46° 06'). It lies near the upper end of the Wādī Ḥanīfa [*q.v.*] some 50 km/30 miles northwest of the modern capital al-Riyāḍ.

In pre- and early Islamic times, al-'Uyayna lay in the territory of the Banū Ḥanīfa [see ḤANĪFA B. LUDJAYM], although it is not mentioned as such by early geographers like al-Hamdānī (who mentions another 'Uyayna in the territory of the Balḥārith in the Nadjrān region), al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt. Nearby at Thaniyyat al-Aḥīsā, identified in modern tradition with the present settlement of al-Djubayla, took place, according to older lore, the encounter between Khālid b. al-Walīd and Musaylima al-Kadhdhāb [*q.vv.*] in *ca.* 11/633 known as the battle of 'Aḳrabā or al-Yamāma [*q.vv.*].

Al-'Uyayna was always famous for its water resources, wells and springs (*'uyūn*), fed from the nearby hills. In the 9th/15th century the oasis passed into the hands of the local Mu'ammar family. It was there that the reformer Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was born in 1115/1703 [see IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB] at a time when the oasis was being ruled by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Mu'ammar, and he returned thither in *ca.* 1153/1740 and converted to his religious doctrines the then ruler 'Uthmān b. Mu'ammar. The oasis decayed in the 19th century, partly through political strife (Muḥammad b. Mushārī Mu'ammar had been briefly installed as ruler in al-Dir'iyya [*q.v.*] by the Egyptian general Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] 1819-21) and partly through failure of the water supply. The English traveller W.G. Palgrave in 1862 found it an uninhabited field of ruins (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1965, i, 381-2), and over sixty years later, H.St.J.B. Philby described it still as "the abomination of desolation" (*Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928, 72-6). More recently, however, agriculture and some prosperity have been restored to the region.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 263, 269; 'Abd Allāh b. Khamīs, *Mu'djam al-Yamāma*, 2 vols. Riyāḍ 1978, ii, 198-205; idem, *al-Dir'iyya al-'āṣima al-ūlā*, Riyāḍ 1982, 393-400.

(S.A. AL-RASHID)

'UYAYNA B. **ḤIṢN**, the charismatic chief of the Fazāra [*q.v.*] at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. 'Uyayna ("one having prominent eyeballs") was a nickname, his real name being Ḥudhayfa. 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr b. 'Amr descended from famous warriors: his father led the Asad [*q.v.*] and Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*]; his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather commanded the forces of their own tribe, the Fazāra, and those of other tribes belonging to the Ghaṭafān group. 'Uyayna was called *waththāb* or "leaper, jumper" since before the advent of Islam he had attacked a certain tribe (i.e. in Arabia) and had then raided the Taghlib [*q.v.*] in the Djazīra.

At the time of Muḥammad, 'Uyayna, together with the whole military force of the Fazāra, participated in the siege of Medina, having been promised by the Jews the annual date crop of Khaybar [*q.v.*]. In Rabī' I 5/August-September 626 he concluded with Muḥammad a three-months' non-belligerency pact which guaranteed the safety of his herds when severe drought pushed them to grazing lands within Muḥammad's sphere of influence. Several months later, 'Uyayna attacked Muḥammad's milch camels pasturing near Medina. He undertook to assist in the defence of Khaybar (Muḥarram 7/May-June 628) in return for half its annual crop of dates, but deserted his Jewish allies before the battle began. Together with several fellow-Fazārīs he participated in the conquest of Mecca (Ramaḍān 8/January 630), and later he fought at Ḥunayn [*q.v.*] and al-Ṭā'if [*q.v.*]. According to some, 'Uyayna had already embraced Islam before the con-

quest of Mecca, but his listing among the *mu'allafa ḳulūbuhum* [*q.v.*] indicates that at Ḥunayn he was still an unbeliever. In Muḥarram 9/April-May 630, 'Uyayna—carrying out Muḥammad's order—attacked a subdivision of the Tamīm [*q.v.*] temporarily living amongst the Khuzā'a [*q.v.*]. Some said that he was one of Muḥammad's tax-collectors.

In the *ridda* he swore allegiance to the false prophet Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī, but later he returned to Islam. He lived at least to the days of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who was his son-in-law.

Islamic historiography is generally hostile to 'Uyayna, ascribing to him haughtiness coupled with the coarseness of desert dwellers (*djafā' sukkān al-bawādī*) and foolishness. 'Uyayna referred to Muḥammad's wife, 'Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr [*q.v.*], as "this little woman of light complexion (*ḥumayrā'*)", and suggested an exchange between her and one of his own wives. Following this episode, Muḥammad told 'Ā'isha that 'Uyayna was "a fool obeyed [by his people]" (*al-aḥmaḳ al-muṭā'*). 'Uyayna accused 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb of being ungenerous and unjust and told 'Uthmān that fasting at night was for him easier than during the day.

There is a dissenting voice, though, which is probably that of a Fazārī source: 'Uyayna told 'Umar to beware of the Persians (*'adjam*), showing him the place in his body where he would he stabbed. "Verily, there is counsel (*ra'y*) there", the fatally-wounded 'Umar later said, referring to 'Uyayna's place of dwelling.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 256-7; Ṭabarī; Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, index, s.v.; *ibid.*, ms. Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi 598, 1097b-1099a; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashk* ('Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Beirut 1414/1994, 348-9; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index.

(M. Lecker)

'UYŪN MŪSĀ [see 'ayn mūsā].

'UYŪNIDS, a minor dynasty of mediaeval Arabia, whose capital was al-Ḳaṭīf [*q.v.*], ruling over al-Aḥsā/al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*] in eastern Arabia from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries. They destroyed the Ḳarāmiṭa [*q.v.*] there in 467/1076, though little is known of their history. They are reputed to be of Āl Ibrāhīm of Murra [*q.v.*], a *ḳabīla* of 'Abd al-Ḳays [*q.v.*]. Their influence rapidly declined in the 7th/13th century, when about the middle of the century the 'Uṣfūrids [*q.v.*] assumed control of the region.

Bibliography: 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam ḳabā'il al-'Arab*, iii, Beirut 1982, 1071; see also al-baḥrayn.

(G.R. Smith)

'UZAYR, a figure mentioned enigmatically in Ḳur'ān, IX, 30, as being called by the Jews "the son of Allāh" and usually identified by Muslim commentators with Ezra, or sometimes with the man who slept for a hundred years (II, 259). Modern scholars have suggested identifications also with the Biblical Enoch (Newby), Azazel (Casanova) and, fantastically, Osiris (Madjdi Bey).

Later Muslim authors who heard from Jews or Christians (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Radd 'alā 'l-Naṣārā*, ed. J. Finkel, 27, 33) that this accusation of sonship had no basis, explained that only one Jew (Finḥāṣ) said this about 'Uzayr (al-Ṭabarī); only a small group of Jews worshipped 'Uzayr in some past period (Ibn Ḥazm); or that the verse—like v. 31—refers to the extreme admiration of Jews for their doctors of law ('Abd al-Djabbār, al-Ḳurṭubī, etc.).

Muslim Sunnī and Shī'ī authors (Ḳur'ān commentators, historians and authors of *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) tell, mostly on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*], the story of pious 'Uzayr who miraculously remembered or recovered the lost Torah. The Children of Israel were so grateful to him that they worshipped him as the Son of God. Some also mention his questioning predestination (the story of the ants), whereupon God removed him from the list of prophets. Ibn Ḳutayba mentions in this context a *Munādjāt 'Uzayr* (see *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Y.A. Ṭawīl, Cairo 1973, ii, 76). Many details of these stories show great similarity to the *Vision of Ezra* (or the *Apocalypse of Ezra* usually referred to as "*II Esdras*" or "*Fourth Ezra*"), excerpts of which seem to have been known in Muslim circles from Christian Arabic translations (see A. Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra. Text, translation and introduction*, diss., Groningen University 1995, esp. introd. §§ 8-9, with a list on pp. 51-2 of Muslim authors who tell the story, and bibl.).

A negative image of 'Uzayr was developed by the Andalusī Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], who took 'Azrā-'Uzayr the Scribe (*al-Warrāḳ*) to be the person who falsified the Hebrew Bible [see taḥrīf] and accused him of being a liar and a heretic who ridiculed the faith (see his *Faṣl*, i, 116-224). The later Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175) explained that Ezra interpolated into the Bible stories that sully David's origins (e.g. Gen. xix. 30-8) so as to prevent the rule of the Davidic dynasty during the second Temple (see his *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*, ed. and tr. M. Perlmann, 1964, text 62-63, tr. 60).

General accusations of falsification of the Scriptures by 'Uzayr, or by one of his disciples, can be found already with Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī (*K. al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, v, 29 ff.) and al-Djuwaynī (*Textes apologetiques de Ğuwainī* ed. M. Allard, Beirut 1968, 44, 47). They seem to echo various pre-Islamic sources, and were well-known and refuted by Christians and Jews (see e.g. A. Jeffery, *Ghevond's text of the correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III*, in *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxxvii [1944], 269-332 and *Ibn Kammūna's examination of the three faiths*, ed. and tr. Perlmann, Berkeley 1967-71, text 90, tr. 53 ff.).

Through Ibn Ḥazm and al-Samaw'al, these accusations became the standard argument of mediaeval Muslim polemics against the Bible up to contemporary times (see *Tafsīr al-Manār*[2], x, 326).

Bibliography: See also *EI*[1] art. (B. Heller) and its Bibl.; M. Ayoub, *'Uzayr in the Qur'ān and Muslim tradition*, in W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks (eds.), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic traditions*, Atlanta 1986, i, 3-18; G.D. Newby, *A history of the Jews in Arabia*, Columbia, S.C. 1988, 59-62; Y. Erder, *The origin of the name Idrīs in the Qur'ān. A study of the influence of Qumran literature in early Islam*, in *JNES*, xlix (1990), 339-50; H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton 1992, 50-74; Yehuda D. Nevo, *Towards a prehistory of Islam*, in *JSAI*, xvii (1994), 108-41, esp. 123; C. Adang, *Muslim authors on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible*, Leiden 1996.

(Hava Lazarus-Yafeh)

al-'UẒAYYIM [see al-'aḍaym].

UZBEK, ŪZBAK, ŪZBĪK [see özbeg].

UZBEKISTAN, the name for a region of Central Asia, literally "land of the Uzbeks/Özbegs", adopted after the imposition of Bolshevik rule in Central Asia as the designation of one of the component republics of the U.S.S.R., now a republic within the Commonwealth of Independent States.

1. In the pre-Soviet period

For the history of the region and its towns in these times, see bukhārā; farghāna; khwārazm; khīwa;

KHOḲAND; MĀ WARĀʾ AL-NAHR; MANGÎTS; ÖZBEG; SAMARḲAND; SHĪBĀNIDS; TASHKENT; TURKISTĀN. 1.

2. From 1920 to the present day

The territory which corresponds today to that of the Republic of Uzbekistan was split in 1920 between, on the one hand, the General Government of Turkistan under Bolshevik control, and on the other, the emirates of Khīwa and of Bukhārā, Russian protectorates which became people's republics the same year. The People's Republic of Bukhārā, headed by eminent reformists (*djadīds* [*q.v.*]) such as Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat [*q.v.*], was still strongly imbued with Islam. In 1923, the Communist Party of Bukhārā was purged of its *djadīd* and "bourgeois" elements by Moscow and, in October 1924, the People's Republic gave birth to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan (SSRUz) which adopted the city of Tashkent as its capital in 1930. In 1929, what is now Tādjīkistān, which then belonged to the SSRUz, became an entirely separate Soviet Socialist Republic and in 1936, Karakalpakistan was attached to the SSRUz, within which it constituted an autonomous republic.

The new republic experienced difficult beginnings, as since 1918, the oriental regions of the former amīrate and of Farghāna had been the fief of the *amīr*'s supporters and of anti-revolutionaries, known by the name of *basmačis*, whom the Red Army succeeded in extirpating only in 1928 (in certain regions not until 1935-6). During the Stalin era, the anti-religious policy of Lenin was applied with greater severity, resulting in the demolition of Uzbek Islam with the suppression of religious tribunals (1924), of *madrasas* (1928), of *waḳf*s, and the closure of many mosques (1930). This induced the religious to operate in secret. Furthermore, the great schism between the old Central Asia, that of the *djadīds*, and the new, that of the Soviets, came about in the years 1937-9, at the time of the great Moscow purges, with the trials and executions of the leading ideologues of Muslim socialism, and those of representatives of Central Asian culture, all being *djadīds* (ʿĀlimdjān Ibrāhīmov, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Fiṭrat, ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī, Tulugan Khʷādjamiyarov (Tawalla), ʿAbd al-Sulaymān (Čolpan), etc.) accused of being "bourgeois counter-revolutionary nationalists". Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev, present in the highest echelons of power in Bukhārā between 1920 and 1924, then in Tashkent between 1925 and 1937, became a potent symbol for the victims of persecution. After 1939, the ruling clique of the SSRUz was thus radically remodeled.

In 1941, anxious for Central Asian support in his confrontation with the Nazi menace, Stalin made concessions with regard to Islam while maintaining his anti-religious policy: he thus created four religious boards of which one, based in Tashkent, exercised jurisdiction over the whole of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, appointing all the *muftīs*. The *muftī* of the SSRUz, Bābākhān b. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Khān, was the first in a dynasty of *muftīs* (his son and his grandson followed him) which was to reign over Central Asia until 1989. It was also in the Stalin period, in 1952, that the Mīr ʿArab *madrasa* of Bukhārā was re-opened.

Stalin died in 1953, but his policy of militant atheism was pursued by his successors Nikita Khrushchev, leader of the USSR until 1964, and Leonid Brezhnev, leader until 1983, along with a vigorous programme of Russification (Party cadres, language and history). In 1956, during the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, the murders committed by Stalin were denounced and numerous individuals were rehabilitated, including Fayḍ Allāh Khʷādjayev and ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī, the latter being considered the first great novelist of the modern Uzbek language. However, there was no question of rehabilitating the *djadīd* movement, still described as "reactionary".

The second key-date in the history of the SSRUz falls in 1960 with the arrival of Sharaf Rashīdov (d. 1983) who was to serve as first secretary of the Uzbek CP for 24 years, from 1959 to 1983 (he was also a member of the Praesidium). The weight of local and tribal rivalries, which Moscow was adept at exploiting, became increasingly decisive when the Farghānīs, in power since 1937, were replaced by the Samarḳandīs with Rashīdov. The latter were to remain until 1983, at which date the Farghānīs reappeared. Rashīdov inaugurated a relatively tolerant period, and thus between 1960 and 1970 writers were allowed more freedom to publish. In another context, in 1965 at the end of a violent anti-religious campaign launched by Khrushchev in 1954, the expression "parallel" Islam was coined to describe a clandestine Islam (cults of saints, illegal *madrasas*, Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas*), of which some groups of devotees were to survive the Soviet period into the present day.

The third crucial phase in the history of the SSRUz followed the accession to power in the USSR, in 1983, of Yuri Andropov. This marked the beginning of a period of crisis between Moscow and the SSRUz which was to last until the republic's independence in 1991. The nationalism of the Uzbeks was censured, as was local corruption, and the system introduced by Rashīdov was virulently denounced, the latter being publicly accused of having encouraged nepotism, local solidarities and clientelism (he was rehabilitated, by I. Karīmov, in 1992). The "cotton affair" was the focus of multiple criticism, with accusations cast not only at the Uzbek mafia but also at its links with political circles; the SSRUz was seen as a mafia republic. But criticism went further in that Central Asian traditions were judged responsible for these deviations. It should, however, be noted that the objective of corruption was not invariably personal enrichment; it was often seen as a way of helping the community.

The purges begun under Andropov were pursued until the early years of Gorbachev; between 1983 and 1986, more than three-quarters of the members of the central committee of the SSRUz were replaced. However, the frontal attack by Moscow on the Uzbek élites increased popular support for the latter. It fell to Mikhail Gorbachev, on becoming First Secretary of the CP of the USSR in 1985, to pursue the reforms initiated by Andropov (who had died in 1984, being replaced for a few months by Konstantin Chernyenko) and continue the campaign against corruption. The period was symbolised by the concept of *Glasnost*, i.e. plain speaking and an end to secrecy. For Gorbachev, reforms in the economic sphere were inseparable from reforms conducted in the ideological, hence religious, sphere. Contemporaneously with the denunciation and replacement of the Uzbek élites in 1986, an anti-Islamic campaign was pursued from 1985 to 1988, although this failed to prevent a religious revival which had begun in the time of Andropov. Proving unpopular, Moscow's aggressive campaign was halted in 1988, and Gorbachev, embroiled in political difficulties, saw rapprochement with religion as a possible solution.

But the collapse of the Soviet system was imminent and a new reconstruction of the USSR was inaugurated, namely, *Perestroika*; this was to open the way to unexpected changes and to a revision of Leninism. This period saw the exposure of all the grievances of

the SSRUz towards Moscow—ethnic, linguistic, cultural, ecological and religious—hitherto concealed. This was also the beginning of the rewriting of the history of Central Asia (the *basmači* movement was presented as a movement of national struggle, the history of the amīrate of Khoḳand was studied once more, etc.). The review *Literature and Art of Uzbekistan* (*Ozbekiston Adabiyati va Sanati*), which in 1981 took the place of *Civilisation of Uzbekistan* (*Ozbekiston Madaniyati*) as the organ of the Union of Uzbek writers, was an important element in the cultural revival. Also appearing at this time were Perestroika clubs, including the Birlik (Unity) movement, founded in 1988 and becoming a political party. Uzbek became the official language in 1989. The opposition in Moscow seized on ecological issues such as the scandal of the Aral Sea, exposed in 1987, and the monoculture of cotton, which had had a drastic effect on the nation's water resources and on the health of a large section of the population (draining of the Aral Sea, contamination of water-sources, etc.). The production of cotton, which had increased between 1940 and 1980, was not to be reduced until 1990, under pressure from Islom Karīmov, the future "strong man" of the country.

Although religious freedom had been granted to Christians in Moscow since 1988 at the time of the festivities marking the millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church, the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP, Rāfiḳ Nishānov, continued to vilify Islam. Everything changed, however, in 1989 and 1990, following numerous demonstrations which stimulated an acceleration of religious revival (re-opening of a number of mosques, return of the clergy to public life, expulsion of the last of the dynasty of Uzbek *muftīs*, Shams al-Dīn Bābākhān, and his replacement by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Yūsuf, who took an active part in all areas). The new economic conditions and nationalist fervour led to a number of inter-ethnic conflicts, e.g. the massacre of Meskhet Turks in Farghāna in 1989 and Kirghiz-Uzbek confrontation at Osh in 1990, and the departure of numerous Russians back to Russia.

Appointed First Secretary of the Uzbek CP by Moscow in 1989, Islom Karīmov (Islām Karīm) was to guide the SSRUz towards independence on 1 September 1991, less than a year after his declaration of sovereignty and a few months after the failed putsch of August 1991 and the disintegration of the USSR. The 23rd Congress of the Uzbek CP saw its transformation, in September of the same year, into a "Democratic Party of the People". Of the two other existing opposition parties, Birlik and Erk (Liberty), the latter having broken away from the former in 1990, only Erk participated in the presidential elections of December 1991 which were won by Karīmov with 86% of the votes.

The year 1990 may be considered the third key-date in the history of the SSRUz since it was then that revenge was taken for the purges of 1986; following the Congress of the Uzbek PC, the Central Committee was reconstituted, with three-quarters of its members being replaced. On becoming President of the Republic of Uzbekistan (RU), Karīmov maintained collaboration with Moscow, and in December 1991 the nation joined the Commonwealth of Independent States, to which it is currently (1999) still linked. Between 1992 and 1993, the opposition was muzzled: the leaders of the Birlik and Erk parties (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Polaov and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, respectively) were forced into exile. In 1994, new parties emerged in Uzbekistan: the Patriotic Progressive Party (Vatan Taraqqiēti), the Justice Party (Adolat) and the Party of National Renewal (Milli Tiklanish). In May 1995, following a referendum, Karīmov was confirmed in his post as President of the Republic until the year 2000.

From 1991 onward, de-Russification and return to Central Asian cultural traditions regarded as patrimony (*miros* [*mīrāth*]) became the norm. The nation was engaged in a veritable quest for identity. Names of individuals and toponyms were changed, as were the names of streets, squares, etc., and hitherto prohibited books were published: these included the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* collections, the poems of Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] and the works of *djadīd* authors. The Uzbek language was purged of Russian words and neologisms were created, some of them borrowed from Čaghatay or from Persian (there was even a course for the teaching of Čaghatay, inaugurated by religious elements at Namangan, in Farghāna, in 1990-1). In 1993, a law was passed calling for the replacement of the Cyrillic by the Latin alphabet in the year 2000, but the chosen alphabet was modified in 1995 and its adoption deferred until 2005 (a different Latin alphabet had already been used in Uzbekistan between 1927 and 1940).

Uzbekistan has ceremoniously rehabilitated some of the great figures of Central Asian history (Tīmūr, Ulugh Beg), of Central Asian Islam (Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhi, Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī), of *djadīd*ism (ʿAbd Allāh Ḳādirī) and of Ṣūfism (Aḥmad Yasawī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband). Numerous cultural traditions have been revived, such as the festival of Nawrūz and the wearing of the traditional head-dress (*dopi*). The RU respects the majority of Islamic traditions: religious festivals or *toy* (*mawlūd*, Ramaḍān, etc.), fasting, Pilgrimage to Mecca, even the cult of saints under certain conditions. But it is waging a ruthless war against all forms of fundamentalism, and keeping a close watch on its frontiers with Afghānistān and Tādjīkistān. In 1990, it banned the Uzbek branch of the Party of Islamic Rebirth (Islom Uyghonish Partiyasi) which had just been constituted; as a result of this, the Islamists were forced underground. Subsequently, in 1992, an Islamic insurrection at Namangan (Farghāna), led by the Adolat (Justice) movement, which sought to establish an Islamic state in the region, was violently suppressed. Between 1993 and 1996, numerous religious figures and Islamists were arrested, in Tashkent and in Farghāna, many of them former members of the Islamic Rebirth Party. As for official Islam, the Perestroika *muftī*, Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Muḥammad Yūsuf, reckoned too independent and disrespectful of authority, was replaced in 1993 by ʿAbd Allāh Mukhtār (Mukhtaržan) (the latter being assisted by the former *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Bābākhān). Furthermore, Karīmov has taken pains to control the activities of foreign missionaries in his land, expelling Saudi Wahhābīs and Turkish Nurdjus, and prohibiting the publication in 1994 of the Turkish religious journal *Zaman-Uzbekistan*, issued by the Nurdjus.

As for traditional Islam, it no longer needs to be clandestine as hitherto. Pilgrimage to the tombs of saints is a widespread practice, the most important of these being that of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband at Bukhārā, but is controlled by the spiritual board. Healers (*bakhshī*) and popular exorcists (*emči*, *darger*) are no longer troublesome. Branches of the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa* which survived Soviet persecution today represent a traditional Islam, opposed to fundamentalism, which plays an ever increasing role in the direction of the *madrasas* and the schools for *ḳārīs*, in particular in Farghāna. Since 1991 these *ṭarīḳas*, centred on Khōḳand and Andidjān, have extended their

network of activities and become gradually implanted in other provinces of Uzbekistan, in neighbouring republics, in particular in Kazakhstan and Tādjīkistān, and in Russia. In accordance with the law guaranteeing "freedom of conscience and religious association" (1991), the RU is a centre, in addition to the "Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Transoxiana" for three other religions, sc. the Russian Orthodox Church, the Baptists and the Seventh Day Adventists. In the monetary sphere, in 1994, the RU began issuing its own national currency, known as *sum*.

The RU, formerly the SSRUz, is the most densely populated region of Central Asia with a population of 23 million inhabitants in 1996; it had numbered 4.3 million in 1913 and 8.1 million in 1959. In 1992, this population consisted of 71% Uzbeks, 8% Russians, 5% Tadjiks, 4% Kazakhs and 2% Karakalpaks.

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(TH. ZARCONE)

UZGEND, UZKEND [see ÖZKEND].

UZUN ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ b. ḲARA YOLUḲ ʿUTHMĀN, Abū Naṣr, born in 828/1425, died in 882/1478, and together with his grandfather, one of the most celebrated rulers of the line of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turkmens [*q.v.*] and a statesman and military commander of genius.

Expanding from his family's base in Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*], Uzun ("the Tall") overcame his Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] Turkmen rivals, and in the east defeated his rivals for control of Persia, the Tīmūrids [*q.v.*], reigning 861-82/1457-78 over a powerful and extensive state which comprised western Persia and Kirmān as far as the borders of Khurāsān, ʿIrāḳ to the shores of the Persian Gulf, Armenia, eastern Caucasia and eastern Anatolia. He was the resolute opponent of the Ottomans; he co-existed somewhat uneasily on the borders of ʿIrāḳ and eastern Syria with the Mamlūks [*q.v.*]; and he was sought as an ally, by diplomacy and by the actual supplying of military equipment, by the Papacy and Western European powers, above all the Republic of Venice, also much concerned with aggressive Ottoman policies of conquest. His illness and death in middle age removed a major impediment to Ottoman expansion eastwards, one which was only checked a generation later by the advent to power in Persia of the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*].

Rivalries of the Turkoman tribes

The original fief of the chiefs of the house of Bayundur and of their Turkoman tribe "of the White Sheep" (Aḳ Ḳoyunlu) was in Diyār Bakr (from before the period of Tīmūr). From there they spread to the west, north and east. At first, the chief rivals of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu were the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Turkmens. That there were any religious differences involved, as Minorsky asserted in his *EI*[1] article, is problematical. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu certainly showed themselves as Sunnīs, but the presence of any significant adherence to Shīʿism amongst the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, apart from the general currents of sympathy for a folk-Shīʿism discernible amongst many of the Turkmen groups in eastern Anatolia, is dubious.

Ḳara Yoluḳ ʿUthmān died after a reign of more than thirty years in 839/1435. His son ʿAlī Beg spent his reign fighting with his brother Ḥamza against whom he sought the support of the Ottoman sultan Murād II and the Mamlūk sultan Čaḳmaḳ of Egypt. After the death of the two brothers, Djihāngīr, son of ʿAlī, resumed the struggle against the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu but offended his brother Uzun Ḥasan, his uncle Ḳāsim Beg (whom von Hammer, *GOR*[2], i, 506, calls Ḥasan) and the governor of Erzindjān, Ḳïlïdj Arslan b. Pīr ʿAlī. In spite of his quarrel with Djihāngīr, Uzun Ḥasan defeated his two adversaries and then conquered the "greater number" of the begs of Kurdistān. Having

learned that Djihāngīr had set out for the summer encampments on the Ala-dagh (this name probably refers to the ancient Masius, a mountain between Diyār Bakr and Mārdīn), Ḥasan penetrated into the fortress of Diyār Bakr (Āmid) in disguise, while Djihāngīr was forced to shut himself up in Mārdīn [*q.v.*]. This took place in 858/1454, and soon Ḥasan occupied Ruhā and laid siege to Mārdīn (see ʿĀshiḳ-pāshā-zāde, 247-9; Münedjdjim-bashî, iii, 157).

The intervention of Ḥasan's mother, a female diplomat who played a great part in later developments, forced Uzun Ḥasan to return to Diyār Bakr. He sought to recompense himself by a raid on Ḳara Ḳoyunlu territory (Erzerūm, Awnik, Bayburt), but having failed to take Erzindjān returned to Diyār Bakr.

On resuming the siege of Erzindjān, Uzun Ḥasan fell from his horse and was seriously injured. Djihāngīr seized the opportunity to sack the environs of Āmid, but on Ḥasan's return sought refuge with the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djihān Shāh. His mother once more installed Ḥasan in Diyār Bakr and Djihāngīr in Mārdīn. The struggle was very soon resumed on a larger scale. Ḥasan marched on Erzindjān and Turdjān, from which he drove ʿArab Shāh, his brother's representative, and then attacked Khurāsān and Ḳaradja-Dagh (to the southwest of Diyār Bakr). The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Djihān Shāh sent his *amīrs* to the help of Djihāngīr, but Uzun Ḥasan defeated them in 861 (May 1457?; cf. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vii, 485). Djihāngīr gave his son as a hostage, and another brother of Ḥasan (Uways of Ruhā) also submitted to him. Uzun Ḥasan installed the *amīr* Khurshīd Beg (perhaps his cousin; cf. Münedjdjim-bashî, iii, 376) in Erzindjān. This fortress was the key to the Armenian plateau. About the same time, Ḥasan gave shelter to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī, who had rebelled against his father Djihān Shāh, but had soon to expel him on account of his heretical opinions. These events occupied the years 858-61/1454-7, after which began the rapid rise of Ḥasan and the extension of his influence over the neighbouring lands.

Operations in Kurdistān

On the Tigris, he took Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the Kurdish *maliks* descended from the Ayyūbids (see Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ii, 149-55) and gave this fortress to his son Khalīl. Siʿirt and Haytham (in Bohtān) were later occupied (see also *ibid.*, ii, 9).

Uzun Ḥasan between Ḳaramān and Trebizond

In the west, the successes of Uzun Ḥasan brought him into conflict with the Ottomans, who under the leadership of Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ had just completed the subjection of the Turkmen [*q.v.*] beyliks of Anatolia. The princes of Ḳaramān [*q.v.*], gravely threatened by the Ottomans, endeavoured to enter into an alliance with their eastern neighbour Uzun Ḥasan. On the other hand, Uzun Ḥasan became involved in the affairs of the Byzantine empire of Trebizond, which was then almost at its end. In 1458, the last emperor of Trebizond, David, gave Uzun Ḥasan the daughter of his brother and predecessor Kalo-Joannes, named Catherine, in marriage (in Europe she is more often called by her title Despina; cf. the Venetian travellers). Trebizond was closely linked with Georgia, while Venice and Rome were closely watching events in these two Christian states. The Muslim sources entirely neglect this complex of international political interests (cf. W. Miller, *Trebizond, the last Greek Empire*, London 1926; Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed-Uzun Hasan rekabetinde Trabzon meselesi*, in *Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi*, ii [1964], 67-81).

The embassies sent by Uzun Ḥasan to Istanbul in 1457 and 1460 revealed to the sultan his rival's ambitions (cf. von Hammer, i, 464-6). Very soon passing to action, Uzun Ḥasan took by surprise the fortress of Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār (or Koylu Ḥiṣār on the Kilkit-su above Nīksār) and sacked the suburbs of Toḳat and Amasya (cf. Münedjdjim-bashî, iii, 376).

Having disposed of the Isfendiyār-oghlu [*q.v.*] of Sinope, Meḥemmed II turned his attention to Trebizond and, first of all, to Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār. Uzun Ḥasan concentrated his forces near Kemākh, but the detachment sent into the mountains of Munzur (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 476: *kūh-i Mndz?*) was defeated by Aḥmed Pasha. Uzun Ḥasan then sent his mother to negotiate, and on her appeal the sultan turned towards Bulghar-daghî (east of Gerdjanis, between the Kilkit-su and the Euphrates). In spite of the renewed appeals of Sāra Khātūn (the sultan called her "mother"), who said that Trebizond belonged to her daughter-in-law, the town was taken in 865/1461 and the Comneni dispossessed and exiled. A portion of the treasures taken in Trebizond was given to Sāra Khātūn (ʿĀshiḳ-pāshā-zade, 159-60; Saʿd al-Dīn; Münedjdjim-bashî, iii, 376).

The peace was of short duration, for according to Münedjdjim-bashî, iii, 160-1, Uzun Ḥasan retook Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār and advanced as far as the environs of Sīwās, but the Ottomans defeated those of his troops who had entered Anatolia. Uzun Ḥasan sent to Istanbul Khurshīd Beg to ransom the Turkmen prisoners and ask the sultan to renounce his claims on Trebizond. In view of the circumstances (*iḳtidā-yi waḳt*), the request is said to have been granted (! ?) and Uzun Ḥasan returned to Erzindjān and then to Diyār Bakr. (In this part of his story, Münedjdjim-bashî seems to give in somewhat different form the events of 865/1461.)

Death of Djihān Shāh and of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd

Uzun Ḥasan very soon achieved brilliant successes. In 871/1466-7 his rival Djihān Shāh of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, who at this time held all Persia, marched on Diyār Bakr (on his plans, see his letter to Meḥemmed II, in Ferīdūn Bey, i, 273). Uzun Ḥasan collected troops and received reinforcements from Mārdīn. On 1 Rabīʿ II 872, Djihān Shāh had reached Mūsh and Čapākhčūr. Here his advance guards were defeated by Sulṭān Khalīl, son of Uzun Ḥasan. Djihān Shāh, who, on account of the excessive cold, had sent most of his troops home, went back to Kīghī, whence he wanted to reach Erzindjān and the valley of Bālā-rūd (Kilkit?). On 13 Rabīʿ II 872/11 Nov. 1467, Uzun Ḥasan attacked him unexpectedly and Djihān Shāh lost his life while trying to escape. The field in the east now being open, Uzun Ḥasan began the conquest of the lands which had been left without a master. He went via Mawṣil to Baghdād, which he besieged for 40 days, but in Ādharbāydjān, the son of Djihān Shāh, Ḥasan ʿAlī, had assembled a large army (Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 234: 180,000 men) and invoked the help of the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, who set out from Khurāsān in Shaʿbān 872/March 1468 and appointed governors for the whole of Persian ʿIrāḳ. As a result of treachery on the part of certain *amīrs* of Ḥasan ʿAlī, his army quartered at Marand broke up, and Uzun Ḥasan seized the opportunity to advance as far as Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*]. In the meanwhile, in spite of the protestations of friendship by Uzun Ḥasan, who recalled the loyalty of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu to the Tīmūrids, Abū Saʿīd had reached Miyāna, but was caught there by the approach of winter. He thought of spending the winter in Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*], out of which Uzun Ḥasan was to be dislodged, but his march to the Araxes was

disastrous and at Maḥmūdābād [see MŪḲĀN] he was blockaded by Uzun Ḥasan. The negotiations conducted by Abū Saʿīd's mother, however, came to nothing; he took to flight but was captured on 16 Radjab 873/11 Feb. 1469. Two days later, Uzun Ḥasan, seated on the throne (to emphasise his accession?), received the prisoner kindly, but on 22 Radjab Abū Saʿīd was handed over to his rival, the prince Yādigār Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Baysunḳur, who put him to death. Abū Saʿīd's *amīrs* were put under the command of Yādigār who, supported by Uzun Ḥasan, began the struggle against Ḥusayn Bayḳara. The latter was temporarily driven from Harāt (6 Muḥarram 875/5 July 1470), but the exactions of the sons of Uzun Ḥasan (Khalīl in Öläng Rādkān and Zaynal in Ḳuhistān) provoked a rising against Yādigār, who was deposed and put to death by Sultan Ḥusayn Bayḳara.

After the disappearance of Abū Saʿīd, the Tīmūrids of Khurāsān remained a purely local dynasty, while Uzun Ḥasan's deputies occupied the remainder of Persia, including Kirmān, Fārs, Luristān, Khūzistān and Kurdistān (see the valuable details on the distribution of the fiefs in the letters of Uzun Ḥasan to Meḥemmed II: Ferīdūn Bey, i, 275, 276; cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330). The governorship of Iṣfahān was entrusted to Uzun Ḥasan's eldest son Oghurlu Muḥammad, but that of the more important province of Fārs went to the latter's slightly younger half-brother Sulṭān Khalīl. The discontented Oghurlu Muḥammad was in fact to rebel in 879/1474, but on the appearance of his father's army (see below), fled to Baghdād and thence to the Ottomans. We possess a precious *ʿarḍ-nāma* composed by the well-known scholar Djalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502 [*q.v.*]) which describes a review of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu provincial army of Fārs during Sulṭān Khalīl's time (see V. Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x [1939-42], 141-78). The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu Ḥasan ʿAlī had retired to Hamadhān, but was surprised there and killed by Uzun Ḥasan's forces in 873/1468 (see the *History of the Ḳuṭb-Shāhs*, B.N. ms. Pers. 174, fol. 16b). About the same time, Baghdād also was occupied by the great *amīr* Khalīl-Beg, governor of Mawṣil (Ferīdūn Bey, ii, 276).

After these great successes, it became evident that Uzun Ḥasan alone in Asia was strong enough to bar the Ottoman advance and the enemies of the latter, the rulers of Ḳaramān and the Christians, particularly the Venetians, sought to exploit this new power.

Venetian policy

On 2 Dec. 1463, the Venetian Senate had adopted the plan of an alliance with Uzun Ḥasan and L. Quirini was sent to Persia with this object. On 13 March 1464, the first ambassador from Uzun Ḥasan (a certain Mamenatazab?) arrived in Venice and spent six months there. In 1465 Ḳāsim Ḥasan (?) arrived with a letter from Uzun Ḥasan. The negotiations were interrupted for some time, but the conquest of Euboea (which the Venetians had held for 264 years) by the Ottomans in 1469-70 threw them into consternation. In February 1471, Quirini returned from Persia with Uzun Ḥasan's ambassador Mirath (Murād?), while another Persian representative arrived at the Vatican. It was then that the Venetian Senate sent to Persia the noble Caterino Zeno, who through his mother was a nephew of Despina Caterina, wife of Uzun Ḥasan. On 20 April 1471, Zeno was in Tabrīz. In the same year, Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad (Azimamet) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. Giosafa Barbaro was then sent to Persia to take to Uzun Ḥasan six large mortars (*bombarde*), 600 arquebuses (*spingarde*), matchlocks (*schioppetti*), and munitions; 200 fusiliers with their officers accompanied the consignment. In Barbaro's secret instructions (of 11 Feb. 1473), it was laid down that Venice would never conclude peace with the Ottomans until they had been forced to renounce in favour of Persia all claims on Asia Minor as far as the Straits. Barbaro was delayed in Cyprus where he took part in the operations of the Venetian fleet (commanded by P. Mocenigo), which on the appeal of the princes of Ḳaramān, had occupied Silifke and two other points on the coast.

In the meanwhile, Zeno was active in Persia and, according to the European sources (Jorga, ii, 164), the nephew of the last Comnenus, who had sought asylum with Uzun Ḥasan, had invaded the region of Trebizond.

Invasion of Asia Minor

The Ḳaramānids were working alongside of the Venetians to force Uzun Ḥasan's hand. On the appeal of Pīr Aḥmad, Isḥāḳ's successor, Uzun Ḥasan equipped an army which was placed under the command of the vizier ʿUmar Beg b. Bektash (the Amarbei Guisultan Nichenizza? of Zeno, 16) and Uzun Ḥasan's cousin Yūsufča Mīrzā, and which (according to Angiolello, 77) numbered 50,000 men (Zeno, 16: 100,000?). These troops advanced from Diyār Bakr on Toḳat, which they sacked and then on Ḳayṣariyya, where, as Saʿd al-Dīn says, "they revealed their Turkmen character". Caterino Zeno, 18-19, was an eye-witness of a part of these operations. (The attempt to take Bīra from Egypt is perhaps connected with the same expeditions.) After some time, ʿUmar Beg returned to Diyār Bakr while Yūsufča Mīrzā overran Ḳaramān and Ḥamīd again.

Resumption of the war with the Ottomans

Meḥemmed II was gravely concerned with these events and with this diplomatic activity of which he was certainly aware (see Ferīdūn Bey, 285; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ii, 145). Uzun Ḥasan's letters assumed a more and more aggressive tone (see Ferīdūn Bey, i, 278, and the humiliating title of *imārat maʾāb* was given to the sultan in them; and Meḥemmed II's reply, *loc. cit.*, in which he addresses familiarly the *sardār-i ʿadjam*). In autumn 877/1472, the sultan crossed from Istanbul over to the coast of Asia, but was held up there by the cold season. But by 14 Rabīʿ I 877/19 Aug. 1472), the prince Muṣṭafā and the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia Dāwūd Pasha, who had a force of 60,000 men under him, destroyed the Turkmens in the district of Ḳir-eli (west of Konya).

Meḥemmed set out in Shawwāl 877/March 1473. His army numbered 100,000 men in all (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 529, confirmed by Angiolello, 79-80, who writes as if he were in the Ottoman army). The famous *aḳinči* [*q.v.*] ʿAlī Mikhāl-oghlu [see MĪKHĀL-OGHLU] sent with the advance guard sacked Kemākh and took prisoner the Armenians of this region.

Uzun Ḥasan, who had arrived in the region of Erzindjān in late Rabīʿ I 878, end of July 1473, established himself on the hills on the left bank of the Euphrates, and when Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha rashly crossed the river, he surrounded him and defeated him. Khāṣṣ Murād was drowned in the Euphrates and the total losses of the Ottomans rose to 12,000 men (Angiolello). Caterino Zeno, who was in Uzun Ḥasan's suite, gives 1 Aug. 1473 as the date of this first encounter. The battlefield was in the district of Terdjān (above Erzindjān); the low ground on the Euphrates which Khāṣṣ Murād (Angiolello) wished to utilise begin at the level of Pekeridj. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 535, is not explicit, but according to Angiolello (and

Zeno), the Ottomans were ready to abandon the campaign. They left the valley of the Euphrates, and leaving Bayburt on the right (towards the northeast), took the road northwards towards Trebizond, evidently with the intention of turning there to the west. But while the Ottoman army was in the canton of Üč-agh̲ïzlï (probably to the north of the mountains which separate Erzind̲j̲ān from the valley of the Kilkit-su), Uzun Ḥasan's troops appeared on the heights of Otluḳ-beli (a mountain which separates the Euphrates valley from the sources of the Čorokh̲) on the right flank of the Ottomans. The latter accepted battle and on 16 Rabīʿ I 878/12 Aug. 1473 (according to Zeno, 10 Aug. 1473) routed the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army. The *Sardār* of Uzun Ḥasan, Kāfir Isḥāḳ (a Christian?; according to Zeno, there were Georgians in the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army), fell on the battlefield, as did Uzun Ḥasan's son Zaynal. Uzun Ḥasan himself took to flight, but it was not so precipitous as Saʿd al-Dīn would have it, for Zeno's account of 18 August is dated from the camp of Uzun Ḥasan, four days from Erzind̲j̲ān. In any case, the Ottomans, thanks to their firearms (Zeno), gained a brilliant victory. The captured artisans and experts were taken to Constantinople. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu mobilised by Uzun received their liberty; the remainder of the Turkmens were put to death (*katl-i ʿāmm*) by order of the sultan. Dārāb Beg, commander of [S̲h̲abīn-] Ḳara Ḥiṣār on the Kilkit-su above Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār, hearing of the defeat of his master, handed over the fortress to the Ottomans. On the advice of the Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a, who explained the difficulties of keeping the territories still to be conquered, the sultan refrained from pursuing Uzun Ḥasan, but later regretted this decision and the Grand Vizier lost his office (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 521-44).

Uzun Ḥasan lost no appreciable territory by this defeat, but the moral effect must have been considerable. After the battle, Uzun Ḥasan wrote to Venice (Berchet, 137) that he was going to return to the attack (*cavalcheremo adosso à l'Othoman*) and at the same time sent Caterino Zeno on a mission to plead his cause with the European governments. The Polish and Hungarian ambassadors were sent back with Zeno.

The Venetian Senate, which always attached great importance to the alliance, sent to Persia the secretary P. Ognibene. Barbaro, leaving at Rhodes the representatives of the pope and of King Ferdinand of Sicily, then set out and arrived in Tabrīz on 12 April 1474. Lastly, a new envoy, A. Contarini, left Venice on 13 Feb. 1474, arrived at Tabrīz on 4 Aug. 1474 and at Iṣfahān on 4 Nov. 1474. We also know that at this time the friar Lodovico of Bologna was in Persia, saying that he represented the Duke of Burgundy. But on this occasion, the ambassadors could obtain nothing definite out of Uzun Ḥasan.

In the meanwhile, Uzun Ḥasan had gone to S̲h̲īrāz to put down the rebellion of his son Og̲h̲urlu Muḥammad (see above). On his return from Tabrīz he took leave of Contarini (26 April 1475) who saw a review of his troops (25,000?) but said that the expedition against the Ottomans was postponed to a later date. In 880/1475-6 the plague wrought great havoc in Persia, and Uzun Ḥasan's troops had to take the field against his brother Uways, who was defeated and slain at Ruhā (Ibn Iyās, ii, 160). Very soon the Venetians recognised the futility of their hopes, and less than a year after the death of Uzun Ḥasan signed a peace with the Ottomans (December 1478).

Relations with Georgia

According to Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï, Uzun Ḥasan thrice invaded Georgia, in 871/1466, in 877 (summer of 1472?) and after his defeat by the Ottomans. According to the *D̲j̲ihān-ārā* this last expedition took place in 881/1476-7; Barbaro (90) who was an eye-witness, took part in the negotiations with the Georgians. The Georgian sources of the 15th century are very confused (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ii/1, 12, 249). The king of K'art'lia, Constantine III (1469-1505) seems to have utilised the support of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu against his rivals Bagrat of Imerethia and the Atabeg of Akh̲altsikh̲e (Ḳwarḳware < Ḳorḳora).

Relations with Egypt

The frontier between the original fief of Uzun Ḥasan (Diyār Bakr) and the lands of the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt lay roughly along the bend of the Euphrates. The Egyptian historians alone (used by Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v) tell us of the extensive relations between the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu and the Burd̲j̲ī Mamlūks. The rivalry with the Ottomans forced Uzun Ḥasan to deal very tactfully with the ruler of Cairo (we have references to them from 861/1456), but on the other hand, he had to seek an exit to the Mediterranean in order to be in contact with the Venetians. The lands on the right bank of the Euphrates belonging to the rulers of Egypt and Syria thus formed an impediment to him, and Uzun Ḥasan endeavoured to round off his lands at the expense of the Mamlūks.

In 868/1463-4 the Kurds who had seized the stronghold of Gargar (on the right bank of the Euphrates to the southeast of Malaṭya) sent its keys to Uzun Ḥasan, who in 869/1465 restored Gargar to the *wālī* of Aleppo but at the same time recompensed himself by taking K̲h̲arpert (then occupied by Arslan Dulg̲h̲adïr) and by ravaging Abulastayn [see ELBISTĀN and D̲H̲U 'L-ḲADR].

In 877/1471, Kakh̲tā [*q.v.*] and Gargar were occupied by Uzun Ḥasan's troops, but the *amīr* Yes̲h̲bek al-Dawādār sent by Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] drove the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu out of Bīra (see Ibn Iyās, ii, 140-4, and Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV*, in *Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838, *sub anno* 1783 [1471]). The Ottoman ambassador sent to Cairo stirred up feeling against Uzun Ḥasan, the ally of the Christians, but Ḳā'it Bāy acted with prudence. The *amīr* Rustam and the *ḳāḍī* Aḥmad b. Wad̲j̲īn, who were leaders of the ʿIrāḳ *ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* in 877/1473, succeeded in getting the *k̲h̲uṭba* read in Medina in the name of *al-malik al-ʿādil Ḥasan al-Ṭawīl k̲h̲ādim al-ḥaramayn*, but the *Amīr* of Mecca, Muḥammad b. Barakāt (see Ibn Iyās, iii, 514), arrested Rustam and his companion and sent them to Ḳā'it Bāy, who a few months later liberated them "to please Uzun Ḥasan" (*ibid.*, ii, 145-6). In 880/1475 Og̲h̲urlu Muḥammad, fleeing from his father, was supported by the Aleppan troops but the latter suffered a severe reverse (*ibid.*, ii, 152). In 882/1477 Ḳā'it Bāy visited the line of the Euphrates and re-established the situation.

Death of Uzun Ḥasan

Returning from Tiflīs, Uzun Ḥasan fell ill, and at the age of 54 died at Tabrīz on the eve of the feast of Ramaḍān of 882/night of 5-6 Jan. 1478, which agrees exactly with Barbaro's statement, 93, sc. the Eve of Epiphany.

The historians (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330; *D̲j̲ihān-ārā*; Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-bas̲h̲ï, iii, 165) praise his justice and piety. He created many pious endowments (*k̲h̲ayrāt wa-ḥasanāt*). On his mosque in Tabrīz, see TABRĪZ. 2. The *Akh̲lāḳ-i D̲j̲alālī* of Dawānī is dedicated to Uzun Ḥasan. The astronomer ʿAlī Ḳus̲h̲čī lived at the court of Uzun Ḥasan and was sent as ambassador to the Ottoman court (see ʿALĪ AL-ḲŪS̲H̲D̲J̲Ī).

Administrative system

From a lack of documentation, our knowledge of

Uzun Ḥasan's administrative system is sketchy, but Minorsky discerned that the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers apparently endeavoured, under cover of strengthening "Islamic institutions", to introduce an element of centralisation into the system that had originally evolved under the Mongol Il-Khānids [*q.v.*]. It seems that they wished to halt the decline of central authority resulting from the extensive grants of land for salaries, pensions, etc., which were meant to be temporary but which often in practice became hereditary [see e.g. IḲTĀʿ; SOYŪRGHĀL; TIYŪL]. There survive in Turkish archives some examples of Uzun Ḥasan's financial regulations enacted for Diyār Bakr and eastern Anatolia, and Persian historians occasionally mention the *dastūr* and *ḳānūn* of Uzun Ḥasan, which seems to have been applied at least up to the time of the second Ṣafawid Shāh Ṭahmāsp I; but this was probably a fixing and codification of existing, local, customary law rather than a new financial system. On the other hand, he behaved like many other rulers of the time in arbitrarily raising existing taxes and imposing new ones in order to finance his wars. See W. Hinz, *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, c (1950), 177-201; A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 101, 122-3; Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 449-62.

The family

The blood of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes was considerably mixed. The mother of Ḳara ʿUthmān, to begin with, was the princess Maria of Trebizond (see the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, ed. Fallmerayer).

Despina, whom Uzun Ḥasan married when he was thirty-four, was certainly not his first wife and in 1471, when her nephew Caterino Zeno visited her, she was living at Kharpert far from the court. She had remained a Christian and was buried in a church of Diyār Bakr (Barbaro, 84). According to Angiolello, 73, Uzun Ḥasan had one son and three daughters by her; the son (Jacob ?) is said to have been strangled by his brothers after the father's death (?). Despina's daughter Martha (whom the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 68, calls Bägi Aḳā; *Ḥabīb al-siyar*: Ḥalīma Begi Aḳā; and Münedjdjim-bashi: ʿĀlam-Shāh Begum) was given in marriage to Shaykh Ḥaydar of Ardabīl and became the mother of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I (the mother of Shaykh Ḥaydar, Khadīdja Begum, was the sister of Uzun Ḥasan).

The oldest son of Uzun Ḥasan, Muḥammad, was the son of a Kurdish *umm walad* (cf. Ibn Iyās, ii, 160; Caterino Zeno, 36; Contarini, 173). In 879/1474, after a rising in Shīrāz, he took refuge for some time with the Ottoman Bāyezīd II, but was finally killed in Persia by his father's orders (Ibn Iyās, ii, 59).

Uzun Ḥasan's principal wife (*mahd-i ʿulyā*) was Saldjūḳ-Shāh Begum, who played a very active part in the government (cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Amīnī*, fol. 198b). Her sons were Sulṭān Khalīl, Yaʿḳūb, Yūsuf (and perhaps Masīḥ). We do not know the name of Zaynal's mother.

Uzun Ḥasan's viziers were Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayyid Aḥmad, Burhān al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Kirmānī and Madjd al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*, iii, 330).

Bibliography: For older sources and studies, see Minorsky's *EI*[1] art. The best consideration of sources for the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in general is now John E. Woods' *The Aqquyunlu* (see below), 16-37, much of which is relevant for Uzun Ḥasan's career and reign. Especially notable is the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī-Iṣfahānī (ed. Necati Lügal and Faruk Sümer, 2 vols. Ankara 1962-4), which was written for Uzun Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān Khalīl between 875/1469 and 883/1478, with the ms. going up to 876/1472. General Persian historians like Khwāndamīr contain further information, whilst for Uzun Ḥasan's external relations there is much in the Arabic historiography of the late Mamlūk period and the diplomatic material in Italian archives. The Istanbul archives and libraries have relevant material, especially that relating to Uzun Ḥasan's wars with the Ottomans, and this includes captured letters, intelligence reports, etc., plus *defters* from eastern Anatolia. *Inshāʾ* collections like Ferīdūn Bey's *Münsheʾāt ül-selāṭīn* contain relevant documents, whilst Jean Aubin has described and discussed some Aḳ Ḳoyunlu documents from Persia. Some Aḳ Ḳoyunlu inscriptions from Persia have been published, including one of Uzun Ḥasan's at the Great Mosque of Yazd.

Of recent studies (in addition to those mentioned in the article), see Minorsky, *La Perse au XV*[e] *siècle entre la Turquie et Venise*, Publs. de la Société des études iraniennes 7, Paris 1933, 6-7 (also in *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages*, Variorum, London 1978, no. XII); ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāk bayn al-iḥtilālayn*, iii, *al-Ḥukūma al-turkmāniyya*, Baghdād 1357/1939; Mükrimin Halil Yınanç, *İA* art. *Akkoyunlular*; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit*, Munich 1953, Eng. tr. *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, Princeton 1978; Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Uzun Hasan'ın Osmanlılarla karşı katî mücadeleye hazırlıkları ve Osmanlı-Akkoyunlu harbinin başlanması*, in *Belleten*, xxi (1957), 261-84, with German tr. 285-96; idem, *Die Rivalität zwischen Uzun Hasan und Mehmed II. um das Kaiserreich von Trapezunt*, in *Trudï XXV. Meždunarodnogo Kongressa Vostok'ovedov*, Moscow 1963, ii, 442-8; G. Scarcia, *Venezia e la Persia tra Uzun Ḥasan e Ṭahmāsp (1454-1572)*, in *Acta Iranica*, ser. 1, vol. iii (1974), 419-38; J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu, clan, confederation, empire. A study in 15th/9th century Turko-Iranian politics*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976, 90-137; H.R. Roemer, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, vi, Cambridge 1986, 168-82; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, 275-6 no. 146.

(V. MINORSKY-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

AL-ʿUZZĀ, a pre-Islamic Arabian deity. The name means "The very powerful" or "The all-powerful". On its own, in the pre-Islamic period, it always takes the article (Liḥyanite *hn-ʿzy*, Old Arabic *ʾl-ʿzy*, Nabataean *ʾl-ʿz* plus the Aramaic form *ʿzyʾ*, and South Arabian *ʿzyn*), but in theophoric personal names, and occasionally in sources of the Islamic period, this is sometimes omitted (e.g. South Thamudic *tm-l-ʿzy* as against *tym-ʿzy*, J. Ryckmans, in *SI*, v [1956], 11). A variety of such compounds occurs in pre-Islamic North Arabian inscriptions, though by the rise of Islam only *ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā* is reported in the Ḥidjāz (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, [2]Berlin 1897, 39).

Very little is known of the nature of al-ʿUzzā. Attempts to identify her with the planet Venus are only achieved through a tenuous series of equations with other deities in which each divinity is assumed to be endowed with all aspects of the others (see references in Wellhausen, 40-5). From this, efforts have been made to equate her with the goddess Aphrodite (e.g. H.W.J. Drijvers, *Cults and beliefs at Edessa*, Leiden 1980, 185); with Ruḍā (A.G. Lundin, in R.G. Stiegner (ed.), *Al-Hudhud*, Graz, 1981, 215-6); with ʿAzīzū at Palmyra (Drijvers, *op. cit.* 152, 162-3); with al-Lāt (Wellhausen, 44-5), with al-Lāt and Manāt (Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 176-7), and ultimately with a "common Semitic great goddess" representing a wide variety of astral and chthonic forces (Wellhausen,

45; Lundin, *loc. cit.*; Fahd, *loc. cit.*). The only unequivocal equation of al-ʿUzzā with the planet Venus is in the 10th-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Bar Bahlūl (ed. R. Duval, s.v. *estʿrā*); while the only explicit equation of al-ʿUzzā with Aphrodite, is in a 1st century B.C. to A.D. Nabataean-Greek bilingual inscription from the Greek island of Cos (F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung*, Leiden, 1964, 86 and 91 n. 4). Henninger has noted that these strained identifications are based on non-Arab sources from the northern borderlands of the Peninsula and cannot be assumed to apply to Arabia as a whole, or to the cult of al-ʿUzzā in Mecca in particular (in *Anthropos*, lxxi [1976] 136-9). It is possible, but at present unprovable, that al-ʿUzzā was considered by her worshippers to have some of the features of Aphrodite and/or to be in some way a manifestation of the planet Venus, but there is not enough evidence to establish exactly how she was conceived in any particular region or period.

The only representations of al-ʿUzzā which are identified as such in inscriptions, are Nabataean: plain, rectangular baetyls with stylised eyes (e.g. M.R. Savignac, in *Revue Biblique*, xliii [1934] 586-9), of a type common throughout western Arabia, both as divine symbols and as grave markers. However, there are similar baetyls in Petra and the surrounding region representing al-Kutbā, Atargatis, Isis, etc.

In the early centuries A.D. the worship of al-ʿUzzā is found in the Ḥawrān (RES, 2091, *ʾl-ʿzʾ ʾlht bṣ[rʾ]*, "the goddess of Boṣra"), Petra (e.g. RES, 1088), Wādī Ramm (Savignac *loc. cit.*), Sinai (CIS, ii, 611, 1236, each by a *kāhin* of al-ʿUzzā), Dedān (JSLih 58), a Sabaeo-Arabic text from Ḳaryat al-Faw in central Arabia (Ja 2138, see J. Ryckmans, in *JSS*, xxv [1980], 197-8), and (probably as an import from the north) in Sabaic, Qatabanian, and possibly one Minaic, inscriptions (*ibid.*, 196-7).

In the 5th century A.D., Isaac of Antioch speaks of the "Arabs" (*ʿarbāyē*) sacrificing to *ʿuzzī* (ed. Bickell, i, 210-11) and, in the 6th century, there is evidence that she was worshipped by the La**kh**mid royal house in southern Mesopotamia. Al-Mun**dh**ir IV swore by al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā (*A**gh**ānī*[1], ii, 21 l. 5 from the bottom) and sacrificed prisoners to her (Zacharius of Mitylene, ed. J.P.N. Land, in *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii, 247) while another La**kh**mid prince, al-Nuʿmān, submitted a dispute to her judgement (*Ḥamāsa*, 116).

The Islamic sources suggest that, by the 7th century, worship of al-ʿUzzā was firmly entrenched in Mecca and its environs (Hi**sh**ām Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. A. Zakī Pa**sh**a, Cairo 1914, 27, tr. N.A. Faris, *The book of idols*, Princeton 1952, 22). Her main sanctuary was in a valley called Ḥurāḍ in Na**kh**lat al-**Sh**aʾmiyya on the road from Mecca to al-Ṭāʾif (Yāḳūt, iv, 765 ff.; Ibn al-Kalbī, 18, tr. 16). Here, in Suḳām, a side ravine of Ḥurāḍ, Ḳuray**sh** dedicated to her a *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] which vied with the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*] or Sacred Territory of the Kaʿba, (Ibn al-Kalbī, 19, tr. 17). At Na**kh**la were three *samura* (acacia) trees, from one of which the goddess revealed herself in the form of an Abyssinian woman with dishevelled hair, when **Kh**ālid b. al-Walīd was sent by the Prophet to cut them down (idem, 25-6, tr. 21-2). A sacred stone was the object of *ziyāra* (Wellhausen, 39), though it is not clear whether this was in the same sanctuary or elsewhere (cf. Doughty's account of the veneration of al-ʿUzzā in the form of a large stone at al-Ṭāʾif, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, [2]London 1923, ii, 511, 515-16). Finally, there was a cave called **Gh**ab**gh**ab which contained baetyls (Ibn al-Kalbī, 20-1, tr. 18-9) and into which the blood of sacrificed animals was poured (Ibn Hi**sh**ām, 55 l. 6). The man credited with introducing the worship of al-ʿUzzā, Ẓālim b. Asʿad of **Gh**aṭafān, constructed over her a sanctuary which he called, allegedly after the name of a volcanic mountain, Buss (see Wellhausen, 37-8; Fahd, *op. cit.*, 165-6) and from which "oracular communications" were received (Ibn al-Kalbī, 18, tr. 16).

The sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā at Na**kh**la was served by members of the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*], who were clients of Ḳuray**sh**, and the last such *sādin*, Dubayya b. Haramī al-Sulamī, was killed by **Kh**ālid b. al-Walīd in 8/629-30 (Ibn al-Kalbī, 22, 24-7, tr. Atallah, 19-22). Ibn al-Kalbī insists on the extreme devotion of Ḳuray**sh** to this goddess. As well as *ziyāra* and sacrifice they held an annual festival in her honour (Wellhausen, 39), while the Prophet himself recalled offering a white sheep to al-ʿUzzā "while I followed the religion of my people" (*ibid.*, 19, tr. 16-17). His uncle, Abū Lahab (whose *ism* was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā) was known for his "intense loyalty" to her (*ibid.*, 23, tr. 20). When in 3/624-5, Abū Sufyān set out to attack Muḥammad he took with him the symbols of al-ʿUzzā and al-Lāt (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1395) and one version of his war-cry is "al-ʿUzzā is for us and not for you" (*ibid.*, i, 1418). ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took a dispute over water-rights to the *kāhin* of ʿUzzā in al-**Sh**aʾm (Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ fī a**kh**bār Ḳuray**sh***, Ḥaydarābād 1964, 98-9).

She was also worshipped by **Gh**aṭafān, **Kh**uzāʿa, Kināna, **Th**aḳīf (though their principal deity was Manāt), **Gh**anm, **Gh**anī and Balī (though Wellhausen, 39, considered that the last three may not have worshipped her at Na**kh**la). Among the *talbiyāt* (or ritual invocations intoned by pre-Islamic tribes on their pilgrimage to Mecca [see TALBIYA]), those of the Ḥums, Ma**dh**ḥi**dj** and **Th**aḳīf submit al-ʿUzzā, along with al-Lāt, Manāt, and other *aṣnām* ("idols") to the High God of Mecca, the Lord of the Kaʿba (M.J. Kister, in *JSAI*, ii [1980], 36-8, 54-5 (nos. 41, 45, 48), and cf. 51 no. 12). On the co-existence of the idols and the High God, see *ibid.*, 47-9 and references there (to which add W.M. Watt, in *Isl.*, lvi [1979], 205-11), and compare the oath of Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī, "By the Lord of al-ʿUzzā the propitious, and by God betwixt whose House [and Suḳām] Sarif stands" (Ibn al-Kalbī, 19, tr. 18).

In the Ḳurʾān, al-ʿUzzā is mentioned only once, in LIII, 19-20 ("Have you considered al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the other"), which is said to have been followed by the "Satanic verses". These three are traditionally described as the *banāt Allāh*, though this phrase does not occur in the Ḳurʾān and has been applied to them by extrapolating from sūras XVI, 57; XXXVII, 149-53; XLIII, 16; and LIII, 21. However, the phrase *banāt Allāh* may originally have meant no more than "celestial beings" (Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 106) and is paralleled in the 1st century A.D. by a Palmyrene votive text to the *bnt ʾl* (**Kh**. al-Asʿad and J. Teixidor, in *CRAI* [1985], 286-93) and probably even earlier by Qatabanic and Sabaic dedications to the *bnty ʾl* (i.e. the dual) and *bnt ʾl* (pl.), with in no case any indication as to the identity of these beings (Ryckmans, in *JSS*, xxv [1980] 200-3).

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